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Contents

Afforestation and Unemployment. By Arthur P Grenfell 161.	Point of Honour. By Mrs R Cavendish Bentinck 151
Capital and Compensation. By Edw R Pease 147	Profit-sharing and Co-partnership a Fraud and a Failure? By Edward R Pease 170
* Capital and Land. 7.	Public Service versus Private Expenditure 121
Case against the Charity Organization Society By Mrs Townshend. 158.	Public v Private Electricity Supply By O. Ashmore Baker. 173
Case against the Referendum By Clifford D Sharp 155	Reform of the House of Lords By Sidney Webb 183
✓ Case for School Clinics By L Haden Guest 154	✓ Rent and Value 142.
✓ Case for School Nurseries. By Mrs Townshend 145	Ruskin, John, and Social Ethics. 179.
Central Africa and the League of Nations By R C Hawkin 186	Russian Revolutionary Movement and British Democracy. By Julius West 184.
Child Labor under Capitalism. By Mrs Hylton Dale 140	Secret of Rural Depopulation 118.
Christian Socialism 42	Small Holdings, Allotments, and Common Pastures. 124.
Difficulties of Individualism 60	Socialism and the Arts of Use By A Clutton Brock 177
Economic Foundations of the Women's Movement. By M. A 175	Socialism and Christianity By the Rev Percy Dearmer, M A 183
Endowment of Motherhood 149	Socialism and Superior Brains A Reply to Mr Mallock. By Bernard Shaw 146
Fabian Society its early history. 41.	Socialism and Teaching of Christ. 78
Facts for Socialists 5	Welsh Translation of No. 78 87
Family Life on a Pound a Week By Mrs Pember Reeves. 162	Socialism and the Churches. By the Rev John Clifford. 139.
Gold and State Banking By Edward R. Pease. 164.	Welsh Translation of No 139 141.
How Trade Unions benefit Workmen 104	Socialism for Millionsaires. 107
Impossibilities of Anarchism 45	Socialism True and False. 51
Kingsley, Charles. 174	Socialist Movement in Germany. By W. Stephen Sanders. 169
Labor in the Longest Reign. 75	Sosialæth yng Ngoleuni'r Beibl. 149
Machinery its Masters and its Servants. By H H Schloesser & C Game 144.	State Control of Trusts. 124.
Mill, John Stuart. 168	✓ Tenant's Sanitary Catechism 68
Moral Aspects of Socialism By Sidney Ball. 72.	" " " (London) 71
Morris, William. 167	The Teacher in Politics. By Sidney Webb 187
✓ Municipal Milk and Public Health. 122.	Village and the Landlord 136.
✓ Municipal Slaughterhouses 92	War (The), Women, and Unemployment By Women's Group Executive 178.
✓ Municipal Trading 138	What about the Rates? By Sidney Webb 172
Nationalization of Mines and Minerals Bill. By H H. Schloesser 171	What a Health Committee can do 148
Necessary Basis of Society. By Sidney Webb. 159	What Socialism Is 13.
Our Taxes as they are and as they ought to be By Robert Jones, B Sc 152.	When Peace Comes the Way of Industrial Reconstruction. By Sidney Webb. 181
Owen, Robert, Social Reformer. 166.	Why are the Many Poor? 1
Owen, Robert, Idealist. 182	Welsh Translation of No 1. 38
✓ Parish and District Councils 62.	Working Life of Women. By Miss B. L Hutchins 157
✓ Parish Councils and Village Life 137.	
Philosophy of Socialism. By A. Clutton Brock 180	
Place, Francis. 165	

Why are the Many Poor?

WE live in a competitive society with Capital in the hands of individuals. What are the results? A few are very rich, some well off, the MAJORITY IN POVERTY, and a vast number in misery.

Is this a just and wise system, worthy of humanity? Can we or can we not improve it?

Hitherto it has escaped condemnation only because we are so ready to accept established custom, and because such general ignorance prevails both as to the evils to which our industrial disorder inevitably gives rise and as to our power to avert them.

The competitive system, which leaves each to struggle against each, and enables a few to appropriate the wealth of the community, is a makeshift which perpetuates many of the evils of the ages of open violence, with an added plague of tricks of trade so vile and contemptible that words cannot adequately denounce them.

What can be said in favor of a system which breeds and tolerates the leisured "masher," who lives without a stroke of useful work; the wage-slave workers, who toil for the mere mockery of a human life; the abject pauper and the Ishmael-minded criminal;—which makes inevitable and constant a three-cornered duel of dishonesty between the producer, the middleman, and the consumer?

What is Capital?

It is the sum of our instruments of production, and of the advantages of the work of former years. Its use is to be found in devoting it to the benefit of all; its abuse in leaving it in the hands of a few to waste its revenues in their own personal gratification. The present system gives to the few the power to take from the workers a huge portion of the product of their labor—

the labor which alone makes fruitful the capital bequeathed by generations of social industry.

What does it give to the many ?

Their portion is poverty. This is the inevitable outcome of their competition for wages, and none know so well as the workers the full burden of that terrible and long-continued demoralisation which is brought about, not merely by the poverty of a generation, but by generations of poverty. With the smallest of chances the poor are expected to display the greatest of virtues. On scanty and uncertain wages they must struggle to maintain the independence, self-respect, and honesty of men and women, and to put by something for the rainy day that is sure to come.

Let the least depression take place in the labor market, and the worker is pitted against his fellow. The poverty of one is underbid by the greater need of another; and the competition for work reduces the highest wage of some and the lowest wage of all occupations to a pittance just above the starvation point, at which the least failure of health or work leads to pauperism.

This happens to nearly every worker; whilst the capitalist often retires with a fortune on which he, his children, and his children's children live without useful industry. Here is one out of many instances. The son of an owner of ironworks is now in the House of Lords; he has a fine town house and two or three country mansions; his children are brought up in ease and luxury. But where are the children of those whose work made the fortune? They toil from morning to night for a bare living as did their fathers before them.

This ceaseless labor of the workers continually enriches those already rich, until extreme wealth enables a privileged minority to live in careless luxury, undisturbed by the struggle for existence that goes on beneath them.

Have laborers no right under the sun but to work when capitalists think fit, and on such terms as competition may determine? If the competitive standard of wage be the true one, why is it not applied all round? What, for instance, would be the competitive value of a Duke, a Bishop, or a Lord-in-Waiting?

Do economists, statesmen, and sociologists stand hopeless before this problem of Poverty? Must workers continue in their misery whilst professors and politicians split straws and wrangle over trifles?

No! for the workers must and will shake off their blind faith in the Commercial god Competition, and realise the responsibility of their unused powers.

If Capital be socialised, Labor will benefit by it fully; but while Capital is left in the hands of the few, Poverty must be the lot of the many.

Teach, preach and pray to all eternity in your schools and churches: it will avail you nothing until you have swept away this blind idol of Competition, this misuse of Capital in the hands of individuals.

You who live dainty and pleasant lives, reflect that your ease and luxury are paid for by the misery and want of others! Your superfluities are the parents of their poverty. Surely all humanity is not burnt out of you by the gold your fathers left you!

Come out from your ease and superfluities and help us!

You who suffer, think of this also; and help forward the only cure for these evils. The time approaches when Capital can be made public property, no longer at the disposal of the few, but owned by the community for the benefit of all. You can help to do this; without you it cannot be done. The power is in your hands, and chances of using that power are constantly within your reach. Neglect those chances, and you and your children will remain the victims of Competition and Capitalism—ever struggling—ever poor!

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lionaires. By BERNARD SHAW. 139. Socialism and the Churches. By

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its Masters and Servants. 122. Municipal Milk and Public Health. 125.

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MAY, 1915.

FACTS FOR SOCIALISTS

FROM THE

POLITICAL ECONOMISTS AND STATISTICIANS.

I.—The Nation's Income.

THE annual income of the United Kingdom has been estimated by the following authorities :—

	£
Sir R. Giffen, <i>The Wealth of the Empire</i> , Journal of Royal Statistical Society, vol. lxvi. part iij. 1903	1,750,000,000
Professor A. L. Bowley, M.A. (Appointed Teacher of Statistics, University of London), <i>Economic Journal</i> , September, 1904 ; Income for 1903	1,800,000,000
Professor A. L. Bowley (<i>Economic Journal</i> , March 1913, p. 54), for 1907	1,945,000,000
<i>Census of Production</i> for 1907, between 1,918 and 2,158 millions (Cd. 6,320, 1912, p. 33), say	2,000,000,000
Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, M.P., <i>Riches and Poverty</i> (1912 edn., p. 47), for 1909	1,844,000,000
<i>The Statist</i> (27th April, 1912), for 1912, in- cluding allowance for married women, housekeepers, and others	2,250,000,000
The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Lloyd George) in his War Budget Speech (November, 1914), for 1914 ...	2,300,000,000

The gross assessments to income tax have risen from £601,450,977 in 1881-2 to £1,111,456,413 in 1912-13 (Inland Revenue Report, Cd. 7,572). Allowing for a corresponding rise in the incomes not assessed and in the wages of manual labor, we may estimate the national income for 1912 at not less than £2,200,000,000. The population in 1911 being 45,221,615 (Cd. 7,022), the average annual

income is about £48½ per head, or £195 per adult man. In 1840 it was about £20½, in 1860 £26½ per head (Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 245), and for 1905-6 we estimated it at £46½ per head (*Facts for Socialists*, 11th edn., 1908).

These figures (which are mainly computed from income tax returns and estimated average rates of wages) mean that the price in money of the commodities and services produced in the country during the whole course of a year was about £195 per adult man.* Most of these commodities and services were used up within that period in maintaining the 45,221,615 inhabitants, but no less a sum than £320,000,000 to £350,000,000 was saved annually previous to the war of 1914. (*Census of Production*, Cd. 6,320, 1912, p. 33. Estimate for 1907.) The bulk of this "saving" consists of new houses and of new railways, steamers, machinery, and other aids to future labor, partly for use in this country and partly sent abroad. It was calculated that £100,000,000 was in this way invested abroad in 1907 (*Census of Production*, p. 32).

Total Income £2,200,000,000.

II.—Who Produces It.

The desirable commodities and useful services measured by this vast sum are produced solely by the "efforts and sacrifices" (Cairnes), whether of muscle or of brain, of the working portion of the community, employed upon the gifts of Nature.

"No wealth whatever can be produced without labor" Professor Henry Fawcett (Cambridge) (*Manual of Political Economy*, p. 13).

"That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmitigated selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it is important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond, but let them take their proper place as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing" (*Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 32, by the late John Elliott Cairnes, M.A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at University College, London; 1874.)

III.—Who the Workers Are.

Those who profess to be taking part in the work of the community were divided, at the census of 1911, as follows:

* The estimated amount of metallic money in the country was, in 1911, about £148,000,000, or about £3 per head. The Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint, (1911), puts the value of gold coins in circulation at £113,000,000 (of which sum the bankers hold about £45,000,000), and to this must be added gold bullion at the Bank of England, about £20,000,000, and silver and bronze coins in circulation, estimated at £15,000,000. (In 1914 the currency system was somewhat changed by the war.)

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Industrial	10,177,042	3,239,011	13,416,053
Agricultural	1,862,575	167,300	2,029,875
Commercial	727,457	125,412	852,869
Domestic	398,662	1,618,108	2,016,770
Professional	880,726	439,618	1,320,344
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	14,046,462	5,589,449	19,635,911
Unoccupied, under 20...	7,091,183	7,706,380	14,797,563
Unoccupied, over 20 ...	808,850	9,979,291*	10,788,141
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
Total	21,946,495	23,275,120	45,221,615

(Compiled from Reports of the 1911 Census of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland.)

The figures for England and Wales may be given in more detail as follows :

	Total.	Males.	Females.
Domestic Indoor Service	1,302,438	41,765	1,260,673
Agriculture	1,229,555	1,184,714	94,841
Coal Mining	971,236	968,051	3,185
Building	817,942	814,989	2,953
Cotton Manufacture	623,825	250,991	372,834
Local Government (including Police and Poor Law) ...	588,951	412,501	176,450
Railway Companies' Service...	542,969	535,799	7,170
Engineering and Machine Making, Ironfounding and Boilermaking	510,226	502,942	7,284
Dressmaking	336,955	3,826	333,129
Teaching	300,831	89,648	211,183
Inns, Hotel Service	289,056	178,550	110,506
Grocery	269,322	210,387	58,935
Tailoring	254,828	127,301	127,527
Printing, Bookbinding and Stationery	249,465	161,856	87,609
Wool and Worsted Manufacture	233,189	105,552	127,637
Boot, Shoe, etc., Making ...	217,986	172,000	45,986
Drapery	204,126	93,171	110,955

A MILLION CIVIL SERVANTS.

299,599 persons, comprising 248,624 males and 50,975 females are classified as being engaged in the Central Government of the country, an increase of 46 per cent. since 1901, or 42 3 for males and 69 5 for females. The Post Office workers, excluding artisans and laborers (125,698), form nearly three-quarters of the total, and nine-tenths of the females. In addition, the men and women engaged in the

* Most of these are married women engaged in unpaid domestic work, although not so described.

local government service numbered 588,951. The total for the United Kingdom amounts to probably a million national or local government officials.

Professional occupations and their subordinate services accounted for 714,621 (367,578 males and 347,043 females) in England and Wales alone, or 108,361 more than in 1901. The comparative totals for the principal professions were :

	1901.	1911.
Barristers and Solicitors	20,998	21,380
Law Clerks	34,433	36,265
Physicians and Surgeons	22,698	25,048
Dentists	5,309	7,674
Veterinary Surgeons... ..	2,941	2,612
Midwives	3,055	6,602
Teachers (excluding Music)... ..	230,345	251,968
Art, Music, and Drama	102,305	125,006

Among the professed workers there are, of course, many whose occupation is merely nominal. The number is swelled by the "sleeping" partners, the briefless barristers, the invalids, and the paupers, prisoners, and sinecurists of every description. Many thousands more have occupations useless or hurtful to the community; and others, as for example many domestic servants, labor honestly, but for the personal comfort of the idlers, and they might, therefore, as far as production is concerned, as well be themselves idle.

IV.—How the Idle Rich Live.

"Whence is their purchasing power derived? It does not descend to them from the skies; nor is it obtained by submarine telegraph direct from California or Australia; nor is its presence exhaustively accounted for by the presence of certain figures on the credit side of their accounts in their bankers' books" (Professor J. E. Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 31).

They live, in the main, upon the portions of the national product which are called rent and interest, by the legal "guarantee to them of the fruits of the labor and abstinence of others, transmitted to them without any merit or exertion of their own" (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Popular Edition, p. 129).

"It is at once evident that rent is the effect of a monopoly" (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, p. 255).

"Monopoly, in all its forms, is the taxation of the industrious for the support of indolence, if not of plunder" (*Ibid.*, p. 477).

V.—Rent of Land and Houses.

The total profit from the ownership of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income tax in 1912-13, was £279,536,396; the rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, waterworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc., amounted to £47,042,115 (Inland Revenue Report, 1912-13, Cd. 7,572). Many of these are notoriously far from being fully assessed. The total "rent" of immovables of the United Kingdom must therefore amount to at least £330,000,000,

or more than one-seventh of the total produce* Of this amount about £90,000,000 may be estimated as the annual rental value of the bare site, without buildings.†

"Great landlords are everywhere an idle class" (J. S. Mill, *Political Economy*, Popular Edition, p. 153).

Total Income, £2,200,000,000. Rent, £330,000,000.

VI.—Interest on Capital.

Interest is distinguished by economists from rent on the one hand, and "wages of superintendence," or other payment for services on the other; but a large part of the "rent" already dealt with may also be deemed interest on capital embodied in land in the form of houses, etc.

The Income Tax Returns disclose the fact that the following sums were received as income in 1912-13 not in return for contemporaneous work, viz.:

From Public Companies	... ..	£ 323,055,934
" Local Authorities	... ..	27,407,199
" Coupons collected by Banks	... ..	45,482,597
" Government Securities	... ..	50,288,570
		<hr/>
		£ 446,234,300

A small part of this goes to institutions, foreigners, etc., and another small part to the relatively poor (Cd. 7,572).

That these amounts are understated may be inferred from Sir George Paish, who estimates "the net total of our investments in other lands" up to 1910 "at not much short of £3,500,000,000," about half of it in our Colonies and Dependencies, and the other half in the United States and other foreign countries. Only some 5 per cent. is invested in European countries. The income from this might, he thinks, be taken at 5 per cent., or £175,000,000. (*Royal Statistical Society's Journal*, Jan, 1911.) Nearly the whole of this vast income may be regarded as being received without any contemporary services rendered in return by the owners as such.

We have, however, to add the interest on capital employed in private undertakings of manufacture or trade. This is included with "wages of superintendence" in business profit, both for the purpose of the income tax returns and in ordinary speech. The total amount of interest cannot therefore be less than **£490,000,000.**

Adding hereto the rent mentioned in the preceding section, we have a total of **£820,000,000** for rent and interest together.

Total Income, £2,200,000,000. Rent, £330,000,000.
Interest, £490,000,000.

* In 1843 the total was (for Great Britain only) £95,284,497; in 1855 (for the United Kingdom) £124,871,885.

† L. G. Chozza Money (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1913), £90,000,000 for 1910-11; Sir Thomas Whitaker (*Ownership, Tenure, and Taxation of Land*, 1914, p. 95), £91,500,000.

VII.—Profits and Salaries.

But those who enjoy the vast unearned income just mentioned cannot all be accurately described as the "idle rich," though they would forego none of it by refusing to work. If they are disposed to increase it by leading active lives, they can do so; and most of them adopt this course to some extent, especially those whose share is insufficient for their desires.*

When the members of this endowed class elect to work, they are able to do so under unusually favorable conditions. Associated with them in this respect are the fortunate possessors of exceptional skill in hand or brain and the owners of literary, artistic, or commercial monopolies of every kind. These workers often render inestimable service to the community, and they are able to exact in return remuneration proportionate neither to their utility nor to the cost of their education or training, but to the relative scarcity of the faculty they possess.

The numbers and total income of this large class cannot be exactly ascertained. It includes workers of all grades, from the exceptionally skilled artizan to the Prime Minister, and from the merchant's clerk to the President of the Royal Academy.

It is convenient for statistical purposes to include in it all those who do not belong to "the manual labor class." If we take the "rent of ability" to have increased in the same proportion as the assessments to income tax, this prosperous body may be estimated to receive as **profits and salaries** for its work about **£550,000,000** annually.

THE INCOMES OF THE OWNERS AND MANAGERS.

The total amount of rent, interest, profits, and salaries was estimated some years ago as follows:—

Professor Leone Levi, <i>Times</i> , 13th January, 1885	£753,000,000
Mr. A. L. Bowley, <i>Statistical Society's Journal</i> , vol. lviii., part 2, p. 284 (1891)	... .. 912,000,000

* As the unearned income is not equally distributed, some of the participants are in comparatively humble circumstances; but it may be observed that the "manual labor class," or the poor, possess but a small fraction of the land and capital.

In 1912 The Deposits in P.O. Savings Bank	... .. were	£182,104,564
Trustees	... ..	53,811,899
Consols purchased for small holders P. O. S. B.	... ..	26,077,858
Trustee S. B.	... ..	2,704,859
The Capital of Building Societies	... .. was	48,896,015
The Funds of Trade Unions, Co-operative, Friendly and other Provident Societies	... .. were	129,027,953
In 1911 The Funds of Industrial Life Assurance Societies	... ..	55,118,452
		<hr/> £497,741,600

(see *Statistical Abstract*, 1912, Cd. 7,022, and Report of Registrar of Friendly Societies), or perhaps one-thirtieth part of the total accumulated wealth (which is variously estimated at from £13,000,000,000 to £17,000,000,000), and about £42 per head of the adult workers in the "manual labor class," even supposing the whole was owned by members of that class. Against this, too, must be set the debts of the laborers to pawnbrokers, shopkeepers, and others, which amount, in the aggregate, to a considerable sum. Some of it, moreover, is counted twice over.

Since these estimates were made the wealth of the country has grown greatly, and on the basis of the increase in gross assessments to income tax, we estimate that the total drawn by the upper, middle, and trading classes amounts at present to about £1,370,000,000 yearly, or little less than two-thirds of the total produce.

Total Income, £2,200,000,000. Rent, £330,000,000.

Interest, £490,000,000. Profits and Salaries, £550,000,000.

VIII.—The Income of the Wage-earners.

The total amount of wages has been estimated by the statisticians :

Sir R. Giffen, <i>Essays in Finance</i> (1886), vol. ii., p. 467	£ 550,000,000
Mr. J. S. Jeans, <i>Statistical Society's Journal</i> , vol. xlvii., p. 631, for 1880	600,000,000
Prof. A. L. Bowley (as above), 1891.	699,000,000
Sir R. Giffen (Evidence to Labor Commission, Question 6,909, etc.), 1893	633,000,000
Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, for 1908 (<i>Riches and Poverty</i> , 10th edn., p. 31)	703,000,000
Mr. Sidney Webb (as below), for 1912	740,000,000

Table showing estimated earnings of employed manual wage-earners in the United Kingdom in 1912 (including board and lodging, overtime, and all other emoluments), compiled by Mr. Sidney Webb, and published in *The New Statesman*, May 10th, 1913 (figures for women revised).—

MEN.

Class.	Numbers.	Average earnings in full week, including emoluments.		Average Wages Bill for a full week.	Yearly Wages Bill.*
		s.	d.	Million £.	Million £.
Men in situations :					
Below 15s. ...	320,000= 4%	13	0	0·21	10
15s. to 20s. ...	640,000= 8%	18	0	0·58	27
20s. ,, 25s. ...	1,600,000=20%	22	6	1·80	85
25s. ,, 30s. ...	1,680,000=21%	27	6	2·31	109
30s. ,, 35s. ...	1,680,000=21%	32	6	2·73	128
35s. ,, 40s. ...	1,040,000=13%	37	6	1·95	92
40s. ,, 45s. ...	560,000= 7%	42	6	1·20	56·5
Over 45s. ...	480,000= 6%	50	0	1·20	56·5
Men in situations	8,000,000=100%	30	0	12·00	564
Casuals ...	700,000	12	0	0·42	18·5
Adult males ...	8,700,000	28	4	12·42	582·5
Boys ...	1,900,000	10	0	0·95	44
All males ...	10,600,000	25	3	13·38	626·5

Average earnings per adult man $\frac{582\cdot5}{8\cdot7} = \text{£}66\cdot95$, or 25s. 9d. a week.

WOMEN.

Class	Numbers.	Average earnings in a full week.		Average weekly Wages Bill for a full week	Yearly Wages Bill (net, as above).
		s.	d.	in £100,000.	£.
Women in situations :					
Below 12s. ...	1,000,000	9	0	450	21,150,000
12s. to 15s. ...	1,500,000	13	0	975	45,825,000
Over 15s. ...	500,000	17	0	425	19,975,000
Women in Situations ...	3,000,000	12	4	1,850	86,950,000
Casuals ...	100,000	3	6	17½	822,500
Adult women ...	3,100,000	11	7	1,867½	87,772,500
Girls ...	1,500,000	7	6	565	26,550,000
All females ...	4,600,000	10	7	2,432½	114,322,500
Total Wages Bill ...	...	...	...	...	£740,822,500

Average earnings per adult woman throughout the year,

$\frac{87\cdot772}{3\cdot1} \text{£}28\cdot31$, or 10s. 10½d. per week.

Allowing for the increase since these estimates were made, we may safely say that the manual labor class receives for all its millions of workers at most some **£830,000,000** per annum.

* Allowing five weeks for short time, sickness, involuntary holidays and unemployment.

Rent	£ 330,000,000
Interest	490,000,000
Profits and Salaries... ..	550,000,000
<hr/>	
Total (that is the entire income of the upper, middle, trading, clerical, and professional classes	1,370,000,000
Income of manual labor class	830,000,000
<hr/>	
Total produce	£2,200,000,000*

IX.—The Classes and the Masses.

But the division of the nation's income into its economic categories does not coincide with its actual distribution among social classes. Many owners of land and capital work for profits, salaries, or wages. Many manual workers enjoy small shares of rent and interest. In particular, we have to notice the great development during the past half-century of a class numbering about three or four million persons who do not belong to what is usually spoken of as the wage-earning class (artizans and laborers of all kinds), but whose annual earnings are below £160 per family group. The total income of this class (which includes the great mass of teachers, clerks, minor officials, junior professionals, independent craftsmen, and small shopkeepers and dealers) is estimated at £232,000,000 (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 10th edition, p. 19) or £350,000,000 (Report of Committee of Economic Section, British Association, *Statistical Society's Journal*, December, 1910, p. 65), according as three or four millions are placed within this class.

Dividing the nation's income, not according to its economic categories, but according to how it is actually allotted, we get the following distribution for 1912 :

	Numbers.	Amount.
<i>Riches</i> .—Persons with incomes of £700 and upwards and their families	1,500,000	£700,000,000
<i>Comfort</i> .—Persons with incomes between £160 and £700 and their families	4,500,000	300,000,000
<i>Poverty</i> .—Persons with incomes less than £160 and their families	39,220,000	{ 830,000,000 370,000,000
	45,220,000	£2,200,000,000

(Adapted, the figures being brought down to date, from Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 10th edn., p. 9.)

This unequal division of the fruits of the combined labor of the working community divides us, as Lord Beaconsfield said, into "two nations," widely different from each other in education, in comfort,

* In this connection it may be mentioned that the total income of the charities of the United Kingdom, including endowments, amounted in 1912 to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of this total, viz., £11,295,000, besides, in addition £1,445,000 from legacies. The total cost of poor relief in 1912-13 was £17,784,579 (*Statistical Abstract*, Cd. 7,636)

and in security. As is some limited central territory between, and some luck, they escape from the large camp in which their fellows are tolerated to the more comfortable fortress of the monopolists, from which, on the other hand, others sink into destitution from extravagance or misfortune. But for the great majority the lines between these two nations are practically impassable.

The division is not based on any essential differences between individuals in industry or morality.

"Since the human race has no means of enjoyable existence, or of existence at all, but what it derives from its own labor and abstinence, there would be no ground for complaint against society if everyone who was willing to undergo a fair share of this labor and abstinence could attain a fair share of the fruits. But is this the fact? Is it not the reverse of the fact? The reward, instead of being proportioned to the labor and abstinence of the individual, is almost in an inverse ratio to it; those who receive the least labor and abstain the most" (John Stuart Mill, *Fortnightly Review*, 1879, p. 226, written in 1869).

We have seen what the "two nations" each receive; it remains to estimate their respective numbers, and the following facts supply materials for this computation:

(a) *The Comparatively Rich.*

It has been shown that the adult males without professed occupation numbered 808,850 in 1911. This represents a population of over 3,000,000, all of whom were living on incomes not derived from any specified occupation.

About 120,000 people, one-seventieth part of the population, own "about two-thirds" of the entire accumulated wealth of the United Kingdom (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 10th edn., 1912, p. 79).

The landlords (of more than ten acres) number only 176,520, owning ten-elevenths of the total area (Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 341).

Only one hundred out of every 1,000 persons dying leave behind them £300 worth of property (including furniture, etc.), and only thirteen per hundred leave any property worth mentioning at all.

The number of estates exceeding £10,000 in value in 1912-13 upon which Estate Duty was paid was 4,002, their capital value was £192,121,358. They include five-

(b) *The Comparatively Poor.*

Mr. Mulhall, *Dict. of Statistics*, p. 320; families ... 4,774,000

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 11th edn., p. 47, estimates that the lower middle and working classes numbered in 1909... 39,000,000

The number of persons "employed" at wages in the industries of the Kingdom is placed at thirteen to fourteen millions, and this includes over four million women.

Mr. J. S. Jeans, *Statistical Society's Journal*, vol. xlvii., p. 631, places the number at about ... 14,000,000

Sir R. Giffen, *Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 461 (1886) (separate incomes of man-

(a) *The Comparatively Rich.*

sevenths of the total net capital of the estates liable for duty (Inland Revenue Report, C. 3,686).

In 1912-13 the estates of 76 persons were proved for £61,259,339, or nearly one-quarter of the value of all estates. Of these, eleven were more than £1,000,000, twenty-four over £500,000 (Cd. 7,022).

More than one-third of the entire income of the United Kingdom is enjoyed by less than one-thirtieth of its people (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, p. 48).

The payers of income tax (1,100,000), representing 5,500,000 people, take £909,000,000, nearly half the national income (L. G. Chiozza Money for 1908, *Riches and Poverty*, 1912, p. 44).

Mr. L. G. Chiozza Money estimates that 1,250,000 people take £600,000,000 a year, 3,750,000 people take £250,000,000 (*Daily Mail Year Book*, 1908).

Abounding Prosperity.—In addressing the Leeds Luncheon Club on May 11th, 1914, the Rt. Hon. Frederick Huth Jackson (Vice-President of the Institute of Bankers, and a Director of the Bank of England) said: "Let me ask you to compare our position now with what it was twenty years ago. The volume of our foreign trade has more than doubled, having risen from 681½ millions to 1,400 millions. Our banking deposits have just about doubled. In 1893 they were 433 millions, while they are now 867 millions. The amounts due to depositors in Post Office and Trustee Savings Banks have risen from 123 millions to 236 millions, again about double what they were. And the London Clearing House returns are even more impressive; they show an increase from £6,478,000,000 in 1893 to £16,436,000,000 in 1913."

(b) *Unemployed Manual Labor.*

£330,000,000
 Manual labor : 490,000,000
 Mr. A. L. ... 550,000,000
 ley, *Statistical*
Society's Journal, June, 1887, 70,000,000
 manual labor 330,000,000

In 1908, of incomes of less than £100,000,000*

39,000,000 out of 100,000,000 took £935,000,000 more than half the national income (Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*, 12th ed., p. 47).

Eight hundred and thirty-nine million out of every 1,000 people, half of whom are without property, are wage-workers, and eight hundred and thirty-nine million out of every 1,000 are without property, or effects worth less than £300 (Cd. 7,022).

From returns obtained from 8,121 private and Government works, employing 862,365 persons, it appears that the average annual wage per head amounted to not more than £50. These returns include the police and other public servants, but do not take any account of agricultural and general laborers (Annual Report of Labor Department, Board of Trade, 1893-4, C. 7,565).

From the table given on a preceding page it will be seen that only six per cent. of manual working wage-earning men get over 45s. per week, and that the average earnings of all the adult men are only 25s. 9d. per week. The average earnings of all the adult women are only 10s. 10d. per week.

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ACCUMULATED WEALTH.

difficult to arrive at even an approximate estimate of the amount of real and personal property stored in the hands of the rich. Mr Chiozza Money, in his *Poverty* (p. 65), puts the total figure at £13,762,000,000. The following table, entitled :

The division of PROPERTY—AN ARGUMENT FROM THE DEAD TO THE LIVING.

	The Dead.		The Living		Average value of estates per head.
	Averages of the Death Duty Records in the five years 1904-5 to 1908-9	Figures of columns 1 and 2 multiplied by 30 upon the assumption that each dead property owner in column 1 corresponds to 30 living ones.	(1) Persons.	(2) Property.	
Materials for building	£100 net ... 15,956	900,000	478,680	27,000,000	56
Occupied houses	£300 gross ... 18,917	3,600,000	567,510	108,000,000	190
(a) The gross value of land	£500 gross ... 9,288	3,700,000	278,640	111,000,000	398
It has been estimated that the value of the land is not over £500 net	£500 net ... 6,074	2,700,000	182,220	81,000,000	444
Estimated value of land not over £500 net	£500 net ... 50,235	10,900,000	1,507,050	327,000,000	216
Estimated value of land over £500 net	£1,000 net ... 10,404	8,600,000	312,120	258,000,000	826
£1,000 to £10,000 net	£10,000 net ... 16,910	62,100,000	507,300	1,863,000,000	3,672
£10,000 to £25,000 net	£25,000 net ... 2,338	41,000,000	70,140	1,230,000,000	17,536
£25,000 to £50,000 net	£50,000 net ... 910	35,100,000	27,300	1,053,000,000	38,571
£50,000 to £75,000 net	£75,000 net ... 291	19,400,000	8,730	582,000,000	66,600
£75,000 to £100,000 net	£100,000 net ... 145	13,200,000	4,350	396,000,000	91,034
£100,000 to £150,000 net	£150,000 net ... 133	16,900,000	3,990	507,000,000	127,067
£150,000 to £250,000 net	£250,000 net ... 90	19,700,000	2,700	591,000,000	218,800
£250,000 to £500,000 net	£500,000 net ... 54	20,600,000	1,620	618,000,000	381,481
£500,000 to £1,000,000 net	Over £1,000,000 net ... 19	13,600,000	570	408,000,000	715,789
Over £1,000,000 net	... 7	18,100,000	210	543,000,000	2,585,714
Total estates over £500 net	31,301	268,300,000	939,030	8,049,000,000	8,571
Grand Total	81,536	279,200,000	2,446,080	8,376,000,000	3,424

The Public Trustee now administers a large and increasing number of estates, the following comparison being instructive.

1908-09 ... 381 estates, valued at £3,133,000
1913-14 ... 1,573 estates, valued at £13,425,000

1908 was the first year of operation, and nearly half the estates administered are under £2,000 in value (Cd. 7,343).

STATISTICS OF INCOME AND INCOME TAX IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.*

During the past few years there has been a rapid increase in the gross income reviewed by the Inland Revenue for income tax purposes. The figures are as follows :—

* The Chancellor of the Exchequer estimates the number of income tax payers for 1913-14 at 1,190,000, as against 950,000 ten years ago, and the taxable income per income tax payer at £780.

Year.	Gross Income Reviewed. £	Income Taxed £	Net Produce of Tax. £
1900-01 ...	833,355,513	594,106,253	29,705,312
1901-02 ...	866,993,453	607,550,919	35,440,470
1902-03 ...	879,638,546	608,606,903	38,037,931
1903-04 ...	902,758,585	615,012,373	28,188,067
1904-05 .	912,129,680	619,328,097	30,966,404
1905-06 .	925,184,556	632,024,746	31,601,237
1906-07 ...	943,702,014	640,048,238	32,002,412
1907-08 ..	980,117,000	671,313,000	32,380,000
1908-09 ...	1,009,935,926	693,323,082	33,408,754
1909-10 ...	1,011,100,345	686,812,104	37,679,602
1910-11 ...	1,045,833,755	697,074,032	38,344,767
1911-12 ...	1,070,142,343	720,640,587	39,631,630
1912-13 ...	1,111,456,413	755,577,547	41,574,277

In their annual report the Commissioners, as far as possible, identify income derived from investments in foreign and colonial countries. This source of income is one that is growing steadily, as the following figures show:—

1907-08 ...	£85,116,246	1910-11 ...	£100,952,723
1908-09 ..	88,837,393	1911-12 ..	103,894,667
1909-10 ...	93,264,604	1912-13 ...	110,421,797

HIGH PRICES MAKE THE POOR POORER.

On the other hand, the rise in the prices of food and other things in recent years has worsened the condition of the wage-earners. Recently the Board of Trade conducted an investigation into the matter, and, selecting the chief articles of common consumption, mainly prime necessities of life, produced the following figures (the War prices, 1914 and March, 1915, are added):—

Average price of commodities as compared with the price of 1900 (taken as equal to 100):

	1896.	1900.	1906	1909	1910	1911.	1912.	1914	1915.
Wholesale prices ...	88·2	100	109·8	104·1	108·8	109·4	114·9	—	—
Retail prices of food (London only) ...	91·7	100	102·0	107·6	109·4	109·4	114·5	125·5	155·9

It is interesting to compare these official figures with a table prepared by the Co-operative Wholesale Society showing the cost of an average weekly family grocery order. This indicated that in a working class budget prices increased by over 20 per cent. between 1898 and 1910 (as contrasted with a 16 per cent general rise over the same period), and shows that the wage-earning classes have been hit more heavily than other sections of the community.

All this means that unless their wages have risen considerably the workers are actually earning less now than they did in 1900, and

still less than in 1895, as the following table, drawn up by Mr. G. S. Barnes, C.B., of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade, to show the purchasing power of the sovereign, proves:—

A sovereign was worth :

Year	s.	d.	Year.	s.	d.
1895	20	0	1905	17	11
1896	20	0	1906	18	0
1897	19	3	1907	17	7
1898	18	6	1908	17	2
1899	19	4	1909	17	3
1900	18	5	1910	16	11
1901	18	4	1911	17	0
1902	18	3	1912	16	3
1903	17	11	1914*	14	7
1904	18	0	1915*	11	10

* War prices added March, 1915.

X.—The Competitive Struggle.

Disguise it as we may by feudal benevolence, or the kindly attempts of philanthropists, the material interests of the small nation privileged to exact rent for its monopolies, and of the great nation thereby driven to receive only the remnant of the product, are permanently opposed. "The more there is allotted to labor the less there will remain to be appropriated as rent" (Fawcett, *Manual of Political Economy*, p. 123).

It is therefore "the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce" (J. S. Mill, quoting Feugueray, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 477, Popular Edition of 1865) which is the primary cause of the small incomes of the comparatively poor. That neither class makes the best possible social use of its revenues, and that both waste much in extravagance and vice, is an apparently inevitable secondary result of the unequal division, which it intensifies and renders permanent; but it is a secondary result only, not the primary cause.

The force by which this conflict of interests is maintained, without the conscious contrivance of either party, is competition, diverted, like other forces, from its legitimate social use. The legal disposers of the great natural monopolies are able, by means of legally licensed competition, to exact the full amount of their economic rents; and the political economists tell us that so long as these natural monopolies are left practically unrestrained in private hands, a thorough remedy is impossible.

In 1874, Professor Cairnes thought that some help might be found (at any rate by the better-paid laborers) by means of co-operation in production. He then wrote:

"If workmen do not rise from dependence upon capital by the path of co-operation, then they must remain in dependence upon capital; the margin for the possible improvement of their lot is confined within narrow barriers, which cannot be passed, and the problem of their elevation is hopeless" (Professor J. E. Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, p. 349, 1874).

Forty years have passed away since these words were written, and it must now be apparent, even to the most sanguine of individualists, that the chance of the great bulk of the laborers ever coming to work upon their own land and capital in associations for co-operative production, has become even less hopeful than ever.

Professor W. J. Ashley, writing in 1914 of J. S. Mill's hopes for the future of co-operative production (self-governing workshops) as an alternative to capitalism, says :

"But these expectations have been grievously disappointed. Hundreds of experiments have been made, and there is a noble story to tell of persistence and self-denial in the scraping-together of capital, but undertakings for co-operative production in Mill's sense have without exception failed completely, either from the business or from the co-operative point of view" (*The Economic Organisation of England, 1914, p. 175*).

Yet this, according to authorities so eminent, is the only hope for the laborer under the present arrangements of society.

XI.—Some Victims of the Struggle.

The statistics hitherto quoted have been mainly based on the assumption of reasonable regularity of employment. But of the great permanent army of the "unemployed," no reliable statistics can be obtained. From returns rendered to the Labor Department of the Board of Trade by Trade Unions, it appears that in the seven years, 1905-11, the mean percentage of members unemployed was 5.4 (Abstract of Labor Statistics, Board of Trade, Cd. 6,228). The average number of persons in London whose home is the "common lodging-house" is over 30,000.

As regards the four millions of persons in the metropolis, Mr. Charles Booth tells us that 37,610, or 0.9 per cent., are in the lowest class (occasional laborers, loafers, and semi-criminals); 316,834, or 7.5 per cent., in the next (casual labor, hand-to-mouth existence, *chronic want*), 938,293, or 22.3 per cent., form "the poor" (including alike those whose earnings are small, because of irregularity of employment, and those whose work, though regular, is ill-paid). These classes, on or below the "poverty line" of *earnings not exceeding a guinea per week per family*, number together 1,292,737, or 30.7 per cent. of the whole population. To these must be added 99,830 inmates of workhouses, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools, etc., making altogether nearly 1,400,000 persons in this one city alone whose condition even the most optimistic social student can hardly deem satisfactory (*Life and Labor of the People*, edited by Charles Booth, 1891, vol. ii, pp. 20-21).

The ultimate fate of these victims it is not easy adequately to realize. In 1911 no less than 100 persons (44 in London) were recorded as having died from starvation, and of these 11 were in receipt of Old Age Pensions (Cd. 6,980). Actual starvation is, however, returned as the cause of death in but a few cases annually; and it is well known that many thousands of deaths are directly due to long continued under feeding and exposure. Young children especially suffer.

In England and Wales in 1911, 106,642 deaths were registered as having taken place in poor law institutions, workhouses, infirmaries, schools, hospitals, and asylums, or 20.11 per cent. of the total deaths; the proportion during the ten years immediately preceding having averaged 17.88 per cent. Of these, 55,570 occurred in workhouses, 39,899 in hospitals, and 10,636 in lunatic asylums.

In London in 1911 four persons in every ten died in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum. Out of 68,505 deaths, 27,146 being under twenty years of age, 15,328 were in workhouses, 10,591 in hospitals, and 2,474 in lunatic asylums, or, altogether, 28,393 in public institutions (Registrar-General's Report, 1912, Cd. 6,578).

It is worth notice that a large number of those compelled in their old age to resort to the workhouse have made ineffectual efforts at thrifty provision for their declining years. In January, 1913, out of 275,292 inmates of workhouses, 70,087 were women, and 70,676 were children (Cd. 6,980). Among the men a very large number had been members of benefit societies, a former return revealing the fact that 25 per cent. of male inmates had in this way made an attempt to provide for a "rainy day." It is probable that one in every three London adults will be driven into these refuges to die, and the proportion in the case of the "manual labor class" must, of course, be still larger. And the number of persons who die while in receipt of outdoor relief is not included in this calculation. As in 1911 the mean number of outdoor paupers in the metropolis was 42,673 (Cd. 6,980), and the average death-rate in London was 15.3 per 1,000, it may be assumed that upwards of 650 persons died while in receipt of outdoor relief—often from its being insufficient.

16,465 persons died by fatal accidents in 1911 (Registrar-General's Report, Cd. 6,578), 1,491 losing their lives in mines, quarries, etc.; 835 on railways; 741 on mechanically propelled vehicles; 262 in working machinery; 456 by poisoning and poisonous vapors; and 203 in building operations. These are figures for England and Wales alone, and would be much increased by including the accidents in Scotland and Ireland.

The Board of Trade Report on "Railway Accidents" during the year 1913 shows that 330 railway servants were killed, and 5,379 injured, by accidents caused by the movement of trains. Of these 12 were killed and 679 injured whilst coupling or uncoupling vehicles (Cd. 6,932), and 59 men were killed and 3,060 injured in connection with shunting operations. Accidents from causes other than the movement of trains, such as unloading goods, seem to be seriously on the increase. In 1912, 53 men were killed and 22,498 injured in this way, the average of the preceding six years being 41 and 16,944 respectively. Excessive hours are referred to in the Official Report (Cd. 6,931). In one month—February, 1913—in 35,200 cases, men worked 13 hours; in 14,125 cases, 14 hours; in 5,959 cases, 15 hours; in 2,383 cases, 16 hours; in 1,154 cases, 17 hours; and in 1,361 cases, 18 or more hours.

Many of the workers, by reason of their occupation, are peculiarly liable to accident, industrial disease and poisoning. The industrial accidents and cases of poisoning reported have been as follows:—

INDUSTRIAL ACCIDENTS.

	Killed.	Injured		Killed	Injured.
1903 ...	4,154	115,564	1909 ...	4,133	154,357
1904 ...	3,985	115,515	1910 ...	4,704	167,653
1905 ...	4,268	122,386	1911 ...	4,307	190,764
1906 ...	4,369	135,693	1912 ...	5,252	197,958
1907 ...	4,453	156,278	1913 ...	4,863	222,061
1908 ...	4,154	158,356			

The Chief Inspector's Annual Report, 1913 (Cd. 7,491), refers to the difficulty of securing proper reporting of accidents. One firm, employing over 4,000 workpeople, reported only nine out of 73 reportable accidents in six months; another two out of 65. Scouts are posted to give warning of inspectors' visits, yet prosecutions numbered 3,872. Liverpool reported 80 accidents where from 12 to 30 hours continuous work had been performed.

CASES OF POISONING AND ANTHRAX IN FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS.

	Cases.	Deaths		Cases	Deaths.
1905 ..	663	42	1910 ...	573	48
1906 ..	707	54	1911 ...	755	49
1907 ...	653	40	1912 ...	656	50
1908 ...	727	40	1913 ...	625	34
1909 ...	625	42			

Certain cases of poisoning are not reported under the Acts. In 1912 the number of these cases was 256, and included 47 deaths, making a total for that year of 912 cases and 97 deaths from poisoning.

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry, and professional classes in England and Wales was 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounted to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes was such that only eight children died in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent succumbed at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real causes of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lay in the fact that at the bottom of society wages were so low that food and other requisites of health were obtained with too great difficulty" (Dr C. R. Drysdale, Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885, p. 130).

"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment, in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave" (Professor Huxley, *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888).

B. S. Rowntree estimated that the average income from all sources of the 11,560 working class families in York in 1899 was 32s. 8½d. per week, or £85 a year. But 1,465 families, comprising 7,230 persons, that is, 15·46 per cent. of the wage-earning class and

9·91 per cent. of the population of York, were living in "primary poverty," that is, on less than enough to provide the *minimum* of food, clothing, and shelter.

INFANT MORTALITY.

"The best indication probably as to whether the conditions of life in any locality are healthy or the reverse is the infant mortality" (*The Dwelling House*, by G. V. Poore).

In the Forty-Second Annual Report of the Local Government Board, 1912-13, Dr. Newsholme says: "It is a well-established fact that the circumstances of life in most urban communities are unfavorable to infants.* At birth the urban excess is usually about 8 per cent., during the first three months 11·6 per cent., in the next three months 43 per cent., and in the second half of infancy 67 per cent. higher in the urban than in the rural counties." Stalybridge had the highest infantile death-rate, 189·0 per 1,000 births in 1907-10, and in the counties the towns with the highest infantile mortality are Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Glamorganshire, and Yorkshire (West Riding), while such important centres of industry as Rhondda, Merthyr Tydvil, Hull, Nottingham, and Huddersfield earn an unenviable notoriety. The infant mortality is, as might be expected, high among the poor and low among the well-to-do, the rates being 77 per 1,000 among the upper-middle classes, 133 among the wage-earners (77 among agricultural laborers), 148 among textile operatives, 160 among miners, and 152 in the unskilled labor class (Cd. 6,909).

OVERCROWDING STATISTICS. From Censuses 1901 and 1911, General Report.

Tenement with	ENGLAND AND WALES—OVERCROWDING.				Percentage of population in such tenements.	
	No. of 1 to 4 roomed tenements with more than two occupants per room		No. of occupiers of such tenements.		1901.	1911.
	1901.	1911.	1901.	1911.		
1 room	66,669	57,835	245,586	211,770	0·8	0·6
2 rooms	147,527	135,092	884,672	804,071	2·7	2·2
3 rooms	102,556	130,272	807,596	1,023,925	2·5	2·8
4 rooms	75,662	81,811	729,652	792,716	2·2	2·2
	392,414	405,010	2,667,506	2,832,482	8·2	7·8

The total number of tenements in England and Wales was, in 1911, according to the returns, 8,005,290, which gives, with a population of 36,070,492, an average of 4·5 persons to each tenement.

The five great towns in which the percentage of overcrowded persons (that is, over two persons per room) was the highest were as follows:—

Gateshead	33·7	Newcastle-on-Tyne ...	31·7
South Shields	32·9	Tynemouth	30·8
Sunderland	32·6		

* The infant mortality in England and Wales as a whole was 115 per 1,000 births in 1912, a welcome drop from 125 in 1911.

The five registration counties with most overcrowding were:—

Northumberland ...	28·7	Denbigh ...	10·4
Durham ...	28 5	Yorkshire (West Riding)	10·3
London ...	17·7		

Speaking generally, it would appear that the coal-bearing counties are those where the crowding of dwellings is most severe.

OVERCROWDED AREAS IN LONDON (CENSUS 1911).

Borough.	Tenement dwellings.		Persons living more than 2 in a room in tenements of less than 5 rooms.	
	Percentage consisting of 1 room.	Percentage consisting of 2 rooms.	Number.	Percentage of population.
Bermondsey ...	14·7	23·8	26,714	21·2
Bethnal Green ...	17·5	26·9	39,377	30·7
Finsbury ...	27·7	33·6	33,322	37·9
Hampstead ...	6·7	12·7	5,355	6·2
St. Pancras ...	21·6	29·4	50,264	23·0
Shoreditch ...	24·8	28·5	37,933	34·0
Southwark ...	19·7	26·4	44,881	23·4
Stepney ...	18·1	27·1	88,776	31·7

The highest percentage of one-room tenements are in Dublin, 33·9; Glasgow, 20·0; and London, 13·4. Of three-room tenements, in Birmingham, 30·5; Edinburgh, 21·9; and London, 21·3. The proportion of population living more than two in a room to the total population was, in Birmingham, 16·8; London, 31·1 (Finsbury, 39·9); Edinburgh, 37·9; and Dublin, 53·6. Of the private family population in Hampstead about 300 of every 1,000 dwell in tenements of ten rooms or more; in Kensington, 250; in Westminster, 200; in Bethnal Green, 3; in Bermondsey and Shoreditch, 4; and in Poplar and Stepney, 6. At the Dublin housing inquiry, 1913, evidence was tendered by Councilor Miss Sarah C. Harrison showing that:—

12,296 persons were living 4 in one room.

11,335	"	"	5	"
8,928	"	"	6	"
5,978	"	"	7	"
3,448	"	"	8	"
3,014	"	"	9	"
686	"	"	10 and over.	(Cd. 7,317, p. 98.)

PAUPERISM.

We clog our public poor relief with irksome and degrading conditions, so that the honest poor often die lingering deaths rather than accept it. Mr. Charles Booth states that "as regards entering the workhouse, it is the one point on which no difference of opinion exists among the poor. The aversion to the 'house' is absolutely universal, and in almost any suffering and privation will be endured by people rather than go into it" (*The Aged Poor in England and Wales*). Yet the paupers in actual receipt of public relief on one day number nearly half a million:

England and Wales, January 1st, 1913	785,345	cost	£14,935,605
Scotland, January 15th, 1913	108,145	"	1,576,116
Ireland, January 4th, 1913	77,900	"	1,272,858
	971,390		£17,784,579

(Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom, Cd. 7,636.)

But this relief is not usually given permanently; to obtain the number of different individuals who receive relief during a year we must multiply the mean daily number by 2.15 (Royal Commission on the Poor Law (Majority) Report, 8vo. edn., p. 32). The mean daily number of paupers in 1913 was 966,836, and therefore the total number of individuals in receipt of relief was about 2,080,000, or 1 in 8 of the manual labor class.

But in addition to this public expenditure, the various charitable societies spent, in 1912, £9,139,167 on hospitals, orphanages, and similar charities (Burdett's *Hospitals and Charities*, 1914, p. 82), and the charity of individuals is known to be enormous. The numbers of the destitute class must therefore be largely increased. Sir R. Giffen spoke, in 1886, of the class of five millions "whose existence is a stain on our civilization" (*Essays in Finance*, vol. ii., p. 350).

"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 of 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. . . . This is the normal state of the average workman in town or country" (Mr. Frederic Harrison, p. 429, Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885).

XII.—The Evil and the Remedy.

"The deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is not competition, but the subjection of labor to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce" (J. S. Mill quoting Feugueray, *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 447, edition of 1865).

"We have been suffering for a century from an acute outbreak of individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction by a certain soul-less school of writers" (Prof. H. S. Foxwell, University College, London, p. 249, of essay in *The Claims of Labor*, 1886).

Socialists affirm that the evil can never be remedied until the "two nations" are united by the restitution to public purposes of rent and interest of every kind, and by the growth of social sympathy promoted by the accompanying cessation of class distinctions. It will be seen by the above quotations that this position is based on the facts of the case as ascertained and declared by the recognized authorities in statistics, and is in entire harmony with the doctrines of Political Economy.

XIII.—Some Steps already taken towards Socialism.

The restriction to public purposes of rent and interest of every kind cannot be effected by revolution, or by one or a dozen Acts of Parliament. Legislative reforms must be supplemented by a thoroughly organized exercise by all local authorities, from Parish to County Councils, of the powers they already possess, as well as by the acquisition of new and more far-reaching powers. The supply of water, milk, gas, and electric light; the establishment of markets, slaughter-houses, tramways, steamboats, baths, wash-houses, cemeteries, harbors, libraries, bands, art galleries, museums, open spaces, gymnasia, allotments, the building of workmen's dwellings and municipal lodging-houses, are being carried on, here and there, by municipal authorities for the common good. They might be extended to every urban community in the kingdom if public opinion and public enterprise were sufficiently alert to their opportunities. The following figures show the influence of Socialistic principles in our municipal administration. A House of Commons Return, issued in December, 1902, gives a summary of the reproductive undertakings carried on by 299 out of the 317 municipal boroughs in England and Wales: total capital, £121,172,372; balance outstanding, March 31st, 1902, £104,925,853; average annual income for four years to March 31st, 1902, £13,368,702; average annual working expenses for the same period, £8,228,706; average annual net profit for the same period, £4,812,005 (H. C.—308, December 16th, 1902). No later returns have been made.

The transfer of rent and interest from private pockets to public purposes will be mainly brought about by means of progressive taxation in the shape of graduated death duties, a graduated differentiated income tax, and the rating of land values. The budgets of 1904, 1905, 1907, and 1909 have not only cleared the way for the application of Socialist principles to taxation, but have brought a largely increased revenue into the national exchequer. An estate duty, varying from 1 per cent. on estates of £500 to 15 per cent. on those over £1,000,000, in addition to which legacy duties varying according to the relationship of legatees from 1 per cent. to 10 per cent., are payable. The income tax is not only graduated, but also differentiated as between earned and unearned incomes. During the year 1912-13 the revenue from the death duties was £25,406,369. In the period 1894-5 to 1912-13 no less than £347,959,570 was collected from death duties, an average of £19,331,087 a year, as against £9,979,691 in 1893-4 (Cd. 7,022).

The extension of these means by the Socialist Chancellors of the Exchequer of the future will extinguish unearned incomes and, so far as taxation can do it, bring about the emancipation of the people from private monopoly.

XIV.—The Organized Forces of Socialism, Trade Unionism and Co-operation.

The strength of Socialism at home and abroad is fairly accurately represented in the following table. Where possible the figures have

been stated with as close an approximation to accuracy as is possible and in other cases estimates have been made on a conservative basis.

Country.	Socialist-Labor Vote	No of M.P.'s	Trade Unionists.	Co-operat.
Australia ...	678,812	—	433,224	42,680
Austria ...	1,041,948 (1907)	82	506,905	2,400,000
Belgium ...	600,000 (1912)	39	116,082	500,000
Denmark ...	107,015 (1913)	32	128,224	614,200
Finland ...	308,782 (1913)	90	23,000	200,000
France ...	— (1914)	—	1,029,238	865,842
Germany ...	4,250,329 (1912)	111	3,529,403	4,800,000
Holland ...	144,000 (1913)	15	169,144	355,000
Italy ...	915,000 (1913)	53	847,530	1,666,800
Norway ...	126,000 (1912)	23	60,374	120,000
Russia ...	800,000 (1912)	14	550,000	3,000,000
Sweden ...	172,000 (1911)	65	220,000	160,000
Switzerland ...	125,000 (1911)	16	127,514	600,000
United Kingdom	529,193 (1910)	40	3,993,769	3,011,390
United States ...	900,868 (1912)	—	2,282,361	140,000

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

The growth of trade unionism in the United Kingdom is shown by the following figures:—

Year.	No of Trade Unions	Membership	Percentage Increase
1893 ...	1,221	1,488,457	—
1898 ...	1,287	1,688,531	—
1903 ...	1,218	1,931,043	—
1908 ...	1,765	2,388,719	—
1909 ...	1,153	2,369,701	—
1910 ...	1,754	2,446,373	3.3
1911 ...	1,168	3,018,954	23.4
1912 ...	1,151	3,287,858	8.9
1913 ...	1,133	3,993,769	21.5

In 1910 to 1912 the expenditure of the 100 principal Trade Unions was as follows (Cd. 7,733, p. 219).—

	1910	1911	1912
Unemployment ...	£701,733	456,510	597,662
Dispute Benefit ...	352,346	317,912	1,374,884*
Sick and Accident Benefit...	418,998	436,262	440,047
Superannuation ...	402,797	412,150	425,182
Funeral Benefit ...	103,938	112,553	119,075
Other Benefits ...	137,777	196,552	163,187
Working Expenses ...	524,434	578,437	703,240
TOTAL ...	£2,642,023	2,510,376	3,823,277

* Coal Trade Dispute.

* This represents the expenditure of from 60 to 64 per cent. of the total membership of Trade Unions.

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CAPITAL AND LAND.

THE practical aim of Socialists with regard to the materials of wealth is "the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit."* Land and capital are instruments with which man works for the production of wealth, material for the maintenance of his existence and comfort. Now it is important to notice that, though in common talk we separate the two, and though political economists have given a scientific dignity to this rough classification of the instruments of production, distinguishing as "land" that which has been provided by "Nature," and as "capital" that which has been made by human industry, the distinction is not one which can be clearly traced in dealing with the actual things which are the instruments of production, because most of these are compounded of the gifts of Nature and the results of human activity.

"Land."

The only instruments given to us by Nature are climate, physical forces, and virgin soil. The use of these passes with legal "property" in the land to which they belong, and they are consequently classed with "land." Those virgin soils are called good or fertile which contain in abundance elements which the chemistry of animal or vegetable life can convert into the materials of human food, clothing, etc. Other mineral elements of particular patches of soil are convertible, by the arts of the mining, metallurgic, building, and engineering industries, into a thousand forms of wealth.

How "Land" gets Value.

But even these qualities of virgin soil are of no use or value unless they are found in accessible positions; and their advantage to the proprietor of the land increases rapidly as human society develops in their neighborhood; whilst in all advanced societies we find large areas of town lands whose usefulness and value have nothing to do with their soils, but are due entirely to the social existence and activity of man. Land in Cornhill, worth a million pounds an acre, owes its value to the world-wide industry and commerce whose threads are brought together there, not to its natural fertility or to the attractions of its climate. "Prairie value" is a fiction. Unpopulated land has only a value through the expectation that it will be peopled.

* See the "Basis" of the Fabian Society, page 18.

The "natural" capabilities of land are thus increased, and, indeed, even called into existence, by the mere development of society. But, further, every foot of agricultural and mining land in England has been improved as an instrument of production by the exercise of human labor.

First, of human labor *not on* that land itself; by the improvement of the general climate, through clearing of forest and draining of marsh; by the making of canals, roads, railways, rendering every part of the country accessible, by the growth of villages and towns; by the improvement of agricultural science; and still more by the development of manufactures and foreign commerce. Of all this human labor, no man can say which part has made the value of his land, and none can prove his title to monopolize the value it has made.

Secondly, all our land has been improved by labor bestowed especially upon it. Indeed, the land itself, *as an instrument of production*, may be quite as truly said to be the work of man as the gift of Nature. Every farm or garden, every mine or quarry, is saturated with the effects of human labor. Capital is everywhere infused into and intermixed with land. Who distinguishes from the mine the plant by which it exists? Who distinguishes from the farm the lanes, the hedges, the gates, the drains, the buildings, the farm-house? Certainly not the English man of business, be he landlord, farmer, auctioneer, or income tax commissioner. Only the bold bad economist attempts it, and, we must add, some few amongst our allies, the Land Nationalizers. It may be worth while to digress for a while in the company of these latter

A Word to "Land Nationalizers."

The arguments revived in our generation by John Stuart Mill and Henry George, and the activity of the various societies that have taken in hand the work of diffusing them, have now converted an immense body of public opinion to the Socialist view of the justice of, and urgent necessity for, Nationalization of the Land; or, at least, the absorption, by the State or Municipality, of ground rents, mining royalties, and similar unearned profits from the soil. Land Nationalizers go, generally, so far with Socialists that (in the words of the Fabian "Basis") they "work for the extinction of private property in land, and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites."

But some, who are thus far Land Nationalizers, still shrink from any interference with the legal powers enjoyed by the holders of capital. Hence a most unfortunate separation exists between them and the Socialists, whose design of nationalizing the industrial capital with the land appears to them unjustifiable and unessential.

Capitalist and Landlord in One Boat.

They use the argument that capital, unlike land, is created by labor, and is therefore a proper subject of private ownership, while land is not. Socialists do not overlook the facts on which this

argument rests, but they deny, on the grounds already partly stated, that any distinction can be founded on them sufficiently clear and important to justify the conclusion drawn. But, supposing we assume it true that land is not the product of labor, and that capital is; it is not by any means true that the rent of land is not the product of labor, and that the interest on capital is. Nor is it true, as Land Nationalizers frequently seem to assume, that capital necessarily becomes the property of those whose labor produces it; whereas land is undeniably in many cases owned by persons who have got it in exchange for capital, which may, according to our premisses, have been produced by their own labor. Now since private ownership, whether of land or capital, simply means the right to draw and dispose of a revenue from the property, why should the landowner be forbidden to do that which is allowed to the capitalist, in a society in which land and capital are commercially equivalent? Virgin soil, without labor upon or about it, can yield no revenue, and all capital has been produced by labor working on land. The landlord receives the revenue which labor produces on his land in the form of food, clothing, books, pictures, yachts, racehorses, and *command of industrial capital*, in whatever proportions he thinks best. The ownership of land enables the landlord to take capital for nothing from the laborers as fast as their labor creates it, exactly as it enables him to squander idly other portions of its product in the manner that so scandalizes the Land Nationalizers. When his tenants improve their holdings by their own labor, the landlord, on the expiration of the lease, remorselessly appropriates the capital so created, by raising the rent. In the case of poor tenants holding farms from year to year in Ireland, the incessant stealing of capital by this method so outraged the moral sense of the community, that the legislature interfered to prevent it long before land nationalization was commonly talked of in this country.* Yet Land Nationalizers seem to be prepared to treat as sacred the landlords' claim to private property in capital acquired by thefts of this kind, although they will not hear of their claim to property in land. Capital serves as an instrument for robbing in a precisely identical manner. In England industrial capital is mainly created by wage workers—who get nothing for it but permission to create in addition enough subsistence to keep each other alive in a poor way. Its immediate appropriation by idle proprietors and shareholders, whose economic relation to the workers is exactly the same in principle as that of the landlords, goes on every day under our eyes. The landlord compels the worker to convert his land into a railway, his fen into a drained level, his barren sea-side waste into a fashionable watering place, his mountain into a tunnel, his manor park into a suburb full of houses let on repairing leases; and lo! he has escaped the Land Nationalizers: his land is now become capital, and is sacred.

The position is so glaringly absurd, and the proposed attempt to discriminate between the capital value and the land value of estates

* See, for instance, the Irish Land Acts of 1870 and 1881

is so futile, that it seems almost certain that the Land Nationalizers will go as far as the Socialists, as soon as they understand that the Socialists admit that labor has contributed to capital, and that labor gives some claim to ownership. The Socialists, however, must contend that only an insignificant part of our capital is now in the hands of those by whom the labor has been performed, or even of their descendants. How it was taken from them, none should know better than the Land Nationalizers.

It is scarcely necessary to enlarge on or illustrate the obvious truth that, whatever the origin of land and capital, the source of the revenues drawn from them is contemporary labor. The remainder of this Tract may still further impress the impossibility of maintaining any hard and fast lines between them, either as regards their characteristics and importance in developed societies, or the defensibility of their private ownership or the arguments for their nationalization.

“ Capital.”

To return from our digression. When we consider what is usually called *capital*, we are as much at a loss to disentangle it from land as we are to find land which does not partake of the attributes of capital.

For though capital is commonly defined as wealth produced by human labor, and destined, not for the immediate satisfaction of human wants, but for transformation into, or production of, the means of such satisfaction in the future; yet railways, docks, canals, mines, etc., which are classed among the instruments of production as capital, are really only somewhat elaborate modifications of land. The buildings and the plant with which they are worked are further removed from the form of land, but we lump the lot as capital. All farming improvements, all industrial buildings, all shops, all machinery, raw material, live and dead stock of every kind, are called capital. And just as there is a purely social element in the value of land, so are there purely social elements in the value of capital; and its value, in all its forms, depends upon its accessibility and fitness here and now, and not on the labor it has cost. The New River Company's Water Shares had their enormous value, not because Sir Hugh Myddelton's venture was costly, but because London had become great. The usefulness of fixed and unchangeable forms of capital increases and decreases through external causes, just as does that of land. If instruments of production must be classified, the best division of them is into *immovables* and *movables*, the annual value of buildings, railways, mines, quarries, waterworks, gasworks, durable fixed machinery, and many other forms of so-called capital, manifestly agreeing with that of land in fluctuating according to causes of which the effects are generalized in the “ Law of Rent ” of abstract economics.

Besides industrial capital, there is a considerable amount of what has been conveniently called “ consumers' capital.” Dwelling-houses, and all their domestic machinery and conveniences are as necessary for production as land and factories; for though the worker uses them in his character of consumer, they are necessary to maintain

him in efficiency for his work. All private stores of food and clothing, all forms of personal property, may likewise be classed as consumers' capital. It will, however, be evident that, in classing these as capital, the signification of that name is becoming very vague and indefinite.

Finally, we have such purely non-material and social kinds of capital as banking and credit organizations, inventions, and other devices for extending and intensifying our power over Nature; social forces of immense importance for the carrying on of wealth production, largely capable of social ownership, not entirely capable of private monopoly, but at present appropriated by some individuals more than by others.

What is the Estimated Value of our National Stock of the above-named form of Wealth?

In December, 1889, Sir Robert Giffen attempted to compute the capital value of realized property in the United Kingdom as it was in the year 1885.* The following table is reproduced from that furnished by him, the figures being corrected according to the official Returns of Income Tax Assessments for 1905-6.† The estimate of the value of the capital is arrived at by taking what Sir R. Giffen considered a suitable number of years' purchase of the income:—

Under:	Gross Income.		No. of	Capital
Schedule A—	£		Years' Purchase.	Value.
	£			£
Profits from the ownership of—				
Land	52,151,543	...	26	1,355,940,118
Houses	205,486,455	...	15	3,082,296,825
Other property	1,310,673	...	30	39,320,190
Schedule B—				
Profits from the occupation of lands (farmers' profits mainly)	52,421,649	...	8	419,373,192½
Schedule C—				
Profits from British, Indian, Colonial, and Foreign Government Securities	46,925,674	...	25	1,173,141,850
Schedule D—				
Quarries, mines and ironworks	24,379,408	...	4	97,517,632 §
Gasworks	7,413,611	...	25	185,340,275 §
Waterworks	5,816,300	...	20	116,326,000 §
Canals, etc.	3,847,201	...	20	76,944,020 §
Fishings in the U. K. and Sporting Rights in Ireland	203,304	...	20	4,066,080 §
Markets, tolls, etc.	869,635	...	20	17,392,700 §
Salt springs or works and alum works	150,573	...	20	3,011,460 §
Carried forward				£6,570,570,342

(For notes and explanations as to this table, see next page.)

* See *The Growth of Capital*, by Robert Giffen (London, Bell and Sons, 1889). Also *Essays in Finance*, 2 vols., by the same author.

† Fiftieth Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue [Cd.—3686], price 2s. The amount stated as annual farmers' profits appears to be excessive, as Sir R. Giffen overlooked the fact that the Income Tax Acts assume the net profits of agriculture (in England) to be equal to one-third the rent, not the whole as here given.

Gross Income.		No of Years' Purchase.		Capital Value.
Under	Brought forward...	£		£
Schedule D—				6,570,670,342
Cemeteries		183,612	20	3,672,240 §
Railways in United Kingdom		41,241,692	28	1,154,767,376 §
" out of "		16,111,221	20	322,224,420
Loans secured on public rates		6,687,134	25	167,178,350
Indian, Colonial, and Foreign				
Securities (other than Govern-				
ment)	14,794,821	20	295,896,420	
Other interest and profits, etc.	19,137,857	20	382,757,140	
Other businesses, professions,				
etc., taking one-fifth of the				
gross incomes as interest on				
capital	73,562,831	15	1,103,442,465 §	
Businesses, professions, etc.,				
omitted from assessment,				
say 20 per cent on amount				
assessed (£367,814,155),				
taking one-fifth of this in-				
come as interest on capital...	14,712,566	15	220,688,490 §	
Income from capital of non-				
taxpayers, say	70,000,000	5	350,000,000 §	
Foreign investments not includ-				
ed in Schedules C and D, say	50,000,000	10	500,000,000	
Movables, not yielding income, say				1,000,000,000 §
Government and local public				
property, say				600,000,000 §
				<u>£12,671,297,243 ¶</u>

"Land" and "Capital" Indistinguishable.

It may be noticed that there is no attempt in this table to distinguish between what Land Nationalizers might think should be classed as land, and what they would admit to be capital. The common sense of the ordinary business man and statistician recognizes that such distinction is impracticable and arbitrary. To the business

The number of years' purchase of rural land may also be regarded as too high. On the other hand, that of urban properties is much understated. But these considerations do not materially affect the aggregate total, and Sir R. Giffen's basis has therefore been throughout maintained.

† This includes £13,821 income assessed under Schedule D.

§ Of these totals, which make up the "industrial capital" of the country, amounting to £3,752,541,930, at least £3,290,275,001 is under joint stock management, £2,003,392,001 being the paid-up capital of the 40,995 registered companies carrying on business in April, 1906, and £1,286,883,000 being the paid-up capital of the railways in the United Kingdom at the end of 1906. See the Annual Statistical Abstract, fifty-fourth number, C—3691 (1907); price 1s. 7d. To this must be added the capital administered by chartered banks and trading companies not registered under the Companies Acts.

¶ These amounts being conjectural only, are reproduced from Sir R. Giffen's estimate in 1885, with small additions, amounting in all to £155,000,000 on the capital value.

¶ Owing to a re-arrangement of the Income Tax Returns, the total works out at less than on the method previously in use. It is now probably a considerable under-estimation. If we compare this total for 1905-6 with those of previous years we find the estimate by Sir R. Giffen in 1865 was £6,114,063,000; in 1875 £8,548,120,000; and in 1885 £10,079,379,000. In a paper read to the British Association in September 1903, and published in the Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, Vol. LXVI., them

man they are both equally forms of property, merely different kinds of investments—that is, arrangements for obtaining a revenue from the labor of others. The practical statesman sees in them simply sources of income, and assesses them equally to income tax. Indeed, that famous tax of 20 per cent. on rent, of which the English Land Restoration League and many Radicals are demanding the revival, was not imposed as a land tax at all, but formed part of the incidence of a general tax of four shillings in the pound on the annual value of ALL REALIZED PROPERTY AND SALEABLE INTERESTS, excepting only farm stock and household furniture.* Will not the Land Nationalizers take this hint, and include *all* unearned incomes in their "Single Tax" Program?

Who own all this Land and Capital?

Who, then, are the Landlords and the Capitalists amongst us? They are those persons who own the instruments of wealth-production and enjoy the profits of them. In England, as in all developed industrial societies, almost the whole of the land and industrial capital, and most of the consumers' capital (chiefly consisting of dwelling-houses), is at present owned and controlled by one set of people, while it is another set of people who produce wealth by using them.

"Capitalists" and "Landlords."

A glance at Sir R. Giffen's table will show how little of the material wealth of England is available for immediate enjoyment or consumption, and how large a proportion is in the form of machinery to aid labor in the supply of our wants from day to day. The value of movable personal property, not employed as instruments of production, must be less than one-tenth of the total. Dwelling-houses, and the land attached to them, may amount to about two-tenths more. But occupying ownership of these properties is the exception, and most of them are used by their owners as an investment yielding rent, paid out of the earnings of working occupiers. The whole of the remainder consists of land and capital employed for wealth-production in agriculture, mining, transport, and other industries, trades, and professions.

Part III., Sir R. Giffen estimated the total capital of the United Kingdom to be £15,000,000,000. (The number of years' purchase taken above is low, and a small increase would easily account for this larger figure.) The increase in realized wealth in forty-one years may, therefore, safely be estimated at six thousand millions sterling, or an average of more than 140 millions a year. The average annual increase has been at the rate of 2½ per cent., or nearly two and a half times the rate of increase of the population.

* It was an "Aid" (or tax upon realized property) imposed primarily upon all persons "having any Estate in ready Monies, or in any Debts whatsoever owing to them, within this Realm or without, or having any Estate in Goods, Wares, Merchandizes, or other Chattels or personal Estate whatsoever" . . . except "the Stock upon Lands and such Goods as are and for Household Stuff" . . . at the rate of "four Shillings in the Pound according to the true Yearly Value thereof," computed at 6 per cent. of their capital value (see the Act of Parliament of 1692, 4 William and Mary, cap. 1., sec. 2), including also the emoluments of public officers, at that time regarded as saleable property (sec. 3), and finally "to the end a further Aid and Supply for their Majesties' Occasions may be raised," a similar tax is imposed on Lands "according to the true Yearly Value thereof at a Rack Rent" (sec. 4).

Four-fifths of our national wealth, we may safely say, consists of such instruments. The wants of the community are supplied from year to year, and week to week, by the reciprocal services of the active workers who use and administer them. The worker, of whatever kind, is paid by a wage, a salary, a professional income, or profits due to his skill in organizing or directing industry, the amount of which is determined by competition between himself and other workers. The owners of the instruments of production receive as rent and interest such an amount of the value of the produce as equalizes the normal income of the workers in each calling; that is to say, they obtain from the workers who are using their land and capital a toll equal to the difference between the product of industry engaged in with any particular instrument of land or capital, and the product of the like industry engaged in with the least efficient instrument actually employed anywhere at the time.

Some of the workers are, it is true, themselves capitalists, that is to say, own larger or smaller amounts of land and capital; and many capitalists work. How many, and how much? Here are some facts gathered from the Report of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue and other reliable sources.

Probate or administration was granted in 66,082 estates, of the net capital value of £298,460,180 in 1906-7.* They were classified as follows:—

34,296 estates not exceeding £500	aggregating	£10,001,740
10,516 estates over £500 and not exceeding £1,000 ..	"	8,616,449
17,088 " " 1,000 " " " 10,000 ..	"	61,588,433
4,086 " " 10,000 " " " 250,000 ..	"	149,959,280
58 " " 250,000 " " " 500,000 ..	"	21,292,264
18 " " 500,000 " " " 1,000,000 ..	"	12,863,132
10 " " 1,000,000 " " " ..	"	34,138,182

About one-seventieth part of the population owns far more than one-half of the entire accumulated wealth, public and private, of the United Kingdom. More than one-half the area of the whole country is owned by 2,500 people.†

“Workers.”

How much land and capital do the manual labor class own? Supposing that they were the owners of the *whole* of the—

Deposits in the P.O. Savings Bank (1906)‡	£155,996,446
Trustee " (1906)‡	53,009,299
Consols purchased for small holders by the Post Office‡ ...	18,986,199
Consols held for depositors in Trustee Savings Banks‡ ...	2,369,869
Nominal Capital of the—	
Building Societies (1905)‡	70,348,997
100 Principal Trade Unions (1905)§	4,808,106

* Inland Revenue Reports, C—3686, 1907.

† See *Riches and Poverty*, by L. G. Chozza Money, M.P., pp. 72 and 75. Also “Facts for Socialists,” published by the Fabian Society; price 1d.

‡ See “Statistical Abstract,” 1907 (Cd—3691).

§ “Eleventh Annual Report of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade,” Cd—3690, 1907.

Co-operative Societies (1905)*	...	...	...	68,251,495†
Friendly Societies (1904)*	...	...	...	50,458,287
Industrial Life Assurance Societies‡	...	...	...	34,913,210

they would own land and capital valued at ... £459,141,908§

that is to say, a little less than one thirty-second part of the land and capital with which they work. The number of *persons* "employed at wages" in the industries of the kingdom was estimated at about fourteen millions, including over four million women in 1891, and must be at least fifteen and a half millions now. The share of the able-bodied manual workers, in property, then, must average about £29 per head of those in employment.

What sort of a System is this?

Labor politicians, Land Nationalizers, Conservatives, Radicals, all who interest themselves in social science as the study of the well-being of man, will agree with us that

The Use of Land and Capital

should be to serve as instruments for the active, the energetic, the industrious, the intelligent of mankind to produce wealth for themselves and those who are necessarily dependent on them, and to maintain the conditions of healthy existence for the society which they compose. And will they not also agree with us that it is

The Abuse of Land and Capital

that they should be made by the laws of any people a "property" often owned by entirely idle and unprofitable persons, who may exact hire for them from those who are working for the maintenance of social existence, or may even refuse the would-be workers access to these indispensable instruments of industry? For what are the effects?

If the access be refused—land kept out of cultivation; tillage turned into sheepwalks, and sheepwalks into shootings; natural sources of wealth locked up from use; the pleasant places of the earth, the mountains, the moors, the woodlands, the sea shores, parked and preserved and placarded, that the few may have space for their pride, while the many must crowd into squalid cities and dismal agricultural towns, and take their holidays in herds on the few beaten tracks left free for them. In commerce—rings, corners, syndicates, pools, and monopolies, and all the fearful social loss and

* "Eleventh Annual Report of the Labor Department of the Board of Trade," Cd—3690, 1907.

† See "Statistical Abstract," 1907 (Cd—3691).

‡ This figure includes some societies such as the Civil Services Stores, which are not Workmen's Co-operative Societies, though registered as Industrial and Provident Societies under the Friendly Societies Acts.

§ This total is undoubtedly a great deal too large, and much of it is duplicate. Thus, for instance, many of the Building Societies, Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Friendly Societies, and Industrial Assurance Societies, bank their surplus funds in the Post Office and the Trustee Savings Banks, and those amounts therefore are in this total counted twice over. Much of it, moreover, is owned by children and others belonging to the middle class.

waste of under-production ; lock-outs, short time, and other expedients of the reckless selfishness of capitalists who are nursing the market for private ends.

If access be granted—if the land and capital be devoted to their proper use, then it is on condition that rent and interest be paid to the proprietor, simply in virtue of his existence as such. He may or may not be doing some work of social utility, but the rent and interest are paid to him as an absolutely idle person, and it is this,

The Tribute of Industry to Idleness,

that Land Nationalizers denounce in its form of rent, and that Socialists, and all who have the Socialist spirit, denounce in all its forms.

With the Land Nationalizers we are at one entirely on this point: That so much of the annual value of land as they class as rent (which is caused by the physical qualities, advantages, or position of land), is a toll taken by an idle class from the industry of the rest of the nation, and should be resumed by the nation in the quickest and most effectual manner possible.

With the non-Socialists we agree entirely on this point: That so much of the income of any landlord as is caused, not by rent as defined by the political economists, but by the exercise of his own abilities as a superintendent and director of agriculture or industry, is of the nature of a salary, the competitive price of useful work done for society. And we further agree with the non-Socialists that so much of the income of any capitalist as is caused, not by interest as defined by the economists, but by the exercise of a similar ability in the administration of capital and the organization of industry, is equally of the nature of a salary obtained by useful work.

We must, however, point out that the monopoly of land and capital has led, and still leads, to a virtual class monopoly of the opportunities of doing this kind of work, and of the education and training required for it ; and that not till these private monopolies are abolished will the remuneration of such activity reach its normal level of competition value. The same monopoly has given to the sons of the privileged classes an advantage which still keeps the wages of certain professions (the Bar, for instance), to which access is guarded by the useless convention of a long and extravagant sham-education, above the level at which they would stand were their opportunities equally open to all.

The Amount of Tribute and its Effects.

Of the tolls enumerated in Sir R. Giffen's table we cannot say what part should be classed as rent and what part as interest ; we can only state that the total income derived from real property—lands and buildings—must amount to about £310,000,000 a year ; and that, according to the table, at least £390,000,000 may be classed as pure interest on other instruments of production (apart from all reward for personal services).*

* See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists."

The profits and salaries of the class who share in the advantages of the monopoly of the instruments of production, or are endowed by nature with any exceptional ability of high marketable value, amount, according to the best estimate that can be formed, to about £490,000,000 annually. While, out of a national income of some £1,920,000,000 a year, the workers in the manual labor class, four-fifths of the whole population, obtain in wages not more than £730,000,000.*

Rent and interest alone, the obvious tribute of the workers as such to the drones as such, amount demonstrably to almost as much as this sum annually, and it may be safely said that the workers, from top to bottom of society, pay a fine of

One-half the Wealth they Produce

to a parasitic class, before providing for the maintenance of themselves and their proper dependents.

Is a healthy existence secured for society by this arrangement ?

The income of the manual labor class may be put at less than £50 per family,† and out of this they must pay heavy rents for the houses they live in. How much is left for healthy life? Even that little is not always vouchsafed to them. There are in London now at least 35,000 adult men who with their families (say 100,000) are slowly starving for want of *regular* employment. Over thirty per cent. of the whole four million inhabitants of the richest city in the world were found by Mr. Charles Booth to fall below his "Poverty Line" of bare subsistence earnings.‡

"At present the average age at death among the nobility, gentry and professional classes in England and Wales is 55 years; but among the artisan classes of Lambeth it only amounts to 29 years; and whilst the infantile death-rate among the well-to-do classes is such that only eight children die in the first year of life out of 100 born, as many as 30 per cent. succumb at that age among the children of the poor in some districts of our large cities. The only real cause of this enormous difference in the position of the rich and poor with respect to their chances of existence lies in the fact that at the bottom of society wages are so low that food and other requisites of health are obtained with too great difficulty." (Dr. C. R. Drysdale, "Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference," p. 130)

One in three of Londoners dies in the workhouse, hospital, or lunatic asylum; one in six of the manual labor class is a pauper, or has been one.

Hear Professor Huxley (*Nineteenth Century* for February, 1888) :

"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*, a word for which I do not think there is any exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing, which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful

* See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists."

† Annual Report of the Labor Department, 1893-4, C—7565.

‡ *Life and Labor of the People*. By Charles Booth. (Macmillan; 1894.)

existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness, in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation, in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. . . . When the organization of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."

Land Reform a Partial Remedy Only.

How far would land restoration alone remedy this? If it were possible to nationalize soil apart from capital, the ground rents recovered for the nation might possibly amount to the present sum of our imperial and local taxation, £240,000,000, or thereabouts.* The pecuniary relief certainly could not amount to more. Land nationalization might further immensely benefit society, where it now suffers from the curmudgeonism of private owners. But so long as capital continued to be used for the exploitation of the workers, so long would their economic slavery continue. Those who retain the capital, without which the earth and all its products cannot be worked, will step into the place of the landlord, and the tribute of "interest" will be augmented. Society will be relieved, but not freed.

Objections to Socialism.

But the "practical" objector may ask: Does not the capitalist now administer his capital and direct industry? Was not this admitted above? And is not capital, the product of labor, maintained and augmented by saving? How will Socialists provide for the administration and increase of capital?

"Management."

The question is being answered by the contemporary development of industrial organization. How much of the "management of land" is done now by the landlords, and how much by the farmer and the agent or the bailiff? The landlord's supposed function in this respect is almost entirely performed by salaried professional men. As to capital, who manages it? The shareholders in the joint stock companies, who own nearly five-sixths of the whole industrial capital? No! The shareholding capitalist is a sleeping partner. More and more every day is the capitalist pure and simple, the mere *owner* of the lien for interest, becoming separated from the administrator of capital, as he has long been separated from the wage worker employed therewith. The working partner, with sleeping partner drawing interest, is every day passing into the form of the director of a joint stock company. More and more is the

* "Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom," Cd—3691, 1907.

management of industries falling into the hands of paid managers, and even the "directors" emphasize the fiction that they are not mere money-bags and decorative M.P.'s by the humorous practice of taking fees for their labors at board meetings.

The administrator of capital can be obtained at present for a salary equivalent to his competition value, whether the concern to be managed be a bank, a railway, a brewery, a mine, a farm, a factory, a theatre, or a hotel. The transfer to the community (national or local) of the ownership of the main masses of industrial capital need make no more difference in this respect than does the sale of shares on the Stock Exchange at the present moment.

"Saving."

As for the *saving* of capital, what does that mean? The artificial instruments of production which form the bulk of property exist certainly only because human labor has been devoted to the production of forms of wealth other than those which are for immediate consumption. Every man in receipt of an income has the option of taking out his claim on the labor of society in the form of immediate enjoyments, passing and perishing in the use, and leaving the world no richer—as luxuries of all kinds, leisure for amusement or travel, service of menials, royal wedding illuminations, beer and skittles, or else in the form of more permanent products or of instruments which can be used for further wealth-production. All that he spends on the latter class of product is said to be saved—and at least one hundred and seventy-five million pounds annually, according to Sir R. Giffen, are "saved" in this way by the creation of new houses, docks, railways, roads, machinery, and other aids to future labor. If a man's income represents the competition value of work done by him, it is said that he has "produced" the amount of saving so made, and has some title to its ownership.

But just as the productive qualities of land are only maintained by the continuous application of human industry, so the most permanent forms of capital are perpetually wasting and being repaired, whilst, of the less durable forms, such as machinery, raw material, and farming stock, the whole is incessantly transformed, consumed, replaced and renewed. The capital saved by the original investor has long since disappeared.

There are, however, very few forms of consumable wealth which can be "saved" at all. Food, clothing, ordinary comforts and luxuries, amusements, and all that makes up our daily life, admit of little storage.

When we say that a man has saved so much wealth, we simply mean that he has abstained from taking out a claim which he had on society, and that its payment is by agreement deferred to the future. But the wealth which is to meet that claim does not at present exist. It is to be produced by the workers, when, where, and in the form asked for.

If we admit the fairness and advantage of guaranteeing to every man the equivalent of the result of his own industry, we should

deny that there is adequate social advantage in a system which permits him to convert this claim into a lien for a perpetual annuity, an enduring tribute from the workers for the use of that which only their using can keep from perishing, while he retains undiminished all the time his claim to the repayment of the original "saving."

The "saving" of capital, the increase of the instruments of production and of permanent commodities by the abstention from consumption of all wealth produced, is undoubtedly an advantage to society. If any individual, for the sake of rendering such advantages to society, abstains in any year from himself consuming all that he has earned, by all means let him be repaid in his old age, or whenever he wants the equivalent of his past activity. Why should we not, as a transitional expedient, treat such economizers as we treat inventors, and if they will not work without such a precise guarantee, if they are still purely individualist in their motive for activity, give them such a reward as we give individualist inventors* in their patent rights, so long as such encouragement is necessary for the creation and interest of our capital. But let that which society has maintained and fructified invariably pass to society within a limited period. So much may be necessary for the present to promote saving out of earned incomes; for saving out of the unearned incomes of rent and interest society can even now take its own measures by taxation for the increase of public capital. As soon as industrial capital is owned by those who use it, provision out of income for all necessary maintenance and increase of the instruments of production will be an ordinary and obvious element in its administration, as it is now in a joint stock company, and our present precarious dependence on the caprice or acquisitiveness of individuals will be superseded.

We appeal, therefore, to Land Nationalizers to consider their reason for hesitating to work with us for the

Nationalization of Capital,

on the ground that the evolution of industry has rendered land and capital indistinguishable and equally indispensable as instruments of production, and that, holding with J. S. Mill that the "deepest root of the evils and iniquities which fill the industrial world is . . . the subjection of labor to capital, and the enormous share which the possessors of the instruments of industry are able to take from the produce,"† we see clearly that if they would make any improvement in the condition of the agricultural laborer and his fellow wage-slave in the towns, they will be forced to abandon the illogical distinctions that are sometimes drawn between the instruments with which they work.

* Non-individualist inventors are those who, like the late Thomas Stevenson (lighthouse engineering), Michael Faraday (industrial chemistry and electricity), Sir William Simpson (anæsthetics), and a host of others, return gratuitously to society the fruits of their inventive genius, and take out no patents.

† Quotation from Feugueray, in *Principles of Political Economy*, p 477, edn. of 1865.

As instruments of production, the use and value of land and capital alike are due to human labor; alike they are used for the hindrance or exploitation of industry by their proprietor; alike they are limited in quantity, and consequently subject to monopoly; alike they enable a private monopolist to exact tribute from the workers for the use of that which the workers have produced.

The Political Situation.

We appeal to political reformers of all parties to work with us in the spirit which is more and more merging politics in Socialism. However much they may hold aloof from the Land Nationalization movement and resent the imputation of Socialistic tendencies, they have yet been, and still are, and will be, forced to modify our social system in the Socialist direction. What were the Tory Factory Acts, the Truck Acts, the Mines Regulation Acts, the Workmen's Compensation Acts, but limitations of the power of capital? What are the Adulteration Acts, the Merchant Shipping Acts, the Employers' Liability Acts? What was the abolition of the Corn Laws? The *Mark Lane Express* has told us—a confiscation of the "property" of the landlords. What are the Irish Land Acts and the action of the Land Commissioners? What are the proposals of official Liberals for a "just taxation of land values and ground rents," and "taxation" (apparently not necessarily "just") "of mining royalties,"* and of politicians of both parties for a sliding scale of income tax, but projects for the partial recovery for the nation of the toll which property takes from industry? What are the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts, but the beginning of provision for the municipalization of land?

In what respect, then, do the supporters of these measures differ from us on grounds of principle?

Why are these reformers not Socialists? Why do they hesitate to join the only party of social reform which has definite principles of action, and a clear vision of the course of economic evolution? Have they not paved the way by their progressive restrictions of the despotism of the private employer? And are they not constantly extending the sphere of social industry in the post office, the telegraphs, telephones, tramways, docks, harbors, markets, schools, the supply of gas, water, and electricity, and many other public undertakings? Are they not steadily increasing the local taxation of realized property, and recovering rent for public use, by the rates on rent for education, parks, free libraries, public baths, and other social conveniences?

All these are Socialistic measures, that is, they tend either to the recovery of some portion of the tribute which landlord and capitalist now levy, or to the assumption by the community of the control of land and industrial capital. These measures we would multiply by increased taxation, and by the extension of such communal administration, in the hope of leavening the Individualist society in.

* National Liberal Federation Resolution, 1891.

which we have to work. Such advances serve as palliatives of existing evils, as educational examples to the slow of understanding, as encouragements to the cautious and conservative. But whether the advance be slow or rapid, this we hold indisputable, that until the workers of this and every other country collectively own and control the instruments they must work with, till then are liberty and manhood impossible for the majority; and that until we cease to pay to non-effectives the half of our annual sustenance, it will be impossible for the many to obtain that existence and education in youth, that security and leisure in old age, and those opportunities for human and appreciative life, which the resources of our country and our civilization are amply sufficient to yield them.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the re-organization of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in Land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial Capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into Capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon, including the establishment of equal citizenship for men and women. It seeks to achieve these ends by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and Society in its economic, ethical and political aspects.

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WHAT SOCIALISM IS.

What "Unsocialism" Is.

WE English have a habit of speaking of England as if it belonged to us. We are wrong: England is now private property; and if a laboring man out of employment makes so free with "his country" as to lie down for a night's sleep on it without paying its owners for the accommodation, he is imprisoned as a rogue and a vagabond. The price we must pay rises as the population grows; for the more people there are, the higher they will bid against one another for their dwellings and places of business. In London, for instance, the price paid annually to the ground landlords for the use of the soil alone is £16,000,000; and it goes up by £304,634 every year, without counting the additional charge for new buildings, or repairs and improvements to old ones. After payments of one sort or another to the owners of the whole country have been deducted from the produce of the workers' labor, the balance left for wages is so small, that if every working-class family got an equal share, each share would come to less than £130 a year, which (though it would seem a fortune to many poor people) is not enough for a comfortable living, much less for saving. Nevertheless the proprietary classes, without working at all for it, divide among them enough to give over two hundred thousand rich families more than £1,000 a year, and still leave more than £300 a year per family for over a million and a quarter families of moderately well-off people *in addition to what they make by their professions and businesses.*

The Extreme Cases.

The above figures, bad as they are, only represent averages, and give no idea of the extreme cases of wealth and poverty. Some of our great landowners get upwards of £4,000 a week without ever doing a stroke of work for it; whilst the laborers on their estates, working early and late from the time they are lads until they go into the union as aged and worn-out paupers, get eleven shillings a week. As women get lower wages than men when they work, but receive just as large incomes from property when they are rich and idle, a comparison between the share of our yearly produce that goes to a poor working woman at the East end of London, working sixteen hours a day for a shilling, and the rich, idle lady at the West end, is still more startling. If you doubt these statements, read Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," in which you will find hundreds of the most terrible figures concerning the misery caused by our present social system, with full references to standard authorities for every one of them.

What Comes of Inequality.

If you are a person of common sense and natural feeling, you must have often thought over these inequalities and their cruel in-

justice. If you are rich, you perhaps think that inequality is a good thing—that it fosters a spirit of emulation, and prevents things from stagnating at a dead level. But if you are poor, you must know well that when inequality is so outrageous as the figures above shew, it fosters nothing but despair, recklessness and drunkenness among the very poor; arrogance and wastefulness among the very rich; meanness, envy and snobbery among the middle classes. Poverty means disease and crime, ugliness and brutality, drink and violence, stunted bodies and unenlightened minds. Riches heaped up in idle hands mean flunkeyism and folly, insolence and servility, bad example, false standards of worth, and the destruction of all incentive to useful work in those who are best able to educate themselves for it. Poverty and riches together mean the misuse of our capital and industry for the production of frippery and luxury whilst the nation is rotting for want of good food, thorough instruction, and wholesome clothes and dwellings for the masses. What we want in order to make true progress is more bakers, more schoolmasters, more woolweavers and tailors, and more builders: what we get instead is more footmen, more gamekeepers, more jockeys, and more prostitutes. That is what our newspapers call “sound political economy.” What do you think of it? Do you intend to do anything to get it remedied?

No Remedy without Political Change.

The produce of industry has been increased enormously during this last century by machinery, railways, and division of labor. But the first cost of machinery, railways and factories has to be paid out of savings, and not out of the money that people are living on. Now the only people who can spare money to save are those who have more than enough to live on: that is to say, the rich. Consequently the machinery has been introduced, and the factories built out of the savings of the rich; and as they paid for it (with money made by the labor of the poor), they expect to get all the advantage that comes by using it; so that here again the workers are left as badly off as ever. The worst of it is that when the rich find how easily they get still richer by saving, they think it is as easy for everybody as for themselves; and when the worker complains, they say, “Why don't you save as we do?” or “How can you expect to be well off if you are not thrifty?” They forget that though you can save plenty out of £18 a week without stinting your family, you cannot save anything out of eighteen shillings without starving them. Nothing can help the poor except political change from bad social institutions to good ones.

The Three Monopolies.

Moreover the propertied classes, by giving their sons an expensive education, are able to put them into the learned professions and the higher managerial posts in business, over the heads of the wage-workers, who are too poor to get more than the Board School standards for their children. So that out of the price paid for the use of the land, the propertied classes save capital; and out of the profits of the capital they buy the education which gives to their working members a monopoly of the highly paid employments; whilst the wage-workers are hopelessly cut out of it all. Here are the figures for the United Kingdom:—

*Income of Propertied Classes (12,000,000 persons)	£ 1,110,000,000
" left for Wage-Workers (29,500,000 ")	690,000,000
Total National Income 	£ 1,800,000,000

This means that the rich are masters of the wage-workers, because the whole country is governed by the House of Commons, the County Councils and Municipal Corporations, and only rich men can afford to give their time for nothing to these bodies, or to pay the heavy expenses of getting elected to them. The workman's vote enables him to choose between one rich man and another, but not to fill the Councils and Parliament with men of his own class. Thus the poor keep the rich up; and the rich keep the poor down; and it will always be so whilst the land and the machinery from which the nation's subsistence is produced remains in the hands of a class instead of in the hands of the nation as a whole.

What Socialism Is.

Socialism is a plan for securing equal rights and opportunities for all. The Socialists are trying to have the land and machinery gradually "socialized," or made the property of the whole people, in order to do away with idle owners, and to win the whole product for those whose labor produces it. The establishment of Socialism, when once the people are resolved upon it, is not so difficult as might be supposed. If a man wishes to work on his own account, the rent of his place of business, and the interest on the capital needed to start him, can be paid to the County Council of his district just as easily as to the private landlord and capitalist. Factories are already largely regulated by public inspectors, and can be conducted by the local authorities just as gas-works, water-works and tramways are now conducted by them in various towns. Railways and mines, instead of being left to private companies, can be carried on by a department under the central government, as the postal and telegraph services are carried on now. The Income Tax collector who to-day calls for a tax of a few pence in the pound on the income of the idle millionaire, can collect a tax of twenty shillings in the pound on every unearned income in the country if the State so orders. Remember that Parliament, with all its faults, has always governed the country in the interest of the class to which the majority of its members belonged. It governed in the interest of the country gentlemen in the old days when they were in a majority in the House of Commons; it has governed in the interests of the capitalists and employers since they won a majority by the Reform Bill of 1832; and it will govern in the interest of the people when the majority is selected from the wage-earning class. Inquirers will find that Socialism can be brought about in a perfectly constitutional manner, and that none of the practical difficulties which occur to everyone in his first five minutes' consideration of the subject have escaped the attention of those who have worked at it for years. Few now believe Socialism to be impracticable except those with whom the wish is father to the thought.

* This item is made up of six hundred and fifty millions (£650,000,000) which go as Rent and Interest absolutely for nothing, and of four hundred and sixty millions (£460,000,000) incomes of professional men and profits of business management. (See Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists." Ninth edition; one penny.)

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ITS EARLY HISTORY.

By G. BERNARD SHAW.

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PROVINCIAL FABIAN SOCIETIES AT ESSEX HALL ON
THE 6TH FEBRUARY, 1892,
AND ORDERED TO BE PRINTED FOR THE INFORMATION OF MEMBERS.

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THE FABIAN SOCIETY:

What it has done;

and

How it has done it.

IF any delegate present thinks that the Fabian Society was wise from the hour of its birth, let him forthwith renounce that error. The Fabian wisdom, such as it is, has grown out of the Fabian experience; and our distinction, if we may claim any, lies more in our capacity for profiting by experience (a rarer faculty in politics than you might suppose) than in any natural superiority on our part to the follies of incipient Socialism. In 1883 we were content with nothing less than the prompt "reconstruction of society in accordance with the highest moral possibilities." In 1884 we were discussing whether money should be permitted under Socialism, or whether labor notes would not be a more becoming currency for us; and I myself actually debated the point with a Fabian who had elaborated a pass-book system to supersede both methods. Then we were joined by Mrs. Wilson, now one of the chief members of the Freedom Group of Kropotkinist Anarchists; and a sort of influenza of Anarchism soon spread through the society. When we issued our fortunately little-known Tract No. 4, "What Socialism Is," we divided it into two sections, one answering the question from the Collectivist and the other from the Anarchist point of view. The answer did not amount to much either way; for the tract contains nothing that was not already to be found better stated in the famous Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.

On the Warpath.

It must not be supposed that Anarchism encountered any resistance among us on the ground of its associations with physical force. The Fabian Society was warlike in its origin: it came into existence through a schism in an earlier society for the peaceful regeneration of the race by the cultivation of perfection of individual character. Certain members of that circle, modestly feeling that the revolution would have to wait an unreasonably long time if postponed until they personally had attained perfection, set up the banner of Socialism

* A paper by G. Bernard Shaw, read at a Conference of the London and Provincial Fabian Societies at Essex Hall on the 6th February, 1892, and ordered to be printed for the information of members.

militant; seceded from the Regenerators; and established themselves independently as the Fabian Society. That was how the Fabian began, and although exactly the same practical vein which had led its founders to insist on an active policy afterwards made them the most resolute opponents of Insurrectionism, the Constitutionalism which now distinguishes us was as unheard-of at the Fabian meetings in 1884 and 1885 as at the demonstrations of the Social-Democratic Federation or the Socialist League. For example, in 1885, a conflict with the Government arose over the right of free speech at Dod Street—a conflict precisely similar to that now [February 1892] on hand at the World's End, Chelsea. But nobody dreamt of giving the Fabian delegate to the Vigilance Committee of 1885 the strict instructions which bind the delegates of 1892 to use all their influence to avert a conflict with the police. He was simply to throw himself into the struggle on the side of the Socialists, and take the consequences. In short, we were for a year or two just as Anarchistic as the Socialist League and just as insurrectionary as the Federation. It will at once be asked why, in that case, we did not join them instead of forming a separate society. Well, the apparent reason was that we were then middle-class all through, rank and file as well as leaders, whereas the League and Federation were quite proletarian in their rank and file. But whatever weight this sort of consideration may have had with our members in general, it had none with our leaders, most of whom, indeed, were active members of the Federation as well. It undoubtedly prevented working-men from joining the Fabian whilst we were holding our meetings in one another's drawing-rooms; but it did not prevent any Fabian worth counting from joining the working-class organizations. The true cause of the separation lay deeper. Differences, which afterwards became explicit and definite, were latent from the first in the temperament and character of the Fabians. When I myself, on the point of joining the Social-Democratic Federation, changed my mind and joined the Fabian instead, I was guided by no discoverable difference in program or principles, but solely by an instinctive feeling that the Fabian and not the Federation would attract the men of my own bias and intellectual habits who were then ripening for the work that lay before us.

However, as I have said, in 1885 our differences were latent or instinctive; and we denounced the capitalists as thieves at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, and, among ourselves, talked revolution, anarchism, labor notes *versus* pass-books, and all the rest of it, on the tacit assumption that the object of our campaign, with its watchwords, "EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANIZE," was to bring about a tremendous smash-up of existing society, to be succeeded by complete Socialism. And this meant that we had no true practical understanding either of existing society or Socialism. Without being quite definitely aware of this, we yet felt it to a certain extent all along; for it was at this period that we contracted the invaluable habit of freely laughing at ourselves which has always distinguished

us, and which has saved us from becoming hampered by the gushing enthusiasts who mistake their own emotions for public movements. From the first, such people fled after one glance at us, declaring that we were not serious. Our preference for practical suggestions and criticisms, and our impatience of all general expressions of sympathy with working-class aspirations, not to mention our way of chaffing our opponents in preference to denouncing them as enemies of the human race, repelled from us some warm-hearted and eloquent Socialists, to whom it seemed callous and cynical to be even commonly self-possessed in the presence of the sufferings upon which Socialists make war. But there was far too much equality and personal intimacy among the Fabians to allow of any member presuming to get up and preach at the rest in the fashion which the working-classes still tolerate submissively from their leaders. We knew that a certain sort of oratory was useful for "stoking up" public meetings; but we needed no stoking up, and, when any orator tried the process on us, soon made him understand that he was wasting his time and ours. I, for one, should be very sorry to lower the intellectual standard of the Fabian by making the atmosphere of its public discussions the least bit more congenial to stale declamation than it is at present. If our debates are to be kept wholesome, they cannot be too irreverent or too critical. And the irreverence, which has become traditional with us, comes down from those early days when we often talked such nonsense that we could not help laughing at ourselves.

Tory Gold at the 1885 Election.

When I add that in 1885 we had only 40 members, you will be able to form a sufficient notion of the Fabian Society in its nonage. In that year there occurred an event which developed the latent differences between ourselves and the Social-Democratic Federation. The Federation said then, as it still says, that its policy is founded on a recognition of the existence of a Class War. How far the fact of the working classes being at war with the proprietary classes justifies them in suspending the observance of the ordinary social obligations in dealing with them was never settled; but at that time we were decidedly less scrupulous than we are now in our ideas on the subject; and we all said freely that as gunpowder destroyed the feudal system, so the capitalist system could not long survive the invention of dynamite. Not that we were dynamitards: indeed the absurdity of the inference shows how innocent we were of any practical acquaintance with explosives; but we thought that the statement about gunpowder and feudalism was historically true, and that it would do the capitalists good to remind them of it. Suddenly, however, the Federation made a very startling practical application of the Class War doctrine. They did not blow anybody up; but in the general election of 1885 they ran two candidates in London—Mr. Williams, in Hampstead, who got 27 votes, and Mr. Fielding, in Kennington, who got 32 votes. And they made no secret of the fact

that the expenses of these elections had been paid by one of the established political parties in order to split the vote of the other. From the point of view of the abstract moralist there was nothing to be said against the transaction; since it was evident that Socialist statesmanship must for a long time to come consist largely of taking advantage of the party dissensions between the Unsocialists. It may easily happen to-morrow that the Liberal party may offer to contribute to the expenses of a Fabian candidate in a hopelessly Tory stronghold, in order to substantiate its pretensions to encourage Labor representation. Under such circumstances it is quite possible that we may say to the Fabian in question, Accept by all means; and deliver propagandist addresses all over the place. Suppose that the Liberal party offers to bear part of Mr. Sidney Webb's expenses at the forthcoming County Council election at Deptford, as they undoubtedly will, by means of the usual National Liberal Club subscription, in the case of the poorer Labor candidates Mr. Webb, as a matter of personal preference for an independence which he is fortunately able to afford, will refuse. But suppose Mr. Webb were not in that fortunate position, as some Labor candidates will not be! It is quite certain that not the smallest odium would attach to the acceptance of a Liberal grant-in-aid. Now the idea that taking Tory money is worse than taking Liberal money is clearly a Liberal party idea and not a Social-Democratic one. In 1885 there was not the slightest excuse for regarding the Tory party as any more hostile to Socialism than the Liberal party; and Mr. Hyndman's classical quotation, "*Non olet*"—"It does not smell," meaning that there is no difference in the flavor of Tory and Whig gold once it comes into the Socialist treasury, was a sufficient retort to the accusations of moral corruption which were levelled at him. But the Tory money job, as it was called, was none the less a huge mistake in tactics. Before it took place, the Federation loomed large in the imagination of the public and the political parties. This is conclusively proved by the fact that the Tories thought that the Socialists could take enough votes from the Liberals to make it worth while to pay the expenses of two Socialist candidates in London. The day after the election everyone knew that the Socialists were an absolutely negligible quantity there as far as voting power was concerned. They had presented the Tory party with 57 votes, at a cost of about £8 apiece. What was worse, they had shocked London Radicalism, to which Tory money was an utter abomination. It is hard to say which cut the more foolish figure, the Tories who had spent their money for nothing, or the Socialists who had sacrificed their reputation for worse than nothing.

The disaster was so obvious that there was an immediate falling off from the Federation, on the one hand of the sane tacticians of the movement, and on the other of those out-and-out Insurrectionists who repudiated political action altogether, and were only too glad to be able to point to a discreditable instance of it. Two resolutions were passed, one by the Socialist League and the other by the Fabian Society. Here is the Fabian resolution:

"That the conduct of the Council of the Social-Democratic Federation in accepting money from the Tory party in payment of the election expenses of Socialist candidates is calculated to disgrace the Socialist movement in England."—4th Dec., 1885.

Here is the resolution of the League, characteristically non-Fabian in tone :

"That this meeting of London members of the Socialist League views with indignation the action of certain members of the Social Democratic Federation in trafficking with the honor of the Socialist party, and desires to express its sympathies with that section of the body which repudiates the tactics of the disreputable gang concerned in the recent proceedings."—7th Dec., 1885.

The Unemployed Agitation.

From that time forward we were counted by the Federation as a hostile body; and we ourselves knew that we should have to find our way for ourselves without looking to the other bodies for a trustworthy lead. You will perhaps expect to hear that the immediate result was the extinction of the Federation and the advance to the front of the Fabian with its peculiar opportunist policy. But this was not so. Even those members of the Federation who seceded from it then under the leadership of C. L. Fitzgerald and J. Macdonald, never thought of joining the Fabian. They formed in Feb. 1886 a new body called "The Socialist Union," which barely managed to keep breathing for two years. Still, it suited them better than the Fabian. The fact is, 1886 and 1887 were not favorable years for drawing room Socialism and scientific politics. They were years of great distress among the working classes—years for street-corner agitators to marshal columns of hollow-cheeked men with red flags and banners inscribed with Scriptural texts to fashionable churches on Sunday, and to lead desperate deputations from the Holborn Board of Guardians to the Local Government Board office and back again, using stronger language at each official rebuff from pillar to post. These were the days when Mr. Champion told a meeting in London Fields that if the whole propertied class had but one throat he would cut it without a second thought, if by doing so he could redress the injustices of our social system; and when Mr. Hyndman was expelled from his club for declaring on the Thames Embankment that there would be some attention paid to cases of starvation if a rich man were immolated on every pauper's tomb. Besides these London gatherings, there were meetings of the unemployed, not always unaccompanied by window-breaking, in Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester, Yarmouth, and many of the large towns throughout the country. Matters were much the same in Holland and Belgium. In America the Eight Hours Movement, intensified by the distress of the unemployed, who were estimated at a million strong in the United States, led to riots in April 1886,

culminating on the 4th May with the famous Chicago meeting where the bomb was thrown which led to the hanging of four Anarchists. In London the police supervision of the meetings was sufficient to prevent any violence until Monday, 8th February 1886, when a Sugar Bounty meeting was held in Trafalgar Square. It was swamped by a huge crowd of the unemployed. The Federation orators, who were present, seized the opportunity to hold a counter demonstration, after which there was an adjournment to Hyde Park. Unfortunately, on this occasion the police, through some blunder in telephoning or the like, received orders to proceed, not to Pall Mall, but to *The Mall*. Accordingly, they were shivering in St James's Park whilst the unemployed were passing through the street of rich men's clubs. The rich men crowded to the windows to see the poor men pass along; and Dives, not noticing the absence of the police, mocked Lazarus. Lazarus thereupon broke Dives's windows, and even looted a shop or two, besides harmlessly storming the carriage of a tactless lady near the Achilles statue. Hyndman, Champion, Burns and Williams were arrested and tried for this affair, but there were one or two good men on the jury, notably a Christian Socialist named Crickmay; our friend Sparling was proved by himself and others to have used the most terrible of the phrases for which Burns was indicted; and what with these advantages and the unimpeachable gentility of two of the defendants, all four were acquitted. This was a great success, especially as the Mansion House Fund for the relief of the unemployed had gone up with a bound from £30,000 to £79,000 after the window breaking. The agitation went on more violently than ever afterwards; and the restless activity of Champion, seconded by Burns's formidable oratory, seized on every public opportunity, from the Lord Mayor's Show to services for the poor in Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's, to parade the unemployed and force their claims upon the attention of the public. A commercial firm attempted to make a census of the unemployed in order to advertize themselves; the *Pall Mall Gazette* tried also; and matters looked very gloomy indeed when Champion, impatient of doing nothing but marching hungry men about the streets and making stale speeches to them, offered the Federation the alternative of either empowering him to negotiate some scheme of relief with his aristocratic sympathizers, or else going to Trafalgar Square and staying there day and night until something should happen—the something being perhaps the best available attempt at a revolution possible under the circumstances. The Federation refused both alternatives; and Champion withdrew from the agitation in disgust. A long-brewing dissension between Burns and Hyndman also came to a head about this time; and the result was that the unemployed agitation was left almost leaderless at the moment when the unemployed themselves were getting most desperate. Early in the winter of 1887 the men themselves, under all sorts of casual leaders, or rather speechmakers, took to meeting constantly in Trafalgar Square, thus taking up Champion's alternative for want of anything else to do. Champion, however,

was gone; and the shopkeepers began to complain that the sensational newspaper accounts of the meetings were frightening away their customers and endangering the Christmas quarter's rent. On this the newspapers became more sensational than ever; and those fervid orators who preserve friendly relations with the police began to throw in the usual occasional proposal to set London on fire simultaneously at the Bank, St. Paul's, the House of Commons, the Stock Exchange, and the Tower. This helped to keep the pot boiling, and at last the police cleared the unemployed out of the Square. Immediately the whole working-class political organization of London rallied to the defence of the right of meeting. The affair of 1866, when the railings of Hyde Park were thrown down and the right of meeting there vindicated, and the Free Speech triumph at Dod Street, were precedents in favor of the people. The papers which declared that the workers had an excellent forum in Hyde Park without obstructing Trafalgar Square, were reminded that in 1866 the convenience of Trafalgar Square for public meetings was made an excuse for the attempt to put down meetings in the Park. Mr. Stead, who was then editing the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and who, with all his enthusiasm, had about as much practical knowledge of how to do the Dod Street trick* as a London tram-conductor has of conducting classical concerts, gave the word "To the Square!" To the Square we all went, therefore, with drums beating and banners waving, in our tens of thousands, nominally to protest against the Irish policy of the Government, but really to maintain the right of meeting in the Square. The meeting had been proclaimed; but the authority cited was an Act for the Regulation of Traffic which clearly gave no power to the police to prohibit processions, and which was abandoned by the Government when they had to justify their action in court. However, the new Chief Commissioner of Police, successor to him who had been dismissed for making that mistake in the previous year about Pall Mall, had no notion of sharing his predecessor's fate. He took no half measures in the matter: there was no reading of the Riot Act, or calling on the processions to disperse, as they had arranged to do peacefully and constitutionally if so ordered. It was, as one of Bunyan's pilgrims put it, but a word and a blow with him; for the formal summons to disperse was

* It may be useful to say here that "the way to do the Dod Street trick" is simply to find a dozen or more persons who are willing to get arrested at the rate of one per week by speaking in defiance of the police. In a month or two, the repeated arrests, the crowds which they attract, the scenes which they provoke, the sentences passed by the magistrates and at the sessions, and the consequent newspaper descriptions, rouse sufficient public feeling to force the Home Secretary to give way whenever the police are clearly in the wrong. Mr. Matthews, victorious in Trafalgar Square, has been completely beaten at the World's End, Chelsea, by this method since the above paper was read. The method, however, is extremely hard on the martyrs, who suffer severely, and get no compensation, and but little thanks.

accompanied by a vigorous baton charge, before which the processionists, though outnumbering their assailants by a hundred to one, fled in the utmost confusion and terror. That eventful 13th November 1887 has since been known as "Bloody Sunday." The heroes of it were Burns and Cunninghame Graham, who charged, two strong, at the rampart of policemen round the Square and were overpowered and arrested. The heroine was Mrs. Besant, who may be said without the slightest exaggeration to have all but killed herself with overwork in looking after the prisoners, and organizing on their behalf a "Law and Liberty League" with Mr. Stead. Meanwhile the police received the blessing of Mr. Gladstone; and Insurrectionism, after a two years' innings, vanished from the field and has not since been much heard of. For, in the middle of the revengeful growling over the defeat at the Square, trade revived; the unemployed were absorbed; the *Star* newspaper appeared to let in light and let off steam: in short, the way was clear at last for Fabianism. Do not forget, though, that Insurrectionism will reappear at the next depression of trade as surely as the sun will rise to-morrow morning.*

The Fabian Conference of 1886.

You will now ask to be told what the Fabians had been doing all this time. Well, I think it must be admitted that we were overlooked in the excitements of the unemployed agitation, which had, moreover, caused the Tory money affair to be forgotten. The Fabians were disgracefully backward in open-air speaking. Up to quite a recent date, Graham Wallas, myself, and Mrs. Besant were the only representative open-air speakers in the Society, whereas the Federation speakers, Burns, Hyndman, Andrew Hall, Tom Mann, Champion, Burrows, with the Socialist Leaguers, were at it constantly. On the whole, the Church Parades and the rest were not in our line; and we were not wanted by the men who were organizing them. Our only contribution to the agitation was a report which we printed in 1886, which recommended experiments in tobacco culture, and even hinted at compulsory military service, as means of absorbing some of the unskilled unemployed, but which went carefully into the practical conditions of relief works. Indeed, we are at present trying to produce a new tract on the subject without finding ourselves able to improve very materially on the old one in this respect. It was drawn up by Bland, Hughes, Podmore, Stapelton, and Webb, and was the first of our publications that contained any solid information. Its tone, however, was moderate and its style somewhat conventional; and the Society was still in so hot a temper on the

* This is the sentence which led a London evening newspaper (*The Echo*) to denounce the author in unmeasured terms for inciting the unemployed to armed rebellion. The incident is worth mentioning as an example of the ordinary Press criticism of Socialist utterances.

social question that we refused to adopt it as a regular Fabian tract, and only issued it as a report printed for the information of members. Nevertheless we were coming to our senses rapidly by this time. We signaled our repudiation of political sectarianism in June, 1886, by inviting the Radicals, the Secularists, and anyone else who would come, to a great conference, modelled upon the Industrial Remuneration Conference, and dealing with the Nationalization of Land and Capital. It fully established the fact that we had nothing immediately practical to impart to the Radicals and that they had nothing to impart to us. The proceedings were fully reported for us; but we never had the courage even to read the shorthand writer's report, which still remains in MS. Before I refreshed my memory on the subject the other day, I had a vague notion that the Conference cost a great deal of money; that it did no good whatever; that Mr. Bradlaugh made a speech; that Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who had nothing on earth to do with us, was in the chair during part of the proceedings; and that the most successful paper was by a strange gentleman whom we had taken on trust as a Socialist, but who turned out to be an enthusiast on the subject of building more harbors. I find, however, on looking up the facts, that no less than fifty-three societies sent delegates; that the guarantee fund for expenses was £100; and that the discussions were kept going for three afternoons and three evenings. The Federation boycotted us; but the *Times* reported us. Eighteen papers were read, two of them by members of Parliament, and most of the rest by well-known people. William Morris and Dr. Aveling read papers as delegates from the Socialist League; the National Secular Society sent Mr. Foote and Mr. Robertson, the latter contributing a "Scheme of Taxation" in which he anticipated much of what was subsequently adopted as the Fabian program; Wordsworth Donisthorpe took the field for Anarchism of the type advocated by the authors of "A Plea for Liberty"; Stewart Headlam spoke for Christian Socialism and the Guild of St. Matthew; Dr. Pankhurst dealt with the situation from the earlier Radical point of view; and various Socialist papers were read by Mrs. Besant, Sidney Webb, and Edward Carpenter, besides one by Stuart-Glennie, who subsequently left us because we fought shy of the Marriage Question when revising our "Basis." I mention all this in order to shew you how much more important this abortive Conference looked than the present one. Yet all that can be said for it is that it made us known to the Radical clubs and proved that we were able to manage a conference in a businesslike way. It also, by the way, shewed off our pretty prospectus with the design by Crane at the top, our stylish-looking blood-red invitation cards, and the other little smartnesses on which we then prided ourselves. We used to be plentifully sneered at as fops and armchair Socialists for our attention to these details; but I think it was by no means the least of our merits that we always, as far as our means permitted, tried to make our printed documents as handsome as possible, and did

our best to destroy the association between revolutionary literature and slovenly printing on paper that is nasty without being cheap. One effect of this was that we were supposed to be much richer than we really were, because we generally got better value and a finer show for our money than the other Socialist societies.

The Fabian Parliamentary League.

The Conference was the last of our follies. We had now a very strong Executive Committee, including Mrs. Besant, who in June 1885 had effected her public profession of Socialism by joining the Fabian. Five out of the seven authors of "Fabian Essays," which were of course still unwritten, were at the helm by 1887. But by 1886 we had already found that we were of one mind as to the advisability of setting to work by the ordinary political methods and having done with Anarchism and vague exhortations to Emancipate the Workers. We had several hot debates on the subject with a section of the Socialist League which called itself Anti-State Communist, a name invented by Mr. Joseph Lane of that body. William Morris, who was really a free democrat of the Kropotkin type, backed up Lane, and went for us tooth and nail. Records of our warfare may be found in the volumes of the extinct magazine called *To-Day*, which was then edited by Hubert Bland; and they are by no means had reading. We soon began to see that at the debates the opposition to us came from members of the Socialist League, who were present only as visitors. The question was, how many followers had our one ascertained Anarchist, Mrs. Wilson, among the silent Fabians. Bland and Mrs. Besant brought this question to an issue on the 17th September, 1886, at a meeting in Arderton's Hotel, by respectively seconding and moving the following resolution:

"That it is advisable that Socialists should organize themselves as a political party for the purpose of transferring into the hands of the whole working community full control over the soil and the means of production, as well as over the production and distribution of wealth."

To this a rider was moved by William Morris as follows:

"But whereas the first duty of Socialists is to educate the people to understand what their present position is, and what their future might be, and to keep the principle of Socialism steadily before them; and whereas no Parliamentary party can exist without compromise and concession, which would hinder that education and obscure those principles, it would be a false step for Socialists to attempt to take part in the Parliamentary contest."

I shall not attempt to describe the debate, in which Morris, Mrs. Wilson, Davis, and Tochatti did battle with Burns, Mrs. Besant, Bland, Shaw, Donald, and Rossiter: that is, with Fabian and S.D.F.

combined. Suffice it to say that the minutes of the meeting close with the following significant note by the secretary :

"Subsequently to the meeting, the secretary received notice from the manager of Anderson's Hotel that the Society could not be accommodated there for any further meetings."

Everybody voted, whether Fabian or not; and Mrs. Besant and Bland carried their resolution by 47 to 19, Morris's rider being subsequently rejected by 40 to 27.

I must not linger over those high old times, tempting as they are. In order to avoid a breach with the Fabians who sympathized with Mrs. Wilson, we proceeded to form a separate body within the society, called the Fabian Parliamentary League, which any Fabian could join or not as he pleased. I am afraid I must read you at full length the preliminary manifesto of this body. It is dated February, 1887 :

MANIFESTO OF THE FABIAN PARLIAMENTARY LEAGUE.

The Fabian Parliamentary League is composed of Socialists who believe that Socialism may be most quickly and most surely realized by utilizing the political power already possessed by the people. The progress of the Socialist party in the German Reichstag, in the Legislatures of the United States, and in the Paris Municipal Council, not only proves the possibility of a Socialist party in Parliament, but renders it imperative on English Socialists to set energetically about the duty of giving effect in public affairs to the growing influence of Socialist opinion in this country.

The League will endeavor to organize Socialist opinion, and to bring it to bear upon Parliament, municipalities, and other representative bodies; it will, by lectures and publications, seek to deal with the political questions of the day, analysing the ultimate tendencies of measures as well as their immediate effects, and working for or against proposed measures of social reform according as they tend towards, or away from, the Socialist ideal.

The League will take active part in all general and local elections. Until a fitting opportunity arises for putting forward Socialist candidates to form the nucleus of a Socialist party in Parliament, it will confine itself to supporting those candidates who will go furthest in the direction of Socialism. It will not ally itself absolutely with any political party; it will jealously avoid being made use of for party purposes; and it will be guided in its action by the character, record, and pledges of the candidates before the constituencies. In Municipal, School Board, Vestry, and other local elections, the League will, as it finds itself strong enough, run candidates of its own, and by placing trustworthy Socialists on local representative bodies it will endeavor to secure the recognition of the Socialist principle in all the details of local government.

It will be the duty of members of the League, in every borough, to take active part in the public work of their districts; and to this end they should organize themselves into a Branch of the League. They should appoint a secretary to keep lists of all annual and other elections in his dis-

trics and of all candidates; to attend to the registration of Socialists; to watch the public conduct of all officials, and keep a record thereof for guidance at future elections; to enlist volunteers for special work, and generally to act as a centre of the organization. Individual members should write to their Parliamentary representatives on any Bill on which the League takes action; should take every opportunity of defending and advocating Socialism in their local press; should visit the workhouses of their neighborhood; and should exercise a careful supervision of local funds. By steady work on these and similar lines, Socialists will increase their power in the community, and will before long be able to influence effectively the course of public opinion.

Socialists willing to co-operate should communicate with J. Brailsford Bright, hon. sec. of the Fabian Parliamentary League, 84 Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C., who will give full details as to the method of organizing a Branch of the League.

THE COUNCIL OF THE

FABIAN PARLIAMENTARY LEAGUE.

February, 1887.

RULES OF THE LEAGUE.

1. That the name of the Society be The Fabian Parliamentary League.
2. That the minimum subscription be 2s. 6d per annum.
3. That at the annual general meeting the Society shall elect a Council, which shall hold office for one year, the secretary or secretaries, and the treasurer being appointed at the same meeting.
4. That each Branch shall appoint a member to serve on the Council.
5. That meetings of the members of the League shall be held at least once in every three months, and on such other occasions as the Council shall think necessary.

Here you have the first sketch of the Fabian policy of to-day. The Parliamentary League, however, was a short-lived affair. Mrs. Wilson's followers faded away, either by getting converted or leaving us. Indeed, it is a question with us to this day whether they did not owe their existence solely to our own imaginations. Anyhow, it soon became plain that the Society was solidly with the Executive on the subject of political action, and that there was no need for any separate organization at all. The League first faded into a Political Committee of the Society, and then merged silently and painlessly into the general body. During its separate existence it issued two tracts, a criticism of seven Bills then before Parliament, and "The True Radical Programme," which still survives in an up-to-date form as our Tract No. 11, "The Workers' Political Program." One other point about the League must be noted. Mrs. Besant tried to form provincial branches of it; and some such branches did draw breath for a moment here and there in the country. I have not the least idea what became of them, nor is any one present, I venture to say, wiser than I in the matter. This failure was not to be wondered at; for outside Socialist circles

in London the Society remained unknown. It was still unable to bring up its roll of members to a hundred names; and its funds were so modest that nobody ever thought of proposing that we should keep a banking account or rent an office. In fact, we were literally passing rich on £40 a year. There may be among the delegates of the younger Societies represented here, one or two who stand in some awe of the London Society. It may do them good to know that the Birmingham Fabian Society, on the very first day of its existence, was more numerous and more prosperous pecuniarily than the London Society was until quite the other day; and I daresay the same is true of other provincial Fabian bodies. If ever there was a Society which lived by its wits, and by its wits alone, that Society was the Fabian.

Socialism "Equipped with All the Culture of the Age."

By far our most important work at this period was our renewal of that historic and economic equipment of Social-Democracy of which Ferdinand Lassalle boasted, and which had been getting rustier and more obsolete ever since his time and that of his contemporary Karl Marx. In the earlier half of this century, when these two leaders were educated, all the Socialists in Europe were pouncing on Ricardo's demonstration of the tendency of wages to fall to bare subsistence, and on his labor theory of value, believing that they constituted a scientific foundation for Socialism; and the truth is that since that bygone time no Socialist (unless we count Ruskin) had done twopennyworth of economic thinking, or made any attempt to keep us up to date in the scientific world. In 1885 we used to prate about Marx's theory of value and Lassalle's Iron Law of Wages as if it were still 1870. In spite of Henry George, no Socialist seemed to have any working knowledge of the theory of economic rent: its application to skilled labor was so unheard-of that the expression "rent of ability" was received with laughter when the Fabians first introduced it into their lectures and discussions; and as for the modern theory of value, it was scouted as a blasphemy against Marx, with regard to whom the Social-Democratic Federation still maintains a Dogma of Finality and Infallibility which has effectually prevented it from making a single contribution to the economics of Socialism since its foundation. As to history, we had a convenient stock of imposing generalizations about the evolution from slavery to serfdom and from serfdom to free wage labor. We drew our pictures of society with one broad line dividing the bourgeoisie from the proletariat, and declared that there were only two classes really in the country. We gave lightning sketches of the development of the medieval craftsman into the manufacturer and finally into the factory hand. We denounced Malthusianism quite as crudely as the Malthusians advocated it, which is saying a good deal; and we raged against emigration, National Insurance,

Co-operation, Trade-Unionism, old-fashioned Radicalism, and everything else that was not Socialism, and that, too, without knowing at all clearly what we meant by Socialism. The mischief was, not that our generalizations were unsound, but that we had no detailed knowledge of the content of them: we had borrowed them ready-made as articles of faith; and when opponents like Charles Bradlaugh asked us for details we sneered at the demand without being in the least able to comply with it. The real reason why Anarchist and Socialist worked then shoulder to shoulder as comrades and brothers was that neither one nor the other had any definite idea of what he wanted or how it was to be got. All this is true to this day of the raw recruits of the movement, and of some older hands who may be absolved on the ground of invincible ignorance; but it is no longer true of the leaders of the movement in general. In 1887 even the British Association burst out laughing as one man when an elderly representative of Philosophic Radicalism, with the air of one who was uttering the safest of platitudes, accused us of ignorance of political economy; and now not even a Philosophic Radical is to be found to make himself ridiculous in this way. The exemplary eye-opening of Mr. Leonard Courtney by Mr. Sidney Webb lately in the leading English economic review surprised nobody, except perhaps Mr. Courtney himself. The cotton lords of the north would never dream to-day of engaging an economist to confute us with learned pamphlets as their predecessors engaged Nassau Senior in the days of the Ten Hours Bill, because they know that we should be only too glad to advertize our Eight Hours Bill by flattening out any such champion. From 1887 to 1889 we were the recognized bulles and swashbucklers of advanced economics.

How to Train for Public Life.

Now this, as you may imagine, was not done without study; and as that study could not possibly be carried on by the men who were organizing the unemployed agitation in the streets, the Fabians had a monopoly of it. We had to study where we could and how we could. I need not repeat the story of the Hampstead Historic Club, founded by a handful of us to read Marx and Proudhon, and afterwards turned into a systematic history class in which each student took his turn at being professor. My own experience may be taken as typical. For some years I attended the Hampstead Historic Club once a fortnight, and spent a night in the alternate weeks at a private circle of economists which has since blossomed into the British Economic Association—a circle where the social question was left out, and the work kept on abstract scientific lines. I made all my acquaintances think me madder than usual by the pertinacity with which I attended debating societies and haunted all sorts of hole-and-corner debates and public meetings and made speeches at them. I was President of the Local Government Board at an amateur Parliament where a Fabian ministry had to put its proposals into black-and-white in the shape of Parliamentary Bills. Every Sunday

I lectured on some subject which I wanted to teach to myself; and it was not until I had come to the point of being able to deliver separate lectures, without notes, on Rent, Interest, Profits, Wages, Toryism, Liberalism, Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Trade-Unionism, Co-operation, Democracy, the Division of Society into Classes, and the Suitability of Human Nature to Systems of Just Distribution, that I was able to handle Social-Democracy as it must be handled before it can be preached in such a way as to present it to every sort of man from his own particular point of view. In old lecture lists of the Society you will find my name down for twelve different lectures or so. Nowadays I have only one, for which the secretary is good enough to invent four or five different names. Sometimes I am asked for one of the old ones, to my great dismay, as I forget all about them; but I get out of the difficulty by delivering the new one under the old name, which does as well. I do not hesitate to say that all our best lecturers have two or three old lectures at the back of every single point in their best new speeches; and this means that they have spent a certain number of years plodding away at footling little meetings and dull discussions, doggedly placing these before all private engagements, however tempting. A man's Socialistic acquisitiveness must be keen enough to make him actually prefer spending two or three nights a week in speaking and debating, or in picking up social information even in the most dingy and scrappy way, to going to the theatre, or dancing or drinking, or even sweethearting, if he is to become a really competent propagandist—unless, of course, his daily work is of such a nature as to be in itself a training for political life; and that, we know, is the case with very few of us indeed. It is at such lecturing and debating work, and on squalid little committees and ridiculous little delegations to conferences of the three tailors of Tooley Street, with perhaps a deputation to the Mayor thrown in once in a blue moon or so, that the ordinary Fabian workman or clerk must qualify for his future seat on the Town Council, the School Board, or perhaps in the Cabinet. It was in that way that Bradlaugh, for instance, graduated from being a boy evangelist to being one of the most formidable debaters in the House of Commons. And the only opponents who have ever held their own against the Fabians in debate have been men like Mr. Levy or Mr. Foots, who learnt in the same school.

Collaring the "Star."

Now let me return from this digression as to how we grounded ourselves in the historic, economic and moral bearings of Socialism, to consider the consequences of our newly acquired proficiency. The first effect was, as we have already seen, to make us conscious that we were neither Anarchists nor Insurrectionists. We demolished Anarchism in the abstract by grinding it between human nature and the theory of economic rent; and when, driven in disgrace out of Anderton's Hotel, and subsequently out of a chapel near Wardour

Street in which we had taken refuge, we went to Willis's Rooms, the most aristocratic, and also, as it turned out, the cheapest place of meeting in London, our favorite sport was inviting politicians and economists to lecture to us, and then falling on them with all our erudition and debating skill, and making them wish they had never been born. The curious may consult the files of Mr. George Standing's extinct journal, called *The Radical*, for a graphic account, written by an individualist, of the fate of a well-known member of Parliament who was lured into our web on one of these occasions. The article is suggestively entitled, "Butchered to make a Fabian Holiday." We also confuted Co-operation in the person of Mr. Benjamin Jones on a point on which we now see reason to believe that we were entirely in the wrong, and he entirely in the right.

The butchery of the M.P. took place on the 16th March, 1888, four months after the rout at Trafalgar Square. Trade had revived; and with the disappearance of the unemployed the occupation of the Federation was gone. *Champion* was trying to organize a Labor party with a new paper; Burns, just out of prison for the Square affair, was getting into political harness at Battersea; and the *Star* newspaper was started. We collared the *Star* by a stage-army stratagem, and before the year was out had the assistant editor, Mr. H. W. Massingham, writing as extreme articles as Hyndman had ever written in *Justice*. Before the capitalist proprietors woke up to our game and cleared us out, the competition of the *Star*, which was immensely popular under what I may call the Fabian régime, had encouraged a morning daily, the *Chronicle*, to take up the running; and the *Star*, when it tried to go back, found that it could not do so further than to Gladstonize its party politics. On other questions it remained and remains far more advanced than the wildest Socialist three years before ever hoped to see a capitalist paper. Nowadays even the *Daily News* has its Labor column, although five years ago the editor would as soon have thought of setting aside a column for Freethinkers.

Permeating the Liberals.

However, I must not anticipate. In 1888 we had not been found out even by the *Star*. The Liberal party was too much preoccupied over Mr. O'Brien's breeches and the Parnell Commission, with its dramatic climax in the suicide of the forger Pigott, to suspect that the liveliness of the extreme left of the Radical wing in London meant anything but the usual humbug about working-class interests. We now adopted a policy which snapped the last tie between our methods and the sectarianism of the Federation. We urged our members to join the Liberal and Radical Associations of their districts, or, if they preferred it, the Conservative Associations. We told them to become members of the nearest Radical Club and Co-operative Store, and to get delegated to the Metropolitan Radical Federation and the Liberal and Radical Union if possible. On these bodies we made speeches and moved resolutions, or, better still, got

the Parliamentary candidate for the constituency to move them, and secured reports and encouraging little articles for him in the *Star*. We permeated the party organizations and pulled all the wires we could lay our hands on with our utmost adroitness and energy; and we succeeded so far that in 1888 we gained the solid advantage of a Progressive majority, full of ideas that would never have come into their heads had not the Fabian put them there, on the first London County Council. The generalship of this movement was undertaken chiefly by Sidney Webb, who played such bewildering conjuring tricks with the Liberal thimbles and the Fabian peas, that to this day both the Liberals and the sectarian Socialists stand aghast at him. It was exciting whilst it lasted, all this "permeation of the Liberal party," as it was called; and no person with the smallest political intelligence is likely to deny that it made a foothold for us in the press and pushed forward Socialism in municipal politics to an extent which can only be appreciated by those who remember how things stood before our campaign. When we published "Fabian Essays" at the end of 1889, having ventured with great misgiving on a subscription edition of a thousand, it went off like smoke; and our cheap edition brought up the circulation to about twenty thousand. In the meantime we had been cramming the public with information in tracts, on the model of our earliest financial success in that department, namely, "Facts for Socialists," the first edition of which actually brought us a profit—the only instance of the kind then known. In short, the years 1888, 1889, 1890 saw a Fabian boom, the reverberation of which in the provinces at last produced the local Fabian societies which are represented here to-night. And I now come to the most important part of this paper; for I must at once tell you that we are here, not to congratulate ourselves on the continuance of that boom, but to face the fact that it is over, and that the time has come for a new departure.

One day, about a year ago, a certain "Liberal and Radical" London member of Parliament, having been coaxed by Webb to the point of admitting that his aims were exactly those of the Socialists, namely, the extinction of incomes derived from privately appropriated rent and interest, and that it was therefore his high destiny to lead the working-classes along the path of progress, was asked to get to business. Thereupon he made the discovery that he was not a Socialist and that Webb was. The intelligence spread with remarkable rapidity to all the official Liberals who had been reached by the Fabian influence; and the word was promptly given to close up the ranks of Capitalism against the insidious invaders. As in the case of the *Star* newspaper, the discovery came too late. It is only necessary to compare the Nottingham program of the National Liberal Federation for 1887 with the Newcastle program for 1891, or to study the Liberal and Radical Union program for the 1892 London County Council election, to appreciate the extent to which the policy of permeating the party organizations with Socialism had succeeded. The official leaders of the Liberal party cannot now turn

their followers back : they can only refuse to lead them and sit as tight as they can under the circumstances. The Radicals are at last conscious that the leaders are obstructing them ; and they are now looking for a lead in attacking the obstruction. They say to us, in effect, " Your policy of permeating has been successful : we *are* permeated ; and the result is that we find all the money and all the official power of our leaders, who are not permeated and cannot be permeated, arrayed against us. Now shew us how to get rid of those leaders or to fight them." I want to impress this situation on you, because there are some Rip Van Winkles in our movement who are only now waking up to the special variety of permeating work which was begun in 1886 and finished in 1890, and who, now that it is over and done with as far as the London Fabian is concerned, are protesting loudly against its being begun. No doubt there still remains, in London as everywhere else, a vast mass of political raw material, calling itself Liberal, Radical, Tory, Labor, and what not, or even not calling itself anything at all, which is ready to take the Fabian stamp if it is adroitly and politely pressed down on it. There are thousands of thoroughly Socialized Radicals to-day who would have resisted Socialism fiercely if it had been forced on them with taunts, threats, and demands that they should recant all their old professions and commit what they regard as an act of political apostasy. And there are thousands more, not yet Socialized, who must be dealt with in the same manner. But whilst our propaganda is thus still chiefly a matter of permeation, that game is played out in our politics. As long ago as 1889 we plainly said, in the last Fabian Essay—Bland's " Political Outlook"—that the moment the party leaders realized what we were driving at, they would rally round all the institutions we were attacking, even at the cost of coalescing with their rivals for office, unless they could put us off more cheaply by raising false issues such as Leaseholds Enfranchisement, Disestablishment of the Church, or bogus " endings or mendings " of their cherished bulwark the House of Lords. We now feel that we have brought up all the political laggards and pushed their parties as far as they can be pushed, and that we have therefore cleared the way to the beginning of the special political work of the Socialist—that of forming a Collectivist party of those who have more to gain than to lose by Collectivism, solidly arrayed against those who have more to lose than to gain by it. That is the real subject of this Conference. Whether the time is ripe now or not, to that it must come at last ; for even the most patient Fabians are growing anxious to make their position clear and to escape from the suspicion of being a mere left wing of the party which rallies round Messrs. Bryant & May's statue to Mr. Gladstone. We are especially loth to let the forthcoming general election pass without making it known that the eight years' work which I am sketching for you in this paper was not done for the sake of the sweaters and place-hunters who will presently be claiming the credit of it at the polls. Not that we would hesitate to let the credit go for the moment to any quarter, however venal, from which we could get a fair return

in substantial concessions to our cause; but in this instance we believe that our natural inclinations and our political interests point to the same course, that of making it understood that Fabianism is neither official Liberalism nor official Toryism, but an intelligent Collectivism that will eventually wear down both.

The Tactics of the Social - Democratic Federation.

And now, some of you will be inclined to ask whether this does not mean that we have at last come round to the views of the Social-Democratic Federation? The reply is that our *views* have always been the same as those of that body. On the 29th February, 1884, Mr. Bland moved at a Fabian meeting the following resolution:

“ That whilst not entirely agreeing with all the statements and phrases used in the pamphlets of the Democratic Federation and in the speeches of Mr. Hyndman, this Society considers that the Democratic Federation is doing a good and useful work and is worthy of sympathy and support.”

That was carried *nem. con.*; and it would no doubt be carried unanimously here this evening if Mr. Bland were to move it again. But we did not proceed to amalgamate with them in 1884 any more than we shall to-night. Our organization and our methods are radically different; and the experience of the past eight years has strengthened our preference for our own and confirmed our objection to theirs. Let me enumerate a few of the differences. In the first place, the Fabian Society is a society for helping to bring about the Socialization of the industrial resources of the country. The Social-Democratic Federation is a society for enlisting the whole proletariat of the country in its own ranks and itself Socializing the national industry. The Federation persistently claims to be the only genuine representative of working-class interests in England. It counts no man a Socialist until he has joined it, and supports no candidate who is not a member. If one of its speakers supports an outside candidate, he is disowned. Only the other day the Executive Council of the Federation proposed that no member should even vote for any candidate not enrolled in its ranks.* The Federation chooses its own candidates without consulting its neighbors, and sends them to the poll, when it has the money, without the slightest regard to the possibility of such a course making a present of the seat to the least Socialistic candidate in the field. This unplaceably sectarian policy evidently depends for its success on the recruiting powers of the Society which adopts it. It was planned in the days when we all believed that Socialism had only to be explained to the working-classes to bring every working-

* This policy was finally adopted, and promulgated in the S.D.F. Manifesto issued on the occasion of the General Election in June-July, 1892. See, however the postscript to this tract.

man, not only in England but in Europe—nay, in the world—into our ranks. It would clearly be the right policy if four out of every five men in England were members of the Social-Democratic Federation. But the experience of over half a century of agitation has proved that no such result is possible. The Federation, in every centre of the population where it exists, is practically as insignificant a minority as the Fabian. The ablest working-class agitators it ever produced, John Burns and Tom Mann, had to free themselves from it the moment they gained sufficient political experience to see that a united nation of subscribers to the Social-Democratic Federation can never be anything more than a dream. A necessary part of the Federation policy is the denunciation, as misleaders of the people, of Radicals, Co-operators, Teetotallers, Trade-Unionists, Fabians, and all rival propagandists. The result of this is that the Federation branches are not merely insignificant in numbers, but unpopular as well, in spite of the admittedly stimulating effect of their meetings on the political activity of the working class. Their hand being against every outsider, every outsider's hand is naturally against them; and as the outsiders outnumber them by more than a thousand to one, they cannot get any real influence among the men who really manage the political work and organization of the working-classes, and who are of course all Co-operators, Teetotallers, Trade Unionists, or party men of one kind or another. For it is only your middle-class enthusiast who comes into the movement by reading *Mazzini* or *Marx*, without any previous experience in the only sort of organization hitherto open to working men of any organizing capacity. The net result is that wherever the Federation can shew a fair degree of success in branch work, it will be found that the branches have modified their policy in the Fabian direction. In Battersea, for instance, they were only masters of the situation whilst they followed John Burns, who, like Tom Mann, is insensibly denounced by the central council as a mercenary renegade, and who, in return, makes no secret of his unbounded contempt for Federation tactics. At Manchester, too, where the Federation has had a creditable success, the branch practically repudiates the central authority by maintaining harmonious relations with the new Unionism which Burns inaugurated down at the docks here. In London the Federation would be a cipher but for the fact that it has stopped short of boycotting the Trades Council, on which it is strongly represented.

Fabian Tactics.

Now let us look at the Fabian tactics. We have never indulged in any visions of a Fabian army any bigger than a stage army. In London we have never publicly recruited except for other bodies. When I lecture for the Federation, I do not invite workmen to join the Fabian, but to join the branch for which I am lecturing. So far are we from encouraging the rush of members that has lately come

upon us, that we have actually tried to check it by insisting on stricter guarantees of the sincerity of the applicants' acceptance of our basis; and I do not hesitate to say that if it were not for the need of spreading the cost of our work over as large a number of subscribers as possible, we should be tempted to propose the limitation of our society in London to a hundred picked members. We have never advanced the smallest pretension to represent the working-classes of this country. No such absurdity as a candidate nominated by the Fabian Society alone has ever appeared in London, though we flatter ourselves that a candidate finds it no disadvantage now to be a Fabian. Although we think we can see further ahead than the mere Trade-Unionist or Co-operator, we are ready to help them loyally to take the next step ahead that lies in their path. When we go to a Radical Club to inveigh against the monopolies of land and capital, we know perfectly that we are preaching no new doctrine, and that the old hands were listening to such denunciations twenty-five years before we were born, and are only curious to know whether we have anything new in the way of a practical remedy. In short, we know that for a long time to come we can only make headway by gaining the confidence of masses of men outside our Society who will have nothing to do with us unless we first prove ourselves safe for all sorts of progressive work. For this we are denounced by the Social-Democratic Federation as compromisers of our principles, Liberal wire-pullers, and sham middle-class Socialists of the gas-and-water variety.

Again, consider our relation to the local Societies. Unlike the Federation branches, these are so perfectly independent of our control or dictation, that one of them has already tried Federation tactics at the School Board election, with the result that its candidates were thoroughly beaten and the Society effectually discredited. We insisted on this independence ourselves, seeing the advantage of each Society being able to appeal for support as an independent and autonomous local body, not committed in any way to the proceedings of people in London on whom they could have no effective check, and yet sharing the prestige and freedom from insurrectionary associations of the Fabian name. Suppose we reversed this policy, and made the whole set of Fabian Societies into a Fabian Federation on the S.D.F. plan. They would all become the slaves of a council here in London on which they could not be represented. For though they would be entitled to have delegates on it, yet as they could not afford to pay the expenses of these delegates up and down for every council meeting, they would have to fall back on the S.D.F. or Trade-Union plan of asking London members to represent them, which would produce that worst form of pseudo-democratic slavery which consists in the appearance of representation without the reality of it.

Take another point. The Federation runs a newspaper called *Justice*, which has not hitherto been worth a penny to any man whose pence are so scarce as a laborer's, and which has made repeated attacks on the ordinary working-class organizations without whose co-operation Socialists can at present do nothing except cry in

the wilderness. The branches are expected to sell this paper at their meetings. Now I hope no Fabian tract at present in the market is worth less than a penny, or is calculated to give needless offence to any of our allies. As to a paper, we recognize that a workman expects for his penny a week a newspaper as big and as full of general news as any of the regular Sunday papers. Therefore our policy has been to try to induce some of these regular papers to give a column or two to Socialism, calling it by what name they please. And I have no hesitation in saying that the effect of this policy as shewn in the *Manchester Sunday Chronicle*, the *Star*, the *London Daily Chronicle*, and other more exclusively working-class papers, notably *The Clarion*, has done more for the cause than all the time and money that has been wasted on *Justice* since the *Star* was founded. *Fabian News* does everything for us that *Justice* does for the Federation; but what would you think of us if we invited you to offer it for a penny to the man in the street as the leading organ of Social-Democracy in England? Our mission is to Socialize the Press as we hope to Socialize Parliament and the other Estates of the realm, not to run the Press ourselves.

Finally, how has the Federation policy succeeded as a means of maintaining discipline and solidarity in its own ranks? Evidently not at all. First came the secession of the Socialist League, in which they lost their greatest man, William Morris, besides Andreas Schen, Belfort Bax, the late C. J. Faulkner, Robert Banner, E. T. Craig (of Ralahune fame), Bland, Aveling, Mrs. Marx-Aveling, and others. But they retained Helen Taylor, John Burns, Champion, and Tom Mann. Not one of these remain with them. Now look at the Fabian record. Our first regular Executive Council was that appointed to serve from January 1885 to April 1886. The names are Pease, Bland, Shaw, Webb, and Mrs. Wilson. To them we added Mrs. Besant and Podmore in 1886, Olivier and Phillips in 1887, Graham Wallas and William Clarke in 1888. Look at the Executive of to-day, and you find Webb, Bland, Shaw, Pease, Olivier and Wallas there still; and you would find Podmore, Phillips and Clarke but for the fact that they voluntarily withdrew in favor of members who were better able to attend the Executive meetings. They are still available whenever they are called upon. Mrs. Wilson is the only one whom we have lost through any political incompatibility; for Mrs. Besant's loss is a grief which we share with all the advanced societies in London except the Theosophic Society. We are a regular old gang. But if you consider that we are all persons of tolerably strong individuality, and very diverse temperaments, and take that along with the fact that no one of us is strong enough to impose his will on the rest, or weak enough to allow himself to be overruled, you will, I think, allow me to claim our escape from the quarrels which rent asunder both the Federation and the League as a proof that our methods stand the test of experience in the matter of keeping our forces together.

In saying all this, I have had to be a little hard on the S.D.F., the rank and file of which are for the most part our very good friends,

as they shew by the freedom with which they help us and invite us to help them in any convenient way without the slightest regard to the denunciations of us in which *Justice* periodically indulges. On our side we take no offence and bear no grudge, knowing too well how often our success has been made easy by their exertions in breaking ground for us. But I think you will now see that it is impossible for us ever to amalgamate with the Social-Democratic-Federation whilst it remains a federation, or to recommend any of our local Societies to venture on such a step. If such an amalgamation ever takes place, it will come about by branches of the Federation from time to time throwing off the leading strings of that body and combining with the other Socialists of the town, including the Fabians, to form a local independent Socialist Society.

Scientific Class Warfare.

But however we may combine or divide our forces, our tactics must always depend on our strength at the moment. At present it is good tactics for the United States to bully Chili; but it would be bad tactics for Portugal to bully England. It is good tactics to run a Labor candidate at Battersea; it would be folly to run one at Hampstead. If the numbers of the Fabian Society in any constituency ever rise to the point of making the result of the election depend on the Fabian vote, that Society will not only run Fabian candidates, but will run them with a highhandedness that will astonish even the Federation. It may be said, roughly, that the tactics of the Fabian Society will change with every additional thousand of its members. Only, remember, the addition must be a real addition. Our rolls of membership must not be padded with the names of dead-heads who join in a fit of short-lived enthusiasm, and drop off after three weeks. In London we have always kept up a system of periodical purging so as to make our roll represent our real strength. If a member disappears for any length of time, or ceases to subscribe, he is asked whether he has changed his mind, and is struck off if his reply is not satisfactory. Thus our first rule is not to try and deceive ourselves as to our power. I will not pretend that we are always as scrupulous in the matter of enlightening other people. Though we have never deceived the public by overstating our numbers, we have not always insisted on undeceiving them when they shewed a disposition to make concessions to us which they would perhaps have thought twice about if their notions of our bulk had been derived from our official records instead of from their imaginations. But in politics as in the game of poker, bluffing belongs only to the early days of the game. The moment you go to the poll, all concealment is at an end. When the Social-Democratic Federation consisted of about forty members, the *Church Review* estimated them at about 4,000; and it was possible then to laugh at the *Church Review* with an air which conveyed to the superstitious that 40,000 would have been nearer the mark. But after 1885 there was an end of that,

just as there will be an end, after the coming general election, of all romantic notions about the influence of the Fabian. In 1888 it only cost us twenty-eight postcards written by twenty-eight members to convince the newly-born *Star* newspaper that London was aflame with Fabian Socialism. In 1893 twenty-eight dozen postcards will not frighten the greenest editor in London into giving us credit for an ounce over our real weight. The School Board election has robbed us of half our imaginary terrors; the County Council election may take away the rest; the General election will finish the bluffing element in our tactics for ever.* No more unearned increment of prestige for us then; for though rumor may count us at two hundred to the score, the returning-officer will count us strictly at twelve to the dozen, and publish the results where everyone will read them. Thenceforth we shall play with our cards on the table. Our business will then be, not to talk crudely about the Class War, with very cloudy notions as to the positions of the two camps and the uniforms of the two armies (both of which, by-the-bye, will sport red flags), but to organize it scientifically so that we shall drain the opposite host of every combatant whose interests really lie with ours. The day has gone by for adopting Fergus O'Connor's favorite test of the unshaven chin, the horny hand, and the fustian jacket as the true distinctive mark of the soldier of liberty. Nor will the Trade-Unionist test of having at some time done manual work for weekly wages serve us. Such distinctions date from the days when even the ability to read and write was so scarce, and commanded so high a price both in money and social status, that the educated man belonged economically to the classes and not to the masses. Nowadays the Board Schools have changed all that. The commercial clerk, with his reading, his writing, his arithmetic and his shorthand, is a proletarian, and a very miserable proletarian, only needing to be awakened from his poor little superstition of shabby gentility to take his vote from the Tories and hand it over to us. The small tradesmen and rate-payers who are now allying themselves with the Duke of Westminster in a desperate and unavailing struggle against the rising rates entailed by the eight hours day and standard wages for all public servants, besides great extensions of corporate activity in providing accommodation and education at the public expense, must sooner or later see that their interest lies in making common cause with the workers to throw the burden of taxation directly on to unearned incomes, and to secure for capable organizers of industry the prestige, the pensions, and the permanence and freedom from anxiety and competition which municipal employment offers. The professional men of no more than ordinary ability, struggling with one another for work in

* This anticipation has fortunately not been justified by the event. Six members of the Fabian Society are now members of the County Council; and it is not too much to claim that the result of the General Election upset every estimate of the political situation except the Fabian one. See the preface to the 1893 edition of Fabian Tract No. 11, "The Workers' Political Program."

the overstocked professions, are already becoming far more tired of Unsocialism and Competition than the dock laborers are, because revivals of trade bring them no intervals of what they consider good times. In short, all men except those who possess either exceptional ability or property which brings them in a considerable unearned income, or both, stand to lose instead of to win by Unsocialism; and sooner or later they must find this out and throw in their lot with us. Therefore to exclude middle-class and professional men from our ranks is not "scientific Socialism" at all, but the stupidest sort of class prejudice. It would be far more sensible to exclude those skilled artisans who make several pounds a week; work overtime with reckless selfishness; and have even been known to refuse to employ laborers belonging to unions. But there is no need to exclude anybody. The real danger is that since we are certain to have an increasing number of professional men, tradesmen, clerks, journalists and the like in our ranks, these men may by their superior education, or rather their superior literateness—which is not exactly the same thing—and by their more polished manners, be chosen too often as candidates at elections and as committee-men. This would be a most fatal mistake; for it is of the first importance that all our candidates and executive council-men should be the ablest men in the movement, whereas the presumption must always be that our recruits from the professions and from business would not have joined us if they had not lacked the exceptional energy and practical turn which still enable men to make fortunes, or at least very comfortable incomes, in those classes. To become a Fabian agitator would hardly be looked on as promotion by Sir Charles Russell, or Mr. Whiteley, or the President of the Royal Academy, or a physician or dentist earning £1,500 a year. Speaking for myself as a professional man, claiming to be able to do a somewhat special class of work, I may say that the more my ability becomes known, the more do I find myself pressed to spend my time in shovelling guineas into my pocket instead of writing Fabian papers, attending to the Fabian Executive work, lecturing, revising or compiling tracts, and writing papers like the present. My case is a typical one; and it shews that if the working-classes run after middle-class men as representatives, they will have to choose between pecuniarily disinterested men and men who are discontented because they are not clever enough to get their fill of work or money in their professions or businesses. Now, though every clever and warmhearted young gentleman bachelor enjoys from two to ten years of disinterestedness, during which good work can be got from him, yet in the long run he gets tired of being disinterested. *Permanently* disinterested men of ability are very scarce: it is easier to find a thousand men who will sacrifice valuable chances in life once than to find a single man who will do it twice. And average duffers, though plentiful, are not to be trusted with the generalship of so great a campaign as ours. Consequently, the workers should make it a rule always to choose one of their own class as a candidate or councilman, except when the middle-class candidate has given special proofs

of his ability and disinterestedness, This is why I myself have so often urged working-class audiences to believe in themselves and not run after the tall hats and frock coats. It is only the clever wage-workman to whom political leadership in the workman's cause comes as a promotion.

My task, I am happy to say, is now done. You know what we have gone through, and what you will probably have to go through. You know why we believe that the middle-classes will have their share in bringing about Socialism, and why we do not hold aloof from Radicalism, Trade-Unionism, or any of the movements which are traditionally individualistic. You know, too, that none of you can more ardently desire the formation of a genuine Collectivist political party, distinct from Conservative and Liberal alike, than we do. But I hope you also know that there is not the slightest use in merely expressing your aspirations unless you can give us some voting power to back them, and that your business in the provinces is, in one phrase, to create that voting power. Whilst our backers at the polls are counted by tens, we must continue to crawl and drudge and lecture as best we can. When they are counted by hundreds we can permeate and trim and compromise. When they rise to tens of thousands we shall take the field as an independent party. Give us hundreds of thousands, as you can if you try hard enough, and we will ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

POSTSCRIPT.

The lapse of time between the reading of the above paper and its publication, makes it necessary, in justice to the Social-Democratic Federation, to add a few words. The explanation of the delay is very simple. a glance back at pages 5 and 6 will shew that their publication on the eve of the General Election might have injured the prospects of the two Federation candidates who were in the field. The close of the polls has not only set the Fabian Society free to issue this tract, it has also apparently convinced the S.D.F. of the practically reactionary effect of its sectarian tactics. The victory of Mr Dadabhai Naoroji, the official Liberal candidate for Central Finsbury, who won by a majority of three only, was secured by the votes of the Clerkenwell branch of the S.D.F., which very sensibly threw off its allegiance to the central council and "went Fabian" for the occasion in flat defiance of the S.D.F. manifesto calling on the workers to vote for none but Social-Democratic candidates. Instead of a sentence of excommunication, there came from headquarters the following utterance in *Justice* (No 444, 16th July, 1892), presumably from the pen of Mr Belfort Bax, who was then acting as editor.

PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION

Talking about Naoroji affords us an opportunity of seconding the point mentioned in the letter above referred to, namely, as to the desirability on special occasions of relaxing the generally excellent principle of not voting or working for either side. The laxity we complained of last week which is shown by members of the S.D.F. who get the "election fever" in throwing themselves indiscriminately into the struggle on the Radical side irrespective of the programme or the candidate is undoubtedly due to the slightly pedantic attitude sometimes taken up on this point. Now the pollings are over we do not hesitate to say that we think that the *non possumus* rule should have been relaxed in the North Lambeth election for the purpose of keeping Stanley out, and thereby checkmating the designs of the British East Africa Company, even at the expense of assisting a colorless Radical nonentity to obtain the seat, and also in Central Finsbury, both as a demonstration against the conduct of official Liberalism and for the sake of getting a friendly outsider the chance of bringing the claims of the people of India for the first time prominently before the larger British public. If you give a Social Democrat some, at least more

or less, useful work in an election, you keep him out of the mischief of squandering his time in promiscuous assistance to worthless Liberals. For it is not given to every man during the excitement of election times to be able to twirl his thumbs and repeat the obvious Socialist truism that one political party is as bad as the other, as the Moslem reiterates the well-worn and doubtless to him equally certain dictum, "Allah is great." There may be a zeal of principle, "but not with discretion." We take it there is no compromise in a momentary alliance with any party for the purpose of carrying an important point. This is a very different thing from the principle of "permeation" advocated by the Fabians.

The recantation in the last sentence but one is complete. The last sentence means only that since *Justice* has given the Fabian dog a bad name, it feels bound to go on hanging him in spite of its tardy discovery of his good qualities.

I do not know whether this declaration of Opportunism is anything more than a passing excuse for the action of the insurgent branch. It would, however, be clearly unfair to allow pages 21 and 22 to become public without mentioning it.

July, 1892.

G. B. S.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

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It therefore aims at the re-organization of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in Land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

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If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

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CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

A LECTURE

BY THE

REV. STEWART D. HEADLAM.

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Christian Socialism.

LONG before the Fabian Society was founded I learnt the principles and was familiar with the title of "Christian Socialism" from Maurice and Kingsley, the Professors of Philosophy and History at Cambridge.

There were those then, as there are those now, who object both to the title and to the principles it expresses: the connection of the adjective "Christian" with the noun "Socialism" seems to them out of place. And the reason for this is, that for long both earnest Christians and those who have equally earnestly opposed the Christian religion, have been in the habit of thinking and talking as if "other-worldliness" was the note of a true Christian—as if his main object should be to get to Heaven after death. Whereas, on the contrary, so far at any rate as the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself is concerned, you will find that He said hardly anything at all about life after death, but a great deal about the Kingdom of Heaven, or the righteous society to be established on earth. And as the whole of what I have to say to you depends on the truth of this, I must ask you to allow me to elaborate it to you a little at length.

Take, first of all, that long series of works of Christ's which are generally now called "miracles," but which St. John, at any rate, used to call "signs," significant acts shewing what kind of a person Christ was, and what He wished His followers to be; and you will find—without troubling for the moment how they were done, but merely considering what all those who believe they happened are bound to learn from them—that they were all distinctly secular, socialistic works: works for health against disease, works restoring beauty and harmony and pleasure where there had been ugliness and discord and misery; works taking care to see that the people were properly fed, works subduing nature to the human good, works shewing that mirth and joy have a true place in our life here, works also shewing that premature death has no right here. In fact, if you want to point the contrast between Christ and modern Christians, you cannot do better than consider the different way in which He and they speak about premature death. They are in the habit of saying, when their children die, after their first grief is over: "Oh, it is well with them—they have gone to a better place"; but Christ, so far from encouraging that kind of talk, deliberately, according to the stories which all Christians believe to be true, took pains to bring back into this beautiful world those who had passed off it before the time. The death of an old man, passing away in his sleep, that,

* A Paper by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, read to the Fabian Society on the 8th January, 1892, and ordered to be printed for the use of the Society.

according to Christ, is a natural, an orderly, almost a beautiful thing; but the death of a child, or a young man, or a man in the prime of life—that is a monstrous, a disorderly thing; not part of God's order for the world, but the result of wrong-doing somewhere or other. And if you want a rough description of the object of Christian Socialism I should be bold to say that it was to get rid of premature death altogether; and, when I say that, I am not saying anything absurd or utopian, as you will well understand if you simply compare the death-rate of a poor neighborhood with the death-rate of a well-to-do neighborhood, when you will find that even now, while sanitary science is in its infancy, premature death is very largely indeed the result of poverty or of the many evils connected with poverty.

Turn your attention next to that series of teachings of Christ's which we call parables—comparisons, that is to say, between what Christ saw going on in the everyday world around Him, and the Kingdom of Heaven. If by the Kingdom of Heaven in these parables is meant a place up in the clouds, or merely a state in which people will be after death, then I challenge you to get any kind of meaning out of them whatever. But if by the Kingdom of Heaven is meant (as it is clear from other parts of Christ's teaching is the case), the righteous society to be established upon earth, then they all have a plain and beautiful meaning: a meaning well summed up in that saying, so often quoted against us by the sceptic and the atheist, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you": or, in other words, Live, Christ said, all of you together, not each of you by himself; live as members of the righteous society which I have come to found upon earth, and then you will be clothed as beautifully as the Eastern lily and fed as surely as the birds. Well, we have lived, as you know, on the opposite principle to this; we have lived on the principle of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost; we have lived as rivals and competitors instead of living as brothers, laborer competing against laborer, artisan against artisan, shopkeeper against shopkeeper, trader against trader; with the result that very few of us are clothed beautifully and many of us not fed surely. Christian Socialists therefore say that it would be worth while to try the experiment, which such an one as Jesus Christ said would succeed, to try and live in a rational, organised, orderly brotherhood, believing that then only, but then most certainly, all the men and women and children of England shall be fed surely and clothed beautifully.

Or look for a moment at two of the parables a little more in detail. Take one of the few parables in which Christ spoke about Hell. For though He did not speak of Hell so much as some of His modern followers do, it is important to bear in mind that He was not only the Jesus meek and gentle of whom some of you may have sung in your childhood, but also the Jesus stern and angry; He had His eight woes as well as His eight blessings; He had fierce denunciations for those who, as He phrased it, devoured widows' houses and for pretence made long prayers; for those who made the sabbath-day a dull, dreary day by their narrow rules and restrictions; for those

who had the key of knowledge and would not enter into the treasure house themselves, and hindered those who wished to enter in from entering. Yes, even He had language which some superfine people would call outrageous, ungentlemanly, when He sent that message to the king of His country, calling him a jackal—a word of the utmost contempt when we remember that the jackal was the natural scavenger of the Eastern city. We need not be surprised, then, that He who at the right time could be so righteously angry, now and again spoke about Hell.

But who, according to Jesus Christ, was the man who was in Hell? It was the rich man who was in Hell; and why was he in Hell? Not simply because he was rich, for Christ said it was possible, though difficult, for a rich man to enter into His society. No; the rich man was in Hell simply because he allowed the contrast between rich and poor to go on as a matter of course, day after day, without taking any kind of pains to put a stop to it. That, according to Christ, was the worst state into which it was possible for a man to fall.

Or take another parable, the parable of the Sheep and the Goats, or the parable of Judgment. In it, if you remember, Christ summoned before His imagination all the nations of the world for judgment; and it is important to note that it was nations and not merely individuals who were summoned by Christ to judgment; for you cannot be a good Christian merely by being good in private life, or domestic life: you must be a good citizen in order to be a good Christian: and so it was nations, and not merely individuals, who were summoned to judgment. And what, according to Christ, did the goodness of a nation consist of? That nation, according to Christ, was good, not which said "Lord! Lord!" most, which was most eager about outward worship or formal religion, but which took care to see that its people were properly clothed, fed, and housed, which looked after those who were in difficulty and distress; and even in the case of those who said they did not know God, who would call themselves or be called by others Atheists, Jesus Christ said that if they were taking pains to see that the people were properly clothed, fed, and housed, however much they might say that they did not know God, God knew them and claimed them as His. Now, what I have to suggest is that modern English Christians need not presume to be more religious than Jesus Christ was; and if He said that the goodness of a nation consisted in seeing that the people were properly clothed, fed and housed, then surely it is the bounden duty of every minister of Christ, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the humblest Sunday-school teacher, to be doing their best to see that the men, women and children of England are properly clothed, fed and housed. I hope, then, that I have said sufficient to make it clear that, so far as Christ's works and teachings are concerned, not only is there no contradiction between the adjective "Christian" and the noun "Socialism," but that, if you want to be a good Christian, you must be something very much like a good Socialist.

I know, however, that there are two or three sentences of Christ's which are often quoted against this, the whole tone and tenor of His

work and teaching. There is the sentence, "Blessed are ye poor"; the other, "The poor ye have always with you"; and that passage where, when the younger brother wanted Christ to compel his elder brother to divide his inheritance with him, He said, "Who made me a judge and divider over you? Take heed and beware of covetousness." Let us take this last one first. The younger brother, you will note, was not at all anxious to bring about a general, righteous distribution of wealth; he was merely anxious to get into his own possession that which was then in the possession of his brother: he was for all the world like those who nowadays are anxious for the abolition of the laws of primogeniture and entail, but who take no interest whatever in general righteous social legislation; and with that kind of thing Jesus Christ said He would have nothing to do—He saw that mere selfishness was at the bottom of it; but He did not on that account say that He and His followers were not to judge between the claims of the monopolists and the owners of land-values on the one side and the industrious people on the other, and to do all that is possible righteously to divide the nation's wealth as it is produced amongst those who produce it. Or, again, "Blessed are ye poor" said Christ, looking on the rough common fishermen and others who were learning from Him, and comparing them with the Scribes and Pharisees, the leaders in Church and State, who were opposing them and Him, and at last got Him killed. He said that these poor men, notwithstanding their poverty, were better and happier men than their opponents; and surely we can well understand that that was a true simple statement of fact; but that simple statement of fact gives no kind of sanction to the teaching that has been drawn from it, that poverty—especially the grinding poverty which is found in our modern centres of civilisation—is the normal condition of things; that what the poor have to do is to put up with their lot here, looking for a great reward hereafter; and that what the ministers of Christ have to do is to teach the poor to be resigned and submissive here, and to tell them of the rich reward hereafter. On the contrary, it seems to me to be the duty of every minister of Christ to do all he possibly can to stir up a divine discontent in the hearts and minds of the people with the evils which surround them. And, once more, "The poor ye have always with you," said Christ; "The poor ye shall have always with you," say modern preachers, and notably the good old Archdeacon of London who was called up on a memorable afternoon to preach to the Socialists in St. Paul's Cathedral. By the way, it is interesting to remember that on that occasion the Socialists were allowed to go to church without having their banners stolen from them by the police; and as they were ranged in front of the west door of their cathedral, I noted that inscribed on those banners and flags there were words taken not from Karl Marx, or Lassalle, or Mr. Hyndman, or Mr. Morris, or Mrs. Besant, or Mr. Champion, or any who were then supposed to be leaders, but taken in almost every case from the sayings of Jesus Christ or His great apostles—so much so that my friend Mr. Hancock shortly afterwards preached and published a sermon which he entitled "The Banner of Christ in the hands of the Socialists." Well, when these men went into their

cathedral they were met by the Archdeacon with words to this effect: No matter, however much you may educate, agitate, organise, you will never get rid of poverty, for Christ has said "The poor ye shall have always with you." Now, from what I have already shown to you, you will see that, if Christ had said that, He would have contradicted the whole of the rest of His work and teaching; if He had said that when His kingdom was established—one object of which was to get rid of poverty—there should still be poverty He would have stultified Himself; but He did not say that, He did not prophesy. He simply said, looking back on the history of His nation, looking round on the then condition of His nation, before His kingdom was established, that He noted the persistence of poverty—a very different thing from saying that there always should be poverty. But even if He had said, "The poor ye shall have always with you," would He have been giving any kind of sanction to the state of things which we see now? I take it that we are all agreed that under the best Socialist régime imaginable, if a man is a loafer, whether of the east or west; if a man refuse to work when he has every facility and opportunity for working, he will fall into poverty or into something much more disagreeable than poverty. But what is it we see now? Why, this: that on the whole those who work the hardest and produce the most, have the least of the good things of this world for their consumption; and those who work very little and produce nothing, or nothing adequate in return for what they consume, have the most of the good things of this world for their consumption. So much so, that as we have been taught, all society at present can be classified into beggars, robbers, and workers. If a man is not working for his living, he must either be a beggar, living on the charity of others, or a robber preying upon the hard-won earnings of others. And if, again, you want a rough description of the object of Christian Socialism, I should say that it was to bring about the time when all shall work, and when, all working, work will be a joy instead of the "grind" it is at present, and to bring about the time when the robbers shall be utterly abolished. I hope, then, you will see that there is nothing in these three passages, so often quoted against us, to contradict the whole of the rest of Christ's work and teaching, and that therefore a follower of Christ is bound to be an out-and-out fighter against poverty, not merely alleviating its symptoms, but getting at the very root and cause of it.

But you know that Christ not only worked and taught like this, but He deliberately founded a society to keep on doing, throughout the world on a large scale, what He began to do by way of example, in miniature, in Palestine. He said, you know, shortly before His death, to those who were to be the leaders in that society: "He that is loyal to me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works shall he do." The Christian Church therefore is intended to be a society not merely for teaching a number of elaborate doctrines—important as they may be for the philosophical defence of the faith—not even for maintaining a beautiful ritual and worship—important as that is if men and women are to have all their faculties fully developed; but mainly and chiefly for doing on a large scale

throughout the world those secular, socialistic works which Christ did on a small scale in Palestine. Now this being so, you would expect to find that the first leaders of the society, though they would be mainly occupied in foundation work, would have something to say on these secular, socialistic questions. Take, for instance, St. Paul; what is his great labor law? The husbandman that laboreth, said St. Paul, should be the first to partake of the fruits. The laborer is to be the first, not the second after the capitalist or the third after the landlord, to share the profits resulting from his work. Or again, St. Paul said, in words which it would be well indeed to din into the ears of the Duke of Westminster and the other appropriators of ground values, "Let the robber rob no more, but rather let him labor"; recognising that fact of which I have spoken, that if a man is not working for his own living he is preying on the living of others. Or again, take St. James, who was in such close companionship with Jesus for years. His little pamphlet, which has come down to us through the ages, is full of burning words on the labor question. Take one sentence as a sample, where he says that the cry of the reapers who had been defrauded of their wages had entered into the ears of God, who fights; that God fought against every law or custom which tended to deprive the laborers of the full reward of their work. And if God so fights, then surely it is certain that it is the imperative duty of every Christian in England to fight against all laws or customs which prevent the workers in England from enjoying the fruits of their work. Or again, take the two great permanent institutions of the Church, the two sacraments which are universally necessary to salvation—Holy Baptism and Holy Communion; you will find that they are both entirely on our side. In Holy Baptism, you know, we claim every little baby born into the world as being the equal with every other little baby, no matter whether it be the child of a costermonger or the child of a prince; not waiting for conversion or illumination, or election or proof of goodness, but simply because it is a human being, we claim it as of right a member of Christ, the child of God and an inheritor—not merely a future heir but a present inheritor—of the Kingdom of Heaven. The great sacrament of equality is assuredly entirely on our side. And so, too, is the Holy Communion. The very name tells you that those who partake of it are bound to live in brotherhood, in fellowship, with one another. There is a hymn sung in church about having mystic, sweet communion with those whose work is done; and those of you who, like rational beings, have been in the habit of praying for the dead, will know the value of that communion. But it is even more important to have communion equally mystic and sweet with those whose work is going on. And that is what this great sacrament teaches us to have. Indeed, it has been well said that the real, terrible blasphemer is not the man who uses foul language at the corners of the street, nor the men who used to publish those woodcuts in the *Freethinker*—libels as they were on dead men and a beautiful literature; but rather the man or woman who says the "Our Father" morning and evening and takes no kind of pains to realise through-

out the day the brotherhood which the fatherhood implies, or who comes to the Holy Communion, Sunday by Sunday, month by month, or festival by festival, and is not striving in every-day life to realise the fellowship which the Holy Communion implies. Yes, the great sacrament of brotherhood is entirely on our side.

Once more, take the one only document which is binding on all members of the Church of England, the Church Catechism.* You will find it full of good, sound teaching in the principles of Christian Socialism. Let me give you one sentence only, a piece of ethical teaching, which, if it were carried out, would alter the whole face of English society. It is there taught that it is the duty which each one, man or woman, rich or poor, owes to his neighbor, to learn and labor truly to get his own living; not to himself, be it noted, in order that he may "get on"—for you cannot now get on without getting somebody else off—but to his neighbor, that he may be an honest man. It has been calculated, as you know, that if all took their share of the work of the world, none would have to work for more than four hours a day; that the reason why so many have to work under such evil conditions and for so long a time is because they have to produce not only sufficient for themselves and their families, but also sufficient for a large number of others who are themselves producing nothing, or nothing adequate, in return for what they consume. It is against this evil that our *socialistic* Catechism is aimed. And let it be remembered that, according to its teaching, it is no kind of excuse for a man or a woman to say: "True, I do not give back in return for what I consume anything that I myself have produced, but I give back something which my ancestors have produced." To such we say, You eat your own dinners, you wear your own clothes, you require for yourself so much house-room; your great-grandfather can't eat your dinners, or wear your clothes, or use your house; and therefore, in common honesty, you are bound to give back, not something which your great-grandfather has produced, but which you yourself have produced. And lastly, think of that Song of Our Lady, the gentle mother of Jesus Christ, she whom we speak of as not only bright as the sun, fair as the moon, but also terrible as an army with banners. You will find that she has some terrible words there. She holds up to the scorn of the ages, as pests of society, three sets of people, the proud, the mighty, and the rich. "He hath put down the mighty from their seats (or dynasties from their thrones), He has scattered the proud; the rich He hath sent empty away." No wonder that some of the more far-seeing Socialists are eager now and again to go to their cathedrals or parish churches, when they have such revolutionary language as that sung to them.

This, then, must be sufficient to indicate to you what is the religious basis of our Socialism. The work and teaching of Jesus Christ, the testimony of His apostles, of the two greatest sacraments, of the Church Catechism, of the Magnificat—they all surely make it

* See the author's "Laws of Eternal Life: being Studies in the Church Catechism" (Guild of St. Matthew, 876 Strand, London, W.C.; one shilling, net).

clear that a Christian is bound to cut right away at the root of that evil which is the main cause of poverty, and which prevents men from living full lives in this world.

But at this point I can fancy some of my hearers saying, This is all very well, but if this be true, then the logical result of it is that the bishops in each diocese with their cathedrals, and the parsons in each parish with the churches, should be real leaders and centres of Social-Democracy, leading the Church forward to war against poverty; whereas we know that the bishops and clergy, so far from leading, have often tried to hinder all who would help. And though I probably should maintain that there are many more exceptions to the truth of this charge than my hearers would be disposed to admit, I acknowledge the truth of it, and I seek for the cause of it. And there is one reason, at any rate. It is this: that you and your forefathers have allowed the Church to be gagged and fettered; instead of allowing the Church to elect her own bishops and clergy, you have forced them on her from outside. And so, now, anyone rather than the whole body of the parish elects the parish priest; sometimes the landlord, sometimes the bishop; or a builder who wants his villas to let, or a college at Oxford or Cambridge, or a peer, or a jockey at Newmarket; anyone, rather than the only people who ought to do it, has the power given them by you to do it. I suggest to you, therefore, by the way, that you cannot expect the Church to live up to the law of her being until you have disestablished and disendowed those whom you now allow to lord it over the Church, and left her free to manage her own affairs. A complete Christian Socialism cannot be brought about until the Church is free to use influence and discipline for the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth.

In the meanwhile, much can be done by those Churchmen who remember that the State is a sacred organisation as well as the Church. They can unite with Socialists of every sort in their endeavor to seize the State and to use it for the well-being of the masses instead of the classes; or in more prosaic words, they may help to get delegates or deputies returned to Parliament who will carry out the people's will. And therefore for the rest of this paper, having given you what seem to me to be the principles upon which a Christian is bound to be a Socialist, I will touch upon three items on which, in practical politics, we should specially lay stress. And it is important to do this, both because many Christians are somewhat vague in their Socialism, and many Socialists, in my opinion, fail to get at the root of the matter in their joy at getting this or that restriction carried out effectually. First of all, then, we naturally think of the children; and having got the London day-schools free, we should put forth what energy we can for a liberal expenditure in making them comfortable and pleasant, spending ungrudgingly on such matters as music and swimming; decreasing the number of children for each teacher, especially in the case of the highest standard and of the exceptionally backward children. We should of course also make the continuation classes free, and, further, allow no grant of public money to be given in any form

whatever to privately managed schools. These may seem but mild matters to many of the Fabians; but I cannot help thinking that if our society had been in dead earnest about them last November, the result of the elections would have been different. Of course, it must be frankly stated that these little reforms will not directly tend to raise wages, unless they could be accompanied by general raising of the school age, and then only slightly. While the means of production are monopolised by a few, the reasons for giving the many the best possible schooling are not that it will enable them to get on, but that it will give them the key of knowledge, that it will help to make them discontented, and that it will to some degree teach the value of discipline and inter-dependence. We school them to a large degree with this in view, that they may know what is the evil they have to attack and how to attack it. We *do* want to educate them above their station—not indeed above that state of life into which it shall please God to call them, but above that into which devilish robbery and monopoly has forced them. Let us once have a generation of young people growing up, fairly well educated and thoroughly discontented, and the legal, orderly social revolution for which some of us are working cannot be long delayed.

Secondly, in considering their practical political program, Christian Socialists have to remember, and to remind others, that we are all employers of labor. Now it is a commonplace of Christian ethics that, while there exist employers and employed, they have duties towards each other. No self-respecting middle-class householder would deny this in the case of his housemaid. What we have to do is to extend the sphere of duty—to get men to understand that nationally or municipally they have thousands of servants whom they employ, and to feel that it is their duty to see that these are not overworked or underpaid; or, in other words, to follow the example set by the last London School Board, and see to it that all those employed by School Boards, Vestries, County Councils, and Parliament are not worked for more than, say, eight hours a day, and are paid the minimum trade union rate of wages. This a Christian Socialist must insist upon simply as a duty of the delegate of the people to those whom the people employ. If he so treats it, he will not be surprised to find that three years after the duty had, for the first time in English history, been done, those who had benefited by it were so far from being grateful for it that they would not take the trouble to come out on a wet afternoon and vote for those who had got them the benefit. But, further, the people have to remember that no railways, tramways, water-pipes, gas-pipes, wires, etc., can be laid down without their consent; and that therefore it is their duty, whenever through their various delegates or deputies they give that consent, to make as a condition that those who are employed in these various industries should not be overworked or underpaid. This I am urging as a matter of duty from the people to those whom they employ, not as a matter of right on the part of the workers from those who employ them. Duty is a stronger motive power than right; and it will be time enough for the great mass of the workers to claim their rights from those who employ

them when they have discharged their duties to those whom they employ. This will involve losing half-an-hour's wages and running the risk of getting a wet coat perhaps once or twice in three years; but men who do not care to make that sacrifice in order to discharge their duties are not worth helping in order to get their rights.

Lastly, I come to what is the main plank in the platform of the Christian Socialist, the chief political reform at which he aims; being bound by his creed to go to the very heart of the matter; to be content with no tinkering. It is summed up in the resolution which was moved by the English Land Restoration League in Trafalgar Square; after which the authorities, being Conservative authorities, wisely settled that no more should be said there for the present. It ran as follows:—"That the main cause of poverty, both in the agricultural districts and in the great centres of population, is the fact that the land, which ought to be the common property of all, is now monopolised by a few; and that therefore those who want to cut away at the root of poverty must work to restore to the people the whole of the value which they give to the land, to get for the people complete control over the land, and to that end see to it that those who use land pay for the use of it to its rightful owners, the people."

Let me make it clear to you how far-reaching will be the revolution worked out by this reform. Let me remind you that if the laborers could get access to the land in the country, even under the condition of paying the same rent per acre to the landlords for a few acres that the farmers now pay for a large number of acres, they would be able, by cultivating those few acres, to get more for themselves and their families than they now get by means of the current rate of wages in the district. This has been proved over and over again by the landlords refusing to let land to the laborers at the same rent per acre for a few acres as they let it at for a large number of acres to the farmers, giving openly as the reason that if they did so wages would be raised. Now, I need hardly remind you that if wages are raised in agricultural labor, there is a tendency for wages to rise everywhere. Much more therefore would the laborers be better off if, instead of paying rent for those few acres to the landlord, they simply paid the rent in form of taxation to the State, having to pay no other taxation whatever. They would be better off, not only owing to the relief from taxation, but because the so-called iron law of wages would then no longer operate; that law being that while the means of production are monopolised by a few, wages tend to go down to the minimum at which the workers will consent to live and reproduce. But once get the land, which is the main means of production, into the hands of the people, and then instead of laborer competing with laborer for employment, you would have employer competing against employer for labor; which would bring about a very different state of things. Or again, consider what is going on throughout the agricultural districts. The laborers by the action of landlordism are being forced off the soil. Where do these men go to? Our own experience tells us; the Dockers' Union will tell us; the defeated gas stokers will tell us. It is probably useless and certainly unchristian for comfortable canons to denounce these men

as blacklegs. The useful and the Christian thing to do is what Mr. Verinder and his Red Vans have done, and help to keep them in the country and there fight landlordism. For of course you know that, forced off the soil, they crowd into the already overcrowded large towns; there they compete against the men and women of the towns in their trades and employments and so tend to lower their wages; and they compete also for house room, and so tend to raise rents. This, I say, is proved by experience, and could be proved by statistics; the population of the villages and country districts not having increased in anything like the ordinary normal increase of the birth-rate over the death-rate; while the population in the large towns has increased very much more than the ordinary normal increase of the birth-rate over the death. So I have shown to you that landlordism prevents wages from being raised, tends directly to the lowering of wages and the raising of rents. Am I not right therefore in saying that this is the root question, the bottom question, which must be dealt with if we want not merely to alleviate poverty by charity, or tinker at it by semi-socialistic trade restrictions, but to get rid of it altogether?

But this question can be dealt with, if you like, entirely from the point of view of townfolk and their rights. If, when discussing the matter, you find that your friend is learned in manures and crops and scientific agriculture, you can for the moment, for the sake of argument, give him in the country altogether, and look at the question solely as the dweller in a large town. I remember, some years ago now, at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, held in Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, presided over by Sir Charles Dilke, whom that most immoral Mr. Stead is still trying to keep from serving his country, that Mr. Balfour, the atheist coercionist, was reading a learned paper, in the course of which he said that the land question, however interesting to philosophers and economists, was not a practical question, for land in England was almost unsaleable. I ventured to interrupt him by asking whether the land on which we were then met was altogether unsaleable. He replied that he was only speaking of land in the country. Well, I have already pointed out to you, that if the laborers could get access to it, land in the country would not be altogether unsaleable; that it may not be well able to support landlord, farmer, and laborer, but that it could well support one man willing to work hard if he was landlord, farmer, and laborer combined. And by the way, however much men say land is unsaleable, you never find them willing to give away, out and out, one single acre of it. But I say, if you like, you can look solely at town lands. And what do you find then? Why, you find land in the City of London worth more than £30 per superficial foot; land in Belgravia worth more than land in Bethnal Green; land in Bethnal Green worth more than land in Epping Forest. Now what is it that makes the land more and more valuable? Simply the people living or working in any neighborhood, or wanting to live and work there. Yet into whose pockets does the whole of this value go? Not into the pockets of the men and women who create it, but into the pockets of those who, often simply because they are

the sons of their fathers, are the owners of the ground rents and values. Robbery is the only accurate word which a Christian Socialist can use to describe this state of things. And there is another reason why robbery is the only right word to use to describe our present system of landlordism. It is this: that land in England used to be held in return for services; so much for the army, for the navy, for building bridges, making roads; so much for what is now done by means of the poor laws. These were the various conditions under which land was held. By degrees, however, a Parliament of landowners and their friends began to shift off from themselves the responsibility of returning these services to the State, and began to tax the ordinary articles of the people's consumption, leaving upon themselves a paltry tax of 4s. in the pound; which tax, being assessed not upon the value which land now has, but which it had about 200 years ago, is, I believe, now practically a tax varying from 1½d. to 2½d. in the pound. Now what we Christian Socialists urge is that a Parliament of the people, if they will but take the pains to send honest and obedient delegates to carry out their will, ought gradually but as quickly as possible, to reverse that process; to take off all taxation from the articles of the people's consumption, and by degrees to tax the land values, till at last, taxing them 20s. in the pound, you take the whole of the land values for the benefit of those who create them. I know there are those who maintain that this would do but little to benefit the worker, because they allege he is hardly taxed at all at present. To them of course we reply that while the main object of the reform is not the relief from taxation, but to get the land, the main means of production, into the hands of the people, so that the iron law of wages might no longer operate; yet practically the relief from taxation would be important. For I believe I underestimate it when I say—and this should bring every frugal housewife on to our side—that if you spend two shillings on a pound of tea, at least one shilling of that is tax, or the expense of collecting the tax; for every shilling you spend on cocoa, 1½d. is tax; every shilling on coffee, 1½d.; every shilling on currants and raisins, 1½d. If you spend 3d. on tobacco, a full 2½d. of that is tax; and if by degrees you spend five shillings on whisky, 4s. 4½d. of that is tax or the expenses connected with the tax. But it is not only the surface of the earth—to which this value, so evidently designed for taxation, is attached by people living and working in any neighborhood—which the landlords claim; but also the minerals which, in the equally marvellous processes of nature, it has taken centuries to create under the earth. the limestone, the coal, the iron—three things so essential for our great English industries—are claimed by robber landlords. And so, too, the sea-shore and the rivers; so that, as Henry George has well said, every salmon which comes up from the sea might just as well have a label on it, "Lord or Lady So-and-So, with God Almighty's compliments."

We Christian Socialists, then, maintain that this is the most far-reaching reform; that it is demanded by justice; and not only that it can be carried out in consistence with the highest morality, but that morality is impossible without it.

Yes, but someone says, this would be all right if you were starting in a new country, but the nation in the past has sanctioned the present system; it would be destructive of all credit to get rid of landlordism without compensating the landlords. To which we reply that the nation has never given its verdict one way or the other, and that now that it is gradually getting its power to speak, it is beginning to be evident what it will say; and further, that even if the whole nation in the past had given away to a few people in this generation that without which the whole body of the people cannot live full lives, it would have been doing that which it had no kind of right to do; that the land of every country belongs of natural and inalienable right to the whole body of the people in each generation, and as for compensation, from the point of view of the highest Christian morality, it is the landlords who should compensate the people, not the people the landlords. But practically, if you carry out this reform by taxation, no compensation would be necessary or even possible. We say therefore, "You need not kick the landlords out; you must not buy them out; you had better tax them out." And by this process no one will suffer; land will naturally get into the hands of those who will use it best; the thrifty artisan who has bought the piece of land on which his house is built will be much better off than he is now if all he has to pay in taxation, local or imperial, is its ground value to the State. The man—say, the vestryman—who is partly working for his living, and partly living by speculating on the wants of others by having bought a street or two of houses, will find that this reform will make it more convenient for him to live entirely by working. The Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Bedford—or rather their children—will be healthier and happier people if they have to take their fair share of the work of the world. Russell Square, if the owners of the houses round have the choice of being rated at what it would let at for building purposes, or of opening it to the public, would fulfil the old prophecy, and the gardens of the city would be full of boys and girls playing; and marriage-hindering Mammon being utterly annihilated, the Alma Venus of Lucretius would again have her way. *Hinc lætas urbes pueris flores videbis.*

I have now endeavored to put before you the theological basis of Christian Socialism, and the special political work with which it is concerned. But, although during the last few years there is an increasing number of the clergy who are becoming more or less socialistic in their teaching, it would be affectation to pretend that the kind of doctrine I have given in this lecture is the current teaching in the Church at present. In fact, we are often seriously condemned for the line we have taken. It is complained of that we ignore the Eighth Commandment, that we talk about rights rather than duties, that we value material rather than spiritual things. As to the Eighth Commandment, we should indeed be foolish as well as wrong to ignore it; for it is entirely on our side. "Thou shalt not steal" is proclaimed from the altar of West-end churches to upper and middle-class congregations, as well as in prison and pani-

tentiary chapels; because the Church recognises, even though individual clergymen may fail to do so, that it is just as possible, indeed much more probable, that the rich will rob from the poor, as that the poor will rob from the rich. "Thou shalt not steal" is just the commandment we want to get kept; we want to put a stop to the robbery of the poor by the rich, which has been going on for so long. And as for rights and duties, it is well said that there are no rights without duties and no duties without rights. But we admit that duty is a more sacred thing than right. And I thank my opponents for giving me that word, for it enables me to say, as I have to thousands up and down the country, that it is your bounden duty to claim your rights in this matter. It is not a thing which you may take up or let alone just on the ground that you feel the pinch of poverty or not, but a duty which you owe to yourselves, to your children, to the outcasts from society; to all who are tempted to degrade their lives in any way for the sake of a living. And more, it is the duty which you owe to God. The earth is the Lord's, and therefore not the landlord's; the earth is the Lord's, and He hath given it unto the children of men. And what would any man among you think if he gave to the woman whom he loved some valuable present, and she lightly allowed it to be taken from her? He would be jealous of the man who got it away; and so I say that God is jealous when He finds that we have allowed the most valuable of all the material gifts which He has given to His creatures—for "land is the mother and labor the father of all wealth"—to be filched away from us by the Duke of This or Lord That. God is jealous, and we are not doing our duty to God any more than we are doing our duty to our neighbor, unless we are doing our very best to prevent this. And as for material things and spiritual things, I know full well that man does not live by bread alone. I am as eager for the spiritual welfare of the people as the vicar of this parish or the bishop of this diocese. I know that it is not only the pasture but the Presence of which the people have been deprived. But when they say that because of the importance of spiritual things we should not turn our attention to these great material reforms, I wonder whether they have realised the heredity and environment of a vast mass of the people; whether they have considered the evils which result, not only from extreme poverty, but from poverty side by side with wealth; how art is now almost impossible, and lives which should be brimful of mirth and joy are stunted. Because, I take it, that when once a man realises the evils of our present social state, just because he is eager for the spiritual life of the people, he will be doing all he possibly can to put a stop to that robbery which is the main cause of poverty, and so by degrees to establish the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth. *Expecto vitam venturi seculi*: I look for the life of the coming age.

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THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF ANARCHISM

By BERNARD SHAW

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THE IMPOSSIBILITIES OF ANARCHISM.*

Anarchists and Socialists.

SOME years ago, as the practical policy of the Socialist party in England began to shape itself more and more definitely into the program of Social-Democracy, it became apparent that we could not progress without the gravest violations of principles of all sorts. In particular, the democratic side of the program was found to be incompatible with the sacred principle of the Autonomy of the Individual. It also involved a recognition of the State, an institution altogether repugnant to the principle of Freedom. Worse than that, it involved compromise at every step; and principles, as Mr. John Morley once eloquently showed, must not be compromised. The result was that many of us fell to quarrelling; refused to associate with one another; denounced each other as trimmers or Impassibilists, according to our side in the controversy; and finally succeeded in creating a considerable stock of ill-feeling. My own side in the controversy was the unprincipled one, as Socialism to me has always meant, not a principle, but certain definite economic measures which I wish to see taken. Indeed, I have often been reproached for limiting the term Socialism too much to the economic side of the great movement towards equality. That movement, however, appears to me to be as much an Individualist as a Socialist one; and though there are Socialists, like Sir William Harcourt, to whom Socialism means the sum total of humanitarian aspiration, in which the transfer of some millions of acres of property from private to public ownership must seem but an inessential and even undesirable detail, this sublimer shade of Socialism suffers from such a lack of concentration upon definite measures, that, but for the honor and glory of the thing, its professors might as well call themselves Conservatives. Now what with Socialists of this sort, and persons who found that the practical remedy for white slavery was incompatible with the principle of Liberty, and the practical remedy for despotism incompatible with the principle of Democracy, and the practical conduct of politics incompatible with the principle of Personal Integrity (in the sense of having your own way in everything), the practical men were at last driven into frank Opportunism. When, for instance, they found national and local organization of the working classes opposed by Socialists on the ground that Socialism is universal and international in principle; when they found their Radical and Trade Unionist allies ostracized by Socialists for being outside the pale of the Socialist faith one and indivisible; when they saw agricultural laborers alienated by indiscriminating denunciations of allotments as "individualistic"; then they felt the full force of the

* A paper read to the Fabian Society by G. Bernard Shaw, on 16th October, 1891.

saying that Socialism would spread fast enough if it were not for the Socialists. It was bad enough to have to contend with the conservative forces of the modern unsocialist State without also having to fight the seven deadly virtues in possession of the Socialists themselves. The conflict between ideal Socialism and practical Social-Democracy destroyed the Chartist organization half a century ago, as it destroyed the Socialist League only the other day. But it has never gone so far as the conflict between Social-Democracy and Anarchism. For the Anarchists will recommend abstention from voting and refusal to pay taxes in cases where the Social-Democrats are strenuously urging the workers to organize their votes so as to return candidates pledged to contend for extensions of the franchise and for taxation of unearned incomes, the object of such taxation being the raising of State capital for all sorts of collective purposes, from the opening of public libraries to the municipalization and nationalization of our industries. In fact, the denunciation of Social-Democratic methods by Anarchists is just as much a matter of course as the denunciation of Social-Democratic aims by Conservatives. It is possible that some of the strangers present may be surprised to hear this, since no distinction is made in the newspapers which support the existing social order between Social-Democrats and Anarchists, both being alike hostile to that order. In the columns of such papers all revolutionists are Socialists; all Socialists are Anarchists; and all Anarchists are incendiaries, assassins and thieves. One result of this is that the imaginative French or Italian criminal who reads the papers, sometimes declares, when taken red-handed in the commission of murder or burglary, that he is an Anarchist acting on principle. And in all countries the more violent and reckless temperaments among the discontented are attracted by the name Anarchist merely because it suggests desperate, thorough, uncompromising, implacable war on existing injustices. It is therefore necessary to warn you that there are some persons abusively called Anarchists by their political opponents, and others ignorantly so described by themselves, who are nevertheless not Anarchists at all within the meaning of this paper. On the other hand, many persons who are never called Anarchists either by themselves or others, take Anarchist ground in their opposition to Social-Democracy just as clearly as the writers with whom I shall more particularly deal. The old Whigs and new Tories of the school of Cobden and Bright, the "Philosophic Radicals," the economists of whom Bastiat is the type, Lord Wemyss and Lord Bramwell, Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Auberon Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Leonard Courtney: any of these is, in England, a more typical Anarchist than Bakounin. They distrust State action, and are jealous advocates of the prerogative of the individual, proposing to restrict the one and to extend the other as far as is humanly possible, in opposition to the Social-Democrat, who proposes to democratize the State and throw upon it the whole work of organizing the national industry, thereby making it the most vital organ in the

social body. Obviously there are natural limits to the application of both views; and Anarchists and Social-Democrats are alike subject to the fool's argument that since neither collective provision for the individual nor individual freedom from collective control can be made complete, neither party is thoroughly consistent. No dialectic of that kind will, I hope, be found in the following criticism of Anarchism. It is confined to the practical measures proposed by Anarchists, and raises no discussion as to aims or principles. As to these we are all agreed. Justice, Virtue, Truth, Brotherhood, the highest interests of the people, moral as well as physical: these are dear not only to Social-Democrats and Anarchists, but also to Tories, Whigs, Radicals, and probably also to Moonlighters and Dynamitards. It is with the methods by which it is proposed to give active effect to them that I am concerned here; and to that point I shall now address myself by reading you a paper which I wrote more than four years ago on the subject chosen for to-night. I may add that it has not been revived from a wanton desire to renew an old dispute, but in response to a demand from the provincial Fabian Societies, bewildered as they are by the unexpected opposition of the Anarchists, from whom they had rather expected some sympathy. This old paper of mine being the only document of the kind available, my colleagues have requested me to expunge such errors and follies as I have grown out of since 1888, and to take this opportunity of submitting it to the judgment of the Society. Which I shall now do without further preamble.

Individualist Anarchism.

The full economic detail of Individualist Anarchism may be inferred with sufficient completeness from an article entitled "State Socialism and Anarchism: how far they agree, and wherein they differ," which appeared in March, 1888, in *Liberty*, an Anarchist journal published in Boston, Mass., and edited by the author of the article, Mr. Benjamin R. Tucker. An examination of any number of this journal will shew that as a candid, clear-headed, and courageous demonstrator of Individualist Anarchism by purely intellectual methods, Mr. Tucker may safely be accepted as one of the most capable spokesmen of his party.

"The economic principles of Modern Socialism," says Mr. Tucker, "are a logical deduction from the principle laid down by Adam Smith in the early chapters of his *Wealth of Nations*—namely, that labor is the true measure of price. From this principle, these three men [Josiah Warren, Proudhon and Marx] deduced 'that the natural wage of labor is its product.'"

Now the Socialist who is unwary enough to accept this economic position will presently find himself logically committed to the Whig doctrine of *laissez-faire*. And here Mr. Tucker will cry, "Why not? *Laissez-faire* is exactly what we want. Destroy the money monopoly, the tariff monopoly, and the patent monopoly. Enforce then only those land titles which rest on personal occupancy or cultiva-

tion;* and the social problem of how to secure to each worker the product of his own labor will be solved simply by everyone minding his own business."†

Let us see whether it will or not. Suppose we decree that henceforth no more rent shall be paid in England, and that each man shall privately own his house, and hold his shop, factory, or place of business jointly with those who work with him in it. Let everyone be free to issue money from his own mint without tax or stamp. Let all taxes on commodities be abolished, and patents and copyrights be things of the past. Try to imagine yourself under these promising conditions with life before you. You may start in business as a crossing sweeper, shopkeeper, collier, farmer, miller, banker, or what not. Whatever your choice may be, the first thing you find is that the reward of your labor depends far more on the situation in which you exercise it than on yourself. If you sweep the crossing between St. James's and Albemarle Streets you prosper greatly. But if you are forestalled not only there, but at every point more central than, say, the corner of Holford Square, Islington, you may sweep twice as hard as your rival in Piccadilly, and not take a fifth of his toll. At such a pass you may well curse Adam Smith and his principle that labor is the measure of price, and either advocate a democratically constituted State Socialist municipality, paying all its crossing sweepers equally, or else cast your broom upon the Thames and turn shopkeeper. Yet here again the same difficulty crops up. Your takings depend, not on yourself, but on the number of people who pass your window per hour. At Charing Cross or Cheapside fortunes are to be made: in the main street at Putney one can do enough to hold up one's head: further out, a thousand yards right or left of the Portsmouth Road, the most industrious man in the world may go whistle for a customer. Evidently retail shopkeeping is not the thing for a man of spirit after Charing Cross and Cheapside have been appropriated by occupying owners on the principle of first come first served. You must aspire then to wholesale dealing—nay, to banking. Alas! the difficulty is intensified beyond calculation. Take that financial trinity, Glyn, Mills and Currie; transplant them only a few miles from Lombard Street; and they will soon be

* This is an inference from the following paragraph in Mr. Tucker's article

"Second in importance comes the land monopoly, the evil effects of which are seen principally in exclusively agricultural countries, like Ireland. This monopoly consists in the enforcement by government of land titles which do not rest on personal occupancy and cultivation. It was obvious to Warren and Proudhon that as soon as individuals should no longer be protected by their fellows in anything but personal occupation and cultivation of land, ground rent would disappear, and so usury have one less leg to stand on."

See also Mr. Tucker's article entitled "A Singular Misunderstanding," in *Liberty* of the 10th September, 1892. "Regarding land," writes Mr. Tucker, "it has been steadily maintained in these columns that protection should be withdrawn from all land titles except those based on personal occupancy and use."

† "Nor does the Anarchistic scheme furnish any code of morals to be imposed on the individual. 'Mind your own business,' is its only moral law."

objects of pity to the traditional sailor who once presented at their counter a cheque for £25 and generously offered to take it in instalments, as he did not wish to be too hard on them all at once. Turning your back on banking, you meddle in the wheat trade, and end by offering to exchange an occupying ownership of all Salisbury Plain for permission to pay a rack rent for premises within hail of "The Baltic" and its barometer.

Probably there are some people who have a blind belief that crossing sweepers, "The Baltic," Lombard Street, and the like, are too utterly of the essence of the present system to survive the introduction of Anarchism. They will tell me that I am reading the conditions of the present into the future. Against such instinctive convictions it is vain to protest that I am reading only Mr. Tucker's conditions. But at least there will be farming, milling, and mining, conducted by human agents, under Anarchism. Now the farmer will not find in his perfect Anarchist market two prices at one time for two bushels of wheat of the same quality; yet the labor cost of each bushel will vary considerably according to the fertility of the farm on which it was raised, and the proximity of that farm to the market. A good soil will often yield the strongest and richest grain to less labor per acre or per bushel than must be spent on land that returns a crop less valuable by five shillings a quarter. When all the best land is held by occupying owners, those who have to content themselves with poorer soils will hail the principle that labor is the measure of price with the thumb to the nose. Among the millers, too, there must needs be grievous mistrust of Proudhon and Josiah Warren. For of two men with equally good heart to work and machinery to work with, one may be on a stream that will easily turn six millstones; whilst the other, by natural default of water, or being cut off by his fellow higher up stream, may barely be able to keep two pairs of stones in gear, and may in a dry season be ready to tie these two about his neck and lie down under the scum of his pond. Certainly, he can defy drought by setting to work with a steam engine, steel rollers, and all the latest contrivances for squashing wheat into dust instead of grinding it into flour; yet, after all his outlay, he will not be able to get a penny a sack more for his stuff than his competitor, to whose water-wheel Nature is gratuitously putting her shoulder. "Competition everywhere and always" of his unaided strength against that of his rival he might endure; but to fight naked against one armed with the winds and waves (for there are windmills as well as watermills) is no sound justice, though it be sound Anarchism. And how would occupying ownership of mines work, when it is an easier matter to get prime Wallsend and Silkstone out of one mine than to get slates and steam fuel out of another, even after twenty years' preliminary shaft-sinking? Would Mr. Tucker, if he had on sale from a rich mine some Silkstone that had only cost half as much labor as steam coal from a relatively poor one, boldly announce:—"Prices this day: Prime Silkstone, per ton, 25s.; best steam ditto, 50s. Terms, cash. Principles, those of Adam Smith—see 'Wealth of Nations' *passim*?"

Certainly not with "competition everywhere and always," unless custom was no object to him in comparison with principle.

It is useless to multiply instances. There is only one country in which any square foot of land is as favorably situated for conducting exchanges, or as richly endowed by nature for production, as any other square foot; and the name of that country is Utopia. In Utopia alone, therefore, occupying ownership be just. In England, America and other places, rashly created without consulting the Anarchists, Nature is all caprice and injustice in dealing with Labor. Here you scratch her with a spade; and earth's increase and foison plenty are added to you. On the other side of the hedge twenty steam-diggers will not extort a turnip from her. Still less adapted to Anarchism than the fields and mines is the crowded city. The distributor flourishes where men love to congregate: his work is to bring commodities to men; but here the men bring themselves to the commodities. Remove your distributor a mile, and his carts and travellers must scour the country for customers. None know this better than the landlords. Up High Street, down Low Street, over the bridge and into Crow Street, the toilers may sweat equally for equal wages; but their product varies; and the ground rents vary with the product. Competition levels down the share kept by the worker as it levels up the hours of his labor; and the surplus, high or low according to the fertility of the soil or convenience of the site, goes as high rent or low rent, but always in the long run rack rent, to the owner of the land.

Now Mr. Tucker's remedy for this is to make the occupier—the actual worker—the owner. Obviously the effect would be, not to abolish his advantage over his less favorably circumstanced competitors, but simply to authorize him to put it into his own pocket instead of handing it over to a landlord. He would then, it is true, be (as far as his place of business was concerned) a worker instead of an idler; but he would get more product as a manufacturer and more custom as a distributor than other equally industrious workers in worse situations. He could thus save faster than they, and retire from active service at an age when they would still have many years more work before them. His ownership of his place of business would of course lapse in favor of his successor the instant he retired. ~~How~~ would the rest of the community decide who was to be the successor—would they toss up for it, or fight for it, or would he be allowed to nominate his heir, in which case he would either nominate his son or sell his nomination for a large fine? Again, his retirement from his place of business would leave him still in possession, as occupying owner, of his private residence; and this might be of exceptional or even unique desirability in point of situation. It might, for instance, be built on Richmond Hill, and command from its windows the beautiful view of the Thames valley to be obtained from that spot. Now it is clear that Richmond Hill will not accommodate all the people who would rather live there than in the Essex marshes. It is easy to say, Let the occupier be the owner; but the question is, Who is to be the occupier? Suppose it

were settled by drawing lots, what would prevent the winner from selling his privilege for its full (unearned) value under free exchange and omnipresent competition? To such problems as these, Individualist Anarchism offers no solution. It theorizes throughout on the assumption that one place in a country is as good as another.

Under a system of occupying ownership, rent would appear only in its primary form of an excess of the prices of articles over the expenses of producing them, thus enabling owners of superior land to get more for their products than cost price. If, for example, the worst land worth using were only one-third as productive as the best land, then the owner-occupiers of that best land would get in the market the labor cost of their wares three times over. This 200 per cent. premium would be just as truly ground rent as if it were paid openly as such to the Duke of Bedford or the Astors. It may be asked why prices must go up to the expenses of production on the very worst land. Why not ascertain and charge the average cost of production taking good and bad land together?* Simply because nothing short of the maximum labor cost would repay the owners of the worst land. In fact, the worst land would not be cultivated until the price had risen. The process would be as follows. Suppose the need of the population for wheat were satisfied by crops raised from the best available land only. Free competition in wheat-producing would then bring the price down to the labor cost or expenses of production. Now suppose an increase of population sufficient to overtax the wheat-supplying capacity of the best land. The supply falling short of the demand, the price of wheat would rise. When it had risen to the labor cost of production from land one degree inferior to the best, it would be worth while to cultivate that inferior land. When that new source came to be overtaxed by the still growing population, the price would rise again until it would repay the cost of raising wheat from land yet lower in fertility than the second grade. But these descents would in no wise diminish the fertility of the best land, from which wheat could be raised as cheaply as before, in spite of the rise in the price, which would apply to all the wheat in the market, no matter where raised. That is, the holders of the best land would gain a premium, rising steadily with the increase of population, exactly as the landlord now enjoys a steadily rising rent.† As the agricultural industry is in this respect

* This would of course be largely practicable under a Collectivist system.

† English readers need not balk themselves here because of the late fall of agricultural rents in this country. Rent, in the economic sense, covers payment for the use of land for any purpose, agricultural or otherwise; and town rents have risen oppressively. A much more puzzling discrepancy between the facts and the theory is presented by the apparent absence of any upward tendency in the prices of general commodities. However, an article may be apparently no less cheap or even much cheaper than it was twenty years ago; and yet its price may have risen enormously relatively to its average cost of production, owing to the average cost of production having been reduced by machinery, higher organization of the labor of producing it, cheapened traffic with other countries, etc. Thus, in the cotton industry, machinery has multiplied each man's power of production eleven hundred times; and Sir Joseph Whitworth was quoted by the President of the Iron and Steel Institute some years ago as having declared that

typical of all industries, it will be seen now that the price does not rise because worse land is brought into cultivation, but that worse land is brought into cultivation by the rise of price. Or, to put it in another way, the price of the commodity does not rise because more labor has been devoted to its production, but more labor is devoted to its production because the price has risen. Commodities, in fact, have a price before they are produced; we produce them expressly to obtain that price; and we cannot alter it by merely spending more or less labor on them. It is natural for the laborer to insist that labor *ought to be* the measure of price, and that the *just* wage of labor is its average product; but the first lesson he has to learn in economics is that labor is not and never can be the measure of price under a competitive system. Not until the progress of Socialism replaces competitive production and distribution, with individual greed for its incentive, by Collectivist production and distribution, with fair play all round for its incentive, will the prices either of labor or commodities represent their just value.

Thus we see that "competition everywhere and always" fails to circumvent rent whilst the land is held by competing occupiers who are protected in the individual ownership of what they can raise from their several holdings. And "the great principle laid down by Adam Smith," formulated by Josiah Warren as "Cost is the proper limit of price," turns out—since in fact price is the limit of cost—to be merely a preposterous way of expressing the fact that under Anarchism that small fraction of the general wealth which was produced under the least favorable circumstances would at least fetch its cost, whilst all the rest would fetch a premium which would be nothing but privately appropriated rent with an Anarchist mask on.

We see also that such a phrase as "the natural wage of labor is its product" is a misleading one, since labor cannot produce subsistence except when exercised upon natural materials and aided by natural forces external to man. And when it is so produced, its value in exchange depends in nowise on the share taken by labor in its production, but solely to the demand for it in society. The economic problem of Socialism is the just distribution of the premium

a Nottingham lace machine can do the work formerly done by 8,000 lacemakers. The articles entitled "Great Manufacture of Little Things," in Cassell's *Technical Educator*, may be consulted for examples of this sort in the production of pins, pens, etc. Suppose, then, that an article which cost, on the average, fivepence to make in 1850, was then sold for sixpence. If it be now selling for threepence, it is apparently twice as cheap as it was. But if the cost of production has also fallen to three-halfpence, which is by no means an extravagant supposition, then the price, considered relatively to the cost of production, has evidently risen prodigiously, since it is now twice the cost, whereas the cost was formerly five-sixths of the price. In other words, the surplus, or rent, per article, has risen from 16½ per cent. to 100 per cent., in spite of the apparent cheapening. This is the explanation of the fact that though the workers were probably never before so monstrously robbed as they are at present, it is quite possible for statisticians to prove that on the whole wages have risen and prices fallen. The worker, pleased at having only to pay threepence where he formerly paid sixpence, forgets that the share of his threepence that goes to an idler may be much larger than that which went out of each of the two threepences he paid formerly.

given to certain portions of the general product by the action of demand. As Individualist Anarchism not only fails to distribute these, but deliberately permits their private appropriation, Individualist Anarchism is the negation of Socialism, and is, in fact, Unsocialism carried as near to its logical completeness as any sane man dare carry it.

Communist Anarchism.

State Socialism and Anarchism, says Mr. Tucker, "are based on two principles, the history of whose conflict is almost equivalent to the history of the world since man came into it; and all intermediate parties, including that of the upholders of the existing society, are based upon a compromise between them." These principles are Authority—the State Socialist principle, and Liberty—the Anarchist principle. State Socialism is then defined as "the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by the government, regardless of individual choice," whereas Anarchism is "the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or voluntary associations, and that the State should be abolished."

Now most revolutionists will admit that there was a stage in the growth of their opinions when the above seemed an adequate statement of the alternatives before them. But, as we have seen, when the Individualist Anarchist proceeds to reduce his principle to practice, he is inevitably led to Mr. Tucker's program of "competition everywhere and always" among occupying owners, subject only to the moral law of minding their own business. No sooner is this formulated than its effect on the distribution of wealth is examined by the economist, who finds no trouble in convicting it, under the economic law of rent, of privilege, monopoly, inequality, unjust indirect taxation, and everything that is most repugnant to Anarchism. But this startling reverse, however it may put the Anarchist out of conceit with his program, does not in the least reconcile him to State Socialism. It only changes his mind on one point. Whilst his program satisfied him, he was content to admit that State Socialism was the only possible alternative to Individualist Anarchism—nay, he rather insisted on it, because the evils of the State Socialist alternative were strong incentives to the acceptance of the other. But the moment it becomes apparent that the one is economically as bad as the other, the disillusioned Individualist Anarchist becomes convinced of the insufficiency of his analysis of the social problem, and follows it up in order to find out a *tertium quid*, or third system which shall collect and justly distribute the rent of the country, and yet prevent the collecting and distributing organ from acquiring the tyrannous powers of governments as we know them. There are two such systems at present before the world: Communism and Social-Democracy. Now there is no such thing as Anarchist Social-Democracy; but there is such a thing as Anarchist Communism or Communist Anarchism. It is true that Mr. Tucker does not recognize the Communist Anarchist as an Anarchist at all; he energetically repudiates Communism as the

uttermost negation of true Anarchism, and will not admit any logical halting place between thoroughgoing State Socialism and thoroughgoing Individualist Anarchism. But why insist on anybody occupying a logical halting place? We are all fond of shewing that on any given subject there are only two of these safe spots, one being the point of agreement with us, and the other some inconceivable extremity of idiocy. But for the purposes of the present criticism it will be more practical to waive such crude rationalizing, and concede that to deal with Mr. Tucker without also dealing with Peter Kropotkin is not to give Anarchism fair play.

The main difficulty in criticising Kropotkin lies in the fact that, in the distribution of generally needed labor products, his Communism is finally cheap and expedient, whereas Mr. Tucker's Individualism, in the same department, is finally extravagant and impossible. Even under the most perfect Social-Democracy we should, without Communism, still be living like hogs, except that each hog would get his fair share of grub. High as that ideal must seem to anyone who complacently accepts the present social order, it is hardly high enough to satisfy a man in whom the social instinct is well developed. So long as vast quantities of labor have to be expended in weighing and measuring each man's earned share of this and that commodity—in watching, spying, policing, and punishing in order to prevent Tom getting a crumb of bread more or Dick a spoonful of milk less than he has a voucher for, so long will the difference between Un-socialism and Socialism be only the difference between unscientific and scientific hoggishness. I do not desire to underrate the vastness of that difference. Whilst we are hogs, let us at least be well-fed, healthy, reciprocally useful hogs, instead of—well, instead of the sort we are at present. But we shall not have any great reason to stand on the dignity of our humanity until a just distribution of the loaves and fishes becomes perfectly spontaneous, and the great effort and expense of a legal distribution, however just, is saved. For my own part, I seek the establishment of a state of society in which I shall not be bothered with a ridiculous pocketful of coppers, nor have to waste my time in perplexing arithmetical exchanges of them with booking clerks, bus conductors, shopmen, and other superfluous persons before I can get what I need. I aspire to live in a community which shall be at least capable of averaging the transactions between us well enough to ascertain how much work I am to do for it in return for the right to take what I want of the common necessities and conveniences of life. The saving of friction by such an arrangement may be guessed from the curious fact that only specialists in sociology are conscious of the numerous instances in which we are to-day forced to adopt it by the very absurdity of the alternative. Most people will tell you that Communism is known only in this country as a visionary project advocated by a handful of amiable cranks. Then they will stroll off across the common bridge, along the common embankment, by the light of the common gas lamp shining alike on the just and the unjust, up the common street, and into the common Trafalgar Square, where, on

the smallest hint on their part that Communism is to be tolerated for an instant in a civilized country, they will be handily bludgeoned by the common policeman, and haled off to the common gaol.* When you suggest to these people that the application of Communism to the bread supply is only an extension, involving no new principle, of its application to street lighting, they are bewildered. Instead of picturing the Communist man going to the common store, and thence taking his bread home with him, they instinctively imagine him bursting obstreperously into his neighbor's house and snatching the bread off his table on the "as much mine as yours" principle—which, however, has an equally sharp edge for the thief's throat in the form "as much yours as mine." In fact, the average Englishman is only capable of understanding Communism when it is explained as a state of things under which everything is paid for out of the taxes, and taxes are paid in labor. And even then he will sometimes say, "How about the brainwork?" and begin the usual novice's criticism of Socialism in general.

Now a Communist Anarchist may demur to such a definition of Communism as I have just given; for it is evident that if there are to be taxes, there must be some authority to collect those taxes. I will not insist on the odious word taxes; but I submit that if any article—bread, for instance—be communized, by which I mean that there shall be public stores of bread, sufficient to satisfy everybody, to which all may come and take what they need without question or payment, wheat must be grown, mills must grind, and bakers must sweat daily in order to keep up the supply. Obviously, therefore, the common bread store will become bankrupt unless every consumer of the bread contributes to its support as much labor as the bread he consumes costs to produce. Communism or no Communism, he must pay or else leave somebody else to pay for him. Communism will cheapen bread for him—will save him the cost of scales and weights, coin, book-keepers, counter-hands, policemen and other expenses of private property; but it will not do away with the cost of the bread and the store. Now supposing that voluntary co-operation and public spirit prove equal to the task of elaborately organizing the farming, milling and baking industries for the production of bread, how will these voluntary co-operators recover the cost of their operations from the public who are to consume their bread? If they are given powers to collect the cost from the public, and to enforce their demands by punishing non-payers for their dishonesty, then they at once become a State department levying a tax for public purposes; and the Communism of the bread supply becomes no more Anarchistic than our present Communistic supply of street lighting is Anarchistic. Unless the taxation is voluntary—unless the bread consumer is free to refuse payment without incurring any penalty save the reproaches of his conscience and his neighbors, the Anarchist ideal will remain unattained. Now the pressure of conscience and

* Written in the 1887-92 period, during which Trafalgar Square was forcibly closed against public meetings by the Salisbury administration.

public opinion is by no means to be slighted. Millions of men and women, without any legal compulsion whatever, pay for the support of institutions of all sorts, from churches to tall hats, simply out of their need for standing well with their neighbors. But observe, this compulsion of public opinion derives most of its force from the difficulty of getting the wherewithal to buy bread without a reputation for respectability. Under Communism a man could snap his fingers at public opinion without starving for it. Besides, public opinion cannot for a moment be relied upon as a force which operates uniformly as a compulsion upon men to act morally. Its operation is for all practical purposes quite arbitrary, and is as often immoral as moral. It is just as hostile to the reformer as to the criminal. It hangs Anarchists and worships Nitrate Kings. It insists on a man wearing a tall hat and going to church, on his marrying the woman he lives with, and on his pretending to believe whatever the rest pretend to believe; and it enforces these ordinances in a sufficient majority of cases without help from the law: its tyranny, in fact, being so crushing that its little finger is often found to be thicker than the law's loins. But there is no sincere public opinion that a man should work for his daily bread if he can get it for nothing. Indeed it is just the other way: public opinion has been educated to regard the performance of daily manual labor as the lot of the despised classes. The common aspiration is to acquire property and leave off working. Even members of the professions rank below the independent gentry, so called because they are independent of their own labor. These prejudices are not confined to the middle and upper classes: they are rampant also among the workers. The man who works nine hours a day despises the man who works sixteen. A country gentleman may consider himself socially superior to his solicitor or his doctor; but they associate on much more cordial terms than shopmen and carmen, engine drivers and railway porters, bricklayers and hodmen, barmaids and general servants. One is almost tempted in this country to declare that the poorer the man the greater the snob, until you get down to those who are so oppressed that they have not enough self-respect even for snobbery, and thus are able to pluck out of the heart of their misery a certain irresponsibility which it would be a mockery to describe as genuine frankness and freedom. The moment you rise into the higher atmosphere of a pound a week, you find that envy, ostentation, tedious and insincere ceremony, love of petty titles, precedences and dignities, and all the detestable fruits of inequality of condition, flourish as rankly among those who lose as among those who gain by it. In fact, the notion that poverty favors virtue was clearly invented to persuade the poor that what they lost in this world they would gain in the next.

Kropotkin, too optimistically, as I think, disposes of the average man by attributing his unsocialism to the pressure of the corrupt system under which he groans. Remove that pressure, and he will think rightly, says Kropotkin. But if the natural man be indeed social as well as gregarious, how did the corruption and oppression

under which he groans ever arise? Could the institution of property as we know it ever have come into existence unless nearly every man had been, not merely willing, but openly and shamelessly eager to quarter himself idly on the labor of his fellows, and to domineer over them whenever the mysterious workings of economic law enabled him to do so? It is useless to think of man as a fallen angel. If the fallacies of absolute morality are to be admitted in the discussion at all, he must be considered rather as an obstinate and selfish devil, who is being slowly forced by the iron tyranny of Nature to recognize that in disregarding his neighbor's happiness he is taking the surest way to sacrifice his own. And under the present system he never can learn that lesson thoroughly, because he is an inveterate gambler, and knows that the present system gives him a chance, at odds of a hundred thousand to one or so against him, of becoming a millionaire, a condition which is to him the summit of earthly bliss, as from it he will be able to look down upon those who formerly bullied and patronized him. All this may sound harsh, especially to those who know how wholesomely real is the workman's knowledge of life compared to that of the gentleman, and how much more genuinely sympathetic he is in consequence. Indeed, it is obvious that if four-fifths of the population were habitually to do the utter worst in the way of selfishness that the present system invites them to do, society would not stand the strain for six weeks. So far, we can claim to be better than our institutions. But the fact that we are too good for complete Unsocialism by no means proves that we are good enough for Communism. The practical question remains, Could men trained under our present system be trusted to pay for their food scrupulously if they could take it for nothing with impunity? Clearly, if they did not so pay, Anarchist Communism would be bankrupt in two days. The answer is that all the evils against which Anarchism is directed are caused by men taking advantage of the institution of property to do this very thing—seize their subsistence without working for it. What reason is there for doubting that they would attempt to take exactly the same advantage of Anarchist Communism? And what reason is there to doubt that the community, finding its bread store bankrupt, would instantly pitch its Anarchism to the four winds, and come down on the defaulters with the strong hand of a law to make them pay, just as they are now compelled to pay their Income Tax? I submit, then, to our Communist Anarchist friends that Communism requires either external compulsion to labor, or else a social morality which the evils of existing society shew that we have failed as yet to attain. I do not deny the possibility of the final attainment of that degree of moralization; but I contend that the path to it lies through a transition system which, instead of offering fresh opportunities to men of getting their living idly, will destroy those opportunities altogether, and wean us from the habit of regarding such an anomaly as possible, much less honorable.

It must not be supposed that the economic difficulties which I pointed out as fatal to Individualist Anarchism are entirely removed by Communism. It is true that if all the bread and coal in the country were thrown into a common store from which each man could take as much as he wanted whenever he pleased without direct payment, then no man could gain any advantage over his fellows from the fact that some farms and some coal-mines are better than others. And if every man could step into a train and travel whither he would without a ticket, no individual could speculate in the difference between the traffic from Charing Cross to the Mansion House and that from Ryde to Ventnor. One of the great advantages of Communism will undoubtedly be that huge masses of economic rent will be socialized by it automatically. All rent arising from the value of commodities in general use which can be produced, consumed, and replaced at the will of man to the full extent to which they are wanted, can be made rent free by communizing them. But there must remain outside this solution, first, the things which are not in sufficiently general use to be communized at all; second, things of which an unlimited free supply might prove a nuisance, such as gin or printing; and thirdly, things for which the demand exceeds the supply. The last is the instance in which the rent difficulty recurs. It would take an extraordinary course of demolition, reconstruction, and landscape gardening to make every dwelling house in London as desirable as a house in Park Lane, or facing Regent's Park, or overlooking the Embankment Gardens. And since everybody cannot be accommodated there, the exceptionally favored persons who occupy those sites will certainly be expected to render an equivalent for their privilege to those whom they exclude. Without this there would evidently be no true socialization of the habitation of London. This means, in practice, that a public department must let the houses out to the highest bidders, and collect the rents for public purposes. Such a department can hardly be called Anarchistic, however democratic it may be. I might go on to enlarge considerably on the limits to the practicability of direct Communism, which varies from commodity to commodity; but one difficulty, if insurmountable, is as conclusive as twenty.

It is sufficient for our present purpose to have shewn that Communism cannot be ideally Anarchistic, because it does not in the least do away with the necessity for *compelling* people to pay for what they consume; and even when the growth of human character removes that difficulty there will still remain the question of those commodities to which the simple Communist method of so-called "free distribution" is inapplicable. One practical point more requires a word; and that is the difficulty of communizing any branch of distribution without first collectivizing it. For instance, we might easily communize the postal service by simply announcing that in future letters would be carried without stamps just as they now are with them, the cost being thrown entirely upon imperial taxation. But if the postal service were, like most of our distributive business, in the hands of thousands of competing private traders, no such

change would be directly possible. Communism must grow out of Collectivism, not out of anarchic private enterprise. That is to say, it cannot grow directly out of the present system.

But must the transition system therefore be a system of despotic coercion? If so, it will be wrecked by the intense impulse of men to escape from the domination of their own kind. In 1888 a Russian subject, giving evidence before the Sweating Inquiry in the House of Lords, declared that he left the Russian dominion, where he worked thirteen hours a day, to work eighteen hours in England, *because he is freer here*. Reason is dumb when confronted with a man who, exhausted with thirteen hours' toil, will turn to for another five hours for the sake of being free to say that Mr. Gladstone is a better man than Lord Salisbury, and to read Mill, Spencer, and *Reynold's Newspaper* in the six hours left to him for sleep. It brings to mind the story of the American judge who tried to induce a runaway slave to return to the plantation by pointing out how much better he was treated there than the free wage-nigger of the Abolitionist states. "Yes," said the runaway; "but would you go back if you were in my place?" The judge turned Abolitionist at once. These things are not to be reasoned away. Man will submit to fate, circumstance, society, anything that comes impersonally over him; but against the personal oppressor, whether parent, schoolmaster, overseer, official chief, or king, he eternally rebels. Like the Russian, he will rather be compelled by "necessity" to *agree* to work eighteen hours, than ordered by a master to work thirteen. No modern nation, if deprived of personal liberty or national autonomy, would stop to think of its economic position. Establish a form of Socialism which shall deprive the people of their sense of personal liberty; and, though it double their rations and halve their working hours, they will begin to conspire against it before it is a year old. We only disapprove of monopolists: we *hate* masters.

Then, since we are too dishonest for Communism without taxation or compulsory labor, and too insubordinate to tolerate task work under personal compulsion, how can we order the transition so as to introduce just distribution without Communism, and maintain the incentive to labor without mastership? The answer is, by Democracy. And now, having taken a positive attitude at last, I must give up criticizing the Anarchists, and defend Democracy against *their* criticisms.

Democracy.

I now, accordingly, return to Mr. Tucker's criticism of State Socialism, which, for the sake of precision, had better be called Social-Democracy. There is a Socialism—that of Bismarck; of the extinct young England party; of the advocates of moralized feudalism; and of mob contemnners generally—which is not Social-Democracy, but Social-Despotism, and may be dismissed as essentially no more hopeful than a system of Moralized Criminality, Abstemious Gluttony, or Straightforward Mendacity would be. Mr. Tucker, as an American, passes it over as not worth powder and shot: he clearly indicates

a democratic State by his repeated references to the majority principle, and in particular by his assertion that "there would be but one article in the constitution of a State Socialistic country: 'The right of the majority is absolute.'" Having thus driven Democracy back on its citadel, he proceeds to cannonade it as follows:

"Under the system of State Socialism, which holds the community responsible for the health, wealth and wisdom of the individual, the community, through its majority expression, will insist more and more on prescribing the conditions of health, wealth, and wisdom, thus impairing and finally destroying individual independence and with it all sense of individual responsibility.

"Whatever, then, the State Socialists may claim or disclaim, their system, if adopted, is doomed to end in a State religion, to the expense of which all must contribute and at the altar of which all must kneel; a State school of medicine, by whose practitioners the sick must invariably be treated; a State system of hygiene, prescribing what all must and must not eat, drink, wear and do; a State code of morals, which will not content itself with punishing crime, but will prohibit what the majority deems to be vice; a State system of instruction, which shall do away with all private schools, academies and colleges; a State nursery, in which all children must be brought up in common at the public expense; and, finally, a State family, with an attempt at stirpiculture, or scientific breeding, in which no man or woman will be allowed to have children if the State prohibits them, and no man or woman can refuse to have children if the State orders them. Thus will Authority achieve its acme and Monopoly be carried to its highest power."

In reading this one is reminded of Mr. Herbert Spencer's habit of assuming that whatever is not white must be black. Mr. Tucker, on the ground that "it has ever been the tendency of power to add to itself, to enlarge its sphere, to encroach beyond the limits set for it," admits no alternative to the total subjection of the individual, except the total abolition of the State. If matters really could and did come to that I am afraid the individual would have to go under in any case; for the total abolition of the State in this sense means the total abolition of the collective force of Society, to abolish which it would be necessary to abolish Society itself. There are two ways of doing this. One, the abolition of the individuals composing society, could not be carried out without an interference with their personal claims much more serious than that required, even on Mr. Tucker's shewing, by Social-Democracy. The other, the dispersion of the human race into independent hermitages over the globe at the rate of twenty-five to the square mile, would give rise to considerable inequality of condition and opportunity as between the hermits of Terra del Fuego or the Arctic regions and those of Florida or the Riviera, and would suit only a few temperaments. The dispersed units would soon re-associate; and the moment they did so, good-bye to the sovereignty of the individual. If the majority believed in an angry and jealous God, then, State or no State, they would not permit an individual to offend that God and bring down his wrath upon them: they would rather stone and burn the individual in propitiation. They would not suffer the individual to go naked among them; and if he clothed himself in an unusual way which struck them as being ridiculous or scandalous, they would laugh at him; refuse him admission to their feasts; object to be seen talking with him in the streets; and perhaps lock him up as a lunatic. They would

not allow him to neglect sanitary precautions which they believed essential to their own immunity from zymotic disease. If the family were established among them as it is established among us, they would not suffer him to intermarry within certain degrees of kinship. Their demand would so rule the market that in most places he would find no commodities in the shops except those preferred by a majority of the customers; no schools except those conducted in accordance with the ideas of the majority of parents; no experienced doctors except those whose qualifications inspired confidence in a whole circle of patients. This is not "the coming slavery" of Social-Democracy: it is the slavery already come. What is more, there is nothing in the most elaborately negative practical program yet put forward by Anarchism that offers the slightest mitigation of it. That in comparison with ideal irresponsible absolute liberty it is slavery, cannot be denied. But in comparison with the slavery of Robinson Crusoe, which is the most Anarchistic alternative Nature, our taskmistress, allows us, it is pardonably described as "freedom." Robinson Crusoe, in fact, is always willing to exchange his unlimited rights and puny powers for the curtailed rights and relatively immense powers of the "slave" of majorities. For if the individual chooses, as in most cases he will, to believe and worship as his fellows do, he finds temples built and services organized at a cost to himself which he hardly feels. The clothes, the food, the furniture which he is most likely to prefer are ready for him in the shops; the schools in which his children can be taught what their fellow citizens expect them to know are within fifteen minutes' walk of his door; and the red lamp of the most approved pattern of doctor shines reassuringly at the corner of the street. He is free to live with the women of his family without suspicion or scandal; and if he is not free to marry them, what does that matter to him, since he does not wish to marry them? And so happy man be his dole, in spite of his slavery.

"Yes," cries some eccentric individual; "but all this is untrue of me. I want to marry my deceased wife's sister. I am prepared to prove that your authorized system of medicine is nothing but a debased survival of witchcraft. Your schools are machines for forcing spurious learning on children in order that your universities may stamp them as educated men when they have finally lost all power to think for themselves. The tall silk hats and starched linen shirts which you force me to wear, and without which I cannot successfully practice as a physician, clergyman, schoolmaster, lawyer, or merchant, are inconvenient, unsanitary, ugly, pompous, and offensive. Your temples are devoted to a God in whom I do not believe; and even if I did believe in him I should still regard your popular forms of worship as only redeemed from gross superstition by their obvious insincerity. Science teaches me that my proper food is good bread and good fruit: your boasted food supply offers me cows and pigs instead. Your care for my health consists in tapping the common sewer, with its deadly typhoid gases, into my house, besides discharging its contents into the river, which is my natural bath and fountain. Under color of protecting my person

and property you forcibly take my money to support an army of soldiers and policemen for the execution of barbarous and detestable laws; for the waging of wars which I abhor; and for the subjection of my person to those legal rights of property which compel me to sell myself for a wage to a class the maintenance of which I hold to be the greatest evil of our time. Your tyranny makes my very individuality a hindrance to me: I am outdone and outbred by the mediocre, the docile, the time-serving. Evolution under such conditions means degeneracy: therefore I demand the abolition of all these officious compulsions, and proclaim myself an Anarchist."

The proclamation is not surprising under the circumstances; but it does not mend the matter in the least, nor would it if every person were to repeat it with enthusiasm, and the whole people to fly to arms for Anarchism. The majority cannot help its tyranny even if it would. The giant Winkelmeier must have found our doorways inconvenient, just as men of five feet or less find the slope of the floor in a theatre not sufficiently steep to enable them to see over the heads of those in front. But whilst the average height of a man is 5ft. 8in. there is no redress for such grievances. Builders will accommodate doors and floors to the majority, and not to the minority. For since either the majority or the minority must be incommoded, evidently the more powerful must have its way. There may be no indisputable reason why it ought; and any clever Tory can give excellent reasons why it ought not; but the fact remains that it will, whether it ought or not. And this is what really settles the question as between democratic majorities and minorities. Where their interests conflict, the weaker side must go to the wall, because, as the evil involved is no greater than that of the stronger going to the wall,* the majority is not restrained by any scruple from compelling the weaker to give way.

In practice, this does not involve either the absolute power of majorities, or "the infallibility of the odd man." There are some matters in which the course preferred by the minority in no way obstructs that preferred by the majority. There are many more in which the obstruction is easier to bear than the cost of suppressing it. For it costs something to suppress even a minority of one. The commonest example of that minority is the lunatic with a delusion; yet it is found quite safe to entertain dozens of delusions, and be generally an extremely selfish and troublesome idiot, in spite of the power of majorities; for until you go so far that it clearly costs less to lock you up than to leave you at large, the majority will not take the trouble to set itself in action against you. Thus a minimum of individual liberty is secured, under any system, to the smallest

* The evil is decidedly less if the calculation proceeds by the popular method of always estimating an evil suffered by a hundred persons as a hundred times as great as the same evil suffered by only one. This, however, is absurd. A hundred starving men are not a hundred times as hungry as one starving man, any more than a hundred five-foot-eight men are each five hundred and sixty-six feet eight inches high. But they are a hundred times as strong a political force. Though the evil may not be cumulative, the power to resist it is.

minority. It is true that as minorities grow, they sometimes, in forfeiting the protection of insignificance, lose more in immunity than they gain in numbers; so that probably the weakest minority is not the smallest, but rather that which is too large to be disregarded and too weak to be feared; but before and after that dangerous point is weathered, minorities wield considerable power. The notion that they are ciphers because the majority could vanquish them in a trial of strength leaves out of account the damage they could inflict on the victors during the struggle. Ordinarily an unarmed man weighing thirteen stone can beat one weighing only eleven; but there are very few emergencies in which it is worth his while to do it, because if the weaker man resists to the best of his ability (which is always possible) the victor will be considerably worse off after the fight than before it. In 1861 the Northern and Southern States of America fought, as prize-fighters say, "to a finish"; and the North carried its point, yet at such a heavy cost to itself that the Southern States have by no means been reduced to ciphers; for the victorious majority have ever since felt that it would be better to give way on any but the most vital issues than to provoke such another struggle. But it is not often that a peremptory question arises between a majority and minority of a whole nation. In most matters only a fragment of the nation has any interest one way or the other; and the same man who is in a majority on one question is in a minority on another, and so learns by experience that minorities have "rights" which must be attended to. Minorities, too, as in the case of the Irish Party in the English Parliament, occasionally hold the balance of power between majorities which recognize their rights and majorities which deny them. Further, it is possible by decentralization to limit the power of the majority of the whole nation to questions upon which a divided policy is impracticable. For example, it is not only possible, but democratically expedient, to federate the municipalities of England in such a manner that Leicester might make vaccination penal whilst every other town in the island made it compulsory. Even at present, vaccination is not in fact compulsory in Leicester, though it is so in law. Theoretically, Leicester has been reduced to a cipher by the rest of England. Practically, Leicester counts twelve to the dozen as much as ever in purely local affairs.

In short, then, Democracy does not give majorities absolute power, nor does it enable them to reduce minorities to ciphers. Such limited power of coercing minorities as majorities must possess, is not given to them by Democracy any more than it can be taken away from them by Anarchism. A couple of men are stronger than one: that is all. There are only two ways of neutralizing this natural fact. One is to convince men of the immorality of abusing the majority power, and then to make them moral enough to refrain from doing it on that account. The other is to realize Lytton's fancy of *evil* by inventing a means by which each individual will be able to destroy all his fellows with a flash of thought, so that the majority may have as much reason to fear the individual as he to fear the majority. No method of doing either is to be found in Indivi-

dualist or Communist Anarchism: consequently these systems, as far as the evils of majority tyranny are concerned, are no better than the Social-Democratic program of adult suffrage with maintenance of representatives and payment of polling expenses from public funds—faulty devices enough, no doubt, but capable of accomplishing all that is humanly possible at present to make the State representative of the nation; to make the administration trustworthy; and to secure the utmost power to each individual and consequently to minorities. What better can we have whilst collective action is inevitable? Indeed, in the mouths of the really able Anarchists, Anarchism means simply the utmost attainable thoroughness of Democracy. Kropotkine, for example, speaks of free development from the simple to the composite by “the free union of free groups”; and his illustrations are “the societies for study, for commerce, for pleasure and recreation” which have sprung up to meet the varied requirements of the individual of our age. But in every one of these societies there is government by a council elected annually by a majority of voters; so that Kropotkine is not at all afraid of the democratic machinery and the majority power. Mr. Tucker speaks of “voluntary association,” but gives no illustrations, and indeed avows that “Anarchists are simply unterrified Jeffersonian Democrats.” He says, indeed, that “if the individual has a right to govern himself, all external government is tyranny”; but if governing oneself means doing what one pleases without regard to the interests of neighbors, then the individual has flatly no such right. If he has no such right, the interference of his neighbors to make him behave socially, though it is “external government,” is not tyranny, and even if it were they would not refrain from it on that account. On the other hand, if governing oneself means compelling oneself to act with a due regard to the interests of the neighbors, then it is a right which men are proved incapable of exercising without external government. Either way, the phrase comes to nothing; for it would be easy to show by a little play upon it, either that altruism is really external government or that democratic State authority is really self-government.

Mr. Tucker's adjective, “voluntary,” as applied to associations for defence or the management of affairs, must not be taken as implying that there is any very wide choice open in these matters. Such association is really compulsory, since if it be foregone affairs will remain unmanaged and communities defenceless. Nature makes short work of our aspirations towards utter impunity. She leaves communities in no wise “free” to choose whether they will labor and govern themselves. It is either that or starvation and chaos. Her tasks are inexorably set: her penalties are inevitable: her payment is strictly “payment by results.” All the individual can do is to shift and dodge his share of the task on to the shoulders of others, or filch some of their “natural wage” to add to his own. If they are fools enough to suffer it, that is their own affair as far as Nature is concerned. But it is the aim of Social-Democracy to relieve these fools by throwing on all an equal share in the inevitable labor im-

posed by the eternal tyranny of Nature, and so secure to every individual no less than his equal quota of the nation's product in return for no more than his equal quota of the nation's labor. These are the best terms humanity can make with its tyrant. In the eighteenth century it was easy for the philosophers and for Adam Smith to think of this rule of Nature as being "natural liberty" in contrast to the odious and stupid oppression of castes, priests, and kings—the detested "dominion of man over man." But we, in detecting the unsoundness of Adam Smith's private property and *laissez-faire* recipe for natural liberty, begin to see that though there is political liberty, there is no natural liberty, but only natural law remorselessly enforced. And so we shake our heads when we see LIBERTY on the title-page of Mr. Tucker's paper, just as we laugh when we see THE COMING SLAVERY on Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Man and the State."

We can now begin to join the threads of our discussion. We have seen that private appropriation of land in any form, whether limited by Individualist Anarchism to occupying owners or not, means the unjust distribution of a vast fund of social wealth called rent, which can by no means be claimed as due to the labor of any particular individual or class of individuals. We have seen that Communist Anarchism, though it partly—and only partly—avoids the rent difficulty, is, in the condition of morals developed under existing Unsociatism, impracticable. We have seen that the delegation of individual powers by voting; the creation of authoritative public bodies; the supremacy of the majority in the last resort; and the establishment and even endowment, either directly and officially or indirectly and unconsciously, of conventional forms of practice in religion, medicine, education, food, clothing, and criminal law, are, whether they be evils or not, inherent in society itself, and must be submitted to with the help of such protection against their abuse as democratic institutions more than any others afford. When Democracy fails, there is no antidote for intolerance save the spread of better sense. No form of Anarchism yet suggested provides any escape. Like bad weather in winter, intolerance does much mischief; but as, when we have done our best in the way of overcoats, umbrellas, and good fires, we have to put up with the winter; so, when we have done our best in the way of Democracy, decentralization, and the like, we must put up with the State.

The Anarchist Spirit.

I suppose I must not leave the subject without a word as to the value of what I will call the Anarchist spirit as an element in progress. But before I do so, let me disclaim all intention of embarrassing our Anarchist friends who are present by any sympathy which I may express with that spirit. On the Continent the discussion between Anarchism and Social-Democracy is frequently threshed out with the help of walking-sticks, chair-legs, and even revolvers. In England this does not happen, because the majority of an English audience always declines to take an extreme position,

and, out of an idle curiosity to hear both sides, will, on sufficient provocation, precipitately eject theorists who make a disturbance, without troubling itself to discriminate as to the justice of their views. When I had the privilege some time ago of debating publicly with Mr. G. W. Foote on the Eight Hours question, a French newspaper which dealt with the occasion at great length devoted a whole article to an expression of envious astonishment at the fact that Mr. Foote and I abstained from vilifying and finally assaulting one another, and that our partisans followed our shining example and did not even attempt to prevent each other's champions from being heard. Still, if we do not permit ourselves to merge Socialism, Anarchism, and all the other isms into rowdyism, we sometimes debate our differences, even in this eminently respectable Fabian Society, with considerable spirit. Now far be it from me to disarm the Anarchist debater by paying him compliments. On the contrary, if we have here any of those gentlemen who make it their business to denounce Social-Democrats as misleaders of the people and trimmers; who declaim against all national and municipal projects, and clamor for the abolition of Parliaments and County Councils; who call for a desperate resistance to rent, taxes, representative government and organised collective action of every sort: then I invite them to regard me as their inveterate opponent—as one who regards such doctrine, however sincerely it may be put forward, as at best an encouragement to the workers to neglect doing what is possible under pretext of waiting for the impossible, and at worst as furnishing the reactionary newspapers in England, and the police agents on the Continent, with evidence as to the alleged follies and perils of Socialism. But at the same time, it must be understood that I do not stand here to defend the State as we know it. Bakounine's comprehensive aspiration to destroy all States and Established Churches, with their religious, political, judicial, financial, criminal, academic, economic and social laws and institutions, seems to me perfectly justifiable and intelligible from the point of view of the ordinary "educated man," who believes that institutions make men instead of men making institutions. I fully admit and vehemently urge that the State at present is simply a huge machine for robbing and slave-driving the poor by brute force. You may, if you are a stupid or comfortably-off person, think that the policeman at the corner is the guardian of law and order—that the gaol, with those instruments of torture, the treadmill, plank bed, solitary cell, cat o' nine tails, and gallows, is a place to make people cease to do evil and learn to do well. But the primary function of the policeman, and that for which his other functions are only blinds, is to see that you do not lie down to sleep in this country without paying an idler for the privilege; that you do not taste bread until you have paid the idler's toll in the price of it; that you do not resist the starving blackleg who is dragging you down to his level for the idler's profit by offering to do your work for a starvation wage. Attempt any of these things, and you will be haled off and tortured in the name of law and order, honesty, social equilibrium, safety of pro-

perty and person, public duty, Christianity, morality, and what not, as a vagrant, a thief, and a rioter. Your soldier, ostensibly a heroic and patriotic defender of his country, is really an unfortunate man driven by destitution to offer himself as food for powder for the sake of regular rations, shelter and clothing; and he must, on pain of being arbitrarily imprisoned, punished with petty penances like a naughty child, pack-drilled, flogged or shot, all in the blessed name of "discipline," do anything he is ordered to, from standing in his red coat in the hall of an opera house as a mere ornament, to flogging his comrade or committing murder. And *his* primary function is to come to the rescue of the policeman when the latter is overpowered. Members of Parliament whose sole qualifications for election were £1000 loose cash, an "independent" income, and a vulgar strain of ambition; parsons quoting scripture for the purposes of the squire; lawyers selling their services to the highest bidder at the bar, and maintaining the supremacy of the moneyed class on the bench; juries of employers masquerading as the peers of proletarians in the dock; University professors elaborating the process known as the education of a gentleman; artists striving to tickle the fancy or flatter the vanity of the aristocrat or plutocrat; workmen doing their work as badly and slowly as they dare so as to make the most of their job; employers starving and overworking their hands and adulterating their goods as much as *they* dare: these are the actual living material of those imposing abstractions known as the State, the Church, the Law, the Constitution, Education, the Fine Arts, and Industry. Every institution, as Bakounine saw, religious, political, financial, judicial, and so on, is corrupted by the fact that the men in it either belong to the propertied class themselves or must sell themselves to it in order to live. All the purchasing power that is left to buy men's souls with after their bodies are fed is in the hands of the rich; and everywhere, from the Parliament which wields the irresistible coercive forces of the bludgeon, bayonet, machine gun, dynamite shell, prison and scaffold, down to the pettiest centre of shabby-genteel social pretension, the rich pay the piper and call the tune. Naturally, they use their power to steal more money to continue paying the piper; and thus all society becomes a huge conspiracy and hypocrisy. The ordinary man is insensible to the fraud just as he is insensible to the taste of water, which, being constantly in contact with his mucous membrane, seems to have no taste at all. The villainous moral conditions on which our social system is based are necessarily in constant contact with our moral mucous membrane, and so we lose our sense of their omnipresent meanness and dishonor. The insensibility, however, is not quite complete; for there is a period in life which is called the age of disillusion, which means the age at which a man discovers that his generous and honest impulses are incompatible with success in business; that the institutions he has revered are shams; and that he must join the conspiracy or go to the wall, even though he feels that the conspiracy is fundamentally ruinous to himself and his fellow-conspirators. The secret of writers like Ruskin, Morris and Kropotkine

is that they see the whole imposture through and through, in spite of its familiarity, and of the illusions created by its temporal power, its riches, its splendor, its prestige, its intense respectability, its unremitting piety, and its high moral pretension. But Kropotkine, as I have shewn, is really an advocate of free Democracy; and I venture to suggest that he describes himself as an Anarchist rather from the point of view of the Russian recoiling from a despotism compared to which Democracy seems to be no government at all, than from the point of view of the American or Englishman who is free enough already to begin grumbling over Democracy as "the tyranny of the majority" and "the coming slavery." I suggest this with the more confidence because William Morris's views are largely identical with those of Kropotkine: yet Morris, after patient and intimate observation of Anarchism as a working propaganda in England, has definitely dissociated himself from it, and has shewn, by his sketch of the communist folk-mote in his *News from Nowhere*, how sanely alive he is to the impossibility of any development of the voluntary element in social action sufficient to enable individuals or minorities to take public action without first obtaining the consent of the majority.

On the whole, then, I do not regard the extreme hostility to existing institutions which inspires Communist Anarchism as being a whit more dangerous to Social-Democracy than the same spirit as it inspires the peculiar Toryism of Ruskin. Much more definitely opposed to us is the survival of that intense jealousy of the authority of the government over the individual which was the mainspring of the progress of the eighteenth century. Only those who forget the lessons of history the moment they have served their immediate turn will feel otherwise than reassured by the continued vitality of that jealousy among us. But this consideration does not remove the economic objections which I have advanced as to the practical program of Individualist Anarchism. And even apart from these objections, the Social-Democrat is compelled, by contact with hard facts, to turn his back decisively on useless denunciation of the State. It is easy to say, Abolish the State; but the State will sell you up, lock you up, blow you up, knock you down, bludgeon, shoot, stab, hang—in short, abolish you, if you lift a hand against it. Fortunately, there is, as we have seen, a fine impartiality about the policeman and the soldier, who are the cutting edge of the State power. They take their wages and obey their orders without asking questions. If those orders are to demolish the homestead of every peasant who refuses to take the bread out of his children's mouths in order that his landlord may have money to spend as an idle gentleman in London, the soldier obeys. But if his orders were to help the police to pitch his lordship into Holloway Gaol until he had paid an Income Tax of twenty shillings on every pound of his unearned income, the soldier would do that with equal devotion to duty, and perhaps with a certain private zest that might be lacking in the other case. Now these orders come ultimately from the State—meaning, in this country, the House of Commons. A House

of Commons consisting of 660 gentlemen and 10 workmen will order the soldier to take money from the people for the landlords. A House of Commons consisting of 660 workmen and 10 gentlemen will probably, unless the 660 are fools, order the soldier to take money from the landlords for the people. With this hint I leave the matter, in the full conviction that the State, in spite of the Anarchists, will continue to be used against the people by the classes until it is used by the people against the classes with equal ability and equal resolution.

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TRUE AND FALSE.

BY

SIDNEY WEBB, L.C.C.

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SOCIALISM: TRUE AND FALSE.

I do not know whether many of those here present are aware that we celebrate to-night what may be regarded as the tenth anniversary of the foundation of this Society. It was on the 4th of January, 1884, that the little group which had been for some months discussing the Regeneration of the World and a Fellowship of the New Life, formally adopted the title of the Fabian Society — thereby indicating, as I take it, an underlying suspicion that the Devil of Individualism was not to be driven out by any short and sharp encounter, but that it behoved all true believers to watch and wait and diligently equip themselves for a warfare which must necessarily be harassing and protracted. But though we took the title of the Fabian Society in January, 1884, it was two or three years before we had quite found out what our instinctive choice of a title really portended. In 1884 the Fabian Society, like the other Socialist organizations, had its enthusiastic young members—aye, and old ones, too—who placed all their hopes on a sudden tumultuous uprising of a united proletariat, before whose mighty onrush, kings, landlords and capitalists would go down like ninepins, leaving society quietly to re-sort itself into Utopia. The date for this Social Revolution was sometimes actually fixed for 1889, the centenary of the opening of the French Revolution. I remember myself that one of our friends, in his zeal that the rural districts might not be forgotten, printed and circulated a proposal that a few Socialist missionaries should buy a gipsy caravan and live in it “until the Revolution,” an event evidently to be expected before the ensuing winter!†

It was against all thinking and teaching of this catastrophic kind that the Society gradually came to set its face—not, as I believe, because we were any less in earnest in our warfare against existing evils, or less extreme in our remedies, but because we were sadly and sorrowfully driven to the conclusion that no sudden or simultaneous transformation of society from an Individualist to a Collectivist basis was possible, or even thinkable.‡

* A Lecture delivered to the Fabian Society, 21st January, 1894, by Sidney Webb.

† Out of enthusiasm of this sort has grown the extremely practical rural propaganda by means of travelling vans, now carried on by various societies. See the interesting annual reports of the “Red Van” campaigns of the English Land Restoration League for 1892 and 1893 (8 Duke Street, Adelphi, London).

‡ The process of education amid which the Fabian Society settled down to this view is described in Fabian Tract No. 41, *The Fabian Society: What it has done and how it has done it*, by G. Bernard Shaw.

On the other hand we had but little sympathy with schemes for the regeneration of mankind by the establishment of local Utopias, whether in Cumberland or in Chili. To turn our back on the Unearned Increment and the Machine Industry seemed a poor way of conquering them. We had no faith in the recuperative qualities of spade husbandry or in any devices for dodging the Law of Rent. In short, we repudiated the common assumption that Socialism was necessarily bound up with Insurrectionism on the one hand or Utopianism on the other, and we set to work to discover for ourselves and to teach to others how practically to transform England into a Social Democratic Commonwealth.

Well, we have I hope, all learnt a great deal since 1884, but everything that has happened during these ten years has strengthened our faith in the fundamental principles of our association. If I might speak in the name of our members, I should say that we are more than ever convinced of the utter impossibility of what may be called Catastrophic Socialism, and all its attendant heresies. Nor have we seen reason to alter our distrust of separate Socialist communities, in whatever specious new form the old idea may clothe itself. For ten years we have held on our course, turning neither to Insurrectionism on the one hand nor to Utopianism on the other.

If now I briefly recal to your mind some instances of the progress of Collectivist ideas during these years, I trust that no one will imagine that I am attempting to claim that progress as the work of the Fabian Society, or indeed of any society whatever. Nothing is more futile than to endeavor to ascribe the exact cause and origin of a general intellectual movement, of which we are, indeed, ourselves a product. The seeds of the Socialist harvest of the last few years were sown by the great thinkers and teachers of the last two generations; and it would be idle to attempt to measure the exact influence of any one of them in the transformation of ideas amid which we are now living.

I take as a starting point, not 1884, but the year 1880, which as I conceive, approximately marks the turning of thought.

Fourteen years ago we may almost say that an unsystematic and empirical Individualism reigned supreme. Not in one political party alone, or in one class of society, but in all alike, we find the assumption that the functions of government ought to be reduced to the barest minimum; that free competition, leading as it was supposed to the survival of the fittest, was the only sure foundation of a prosperous State; and that the incessant private "war which leads each man to strive to place himself on another's shoulders and to remain there,"* was, on the whole, a benevolent dispensation of Providence, and part of the "Laws of Nature," not impiously to be interfered with.

The Liberal Party, at that time almost exclusively dominated by the manufacturers and the Whig families, was living on the remnants of the political reputation of the Manchester School. A vague belief

* Sir Henry Maine, "Popular Government."

in the saving grace of non-intervention abroad and *laissez faire* at home, was vitalised only by a practical programme of the extension of household franchise to the counties. To the rising desire for social reform it presented no more hopeful solution than the economic negotiations of Nassau Senior and Fawcett. The object of all social reforms, authorised or unauthorised, was to enable the artisan to become a small capitalist, and the laborer a small landowner. "Three acres and a cow" in the country had its analogue in schemes of leasehold enfranchisement in the towns. As an alternative to the existing order of squires and captains of industry, we had offered to us a millennium of peasant proprietors and small masters. It is needless to enlarge upon the self-complacency with which both Liberal and Conservative capitalists delighted in reminding the working-men of all the future possibilities of self-advancement, when land should be "free," food cheap, and industrial competition unrestricted. The epics of this faith have been written by that unconscious corrupter of youth, Mr. Samuel Smiles, and are still fresh in the memories of most of us.

In 1880, Mr. Gladstone came into power on a wave of popular indignation against atrocities in Bulgaria, which dispensed with the necessity for any programme of social reforms in England. The political Radicals, swept along by the same wave, were too busy denouncing international aggression to be effective even on fiscal reform and political democracy, beyond which they had practically no vision. The Conservatives, less traditionally bound to Administrative Nihilism, had just consolidated the Factory Acts, but their leaders had been so far perverted as deliberately to leave the whole range of sweated trades outside the effective scope of the law and to give up all attempts to shorten the hours of labor. Even the working-men had been permeated by the same policy. The Trade Union leaders could think of only four trivial amendments to propose to the Factory Bill of 1878. The Trade Union Congress of those years asked for practically nothing but an Employers' Liability Bill. In 1879 there were a great many more unemployed than there have ever been since, but no responsible authority thought of anything but charity or poor relief for them. Free Education, Extension of the Factory Acts, Limitation of the Hours of Labor, Expansion of Municipal Activity, though all proposed long before, seem, in 1880, scarcely to have entered the heads of any of those who were leading either the Conservative, the Liberal, the Radical, or the Trade Union forces. But more striking even than this barrenness of programme was the total absence of any systematic view of politics as a whole. In this respect the most advanced statesmen of fourteen years ago stood in marked contrast with the Philosophic Radicals of the first half of the century. I will quote the significant comment of a shrewd critic of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet:

"James Mill and his school had two characteristics which have not always marked energetic types of Liberalism, and perhaps do not mark them in our own day. The advanced Liberals of his time were systematic, and they were constructive. They surveyed society and

institutions as a whole ; they connected their advocacy of political and legal changes with theories of human nature ; they considered the great art of government in connection with the character of man, his proper education, his potential capacities. They could explain in the large dialect of a definite scheme what were their aims and whither they were going. . . . Is there any such approach to a body of systematic political thought in our own day? We cannot say that there is."^{*}

Now, in estimating the progress of Collectivism between 1880 and 1894, I do not propose to make any parade of the membership and influence of the various Socialist societies, which seem to me to be, at the present time, far greater than at any previous period. Nor will I recite a long list of bills which have been passed during the last fourteen years, and claim these as more or less triumphs of Collectivism. It would be easy to argue that the multiplication of municipal gasworks is an unconscious adoption of the principle of Socialism, just as the freeing of schools and the building of gratuitous libraries is of that of Communism. But what we Socialists are aiming at is not to secure this or that reform, still less to put this or that party into power, but to convert the great mass of the English people to our own views. We are trying to satisfy the ordinary man, not merely that most of the existing arrangements of society are fundamentally defective—for on that point the great majority have always been most painfully convinced—but also that the main principle of reform must be the substitution of Collective Ownership and Control for Individual Private Property in the means of production. In short, the Socialist task is to contribute to this generation the "body of systematic political thought," of which Mr. John Morley was in 1882 deploring the lack. Though we cannot count among our ranks any men of the calibre of Bentham and James Mill, though we have neither the wealth nor the position of the Philosophic Radicals of the first part of the century, yet I take it that the work set before us is analogous to theirs. The Socialists are the Benthamites of this generation. And if I had to sum up the effect upon the public mind of the Socialist propaganda of the past fourteen years, I could find no better description than that given of the work of the Benthamites.

"They produced," says a very competent observer, "a much more serious effect on public opinion than superficial inquirers perceived, or interested ones would acknowledge. The important practical effect was not made evident by converting and bringing over large numbers of political partisans from one banner or class to another, or by making them renounce one appellation and adopt another ; but it was shown by affecting the conclusions of all classes, and inducing them, while they retained their old distinctive names, to reason after a new fashion, and according to principles wholly different from those to which they had been previously accustomed. †"

* Mr John Morley, in a review of Bain's "Life of James Mill," *Fortnightly Review* vol xxxi, p. 503 (April, 1882).

† J A Roebuck.

It is, of course, especially in the economic and industrial field that we find this reasoning "after a new fashion, and according to principles wholly different from those to which they had been previously accustomed." It has become more and more plain that the facts of industrial life are "dead against" the realization of the individualist ideal of each man becoming his own master. The Industrial Revolution, with its aggregation of production into ever larger enterprises, has rendered it practically impossible for five-sixths of the population to be anything but hired servants, dependent on the owners of land and capital for leave to earn a living. At the same time the spread of economic knowledge has made it clear that even the most virtuous artisan cannot dodge the law of rent; and he is therefore left face to face with the grim fact of a colossal tribute levied by ownership upon industry without any obligation on the part of the receivers to render social service in return. It is especially the growing understanding of this Ricardian law of rent which has revolutionized London politics, and has caused the hostile indifference with which the artisan in other centres is coming to regard both the great political parties. The outcome of this new ferment is the formation of an incipient Collectivist body of opinion among the great bulk of the younger men, the rising London party, and the new-born Labor Movement.

The political effect of this change of opinion is seen in the gradual transformation of party programmes, especially on the Land question. In the Liberal party the new Collectivist section is in direct antagonism to the "old gang." Its aim is not the subdivision of property, whether capital or land, but the control and administration of it by the representatives of the community. It has no desire to see the Duke of Bedford replaced by five hundred little Dukes of Bedford under the guise of enfranchised leaseholders, but prefers to assert the claim of the whole community to the land, and especially to that "unearned increment" of value which the whole community creates. It has no vain dream of converting the agricultural laborer into a freeholder, farming his own land, but looks to the creation of parish councils empowered to acquire land for communal ownership, and to build cottages for the laborers to rent. The path to its town Utopia is that of Mr. Chamberlain's early career, though not of his political programme—unlimited municipalization of local public services and a wide extension of corporate activity. London in particular has caught up the old Birmingham cry of "High rates and a healthy city," but with a significant difference. Our modern economists tell us that the first source of public revenue for a rising city is the growing rental value of its site, which at present falls into private hands. Hence the new demand for the gradual municipalization by taxation of urban land values—a demand still so little understood by most of our statesmen that they fondly imagine it to have something to do with a division of rates between houseowner and occupier. It is coming to be remembered, in short, that Bentham himself, the great father of Political Radicalism, urged that taxation need not be limited to the supply of funds for the bare

administrative expenses of the State, but that, wisely handled, it also supplied a means of gradually securing the great end of equality of opportunity to every citizen.

The typical young politician, who twenty years ago was a convinced Individualist quoting Mr. Herbert Spencer, is nowadays an empirical Collectivist of a practical kind. His face is turned away from the Individualist ideal of his fathers towards a period of ever-increasing collective action. Happily, however, he is no Utopian, and realizes that it is impossible all at once to take over the administration of the land and capital of the community. Where direct public administration is still impracticable, the public interest can only be secured by collective regulation of the conditions of labor, in order to prevent the Standard of Life of the workers from being degraded by private greed. And hence it is that the extremely valuable mantle shared by Robert Owen and Lord Shaftesbury, and despised by the older Liberals, is now the joint heritage of the Labor party and the Collectivist Radicals; Eight Hours Bills, practicable and impracticable, are the order of the day, and drastic proposals for the annihilation of "Sweating" excite the undisguised horror of the older members of both Liberal and Conservative parties. And since all this regulation and supervision of private enterprises is burdensome and expensive, the presumption of the younger politicians is distinctly against individual profit-making where it is possible to dispense with it. The best Government is no longer "that which governs least," but "that which can safely and advantageously administer most."*

All this is encouraging progress for so short a period as fourteen years. But it amounts, of course, to no more than the preliminary steps in the conversion of England. Public opinion, in fact, is in "a fine state to begin on." Adhesion to Socialism is no longer a disqualification for a candidate. Politicians lend a willing ear to Socialist proposals. Now is the time to bring to bear a body of systematic and constructive political thought such as that with which the Philosophic Radicals won their great triumphs. The greatest need of the English Socialist Party at this moment is men and women of brains who will deliberately set themselves, by serious study, to work out the detailed application of Collectivist principles to the actual problems of modern life. We need to do a great deal more hard thinking in almost every department of our Socialist programme. I am appalled when I realise how little attention we have yet been able to pay to what I may call the Unsettled Questions of Democratic Administration.

To take, for instance, the pressing problem of the Unemployed. In my humble judgment no plan has yet been devised by which the fluctuations of work could be entirely prevented, or safe and profitable employment found for those rendered idle by no fault of their own. It is easy enough to demand that something should be done;

* A more detailed account of this change of thought will be found in *Faithful Essays on Socialism*, and in the writer's *Socialism in England*.

and I entirely agree with agitating the subject; but something more than agitation is required. It is of no use urging remedies which can be demonstrably proved to be worse for the patient than the disease itself. I fear that if we were given full power to-morrow to deal with the unemployed all over England we should find ourselves hard put to it how to solve the problem.* Or to turn to another field, in which practically nothing has yet been done. Have we any clear and decided view as to the relation between central and local authorities? How far do we wish to increase the power of the national administration at the expense of local governing bodies—to what extent, that is, will our Social-Democracy be consistent with local Home Rule? The Glasgow Town Council, for instance, is at this moment quarrelling with the Postmaster-General as to whether the telephone shall fall within the sphere of municipal or of national Socialism. It is evident that some departments of public administration can be best managed from one central office. It is, I suppose, equally evident that others must be administered locally, under some kind of central control. But which subjects should be local and which should be central—upon what principle the division should be made, and in what form and to what extent there should be a central control—these are problems to which, as far as I know, no solution has been found and very little serious thought been given.

I do not suggest that we Socialists are more ignorant than other people: on the contrary, the two puzzles that I have chosen are at present puzzles to the whole world. But the whole world is not equally interested with ourselves in getting a solution of them. Those who believe that nothing ought to be done for the unemployed are not likely to succeed in finding anything; and we can hardly expect those who object to any extension of Democracy to help us to solve the problems which it presents. It is we who must discover the answers to our own conundrums; and I do most seriously suggest that there is no more valuable field of work for any group of Socialists, no more fruitful service to the Socialist cause, than for them earnestly and persistently to study, in the light of the ascertained facts, some one of the many social problems to which we have to apply our Socialist faith. Depend upon it, the first step to getting what we want is a very clear and precise knowledge of what it is that we want.

But this want of precision in our thinking may easily do worse than merely delay our progress; there is, as it seems to me, a good deal of danger of its leading us positively astray from the Socialist goal. The circumstances of modern life are so complicated, the problems to be dealt with are so difficult, the need for prompt action is often so great that we may easily be led to take up schemes of reform which promise some immediate improvement on the present

* The student beginning this subject should, as the first step, master the Blue Book of the Labor Department, *Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed*, published October, 1893, price 1s. 9d (C—7182).

state of things, but which are not really in the line of advance towards a genuine Collectivism.

Here I venture on dangerous ground. But if we are to clear up our ideas, and apply our Socialist principles to the practical problems of life, we must definitely make up our mind between contrary ideals. If our aim is the transformation of England into a Social-Democracy, we must frankly accept the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution, the factory system, the massing of population in great cities, the elaborate differentiation and complication of modern civilization, the subordination of the worker to the citizen, and of the individual to the community. We must rid ourselves resolutely of those schemes and projects of bygone Socialisms which have now passed out of date, as well as from the specious devices of Individualism in a new dress. All these I class together as Spurious Collectivism, making, in my view, not for social progress, but for reaction.

Utopia-founding.

And first let us deal with the ideas of those amiable enthusiasts who are still bent on the establishment of ideal communities. Scarcely a year passes without some new project for the formation of a perfect Socialist colony in Paraguay or Peru, Mexico or Matabeleland, where all the evils of landlordism and the machine industry are to be avoided. The authors of such schemes are often chided for their unbounded belief in human nature. To me, on the contrary, they seem to be throwing up the sponge in despair. Their disgust with the world of competition and Individualism, their impatience with the slow and gradual methods of Democratic progress, come, really not from too much but from too little faith in humanity. "I see very little hope for the workers as a class," writes one of them, "even if they get all they want—our best plan for the present is to form for ourselves a little backwater outside the force of the main current, so that we ourselves may not be entirely swept away—a little space free from the mists and miasma of competition, so that we, at least, may breathe the fresh air of freedom and brotherhood."*

Now I do not for a moment wish to discourage any young Socialist who feels a burning desire to shake the dust of civilization off his feet. Nevertheless, the aim of the modern Socialist movement, I take it, is not to enable this or that comparatively free person to lead an ideal life, but to loosen the fetters of the millions who toil in our factories and mines, and who cannot possibly be moved to Freeland or Topolobampo. For the last two generations we have had social prophets, who, seeing the impossibility of at once converting the whole country, founded here and there small companies of the faithful, who immediately attempted to put into practice whatever complete ideal they professed. The gradual adoption of this ideal by the whole people was expected from the steady expansion of these isolated communities. But in no single case has this expectation been ful-

* Letter in *Brotherhood*, January, 1894.

filled. Most of these isolated colonies outside the world have failed. Some few, under more favorable circumstances, have grown prosperous. But whether they become rich or remain poor, they appear to me equally disastrous to the real progress of Socialism inside the world as we know it.

Wise prophets nowadays do not found a partial community which adopts the whole faith ; they cause rather the partial adoption of their faith by the whole community. Incomplete reform is effected in the world of ordinary citizens, instead of complete reform outside of it. Genuine Socialism grows by vertical instead of horizontal expansion ; we must make ever more Socialistic the institutions amid which we live, instead of expecting them to be suddenly superseded by any new set imported from elsewhere. By this method progress may be slow, but failure is impossible. No nation having once nationalized or municipalized any industry has ever retraced its steps or reversed its action.

Sometimes, however, the Utopia-founder comes in more dangerous guise. He propounds his scheme, not entirely as a Socialist colony, but as a means of providing for the unemployed. Here is one of the latest of these proposals, put forward by a comrade whom we all respect for sincerity and boundless energy :

" The Easiest Way to Socialism.

" In the present crisis, with the unemployed clamoring for immediate relief and every humane heart in the country backing their plea, the most suitable and hopeful governmental way of ushering in a Socialistic State is to found for them a partial and optional Co-operative Commonwealth. This is now, probably, in the present state of public opinion, the most convenient and easy end to begin at ; better even than any general scheme of land nationalization, or the nationalization of anything else. Let the nation acquire immediately, with public money or public credit, just enough of the 6,000,000 untilled or half-tilled acres of the country to set those to work productively who ask for employment ; let these, under proper guidance, make some sort of rough dwellings for themselves and their families and one another, grow food, and supply mutually each other's pressing needs ; as far as possible, let each man and woman be put to the kind of productive work they have been respectively accustomed to ; and let those who have no skill be trained into usefulness ; let the workers' wages be a draft on the store they help to fill by their labor ; let there not be any loss of vote or any slightest stigma of pauperism connected with this public organization of industry ; and let its internal management be as democratic as may be found consistent with the preservation of order and efficiency. Such an organization—a little optional co-operative commonwealth, free to every citizen—would become, in all probability, the nucleus of the coming Socialistic State. The standard of comfort in it at first would not be very high ; but, freer from the burden of landlordism and capitalism than the rest of the country, it would be bound to rise rapidly and steadily, and would attract permanently a larger and ever larger proportion of the nation and more and more skilled workers, until well-nigh all the industry and commerce of the country were absorbed into it."

Could there be a more enticing mirage ? Solve the problem of the Unemployed and establish a Social-Democratic Republic at one stroke ! What a contrast to such pettifogging work as slowly and with infinite difficulty building up a Municipal Works Department under the London County Council ; fighting to recover, inch by

* Editorial in *Brotherhood*, December, 1893.

inch, the control of the Thames, the docks and the water supply; puzzling out the means of so perfecting the Mines and Railways Regulation Acts, the Factory and Public Health and Licensing Codes, that the degradation of the Standard of Life and the manufacture of fresh unemployed may be arrested; discovering how to recover for the use of the whole community an ever larger share of the rent and interest going into idle pockets; organizing, educating, and disciplining the workers into Trade Unions; painfully elaborating a network of schools and classes which shall day by day open out to the poorest child in the remotest corner of the realm more of the real treasures of civilization. Why not drop all this and concentrate our efforts on the simple expedient of persuading a Parliament of landlords and capitalists to vote the necessary sixty or a hundred and sixty millions sterling, to buy and stock 6,000,000 acres of land on which our out-of-works may be "freer from the burden of landlordism and capitalism than the rest of the country"? I do not wish to-night to discuss the problem of the Unemployed. It is, I think, probable that, as regards one class of the Unemployed, a term of servitude in an educational Labor colony on a small scale, managed in a proper way, would be the best (though an expensive) means of restoring them to the ranks of productive citizens. But to imagine that any such colony could be self-supporting, that the land which no capitalist will now till with expert farm laborers at ten shillings a week, would yield Trade Union rates of wages to a mixed crowd of unemployed townsmen; that such a heterogeneous collection of waifs and strays, without a common acquaintanceship, a common faith, or a common tradition, could be safely trusted for a single day to manage the nation's land and capital; finally, to suppose that such a fortuitous agglomeration of undisciplined human atoms offers "the most suitable and hopeful way of ushering in a Socialist State"—all this argues such a complete misconception of the actual facts of industrial and social life, such an entire misunderstanding of the process by which a Democratic society passes from one stage of its development to another, that I feel warranted in quoting it as an extreme instance of Utopia-founding.

What we Socialists are after is not any clearing out from our midst of those unfortunates who form the reserve army of Labor, even if this were possible, but the organization of public services in such a way that no such reserve army shall exist. We do not, for instance, want to set unemployed dockers or gasworkers to dig, but so to administer the docks and gasworks that there shall be no such constant fringe of casual labor. To the solution of this problem Utopia-founding, or any other scheme of "organizing the unemployed," helps just nothing at all.

Trade Sectionalism.

A more insidious form of Spurious Collectivism is that which makes, consciously or unconsciously, the trade and not the community the unit of administration, and which is expressed in the cry

of the land for the laborer, the mine for the miner,—I do not know whether we may add the school for the school-teacher and the sewer for the sewerman.

This Trade Sectionalism is of very old date. It was one of the earliest forms taken by the Socialist movement in this country. Under the system proposed by Robert Owen in 1833 the instruments of production were to become the property, not of the whole community, but of the particular set of workers who used them. The Trade Unions were to be transformed into "National Companies" to carry on all the manufactures. The Agricultural Union was to take possession of the land, the Miners' Union of the mines, the textile unions of the factories; each trade being carried on by its particular Trade Union, centralised in one "Grand Lodge."

Of all Owen's attempts to reduce his Socialism to practice, this was certainly the very worst. His schemes of factory legislation have raised the standard of life of millions of workers all over the world. For his short-lived communities there was at best the excuse that within their own area the competitive conflict between independent owners was eliminated. But in "the Trades Union" as he conceived it, the mere combination of all the workmen in a trade as co-operative producers would no more have eliminated commercial competition than a combination of all the employers in it into a joint stock company. His Grand Lodges would have been simply the head offices of huge companies owning the entire means of production in their industry, and subject to no control by the community as a whole. They would therefore have been in a position at any moment to close their ranks and admit fresh generations of workers only as employees at competitive wages, instead of as shareholders, thus creating at one stroke a new capitalist class and a new proletariat. Further, improvident shareholders would soon have begun to sell or pawn their shares in order to spend their capital, finally dropping with their children into the new proletariat; whilst the enterprising and capable shareholders were trafficking in their shares to buy into other and momentarily more profitable trades. Thus there would have been not only a capitalist class and a proletariat, but a speculative stock market. Finally there would have come a competitive struggle between the companies to supplant one another in the various departments of industry. Thus the shipwrights, making wooden ships, would have found the boiler-makers competing for their business by making iron ships, and would have had either to succumb or to transform their wooden ship capital into iron ship capital and enter into competition with the boiler-makers as commercial rivals in the same trade. Moreover the whole effect of economic rent was entirely overlooked. The fact that the expenditure of labor required to bring articles of the same desirability to market varies enormously accordingly to natural variations in fertility of soil, distance to be traversed, proximity to good highways, waterways or ports, accessibility of water power or steam fuel, and a hundred other circumstances, including the organising ability and executive dexterity of the producer, was left

out of account. Owen assumed that the labor of the miner and that of the agricultural laborer would spontaneously exchange equitably at par of hours and minutes when the miners had received a monopoly of the bowels of the country, and the agricultural laborers of its skin. He did not even foresee that the Miners' Union might be inclined to close its ranks against recruits from the farm laborers, or that the Agricultural Union might refuse to cede sites for the Builders' Union to work upon. In short, the difficult economic problem of the equitable sharing of the advantages of superior sites and opportunities never so much as occurred to the enthusiastic adherents of William Thompson's theory, afterwards to be elaborated by Karl Marx, that all exchange values could be measured in terms of "Labor Time" alone.*

Now, I do not suggest that we are in danger of any complete revival of Owen's Trade Sectionalism. But I often hear Socialists drop into proposals which tend in that direction. The impatience manifested when it is pointed out that Trade Unions will continue to be necessary in a Social-Democratic State; the reluctance which many Socialists exhibit to regarding Board Schools or Woolwich Arsenal as essentially Socialistic institutions; the proposals occasionally made that the operatives in each trade should elect the managers of it or fix their own hours of labor—all these seem to me to be survivals of Owen's principles, diametrically opposed to modern Socialism. But let me take an actual example from France—a land where all parties are supposed to be more strictly logical in their thinking than those of our compromising island. The other day, Monsieur Goblet, with, as I understand, the concurrence and support of the whole of the Socialist members of the Assembly, proposed, as a Socialist measure, that the present coalowners should, under certain circumstances, be expropriated, and the mines transferred—not to the community as a whole, or to any town or district—but to the men actually working in each mine, who were to divide among themselves the profits hitherto enjoyed by the individual lessees of the mines. I have read a good many notices of this proposal, but I have nowhere seen it pointed out that, so far from being Socialist in character, it is really in direct opposition to Socialist principles. We do not desire to see the mines, and the profits from the mines, transferred to the miners, but to the community as a whole. How far the management should be national and how far local is an unsettled problem of Democratic administration. But to hand over the nation's coal to one particular set of the workers is, in my view, no more a Socialist proposal than the late Sir George Elliot's recent scheme for transferring it to a capitalist syndicate. What we as Socialists look for is, not the assumption by any trade of the management of that trade, but the extension of the public organisation of industry, whether under the Central Government, the County, the Town, or the Parish Council, in the interest of the community as a whole.

* The Owenite Trade Unionism of 1833-4—the "New Unionism" of its time—will be found described in *The History of Trade Unionism*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

Joint Stock Individualism.

If we reject Owen's Trade Sectionalism as a spurious form of Collectivism certain to develop into Joint Stock Individualism on a large scale, what are we to say to schemes which frankly begin and end with Joint Stock Individualism on a small scale? The zealous and devoted men who made the Christian Socialist Movement of 1848-54, and who got their ideals from Louis Blanc and the Paris Socialists of 1848, sought to replace the capitalist *entrepreneur*, not by the official of the community, but by little groups of independent workmen jointly owning the instruments of their trade, and co-operating in a "self-governing workshop." This dream of co-operative production by Associations of Producers still lingers vaguely about the Trade Union world, and periodically captures the imagination of enthusiastic reformers. It is still nominally recognised by the main body of co-operators as one of the ideals of their movement, and it enjoys the very vigorous advocacy of an association of its own. But alike in the Trade Union and the Co-operative worlds, the Association of Producers, necessarily sectional in principle and working for its own gain, is being rapidly superseded by the contrary ideal of an Association of Consumers, carrying on industry, not for the profit of the worker, but with the direct object of supplying the wants of the community in the best way.*

I should have thought there would have been no doubt as to the side that we Socialists should take in this controversy. It may be all very well for a little group of thrifty artisans to club together and set up in business for themselves in a small way. If their venture is prosperous they may find it more agreeable to work under each other's eye, than under a foreman. Co-operative production of this sort is at best only a partnership of jobbing craftsmen, with all the limitations and disadvantages of the small industry. From beginning to end it is diametrically opposed to the Socialist ideal. The associated craftsmen produce entirely with a view to their own profit. The community obtains no more control over their industry than over that of an individual employer. They openly compete for business with private firms and other associations of producers. The self-governing workshop belongs in fact, not to Socialism but to Joint Stock Individualism. Moreover, in the great majority of existing cases the so-called associations of producers have a darker side. There are capitalist partners who are not workers, and wage-workers who are not partners. In order to increase the gains of the members, their numbers are strictly limited, new hands are taken on at wages often below Trade Union rates, or worse still, work is given out to be done at home on the sweating system. The self-governing workshop becomes, in short, a little partnership of small masters, with all the attendant evils of that decaying form of industrial organization. The co-operative production of the self-governing workshop appears to me, therefore, Spurious Collectivism of a bad type.

* See *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, by Beatrice Potter.

On the other hand the co-operative production of the store and the two great co-operative wholesale societies is a genuine step in advance along our own lines. Unfortunately the distinction between the co-operation of associations of consumers, and that of associations of producers is often misunderstood. We have Socialists and Trade Unionists denouncing the great co-operative organizations of the North of England, with their million of members, and the forty millions sterling of annual trade which they have rescued from the profit-maker—denouncing, too, not their incidental shortcomings, but the very principle of their association; and upholding, on the contrary, what is I presume, supposed to be the more Socialist principle of profit-sharing or even of the self-governing workshop. The great boot-factory which the million of co-operators have built at Leicester for the supply of their own boots, is attacked on the ground that the profits of the bootmaking are not given to the boot-makers there employed, but are carried to the credit of the whole co-operative community of which the bootmakers can and do form part. The working-men of Rochdale or Leeds, who have joined together to organize on a co-operative basis the supply of their own wants, are reproached for not handing over some or all of the annual surplus of receipts over expenditure (for I will not call it profit) to the shop-assistants employed in their service. For the life of me I cannot see that this is a Socialist criticism. The whole of our creed is, that industry should be carried on, not for the profit of those engaged in it, whether masters or men, but for the benefit of the community. We recognise no special right in the miners, as such, to enjoy the mineral wealth on which they work. The Leicester boot operatives can put in no special claim to the profits of the Leicester boot factory, nor the shopmen in a Co-operative Store to the surplus of its year's trading. It is not for the miners, bootmakers, or shop-assistants, as such, that we Socialists claim the control and the profits of industry, but for the citizens. And it is just because the million co-operators do not, as a rule, share profits with their employees as employees, but only among consumers as consumers; because the control of their industry is vested not in the managers or operatives but exclusively in the members with one man one vote; and because they desire nothing more ardently than to be allowed in this way to make the whole community co-partners with themselves and participants in their dividend, that their organization appears to me to be thoroughly Collectivist in principle.

Industrial Anarchism.

I suspect, however, that there is something more than confusion of thought in the preference frequently shown by Socialists for the self-governing workshop run by the workers in it, over the Co-operative Factory or Municipal Works Department managed by the representatives of the community. In our capitalist system of to-day there is so much "nigger-driving," so many opportunities for petty tyranny, so frequently a bullying foreman, that I do not wonder when working-men look with longing upon an ideal which promises

to make them their own masters, if only in a small way. With this feeling everyone must sympathize. It is just because the conditions of the industrial servitude of the great mass of the people are so unsatisfactory, that we strive to make them citizens and workers of a Socialist State. But the desire of each man to become his own master is part of the old Adam of Individualism. The time has gone by for carrying on industry by independent producers, such as survive in the cobbler and the knife-grinder, or even by little associations of such producers, like the self-governing workshop in its best form.

Socialists who hanker after these delights have forgotten their Karl Marx. The steam-engine, the factory and the mine have come to stay; and our only choice is between their management by individual owners or their management by the community. As miner, mechanic, or mill operative, the worker is and must be the servant of the community. From that service Socialism offers no escape. All it can promise is to make the worker, in his capacity of citizen, jointly the proprietor of the nation's industry and the elector of the head officers who administer it. As citizens and electors, the workers we may presume, will see that the hours of labor are as short, the conditions of work as favorable, and the allowance for maintenance as liberal, as the total productivity of the nation's industry will afford. Organized in their Trade Unions, moreover, the workers in each department of the nation's service will know how to make their voice heard by their fellow-citizens against any accidental oppression of a particular trade.

And here I must mention a common misunderstanding of a Socialist phrase, the Abolition of the Wage System. Some of our Anarchist friends persist in quoting this as if it implied the entire abolition of the service of one man under the direction of another. To listen to their interpretation one would imagine that they suppose us to contemplate a reversion to the mythical time when every man worked as an independent producer, and enjoyed the whole product of his individual labor. I need hardly say that Socialism involves nothing of the sort. We propose neither to abandon the London and North Western Railway, nor to allow the engine-drivers and guards to run the trains at their own sweet will, and collect what they can from the venturesome passengers.

By the abolition of the wage-system we mean the abolition of the system now generally prevailing in the capitalist industry, by which the worker receives a wage not determined with any reference to his quota of the national product, nor with any regard for the amount necessary to maintain him and his family in efficient citizenship, but fixed solely by the competitive struggle. This competitive wage we Socialists seek to replace by an allowance for maintenance deliberately settled according to the needs of the occupation and the means at the nation's command. We already see official salaries regulated, not according to the state of the labor market, but by consideration of the cost of living. This principle we seek to extend to the whole industrial world. Instead of converting every man into an independent producer, working when he likes and as he likes, we aim at

enrolling every able-bodied person directly in the service of the community, for such duties and under such kind of organization, local or national, as may be suitable to his capacity and social function. In fact, so far are we from seeking to abolish the wage-system *so understood*, that we wish to bring under it all those who now escape from it—the employers, and those who live on rent or interest, and so make it universal. If a man wants freedom to work or not to work just as he likes, he had better emigrate to Robinson Crusoe's island, or else become a millionaire. To suppose that the industrial affairs of a complicated industrial state can be run without strict subordination and discipline, without obedience to orders, and without definite allowances for maintenance, is to dream, not of Socialism but of Anarchism.*

Peasant Proprietorship.

Is it to the influence of this same yearning for industrial anarchism that we are to attribute the persistence among us of such a spurious form of Collectivism as Peasant Proprietorship? I do not mean Peasant Proprietorship in its crudest form. I suppose that no Socialist desires to see the land of the country divided among small peasant freeholders, though this is still the ideal professed by many statesmen of "advanced" views. We are, I hope, all thoroughly convinced that economic rent in all its forms should enrich, not any individual, but the community at large. But it is not difficult to trace, in some of those who are keen advocates of Land Nationalization, survivals of economic Individualism. We see our esteemed friend, Michael Davitt, lending his influence, not to secure the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland, but to tighten the grip which half-a-million individual Irishmen have on their particular holdings. Many Scotch comrades, too, seem eager to "destroy landlordism" by converting the crofter into a freeholder. Even the Land Nationalization Society cherishes some project of allowing each Englishman, once in his life, to choose for himself a piece of what it professedly desires to obtain for all in common. This seems to me about as reasonable as to propose that each Englishman should be allowed, once in his life, to choose for himself one ship out of the Royal Navy, or that each Londoner should have the right, on his twenty-first birthday, to appropriate for his own use one particular corner of the London parks. The same spurious Collectivism runs through all forms of Leasehold Enfranchisement—a thoroughly reactionary movement which, I am glad to think, is nearly dead.† The agitation for Small Ownings has perhaps more vitality in it; but it is rapidly changing into an agitation for Small Holdings, owned and let by the Parish Council or some other Collectivist organization. But there are more insidious forms of this Peasant Proprietorship fallacy. What are we to say to comrades who demand that the County Council shall supply artisans' dwellings "to be let at the

* See *The Impossibilities of Anarchism*, by G. Bernard Shaw (Fabian Tract 45).

† See *The Truth about Leasehold Enfranchisement* (Fabian Tract No. 22).

cost of construction and maintenance only"? At present we allow the landlords of London to put into their own pockets sixteen millions a year of annual ground rental of the bare site. If we were to cover London with artisans' dwellings "let at the cost of construction and maintenance only," we should simply be handing over these sixteen millions of rental value, towards which the labor of all England contributes, to the particular tenants of our new dwellings. How, moreover, if all buildings are to be let at equal rents, are we to equalize the advantages of a flat overlooking Hyde Park and a similar flat out at Holloway? Since we cannot all live on the best sites, those who do must contribute, for the common benefit, the equivalent of the extra advantage they are enjoying. That is to say, a Socialist State or municipality will charge the full economic rent for the use of its land and dwellings, and apply that rent to the common purposes of the community. To follow any other course would be to fall into the Peasant Proprietorship fallacy.

Now I fully agree with those who urge greater unity of action and charity of conduct in the Socialist Movement. But we cannot rise above mere denunciation of existing evils, and get that "body of systematic political thought" which is at present our greatest need, unless we clear up our own ideas. To do this we must, in all friendliness, criticise any proposal that appears to belong to the Spurious Collectivism which at present confuses the issue. I hope we may learn scrupulously to abstain from personal abuse or denunciation. I trust we shall avoid imputing motives. But if we are to make any intellectual progress at all, we must have a great deal more frank discussion of the details of the Socialist programme. The movement gains nothing by a complacent toleration of Spurious Collectivism. I do not urge the universal adoption by all Socialists of a rigid practical programme complete in all its details. But our one hope of successful propaganda lies in the possession of exact knowledge and very clear ideas of what it is we want to teach. To mix up, under the common designation of Socialism, proposals which tend to Anarchism with those which tend to Collectivism, to accept Democracy and yet to dally with the idea of catastrophic Social Revolution, to confound Utopianism with modern State Socialism, to waver between a trade or workshop sectionalism and ownership by the community—all this argues a confusion of thought which is the worst possible equipment for a successful teacher. If we are to have anything like the success of the early Philosophic Radicals, we must be able, like them, to "explain in the large dialect of a definite scheme" "what are our aims and whither we are going."

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PARISH AND DISTRICT COUNCILS:

What they are and What they can do.

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PARISH AND DISTRICT COUNCILS :

What they are and what they can do.

THE public affairs of every Parish, Town and Poor Law Union in England and Wales are managed by Meetings and popularly elected Councils or Boards. Almost all adult men and most women who are householders are electors for these bodies, and are therefore responsible for their doings; and every man and woman and child in the kingdom is to a greater or less degree affected by the manner in which they do their work. This tract does not deal with London nor with County and Town Councils. It treats of the following local governing bodies created or affected by the Local Government Act of 1894, namely :

1. Parish Councils, together with Parish Meetings in the larger Parishes.
2. Parish Meetings without Parish Councils in the smaller Parishes.
3. Urban District Councils in smaller towns and thickly populated districts.
4. Rural District Councils, which have control in all places where there are no Town Councils nor Urban District Councils.
5. Boards of Guardians which cover the whole of England and Wales.*

The powers and duties of these bodies, and the rules governing their election and proceedings, are far from simple, and many people do not fully understand them. This tract is intended to explain them as clearly as possible to working men and women. If any part of the tract is not clear to any reader, or any point is omitted on which he wants information, he can write to the Secretary of the Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C., who will endeavor to send him a full and clear answer free of charge.

PART I. METHODS OF ELECTION.

Who are the Electors.

One set of rules decides who can take part in the election of all these bodies, that is to say, who can attend the Parish Meeting, and who may vote for Parish, Urban, and Rural District Councils and Guardians. The persons who are entitled to vote in these elections are called "Parochial Electors"; and they can vote at all of them, and no one else can vote at any of them, or has the right to attend and take part in the Parish Meeting. A Parochial Elector is any person, man or woman, married or unmarried, who is on the list of registered voters, either for Parliament or for the County Council;

* This tract does not deal with the Poor Law, but only with the manner of electing Boards of Guardians, and such of their duties as are not connected with the Relief of the Poor. See Fabian Tract No. 54, "Humanizing of the Poor Law."

or, in the case of married women, on the special list for the Parish. It makes no difference whether or not a person pays rates, or whether or not he has received poor relief.* Those on the register can vote, and those not on it cannot. A person can be registered as an elector in every parish for which he is qualified; and he can vote at the Parish Meeting and for the Parish Councillors in every such parish. But he can vote only in one ward of any one parish or urban district for Parish Councillors or Urban District Councillors; and only in one parish of any one union for Rural District Councillors and Guardians. In other words, he can vote only once in the election for any one Council.

Who can be Candidates.

Any person who is an elector for any of these bodies may be a candidate for it. And any person, man or woman, married or single, who has resided within the parish or district for twelve months before the date of nomination, may be a candidate. The rules as to residence are as follows:—For Urban District Councils it must be within the Urban District. For Guardians and Rural Districts it must be within the Union of which the Rural District forms the whole or a part.† For Parish Councils it must be in the parish or within three miles of its boundary. Residence cannot be exactly defined; this, however, is certain, that any person who has had a bedroom which he generally uses, and always can use, since March 25th of the preceding year, is a resident in that place.‡

Who cannot be Candidates.

No one may be elected a Councillor who is under twenty-one, or who is not a British subject, or who has, within the last year, received poor law relief (even if only medical relief), or who has within the last five years been made bankrupt or imprisoned with hard labor for any crime (mere imprisonment as alternative to a fine or for non-payment of rates, or of contribution to the Poor Law Guardians, does not disqualify), or who is concerned in any contract with the Council, or who holds any paid office under it. But a person holding a paid office from the Guardians or District Council can be elected a Parish Councillor, or a paid officer of the Parish Council can be elected a Guardian or District Councillor. And a paid officer of the Guardians can be an Urban District Councillor, and *vice versa*.

Moreover, a contract for letting or selling land does not disqualify. Therefore, persons who lease allotments to or hire them from a Council are not disqualified from being members of that Council.

How Candidates can conduct Elections.

There is no limit to the expenses which candidates at these elections may incur for election addresses, meetings, etc., but all such expenses will have to be paid by themselves. Only the official expenses of the election will be paid out of the rates.

* But of course persons who have received poor relief (other than medical) will be liable to have their names struck off the register at the next revision.

† Any person qualified to be elected a Councillor of a Borough is also qualified to be elected a Guardian for any parish within that borough.

‡ See the Local Government Act, 1897, sec. 1.

In Urban Districts, at elections of Councillors or Guardians, no meetings must on any account be held in public-houses, or clubs with licences to sell intoxicants, or even in places where refreshments of any sort are sold. A candidate for whom or by whom a meeting is held in such premises can be unseated for illegal practices.

But this rule does not apply to Rural Districts. In elections of Parish or Rural district Councillors, public meetings may be held in any place whatever; but rooms in licensed premises or places where refreshments are sold must not be hired or used as Committee Rooms.

No money must be spent on hiring carriages or bands, or for flags, ribbons, torches, etc. Every bill printed must bear the name and address of the printer and publisher.

Polling Agents.

For Parish Council Elections one-third or more of the candidates, but no less number, may appoint one joint polling agent to look after their interests in the polling booth and to prevent fraud. For District Council and Guardians Elections, each candidate, if there are only two, or one-third of them or more if there are more than two, may appoint one agent. He may be paid or unpaid, but, if paid, he cannot vote. A candidate may be appointed polling agent.

Every polling agent must be appointed in writing, and the appointment must be sent to the returning officer two clear days before the poll.

No person may go into the polling place except the Presiding Officer and his clerks, policemen on duty, polling agents, and persons about to vote.

The Use of School Rooms by Candidates.

In Rural Districts, candidates for District or Parish Councils have the right to use for election meetings any schoolroom which receives a Government grant, or any suitable room maintained out of the rates. But it has been held that the Parish Council or Meeting alone can demand the use of schoolrooms for this purpose. The Parish Meeting in every parish should therefore appoint a small permanent committee with instructions to obtain the use of the schoolroom for any candidate who desires it. It is desirable as a rule to give a week's notice, and meetings can only be held at times which will not interfere with the ordinary use of the school. The persons making use of the rooms must pay the cost of lighting, etc. This right does not belong to Urban Districts unless they have obtained from the Local Government Board the powers of a Parish Council. It appears to be seldom exercised.

Elections at the Parish Meeting.

Parish Councillors are nominated at the Parish Meeting on printed forms supplied by the clerk. Written forms are equally good if correctly made out. Each nomination must be signed by two Parish Electors. The law specially provides that no mistake in spelling or other error of that sort shall make a nomination invalid, provided it is quite clear who is the person nominated, and who nominates him. If the chairman decides that a nomination paper is

valid, no one can afterwards object to it. If he wrongly decides that a nomination is invalid, it would be possible, though very expensive, to reverse his decision by an election petition. The nominations must be handed to the chairman, who must read them over in alphabetical order. A person nominated may withdraw at the meeting *before* the voting takes place, but not after it, unless a poll is demanded. Before the voting, any elector can ask questions of the candidates, and all candidates, whether electors or only residents, have a right to be present and to reply to the questions asked, and it is the duty of the chairman to allow time for this to be done. At the meeting the candidates are voted for by show of hands. Candidates, if electors, can vote for themselves and practically electors can vote for as many candidates as they like; since, although the law says they must not vote for more than the number of Councillors to be elected, it gives the chairman no power to refuse any elector's vote.

Five electors, or one-third of those present if less than 13 are present, or one elector with the consent of the chairman, can demand a poll. A candidate has no right to demand it, except as an elector. Candidates can withdraw after a poll is demanded by a formal letter to the returning Officer, up to six days before the poll. But the nominators of a candidate cannot withdraw him.

Elections by Ballot.

All polls for Parish and District Councillors and Guardians are conducted under nearly the same rules. They are by secret ballot; each elector can give one vote and no more to as many candidates as there are vacancies.

Casual Vacancies.

Vacancies may be caused by a Councillor or Guardian dying, becoming disqualified through receipt of poor relief, bankruptcy, crime, etc. (see page 3), or by *failing to attend meetings for six months consecutively (unless prevented by illness or some other reason approved by the Council), or by resignation.* A person who ceases to be qualified by ceasing to be a resident or an elector, can remain a Councillor until his term of office expires.

PART II. DESCRIPTION.

The Parish Meeting where there is no Council.

In parishes of less than 300 inhabitants the governing body is usually the Parish Meeting. It must assemble at least twice a year. At the annual meeting, to be held between 1st March and 1st April, inclusive, it must appoint a chairman and two or more overseers, who together form the official body. Other meetings may be called at any time by the chairman or by any six electors. Documents must be signed by the chairman and two parochial electors at the meeting. If the chairman be absent, another may be elected, who will, during that meeting, possess all the powers of the chairman. All Parish Meetings in parishes with or without a Council must be held not earlier than six o'clock in the evening. This rule applies to Parish Meetings only, and not to meetings of any Council.

The Parish Meeting where there is a Council.

This must meet at least once a year, between the 1st of March and the 1st of April, inclusive, and in 1913 and every third year thereafter its business will be to receive nominations for the Parish Council, and to elect it unless a poll is demanded.

The chairman of the Parish Council has the right to preside unless he be a candidate for the Council. If nominated as Councillor he must, unless he declines to stand, at once ask the meeting to choose another chairman. In that case, or if the chairman of the Council is absent, the meeting may elect as chairman any parish elector.

The Parish Meeting has many other very important duties. It must consider the accounts of every Parish Charity. It can refuse to pass them, and can appeal to the Charity Commissioners if they are not satisfactory. It must be consulted if the Council propose to spend more than a 3d. rate. No right of way can be stopped without its consent. It has to decide whether the village shall have a recreation ground and free library, lights in the street, or a new burial ground. It can appoint committees, and it can pass resolutions on any subject that concerns the parish or any part of it.

It is the Parliament of the village, which has the right to assemble at any time and to discuss and demand redress of any grievances which the villagers have. It can instruct the Parish Council (that is, its Executive Committee) to take any action which it thinks needful; but it should be added that the Parish Council is not bound to obey its instructions, except in matters specified in some Act of Parliament. Whatever the Parish Council can do, however, the Parish Meeting can discuss.

It can be summoned by demand of any six parochial electors, or any two Parish Councillors, or by the chairman. The demand must be written, printed, or otherwise manifolded, and must be signed by the persons demanding the meeting. It must specify the time, place, and object of the meeting, and must be posted on the church door and in other conspicuous places in the parish. Seven clear days' notice must generally be given. Large parishes may be divided into wards, and small ones be united into groups; but each ward or each small parish has its own Parish Meeting and elects its own Councillors to sit on the common Parish Council. A ward has not a separate meeting for any purpose except electing Councillors.

The Parish Council.

This Council is elected at or after the Annual Parish Meeting in March or April, 1913, in every third year thereafter, and holds office for three years. Its first duty is to elect a chairman, who may be one of the members or any other person qualified to be a Parish Councillor for the parish. The chairman in all cases has a second or casting vote. It must also appoint a clerk. If there is a vestry clerk (appointed by the Act of 1850) he remains clerk. Otherwise, the Council may appoint one of its own members without pay. Failing this, the assistant overseer, if there is one, must be paid clerk. Failing either of these, any other person may be appointed, with or without pay. But the Council cannot have two paid

officers. The same person must be assistant overseer and paid clerk, except in parishes where there was a vestry clerk and an assistant overseer before 1895. The Council may also appoint as treasurer, without pay, a Councillor or any other person. A Councillor can resign by sending a letter of resignation to the chairman, and there is no fine for so doing. Vacancies in the Council are filled by the Council itself co-opting a new member. Meetings of the Council are open to the public unless a special resolution to the contrary is passed by the Council.

Other Regulations for all Rural Parishes.

ROOMS.—If there is a room belonging to the parish which can be had free of charge, the meetings are held there. But if not, then a room in an elementary school which receives public money, or in a police station or workhouse or other building maintained out of the rates, may be used free of charge, provided that the ordinary employment of the room is not interfered with. If none of these be available, a room may be hired. The Parish Meeting or Council may only assemble in a room in a public house when no other room can be obtained free of charge or at a reasonable cost.

These regulations apply to all Parish Meetings, to meetings of the Parish Councils, and to meetings held to consider about allotments. They do not apply to Urban Districts.

POLLS.—A poll may be demanded on any matter on which a vote has been taken at a Parish Meeting, and the demand may be made at any time before the conclusion of the meeting. Five electors, or one-third of the electors present (whichever number is the lesser), or one elector with the consent of the chairman, can demand a poll in the cases just named and for (1) the election of Councillors; (2) appointment of chairman or of a committee, or various matters connected with a committee; (3) appointment of overseer, and appointment or otherwise of assistant overseer; (4) appointment of trustees, or beneficiaries of a charity; (5) adoption of free libraries, baths and washhouses, and other Acts; (6) place and time of Parish Meeting; (7) the incurring of any expense; (8) applications or complaints to County or District Council; (9) and several other matters.

The Urban District Council.

In small towns and thickly populated districts, such as the suburbs of large towns, the local governing authority is usually an Urban District Council. It has powers and duties very similar to those exercised by the Town Council in large towns, except that it does not control the police. In an Urban District there are no Parish Meetings or Councils. The Rural District Council has no control over it, and its Guardians are separately elected. Urban Districts are usually divided into wards, each of which elects a certain number of members. The members sit for three years, one-third retiring each year; but the County Council may make an order that all the Councillors retire together every third year, if the Urban District Council, by a two-thirds majority of the members voting, applies for it. A chairman must be appointed, who may be elected from outside the Council. A vice-chairman, who must be a

Councillor, may also be appointed. The chairman has a second or casting vote, and, unless a woman, is a J.P. by virtue of his office.

A Councillor can resign by sending a letter to the clerk, but he must pay the fine determined upon by the bye-law of the Council, or failing such a bye-law, the sum of £25. A casual vacancy is filled by a fresh election, unless it occurs within six months of a new election coming in ordinary course, in which case it is not filled.

The Rural District Council.

In all parts of England and Wales outside London, except Boroughs and Urban Districts, there are Rural District Councils. That is to say, wherever there are Parish Councils or Parish Meetings, there are also Rural District Councils. Each of the parishes in any Poor Law Union, except the parishes in towns or urban districts, sends one or more members to its Rural District Council. If there is a contest, the election must be by ballot, and with this election the Parish Meeting has nothing to do. The Councillors sit for three years, and one-third of them retire every year. But the County Council can make an order, if the Rural District Council apply for it, that all the Councillors shall retire together once every three years, and in the great majority of cases this has been done. In these cases the elections usually occur in 1913 and every third year thereafter. The rules as to chairman, vice-chairman, retirement of Councillors, and casual vacancies are exactly the same as for Urban District Councils.

The Board of Guardians.

Boards of Guardians are elected all over England and Wales. In Rural Districts the Rural District Councillors are also Guardians, and, in Unions where there is no Borough or Urban District, the Rural District Council and the Guardians consist of the same persons sitting for different purposes and under different rules. In Unions which contain Urban Districts or Boroughs, the Board of Guardians consists of the Rural District Councillors elected in the Rural Districts, together with Guardians specially elected in the parishes which are in the Boroughs or Urban Districts.

The rule as to period of office is exactly the same as for Rural District Councillors.

The Board may elect a chairman or vice-chairman, or both, and not more than two other persons from outside their own body. But every person so co-opted must be qualified to be a Guardian in the Union. The chairman has a second or casting vote. Casual vacancies are filled in the same manner as in Urban District Councils.

PART III. POWERS.

Powers of the Parish Meeting where there is no Parish Council.

In parishes where there is no Council, the Parish Meeting possesses very nearly all the powers, duties, and rights of a Parish Council, and it can obtain all of them by application to the County Council.

If the parish has at least one hundred inhabitants, it may apply to the County Council for a Parish Council, and the application must be granted. A parish with less than one hundred inhabitants may also apply, but in this case the County Council is not obliged to grant the application.

It may also apply to be grouped with other parishes and so obtain a Parish Council.

The following are most of the powers and duties which the Meeting of a parish without a Council does not possess, but which it may gain by obtaining either a Parish Council or the powers of a Parish Council :—

- (1) Power to acquire land, by purchase or gift, for a recreation ground, for a parish hall, for allotments, or any other purpose.
- (2) The powers and duties of overseers and churchwardens in respect of rating appeals, and in respect of providing parish books, chest, etc., and a fire-engine and fire-escape.
- (3) Power to appoint additional trustees to certain charities, except where there is at present only one trustee.

With these exceptions, the whole of the following paragraphs, dealing with Parish Councils, apply also to parishes which have only a Parish Meeting.

Powers of Parish Councils.

ALLOTMENTS.

It is the business of the Parish Council to find allotments for those who wish them. It may purchase or hire land by a voluntary agreement with the landlord or, if he refuses to come to reasonable terms, the Council can ask the County Council to apply to the Board of Agriculture for an order compelling him to accept the terms, which are to be settled by an arbitrator appointed by the Board; and this arbitrator must not add to the price because of the compulsion. If the County Council will not move, the Parish can appeal to the Board direct. If the land is only to be leased, then the lease must be for not less than fourteen or for more than thirty-five years; but this term can be renewed at the will of the Council. Having acquired the land, the Council can adapt it for use by draining, fencing, road making, erecting buildings (including a dwelling house on any allotment of not less than one acre), and let it out to any one of the laboring population, or to a group of persons working as a co-operative colony, or to an association for the promotion of allotments. The rent must be sufficient to repay all the money that the Council has spent on the land, so that no charge shall ultimately fall on the rates; but a Council may levy a rate or raise a loan to meet the expenses in the first instance. For purchase of land a loan may be obtained from the Government, repayable in 60 years. So long as it repays the expenses, the Council can let as cheaply and on as favorable terms as it pleases. And the tenant in every case can remove any fruit trees or bushes for which he has no claim to compensation on giving up the tenancy. Allotments must not exceed five acres. Rights of common, or land for common pasture can be acquired for the use of allotment holders.

If a Council neglect to consider these matters, any six registered parliamentary electors or resident ratepayers can request (in writing) the Council to discuss the need of the neighborhood. Although these petitioners cannot force the Council to return a favorable answer to a request for land, this petition is a useful step to take, as it forces the Council to state its intentions.

If the Council refuse to provide allotments, the County Council can take over all the allotment powers of the Parish Council, and charge all the expenses on the defaulting Council.

HOUSING.

It is now the duty of Rural District Councils to build cottages under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890 to 1909, if there are not enough cottages in any village; and it is, by law, the business of Parish Councils and Parish Meetings to see that the Rural District Council does its duty.

The Housing and Town Planning Act, 1909 (sec. 10 (1)) says: "Where a complaint is made to the Local Government Board . . . by the Parish Council or Parish Meeting of any parish comprised in the district, or by any four inhabitant householders in the district," that the Rural District Council has not built houses when they were needed, or closed insanitary dwellings, the Local Government Board may, and in fact frequently does, order a local enquiry to be held, and if the case is proved, the Rural District Council may be compelled to act. The Parish Council or the Parish Meeting may also complain to the County Council that the Rural District Council has failed in its duty to build cottages (sec. 12), and the County Council may (and sometimes does) take over their powers and build the cottages needed at the expense of the district. These powers are new and very valuable. The Housing Acts are much cheaper and easier to work than they were a few years ago, and in villages much more use has recently been made of them than in years gone by.

CHARITIES.

The Parish Council has no control over ecclesiastical charities (which include charities given for sermons or for the benefit of the parson), or buildings used by one religious body, or erected mainly by or at the cost of the members of any particular religious denomination; except that in cases where the overseers used to be trustees, the Council now appoints trustees in their place.

In non-ecclesiastical charities the Parish Council appoints trustees, who hold office for four years, half of them retiring every two years.

The names of the people who receive doles from the charities must be published every year as the Parish Council think fit, and all accounts of charities must be laid before the Parish Meeting every year.

The Parish Council may undertake the management of a charity when the trustees transfer it to them of their own free will, and the Charity Commissioners approve.

Any new scheme affecting a charity must be presented to the Parish Council, or to the Parish Meeting where there is no Council, and they may oppose its being carried out.

But none of the provisions with regard to the appointment of trustees apply to any charities founded since 1854, unless the giver is alive and consents.

No trustee of a charity, his wife, or children may receive any benefit from the charity.

EDUCATION.

The Parish Council and, where there is no Council, the Parish Meeting, has the right to appoint one of the managers to every public elementary school in their area, and they can arrange with their County Council for continuation classes in technical education in the schools, such as gardening (every school should have its garden), bee keeping, woodwork, cookery, laundry work, in all cases for both boys and girls. They can direct their manager to get the School Managers to appoint a Care Committee for looking after the medical treatment and well being of the children. A Report on the Schools, prepared by the Parish Manager, should be presented once a year to the Council and by them to the Annual Parish Meeting.

MEALS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN.

By the Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, the Education Authority (the County, or in some cases the Urban District, Council) can (1) authorize any committee to provide meals for school children, and may pay for buildings, furniture, apparatus, service, etc., but not for food; (2) where children are underfed the Education Authority may pay for the food. In many parishes there is a great need for hot meals at midday for children coming from a distance, and the parents willingly pay the necessary penny. Parish Councils are the proper bodies to organize such canteens, under the Act, if the County Council consents, or outside it, by voluntary committees, if there is a difficulty in getting legal authority. The Parish Council delegate to the Managing Committee of the Parish School should be instructed by the Council to move in this matter.

RECREATION GROUND.

Every village in England ought to possess a recreation ground for games of all kinds. But owing to the enclosure of village greens, or the fact that it is nobody's business to get them in good condition and keep them so, a great many villages are without any convenient playground. The Parish Council is able to supply the want. It has power to buy, compulsorily if necessary, or to hire land for a recreation ground and to make regulations for its use, and if it is proposed to purchase the land, the money may be raised by loan.

FIRE AND WATER.

Protection against fire is the business of the Council. It can provide a fire engine, fire escape and hose, and organize a fire brigade; it can make arrangements with neighboring authorities to have the use of their appliances.

An unwholesome or insufficient water supply is a very common grievance in villages. It is the duty of the District Council to organize any new supply on a large scale. But the Parish Council may dig wells, put up windmills to pump the water, lay pipes to bring water from a stream up to the houses, and, in fact, make use of

any source of water within the parish in whatever way appears best, provided that they interfere with no one's rights, or that the matter can be arranged by agreement.

It has also power to put right any ill-smelling pond or ditch, and to call the attention of the District Council to any unhealthy cottage or other sanitary fault in the parish. If the District Council does not take action, the County Council may be appealed to, and may undertake the work.

ROADS AND FOOTPATHS.

Similarly, if the District Council does not repair the highways, the Parish Council may ask the County Council to do it instead. The Parish Council may also take steps to prevent any stopping of a right of way or enclosure of common or roadside waste; but when legal proceedings are necessary the District Council must undertake them. The Parish Council has power to buy by agreement any new right of way that would be of advantage of the people. It may also repair footpaths, except those at the side of the roads, and, if the Parish Meeting consents, it may lay out new walks and put seats along them. But it cannot, except by consent of the landowner, change the permanent condition of a path, for example, by laying down gravel where there has been none before.

THE VILLAGE HALL.

In every parish which can by any means afford it, there should be a hall with a library and reading-room, which should be at once the centre of the village life and interest, a place for all kinds of meetings, and a generally useful means of education. A museum, art gallery, and science and art school may be added. The Parish Meeting must consent to raising the money for such a building, but the Parish Council will have to erect and manage it. The cost will be paid out of the poor-rate, but the Council will have power to borrow for capital outlay. For the library, reading-room, etc., a special vote must be taken and a special rate made under the Public Libraries Act.

OTHER POWERS.

In the same manner the village may be lighted by oil, gas or electricity. Part of a river may be made convenient for a swimming-bath, or a building may be erected for that purpose which could be used in winter as a gymnasium. The Acts for these purposes must be adopted by the Parish Meeting. Fabian Tract No. 137, "Parish Councils and Village Life" (id.), gives particulars of what has been done by the Parish Councils of many villages.

EXPENSES.

The expenses of the Parish Council are paid out of the poor-rate, but a separate heading must be made to show how much of the rate is for these expenses. The Parish Council may not spend beyond the amount of a threepenny rate without the consent of the Parish Meeting, but with its consent the limit is sixpence in the £. But the cost of lighting the roads, maintaining a library or baths, and one or two other things are not included in this limit. For important undertakings the Parish Council may borrow money with the

consent of the Parish Meeting, the County Council, and the Local Government Board, but not any sum exceeding half the rateable value of the parish. The cost of Parish Meetings and elections to the Parish Council must be paid out of the threepenny rate

THE PAROCHIAL COMMITTEE.

The Parish Council may ask the Rural District Council to appoint a "Parochial Committee," and to make the Parish Council that Committee, with, perhaps, the addition of the district councillor for that district. Then the Parish Council (besides all its own powers) may exercise within its own parish nearly all the powers that the Rural District Council possesses, if they are delegated to the Parish Committee. The expenses for sewage and water supply will be kept separate, and will be charged on the parish in the poor-rate; but for other matters they will be shared over the whole district, just as if there had been no Parochial Committee, unless the Local Government Board confers powers specially for one parish. Thus the Croydon Rural District Council (Surrey) every year appoints Parochial Committees for five of its parishes, consisting in each case of the members of the Parish Council, together with the Rural District Councillors elected by the parish. These Parochial Committees, meeting in the parishes themselves, practically carry on the government, giving their orders direct to the rural district officials, and making formal reports to the Rural District Council, which are usually confirmed.

Powers of the Rural District Council.

Many of these powers have been referred to in the paragraphs dealing with Parish Councils, especially those connected with right of way, commons and wayside wastes, and water supply. The two chief concerns of the Council are:

1. THE MANAGEMENT OF HIGHWAYS.

The Council has the control of all the roads and bridges in the district, except the main roads, which the County Council manages, and it has the power to make new ones. It appoints the surveyor and employs the laborers required to keep the roads in repair.

2. THE CARE OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

This includes an enormous variety of matters of ever-increasing importance. It is the duty of the Council to undertake

- (a) The drainage of every village and hamlet in the district.
- (b) Scavenging and removal of dust and refuse wherever required.
- (c) Provision of a proper supply of good water.
- (d) Supervision of cellar-dwellings and inspection of lodging-houses.
- (e) The periodical inspection of all houses.
- (f) The closing of all dwellings unfit for human habitation, and compelling the owners of all insanitary cottages and houses to put and keep them in proper repair.
- (g) The provision of sufficient cottages for the working classes, if there are not enough, under the Housing of the Working Classes Acts, 1890—1909.

- (h) Inspection of shops of butchers and others, to prevent the sale of diseased and unwholesome meat and food, and of adulterated milk, food, or drugs.
- (i) The notification of infectious diseases.
- (j) The provision of hospitals and cemeteries.
- (k) The regulation of canal boats.
- (l) The preparation of town-planning schemes under the Act of 1909.

The Council will also have the duty of licensing gang-masters, pawnbrokers, game-dealers, and knackers' yards, and controlling the sale of petroleum. It has power to take over the control of commons, and to manage them, but the consent of the lord of the manor and the commoners must first be obtained.

To carry out these and other duties, the Council must employ a medical officer, and a sufficient staff of sanitary inspectors.

The Council, by a vote, or ratepayers rated to one-tenth of the rateable value of the district, can apply to the Local Government Board for the additional powers possessed by Urban Sanitary Authorities, which will enable it to deal with offensive trades, streets, new buildings, lighting, public pleasure grounds, cabs, and slaughter-houses.

Powers of the Urban District Councils.

These Councils have (1) all the rights and duties of the Rural District Councils except those which are exercised by a Rural District Council in connection with the Parish Councils of its district. As there are no Parish Councils in an Urban District, these powers and duties cannot exist.

It is the Sanitary Authority, and therefore exercises all the duties connected with the management of highways, and the care of the Public Health set out on page 13, and further, as an Urban Authority, it already has those powers, enumerated above, which a Rural District Council can obtain by application to the Local Government Board. It has nearly all the powers and duties of a Town Council, except the regulation of the police. In an Urban District these powers and duties are usually more important and urgent than in a Rural District, because the population is denser, and often consists almost exclusively of the working class, living in long, dismal streets of small houses.

The Council has the powers, under the Allotments and Small Holdings Act, 1908, which are possessed by Parish Councils for buying or hiring land for allotments. It can obtain, by application to the Local Government Board, all the other powers of a Parish Council, in particular those relating to charities, to the use of rooms, and to appointment of overseers and assistant overseers. It becomes the authority for all the adoptive Acts, as, for instance, those for providing Free Libraries and Baths and Washhouses. It has the power to build artizans' dwellings and cottages with an acre of garden wherever there is a demand for them. It has the right to appoint a manager of every public elementary school in its area, and if its population exceeds 20,000, it becomes the Education Authority and

has large powers and duties. (See Fabian Tract No. 156, "What an Education Committee Can Do: Elementary Schools." 3d.)

It can obtain powers, by private Acts of Parliament and otherwise, to erect, or buy and to manage gas works, electric light works, water works, tramways, markets, and parks.

Powers of the Board of Guardians.

By far the most important duties and powers of the Board of Guardians are the administration of the Poor Laws and the control of Poor Law relief. This is too large a question to be dealt with in this tract. Information on the subject will be found in Fabian Tract No. 54, "The Humanizing of the Poor Law."

The powers and duties of Guardians which are not directly connected with the relief of the poor can alone be touched upon here. They are as follows:—

(1) To determine the total sum required from each parish for relief of the poor of the Union, to hear and determine appeals against any assessment made by any overseer, and generally to be the Rating Authority.

(2) To register births and deaths.

(3) To register and inspect "baby farms" under the Children's Act.

(4) To enforce the Vaccination Acts.

(5) To appoint overseers where the Parish Authority fails to appoint them for three weeks after April 15th in each year.

(6) To act upon any special powers or duties imposed on them by any Act of Parliament.

NOTE.—Women as well as men are referred to in most places in this tract where the words he, his, him only are used.

Tract No. 76, "Houses for the People." A summary of the powers of local authorities under the Housing Acts, 1890-1909, and the use which has been and can be made of them. Revised 1910. 1d

Tract No. 109, "Cottage Plans and Common Sense." 1d.

Tract No. 137, "Parish Councils and Village Life." 1d.

Tract No. 148, "What a Health Committee Can Do." 1d.

Tract No. 156, "What an Education Committee Can Do (Elementary Schools)." 3d.

For advertisement of other Tracts see next page

BOOKS ON THE LAW.

CORNISH, H. D. District Councils: a Concise Guide to their Powers and Duties. 1908. Stevens. 7s. 6d.

Hadden's Handbook on the Local Government Act, 1894. 1906 Hadden 9s

MCLACHLAN, J. M. Urban District Councils: How they Work and How to Work them. 1911. King. 1s. net.

STONE, J. H., and PEASE, J. G. A Practical Ready Reference Guide to Parish Meetings and Parish Councils. 1898. Philip. 6s.

THOMPSON, W. What County Councils can do for the People. 1910. King. 6d.

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THE
Tenant's Sanitary Catechism
FOR PLACES OUTSIDE LONDON.

THE attention of householders and lodgers is directed to the powers given to local authorities and to the Local Government Board by the Acts mentioned below. Occupiers finding that their houses are not in the sanitary condition prescribed by those Acts, should fill in the answers to the questions printed below in the spaces provided for them, and should then send this paper, either signed by themselves or not, to the Sanitary Inspector for the district, who will be obliged when he receives it to enquire into the matter.

Any person employed in an insanitary workshop may use this form to describe it, and in such cases the form should be sent either to the Sanitary Inspector of the district or to the Factory Inspector, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., who will cause enquiry to be made.

This leaflet will also be found useful for anyone who is enquiring into the sanitary conditions of any district outside the County of London

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Name of town or village.	
2. Name of local sanitary authority.	
3. Name of street and number of house.	
4. Name of occupier or occupiers.	
5. Name and address of reputed owner.	
6. Has the house a water closet or an earth closet or privy for the sole use of its inmates?	
7. If not, how many (a) houses and (b) persons use the same closet?	
8. If a water closet, is it properly flushed with water from a cistern separate from that used for drinking purposes?	
9. Is any of the rooms fitted with a proper sink? Is the sink in sound condition and trapped?	
10. Is there a properly constructed dust bin or sanitary pail for the sole use of the inmates?	

QUESTIONS.

ANSWERS.

11. Is it regularly emptied?
12. Is the water supply abundant? Is it constant or intermittent? If from a well is it so situated and constructed as to be free from contamination? Are the cisterns, if any, regularly cleaned and in an accessible place for inspection? Are taps conveniently placed?
13. Are the floors throughout in a proper state of repair?
14. Is the roof sound and watertight?
15. Are the ceilings and walls clean and in repair and free from cracks?
16. Is any part of the house damp?
17. Is the back yard properly drained and paved?
18. Has the house through ventilation or is it a back-to-back house?
19. If underground rooms are used for sleeping in (a) what height are they from floor to ceiling, (b) what distance are they below the surface of the street, and (c) how are they lighted, ventilated and drained?
20. How many rooms are there in the house?
21. Is the house or are any of the rooms so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates?
22. Is any part of the house in such a condition as to be a nuisance or to be dangerous or injurious to the health of its inmates?
23. What is the space, back and front, between the house and the nearest buildings?
24. Are there any works near the house which cause bad smells or noises at night? Are there any factory chimneys which persistently pour smoke upon this dwelling?
25. What rent do you pay?
26. Was the house in proper condition when you became the tenant?

QUESTIONS.**ANSWERS.**

27. What is the size of the garden, if any?

28. Is the supply of good cottages in your district equal to the demand?

(Answers to 27 and 28 will indicate how urgent is the need of further enquiry with a view to forcing the local authority to use its powers to acquire land for small holdings and allotments and for building cottages.)

Signature

Address

Date

NOTES.

The following quotations and notes may be found useful.

PUBLIC HEALTH ACT, 1875.

Section 36. If a house within the district of a local sanitary authority appears to such authority . . . to be without sufficient water closet, earth closet, or privy, and an ashpit furnished with proper doors and coverings, the local authority shall by written notice require the owner or occupier of the house . . . to provide a sufficient water closet, etc. . . . Provided that where a water closet, earth closet, or privy has been and is used in common by the inmates of two or more houses, or if, in the opinion of the local authority, . . . may be so used, they need not require the same to be provided for each house.

(N.B. But the local authority should insist on each house having its own closet.)

Section 40 says that every local authority shall see that all drains, water closets, etc., within their districts are constructed and kept so as not to be a nuisance or injurious to health.

Section 41 gives the local authority power to charge the owner of a house the cost of putting the drains thereof in order.

Section 46. Where on the certificate of the medical officer of health or of any two medical practitioners it appears to any local authority that any house or part thereof is in such a filthy or unwholesome condition that the health of any person is affected or endangered thereby, or that the whitewashing, cleansing, or purifying of any house, etc., would tend to prevent or check infectious disease, the local authority shall give notice in writing to the owner of such house, etc., to whitewash, cleanse, or purify the same. . . .

Section 62 empowers the local authority to require houses to be supplied with water.

Section 90 gives the Local Government Board power to allow a local authority to make byelaws as to houses let in lodgings.

Section 91 defines a nuisance liable to be dealt with summarily under the Act as:

- (1) Any premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious to health;
- (2) Any pool, ditch, gutter, watercourse, privy, urinal, cesspool, drain, or ashpit so foul or in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious to health;
- (3) Any animal so kept as to be a nuisance, etc.;
- (4) Any accumulation or deposit which is a nuisance, etc.;
- (5) Any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family;*

* Overcrowding is defined in the Model Byelaws as being more than one adult to three hundred cubic feet of air space. Two children equal one adult.

(8) Any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling house) sending forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance.

Section 109 provides that on a second conviction within three months for overcrowding, the local authority may apply to a court of summary jurisdiction for a closing order for such time as the court may think necessary.

Section 157 gives power to urban local authorities to make various building by-laws to secure sanitary dwellings and to close buildings or parts of buildings in which the drainage, sanitary conveniences, etc., make them unfit for human habitation.

Section 114 says that if any house is rendered unfit for human habitation through offensive effluvia arising from any factory adjoining, any ten inhabitants in an urban district may complain to the local authority, who shall enquire into and abate it. A heavy fine may be imposed.

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890

Section 31. Any four householders in or near a street may complain in writing of the condition of any house or houses in that street, and the medical officer of health will then be compelled to inspect and report on their condition to the local authority.

Section 38 gives power to the local authority to order the removal of any building which, though not in itself unfit for human habitation, causes an obstruction to other buildings by stopping ventilation, impeding light, or preventing necessary improvements to such other buildings from being carried out.

HOUSING, TOWN PLANNING, ETC., ACT, 1909.

Sections 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 give extended powers to local authorities for keeping houses in repair and closing or demolishing insanitary dwellings. The duty of making from time to time a house to house inspection is placed upon the local authority. The local authority having served an order upon any landlord for necessary repairs, etc., may in the event of their not being carried out within the time specified in the order, do the work itself and recover the cost from the landlord. Further, the landlord of a house in a borough or urban district with a population of fifty thousand or more at a rent not exceeding twenty-six pounds, or in any other district at a rent not exceeding eight pounds, is bound to make it "in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation" before letting it, and afterwards to keep it so; and damages may be recovered from him if he neglects to do so and the tenant suffers thereby. Further, the local authority may in such cases put the house in proper condition and charge the landlord with the cost. The local authority under this Act make orders with regard to the closing and demolition of houses unfit for human habitation instead of applying to a magistrate for such orders. Any owner may appeal to the Local Government Board. The local authority may pay to any occupier of property against which a closing order is made a reasonable sum to cover the cost of removal, and this sum may be recovered from the owner.

Section 10 provides that if the local authority refuses to take steps to deal with insanitary property, any four inhabitant householders in the district (whether in the same parish or not) may appeal to the Local Government Board, who may thereupon order a public enquiry, and as a result of such enquiry may make an order directing the local authority to take the necessary steps. In the case of a rural sanitary authority, an appeal to the Local Government Board may also be made by the county council, parish council, or parish meeting, or by four inhabitant householders.

Section 17 (?) provides that an underground room used as a sleeping place shall be deemed unfit for human habitation if it is more than three feet below the surface of the street and not on the average seven feet from floor to ceiling, and if, further, it does not comply with the regulations made by the local authority for proper ventilation, drainage, etc. Such regulations must be made by the local authority when required to do so by the Local Government Board, and must be approved by the Local Government Board. Underground rooms not complying with these regulations are not necessarily closed for other purposes than use as sleeping places.

Section 43 prohibits from the time of the passing of this Act the building of back to back houses.

The Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909, and the Small Holdings Act, 1908, have greatly increased the powers of local authorities, both rural and urban, to acquire land and build houses. Information as to these powers will be found in other leaflets and pamphlets.

Any Act of Parliament may be obtained for a few pence from P. S. King & Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

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Fabian Tract No. 69.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF INDIVIDUALISM.

BY SIDNEY WEBB.

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THE DIFFICULTIES OF INDIVIDUALISM.*

OF all the intellectual difficulties of Individualism, the greatest, perhaps, is that which is presented by the constant flux of things. Whatever may be the advantages and conveniences of the present state of society, we are, at any rate, all of us, now sure of one thing—that it cannot last.

The Constant Evolution of Society.

We have learnt to think of social institutions and economic relations as being as much the subjects of constant change and evolution as any biological organism. The main outlines of social organization, based upon the exact sphere of private ownership in England to-day, did not “come down from the Mount.”

The very last century has seen an almost complete upsetting of every economic and industrial relation in the country, and it is irrational to assume that the existing social order, thus new-created, is destined inevitably to endure in its main features unchanged and unchangeable. History did not stop with the last great convulsion of the Industrial Revolution, and Time did not then suddenly cease to be the Great Innovator. Nor do the Socialists offer us a stational heaven to be substituted for an equally stational world here present. English students of the last generation were accustomed to think of Socialism as a mere Utopia, spun from the humanity-intoxicated brains of various Frenchmen of the beginning of this century. Down to the present generation every aspirant after social reform, whether Socialist or Individualist, naturally embodied his ideas in a detailed plan of a new social order, from which all contemporary evils were eliminated. Bellamy is but a belated Cabet, Babeuf, or Campanella. But modern Socialists have learnt the lesson of evolution better than their opponents, and it cannot be too often repeated that Socialism, to Socialists, is not a Utopia which they have invented, but a principle of social organization which they assert to have been discovered by the patient investigators into sociology whose labors have distinguished the present century. That principle, whether true or false, has, during a whole generation, met with an ever-increasing, though often unconscious, acceptance by political administrators.

* Reprinted, with minor changes, from the *Economic Journal* for June 1891.

Thus, it is the constant flux of things which underlies all the "difficulties" of Individualism. Whatever we may think of the existing social order, one thing is certain—namely, that it will undergo modification in the future as certainly and steadily as in the past. Those modifications will be partly the result of forces not consciously initiated or directed by human will. Partly, however, the modifications will be the results, either intended or unintended, of deliberate attempts to readjust the social environment to suit man's real or fancied needs. It is therefore not a question of *whether* the existing social order shall be changed, but of *how* this inevitable change shall be made.

"Social Problems."

In the present phase of acute social compunction, the mal-adjustments which occasion these modifications appear to us in the guise of "social problems." But whether or not they are the subjects of conscious thought or conscious action, their influence is perpetually at work, silently or obtrusively modifying the distribution of social pressure, and altering the weft of that social tissue of which our life is made. The characteristic feature of our own age is not this constant evolution itself—for that, of course, is of all time—but our increasing consciousness of it. Instead of unconscious factors we become deliberate agents, either to aid or resist the developments coming to our notice. Human selection accordingly becomes the main form of natural selection, and functional adaptation replaces the struggle for existence as the main factor in social progress. Man becomes the midwife of the great womb of Time, and necessarily undertakes the responsibility for the new economic relations which he brings into existence.

Hence the growing value of correct principles of social action, of valid ideals for social aspiration. Hence, therefore, the importance, for weal or for woe, of the change in social ideals and principles which marks off the present generation of Socialists from the surviving economists and statesmen brought up in the "Manchester school." We may, of course, prefer not to accept the watchwords or shibboleths of either party; we may carefully guard ourselves against "the falsehood of extremes"; we may believe that we can really steer a middle course. This comforting reflection of the practical man is, however, an unphilosophical delusion. As each difficulty of the present day comes up for solution, our action or inaction must, for all our caution, necessarily incline to one side or the other. We may help to modify the social organism either in the direction of a more general Collectivism or in that of a more perfect Individualism; it will be hard, even by doing nothing, to leave the balance just as it was. It becomes, accordingly, of vital importance to examine not only our practical policy but also our ideals and principles of action, even if we do not intend to follow these out to their logical conclusion.

Individualism and Collectivism.

It is not easy, at the present day, to be quite fair to the opinions of the little knot of noble-minded enthusiasts who broke for us the chains of the oligarchic tyranny of the eighteenth century. Their work was essentially destructive, and this is not the place in which to estimate how ably they carried on their statical analysis, or how completely they misunderstood the social results of the industrial revolution which was falsifying all their predictions almost before they were uttered. But we may, perhaps, not unfairly sum up as follows the principles which guided them in dealing with the difficulties of social life: that the best government is that which governs least; that the utmost possible scope should be allowed to untrammelled individual enterprise; that open competition and complete freedom from legal restrictions furnish the best guarantees of a healthy industrial community; that the desired end of "equality of opportunity" can be ultimately reached by allowing to each person the complete ownership of any riches he may become possessed of; and that the best possible social state will result from each individual pursuing his own interest in the way he thinks best.

Fifty years' further social experience have destroyed the faith of the world in the validity of these principles as the basis of even a decent social order, and Mr. John Morley himself has told us* that "the answer of modern statesmanship is that unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be intrusted."

"It is indeed certain," sums up Dr. Ingram, at the end of his comprehensive survey of all the economic tendencies, "that industrial society will not permanently remain without a systematic organization. The mere conflict of private interests will never produce a well-ordered commonwealth of labor."†

Modern Socialism is, accordingly, not a faith in an artificial Utopia, but a rapidly-spreading conviction, as yet only partly conscious of itself, that social health and consequently human happiness is something apart from and above the separate interests of individuals, requiring to be consciously pursued as an end in itself; that the lesson of evolution in social development is the substitution of consciously regulated co-ordination among the units of each organism for their internecine competition;—that the production and distribution of wealth, like any other public function, cannot safely be intrusted to the unfettered freedom of individuals, but needs to be organized and controlled for the benefit of the whole community; that this can be imperfectly done by means of legislative restriction and taxation, but is eventually more advantageously accomplished through the collective enterprise of the appropriate administrative

* *Life of Cobden*, vol. i., ch. xiii., pp. 298, 303.

† Article "Political Economy" in *Encyc. Brit.*, ninth edition, vol. xix., 1886, p. 382; republished as *History of Political Economy*.

‡ See Professor Huxley's pregnant declaration to this effect in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1888. Compare D. G. Ritchie's *Darwinism and Politics*.

unit in each case ; and that the best government is accordingly that which can safely and successfully administer most.

The New Pressure for Social Reform.

But although the principles of Individualism have long been tacitly abandoned by our public men, they have remained, until quite recently, enshrined in the imagination of the middle class citizen and the journalist. Their rapid supersession in these days, by principles essentially Socialist, is due to the prominence now given to "social problems," and to the failure of Individualism to offer any practicable solution of these. The problems are not in themselves new ; they are not even more acute or pressing than of yore ; but the present generation is less disposed than its predecessors to acquiesce in their insolubility. This increasing social compunction in the presence of industrial disease and social misery is the inevitable result of the advent of political democracy. The power to initiate reforms is now rapidly passing into the hands of those who themselves directly suffer from the evils to be removed ; and it is therefore not to be wondered at that social re-organization is a subject of much more vital interest to the proletarian politicians of to-day than it can ever have been to the University professors or Whig proprietors of the past.

Now the main "difficulties" of the existing social order, with which Individualist principles fail to deal, are those immediately connected with the administration of industry and the distribution of wealth. To summarize these difficulties before examining them, we may say that the Socialist asserts that the system of private property in the means of production permits and even promotes an extreme inequality in the distribution of the annual product of the united labors of the community. This distribution results in excess in the hands of a small class, balanced by positive privation at the other end of the social scale. An inevitable corollary of this unequal distribution is wrong production, both of commodities and of human beings ; the preparation of senseless luxuries whilst there is need for more bread, and the breeding of degenerate hordes of a demoralized "residuum" unfit for social life. This evil inequality and disastrous malproduction are enabled to continue through the individual ownership of the instruments of industry, one inevitable accompaniment of which is the continuance, in the commercial world, of that personal rule which is rapidly being expelled from political administration. The increasing integration of the Great Industry is, indeed, creating—except in so far as it is counteracted by the adoption of Socialist principles—a kind of new feudalism, based upon tenure, not of land, but of capital employed in the world-commerce, a financial autocracy against which the democracy sullenly revolts. In the interests of this oligarchy, the real interests of each community tend to be ignored, to the detriment of its capacity to hold its own in the race struggle—that competition between communities rather than between individuals in a community which is perhaps now becoming the main field of natural selection.

In examining each of these difficulties in greater detail, it will be fair to consider, not only how far they can be solved by the existing order and in what way they are actually being dealt with by the application of Socialist principles, but also what hope might, on the other hand, be found in the greatest possible development of Individualism. For to-day it is the Individualist who is offering us, as a solution of social difficulties, an untried and nebulous Utopia; whilst the Socialist occupies the superior position of calling only for the conscious and explicit adoption and extension of principles of social organization to which the stern logic of facts has already driven the practical man. History and experiment have indeed changed sides, and rank now among the allies of the practical Socialist reformer. Factory Acts and municipal gas-works we know, but the voice of Mr. Auberon Herbert, advocating "voluntary taxation," is as the voice of one crying in the wilderness.

Inequality of Income.

Inequality in wealth distribution is, of course, no new thing, and it is unnecessary to contend that the inequality of the present age is more flagrant than that of its predecessors. The extreme depth of poverty of those who actually die of starvation is, indeed, obviously no less than before; and when 30 per cent. of the five million inhabitants of London are found to be inadequately supplied with the bare necessities of life, and probably a fourth of the entire community become paupers at 65, it would profit us little to enquire whether this percentage is greater or less than that during the Middle Ages. On the other hand, the wealth production of the community advances by leaps and bounds, being now far greater than ever it was, and greater than that of any other country of the Old World. The riches of a comparatively small number of the owners of our land and capital are colossal and increasing.

Nor is there any doubt or dispute as to the causes of this inequality. The supersession of the Small by the Great Industry has given the main fruits of invention and the new power over Nature to a comparatively small proprietary class, upon whom the mass of the people are dependent for leave to earn their living. When it suits any person having the use of land and capital to employ the worker, this is only done on condition that two important deductions, rent and interest, can be made from his product, for the benefit of two, in this capacity, absolutely unproductive classes—those exercising the bare ownership of land and capital. The reward of labor being thus reduced, on an average, by about one-third, the remaining eightpence out of the shilling is then shared between the various classes who *have* co-operated in the production—including the inventor, the managing employer, and the mere wage-worker—but shared in the competitive struggle in such a way that at least fourpence goes to a favored set of educated workers, numbering less than one-fifth of the whole, leaving four-fifths to divide less than fourpence out of the shilling between them. The consequence is the social condition we see around us. A fortunate few, owing to

their legal power over the instruments of wealth-production, command the services of thousands of industrial slaves whose faces they have never seen, without rendering any service to them or to society in exchange. A larger body of persons contribute some labor, but are able, from their cultivated ability or special education, to choose occupations for which the competition wage is still high, owing to the small number of possible competitors. These two classes together number only one-fifth of the whole. On the other hand is the great mass of the people, the weekly wage-earners, four out of five of the whole population, toiling perpetually for less than a third of the aggregate product of labor, at an annual wage averaging at most £40 per adult, hurried into unnecessarily early graves by the severity of their lives, and dying, as regards at least one-third of them, destitute or actually in receipt of poor-law relief.

Few can doubt the fundamental causes of this inequality of condition. The abstraction from the total of over one-third of the product necessarily makes a serious inroad in that which the "niggardliness of Nature" allows us, and the distribution of the remaining two-thirds is, of course, itself fatally affected by the secondary results of the division into "two nations" which the private appropriation of rent and interest creates.

Can we Dodge the Law of Rent?

Individualists may tell us of the good things that the worker could get for himself by thrift and sobriety, prudence and saving, but no economist will for a moment suggest that any conceivable advance in these virtues would remove the fundamental inequality arising from the phenomenon of rent. The mere worker, *quid* worker, is necessarily working, as far as its own remuneration is concerned, on the very worst land in economic use, with the very minimum advantage of industrial capital. Every development towards a freer Individualism must, indeed, inevitably emphasize the power of the owner of the superior instruments of wealth-production to obtain for himself all the advantages of their superiority. Individualists may prefer to blink this fact, and to leave it to be implied that, somehow or other, the virtuous artisan can dodge the law of rent. But against this complacent delusion of the philanthropist political economy emphatically protests. So long as the instruments of production are in unrestrained private ownership, so long must the tribute of the workers to the drones continue: so long will the toilers' reward inevitably be reduced by their exactions. No tinkering with the land laws can abolish or even diminish economic rent, however much it may result in the redistribution of this tribute. The *whole* equivalent of every source of fertility or advantage of all land over and above the worst in economic use is under free competition necessarily abstracted from the mere worker on it. So long as Lady Matheson can "own" the island of Lewis, and (as she says) do what she likes with her own—so long as the Earls of Derby can appropriate at their ease the unearned increment of Bootle or Bury—it is the very emphatic teaching of political economy that the

earth may be the Lord's, but the fulness thereof must inevitably be the landlord's.

There is an interesting episode in English history among James I.'s disputes with the Corporation of London, then the protector of popular liberties. James, in his wrath, threatened to remove the Court to Oxford. "Provided only your Majesty leave us the Thames," cleverly replied the Lord Mayor. But economic dominion is more subtle than kingcraft—our landlords steal from us even the Thames. No Londoner who is not a landlord could, under completely free Individualism, obtain one farthing's worth of economic benefit from the existence of London's ocean highway; the whole equivalent of its industrial advantage would necessarily go to swell the compulsory tribute of London's annual rental.

It has often been vaguely hoped that this iron law was true only of land, and that, in some unexplained way, the worker did get the advantage of other forms of industrial capital. But further economic analysis shows, as Whately long ago hinted, that rent is a genus of which land rent is only one species. The worker in the factory is now seen to work no shorter hours or gain no higher wages merely because the product of his labor is multiplied a hundred-fold by machinery which he does not own.

Whatever may be the effect of invention on the wages of one generation as compared with the last, it has now become more than doubtful to economists whether the worker can count on getting any more of the product of the machine, in a state of "complete personal liberty," than his colleague contemporaneously laboring at the very margin of cultivation with the very minimum of capital. The artizan producing boots by the hundred in the modern machine works of Southwark or Northampton gets no higher wages than the surviving hand cobbler in the by-street. The whole differential advantage of all but the worst industrial capital, like the whole differential advantage of all but the worst land, necessarily goes to him who legally owns it. The mere worker can have none of them. "The remuneration of labor, as such," wrote Cairnes in 1874,* "skilled or unskilled, can never rise much above its present level."

The "Population Question."

Neither can we say that it is the increase of population which effects this result. During the present century, indeed, in spite of an unparalleled increase in numbers, the wealth annually produced in England *per head* has nearly doubled.† If population became stationary to-morrow, and complete personal liberty prevailed, with any amount of temperance, prudence, and sympathy, the present rent and interest would not be affected; our numbers determine,

* *Some Leading Principles*, p. 348.

† Hence the remarkable suppression of "Malthusianism" in all recent economic literature, notably the handbooks of Symes, Cannan, Ely, and Gonner; and its significantly narrow subordination in Prof. Marshall's *Principles of Economics*. The birth-rate of Great Britain is now apparently lower than it has ever been during the whole of the past century, and it seems tending steadily downwards.

indeed, how bad the margin of cultivation will be, and this is of serious import enough; but, increase or no increase, the private ownership of land and capital necessarily involves the complete exclusion of the mere worker, as such, from all the economic advantages of the fertile soil on which he is born, and of the buildings, machinery, and railways he finds around him.

The "Wickedness" of Making any Change.

Few Individualists, however, now attempt to deny the economic conclusion that the private ownership of land and capital necessarily involves a serious *permanent* inequality in the distribution of the annual product of the community; and that this inequality bears no relation to the relative industry or abstinence of the persons concerned. They regard it, however, as impossible to dispossess equitably those who now levy the tribute of rent and interest, and they are therefore driven silently to drop their original ideal of equality of opportunity, and to acquiesce in the *perpetual* continuance of the inequality which they vainly deplore. It is immoral, we are told, to take any step, by taxation or otherwise, which would diminish even by a trifle the income of the present owners of the soil and their descendants for ever and ever. This cannot be done without sheer confiscation, which would be none the less confiscation because carried out gradually and under the guise of taxation.

The problem has, however, to be faced. Either we must submit for ever to hand over at least one-third of our annual product to those who do us the favor to own our country, without the obligation of rendering any service to the community, and to see this tribute augment with every advance in our industry and numbers, or else we must take steps, as considerately as may be possible, to put an end to this state of things. Nor does equity yield any such conclusive objection to the latter course. Even if the infant children of our proprietors have come into the world booted and spurred, it can scarcely be contended that whole generations of their descendants yet unborn have a vested interest to ride on the backs of whole generations of unborn workers. Few persons will believe that this globe must spin round the sun for ever charged with the colossal mortgage implied by private ownership of the ground-rents of great cities, merely because a few generations of mankind, over a small part of its area, could at first devise no better plan of appropriating its surface.

There is, indeed, much to be said in favor of the liberal treatment of the present generation of proprietors, and even of their children. But against the permanent welfare of the community the unborn have no rights; and not even a living proprietor can possess a vested interest in the existing system of taxation. The democracy may be trusted to find, in dealing with the landlord, that the resources of civilization are not exhausted. An increase in the death duties, the steady rise of local rates, the special taxation of urban ground values, the graduation and differentiation of the income-tax, the simple appropriation of the unearned increment, and the gradual acquire-

ment of land and other monopolies by public authorities, will in due course suffice to "collectivize" the bulk of the tribute of rent and interest in a way which the democracy will regard as sufficiently equitable even if it does not satisfy the conscience of the proprietary class itself. This growth of collective ownership it is, and not any vain sharing out of property, which is to achieve the practical equality of opportunity at which democracy aims.

Why Inequality is Bad.

Individualists have been driven, in their straits, to argue that inequality in wealth is in itself a good thing, and that the objection to it arises from the vain worship of a logical abstraction. But Socialists (who on this point are but taking up the old Radical position) base their indictment against inequality, not on any metaphysical grounds, but on the plain facts of its effect upon social life. The inequality of income at the present time obviously results in a flagrant "wrong production" of commodities. The unequal value of money to our paupers and our millionaires deprives the test of "effective demand" of all value as an index to social requirements, or even to the production of individual happiness. The last glass of wine at a plutocratic orgy, which may be deemed not even to satisfy any desire, is economically as urgently "demanded" as the whole day's maintenance of the dock laborer for which its cost would suffice. Whether London shall be provided with an Italian Opera, or with two Italian Operas, whilst a million of its citizens are without the means of decent life, is now determined, not with any reference to the genuine social needs of the capital of the world, or even by any comparison between the competing desires of its inhabitants, but by the chance vagaries of a few hundred wealthy families. It will be hard for the democracy to believe that the conscious public appropriation of municipalized rent would not result in a better adjustment of resources to needs, or, at any rate, in a more general satisfaction of individual desires, than this Individualist appropriation of personal tribute on the labors of others.

The Degradation of Character.

A more serious result of the inequality of income caused by the private ownership of land and capital is its evil effect on human character and the multiplication of the race. It is not easy to compute the loss to the world's progress, the degradation of the world's art and literature, caused by the demoralization of excessive wealth. Equally difficult would it be to reckon up how many potential geniuses are crushed out of existence by lack of opportunity of training and scope. But a graver evil is the positive "wrong-population" which is the result of extreme poverty and its accompanying insensibility to all but the lowest side of human life. In a condition of society in which the *average* family income is but a little over £3 per week, the deduction of rent and interest for the benefit of a small class necessarily implies a vast majority of the population below the level of decent existence. The slums at the

East End of London are the corollary of the mansions at the West End. The depression of the worker to the product of the margin of cultivation often leaves him nothing but the barest livelihood. No prudential considerations appeal to such a class. One consequence is the breeding in the slums of our great cities, and the overcrowded hovels of the rural poor, of a horde of semi-barbarians, whose unskilled labor is neither required in our present complex industrial organism, nor capable of earning a maintenance there. It was largely the recognition that it was hopeless to expect to spread a Malthusian prudence among this residuum that turned John Stuart Mill into a Socialist; and if this solution be rejected, the slums remain to the Individualist as the problem of the Sphinx, which his civilization must solve or perish.

The Loss of Freedom.

It is less easy to secure adequate recognition of the next, and in many respects the most serious "difficulty" of Individualism—namely, its inconsistency with democratic self-government. The Industrial Revolution with its splendid conquests over Nature, opened up a new avenue of personal power for the middle class, and for every one who could force his way into the ranks either of the proprietors of the new machines, or of the captains of industry whom they necessitated. The enormous increase in personal power thus gained by a comparatively small number of persons, they and the economists not unnaturally mistook for a growth in general freedom. Nor was this opinion wholly incorrect. The industrial changes were, in a sense, themselves the result of progress in political liberty. The feudal restrictions and aristocratic tyranny of the eighteenth century gave way before the industrial spirit, and the politically free laborer came into existence. But the economic servitude of the worker did not disappear with his political bondage. With the chains of innate status there dropped off also its economic privileges, and the free laborer found himself in a community where the old common rights over the soil were being gradually but effectually extinguished. He became a landless stranger in his own country. The development of competitive production for sale in the world market, and the supremacy of the machine industry, involved moreover, in order to live, not merely access to the land, but the use, in addition, of increasingly large masses of capital—at first in agriculture, then foreign trade, then in manufacture, and finally now also in distributive industries. The mere worker became steadily less and less industrially independent as his political freedom increased. From a self-governing producing unit, he passed into a mere item in a vast industrial army over the organization and direction of which he had no control. He was free, but free only to choose to which master he would sell his labor—free only to decide from which proprietor he would beg that access to the new instruments of production without which he could not exist.

In an age of the Small Industry there was much to be said for the view that the greatest possible personal freedom was to be

obtained by the least possible collective rule. The peasant on his own farm, the blacksmith at his own forge, needed only to be left alone to be allowed to follow their own individual desires as to the manner and duration of their work. But the organization of workers into huge armies, the directing of the factory and the warehouse by skilled generals and captains, which is the inevitable outcome of the machine industry and the world-commerce, have necessarily deprived the average workman of the direction of his own life or the management of his own work. The middle class student, over whose occupation the Juggernaut Car of the Industrial Revolution has not passed, finds it difficult to realize how sullenly the workman resents his exclusion from all share in the direction of the industrial world. This feeling is part of the real inwardness of the demand for an Eight Hours Bill.

The ordinary journalist or member of Parliament still says: "I don't consult any one except my doctor as to my hours of labor. That is a matter which each grown man must settle for himself." We never hear such a remark from a working man belonging to any trade more highly organized than chimney-sweeping. The modern artisan has learnt that he can no more fix for himself the time at which he shall begin and end his work than he can fix the sunrise or the tides. When the carrier drove his own cart and the weaver sat at his own loom they began and left off work at the hours that each preferred. Now the railway worker or the power-loom weaver knows that he must work the same hours as his mates.

It was this industrial autocracy that the Christian Socialists of 1850 sought to remedy by re-establishing the "self-governing workshop" of associated craftsmen; and a similar purpose still pervades the whole field of industrial philanthropy. Sometimes it takes the specious name of "industrial partnership"; sometimes the less pretentious form of a joint-stock company with one-pound shares. In the country it inspires the zeal for the creation of peasant proprietorships, or the restoration of "village industries," and behind it stalk those bogus middle class "reforms" known as "free land" and "leasehold enfranchisement." But it can scarcely be hidden from the eyes of any serious student of economic evolution that all these well-meant endeavors to set back the industrial clock are, as regards any widespread result, foredoomed to failure.

The growth of capital has been so vast, and is so rapidly increasing, that any hope of the great mass of the workers ever owning under any conceivable Individualist arrangements the instruments of production with which they work can only be deemed chimerical.*

* The estimated value of the wealth of the United Kingdom, to-day is 10,000 millions sterling, or over £1,100 per family. The co-operative movement controls about 13 millions sterling. The total possessions of the 31 millions of the wage-earning class are less than 250 millions sterling, or not £7 capital per family. The eight millions of the population who do not belong to the wage-earning class own all the rest; the death duty returns show, indeed, that one-half of the entire total is in the hands of about 25,000 families. For references to the authorities for these and other statistics quoted, see Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*.

Hence it is that irresponsible personal authority over the actions of others—expelled from the throne, the castle, and the altar—still reigns, almost unchecked, in the factory and the mine. The “captains of industry,” like the kings of yore, are indeed honestly unable to imagine how the business of the world can ever go on without the continuance of their existing rights and powers. And truly, upon any possible development of Individualistic principles, it is not easy to see how the worker can ever escape from their “beneficent” rule.

The Growth of Collective Action.

But representative government has taught the people how to gain collectively that power which they could never again individually possess. The present century has accordingly witnessed a growing demand for the legal regulation of the conditions of industry which represents a marked advance on previous conceptions of the sphere of legislation. It has also seen a progress in the public management of industrial undertakings which represents an equal advance in the field of government administration. Such an extension of collective action is, it may safely be asserted, an inevitable result of political democracy. When the Commons of England had secured the right to vote supplies, it must have seemed an unwarrantable extension that they should claim also to redress grievances. When they passed from legislation to the exercise of control over the executive, the constitutional jurists were aghast at the presumption. The attempt of Parliament to seize the command of the military forces led to a civil war. Its control over foreign policy is scarcely two hundred years old. Every one of these developments of the collective authority of the nation over the conditions of its own life was denounced as an illegitimate usurpation foredoomed to failure. Every one of them is still being resisted in countries less advanced in political development. In England, where all these rights are admitted, each of them inconsistent with the “complete personal liberty” of the minority, the Individualists of to-day deny the competence of the people to regulate, through their representative committees, national or local, the conditions under which they work and live. Although the tyranny which keeps the tramcar conductor away from his home for seventeen hours a day is not the tyranny of king or priest or noble, he feels that it is tyranny all the same, and seeks to curb it in the way his fathers took.

The captains of war have been reduced to the position of salaried officers acting for public ends under public control; and the art of war has not decayed. In a similar way the captains of industry are gradually being deposed from their independent commands, and turned into salaried servants of the public. Nearly all the railways of the world, outside of America and the United Kingdom, are managed in this way. The Belgian Government works its own line of passenger steamers. The Paris Municipal Council opens public bakeries. The Glasgow Town Council runs its own common lodging houses, Plymouth its own tramways. Everywhere, schools, water

works, gas-works, dwellings for the people, and many other forms of capital, are passing from individual into collective control. And there is no contrary movement. No community which has once "municipalized" any public service ever retraces its steps or reverses its action.

Such is the answer that is actually being given to this difficulty of Individualism. Everywhere the workman is coming to understand that it is practically hopeless for him, either individually or co-operatively, to own the constantly growing mass of capital by the use of which he lives. Either we must, under what is called "complete personal freedom," acquiesce in the personal rule of the capitalist, tempered only by enlightened self-interest and the "gift of sympathy," or we must substitute for it, as we did for the royal authority, the collective rule of the whole community. The decision is scarcely doubtful. And hence we have on all sides, what to the Individualist is the most incomprehensible of phenomena, the expansion of the sphere of government in the interests of liberty itself. Socialism is, indeed, nothing but the extension of democratic self-government from the political to the industrial world, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that it is an inevitable outcome of the joint effects of the economic and political revolutions of the past century.

Competition.

Individualists often take refuge in a faith that the extension of the proprietary class, and the competition of its members, will always furnish an adequate safeguard against the tyranny of any one of them. But the monopoly of which the democracy is here impatient is not that of any single individual, but that of the class itself. What the workers are objecting to is, not the rise of any industrial Buonaparte financially domineering the whole earth—though American experience makes even this less improbable than it once was—but the creation of a new feudal system of industry, the domination of the mass of ordinary workers by a hierarchy of property owners, who compete, it is true, among themselves, but who are nevertheless able, as a class, to preserve a very real control over the lives of those who depend upon their own daily labor.

Moreover, competition, where it still exists, is in itself one of the Individualist's difficulties, resulting, under a system of unequal incomes, not merely in the production, as we have seen, of the wrong commodities, but also of their production in the wrong way and for the wrong ends. The whole range of the present competitive Individualism manifestly tends, indeed, to the glorification, not of honest personal service, but of the pursuit of personal gain—not the production of wealth, but the obtaining of riches. The inevitable outcome is the apotheosis, not of social service, but of successful financial speculation, which is already the special bane of the American civilization. With it comes inevitably a demoralization of personal character, a coarsening of moral fibre, and a hideous lack of taste.

The Lesson of Evolution.

This, indeed, is the lesson which economics brings to ethics. The "fittest to survive" is not necessarily the best, but much more probably he who takes the fullest possible advantage of the conditions of the struggle, heedless of the result to his rivals. Indeed, the social consequences of complete personal liberty in the struggle for existence have been so appalling that the principle has had necessarily to be abandoned. It is now generally admitted to be a primary duty of government to prescribe the plane on which it will allow the struggle for existence to be fought out, and so to determine which kind of fitness shall survive. We have long ruled out of the conflict the appeal to brute force, thereby depriving the stronger man of his natural advantage over his weaker brother. We stop as fast as we can every development of fraud and chicanery, and so limit the natural right of the cunning to overreach their neighbors. We prohibit the weapon of deceptive labels and trade marks. In spite of John Bright's protest, we rule that adulteration is not a permissible form of competition. We forbid slavery: with Mill's consent, we even refuse to enforce a lifelong contract of service. We condemn long hours of labor for women and children, and now even for adult men, and insanitary conditions of labor for all workers.

The whole history of social progress is, indeed, one long series of definitions and limitations of the conditions of the struggle, in order to raise the quality of the fittest who survive. This service can be performed only by the government. No individual competitor can lay down the rules of the combat. No individual can safely choose the higher plane so long as his opponent is at liberty to fight on the lower. In the face of this experience, the Individualist proposal to rely on complete personal liberty and free competition is not calculated to gain much acceptance. A social system devised to encourage "the art of establishing the maximum inequality over our neighbors"—as Ruskin puts it—appears destined to be replaced, wherever this is possible, by one based on salaried public service, with the stimulus of duty and esteem, instead of that of fortune-making.

The Struggle for Existence between Nations.

But perhaps the most serious difficulty presented by the present concentration of energy upon personal gain is its effect upon the position of the community in the race struggle. The lesson of evolution seems to be that interracial competition is really more momentous in its consequences than the struggle between individuals. It is of comparatively little importance, in the long run, that individuals should develop to the utmost, if the life of the community in which they live is not thereby served. Two generations ago it would have been assumed, as a matter of course, that the most efficient life for each community was to be secured by each individual in it being left complete personal freedom. But that

crude vision has long since been demolished. Fifty years' social experience have convinced every statesman that, although there is no common sensorium, a society is something more than the sum of its members; that a social organism has a life and health distinguishable from those of its individual atoms. Hence it is that we have had Lord Shaftesbury warning us that without Factory Acts we should lose our textile trade; Matthew Arnold, that without national education we were steering straight into national decay; and finally even Professor Huxley taking up the parable that, unless we see to the training of our residuum, France and Germany and the United States will take our place in the world's workshop. This "difficulty" of Individualism can be met, indeed, like the rest, only by the application of what are essentially Socialist principles.

Argument and Class Bias.

These "difficulties" will appeal more strongly to some persons than to others. The evils of inequality of wealth will come home more forcibly to the three millions of the submerged tenth in want of the bare necessities of life than they will to the small class provided with every luxury at the cost of the rest. The ethical objection to any diminution in the incomes of those who own our land will vary in strength according, in the main, to our economic or political prepossessions. The indiscriminate multiplication of the unfit, like the drunkenness of the masses, will appear as a cause or an effect of social inequality according to our actual information about the poor, and our disposition towards them. The luxury of the rich may strike us as a sign either of national wealth or of national maladjustment of resources to needs. The autocratic administration of industry will appear either as the beneficent direction of the appropriate captains of industry, or as the tyranny of a proprietary class over those who have no alternative but to become its wage-slaves. The struggle of the slaves among themselves, of the proprietors among themselves, and of each class with the other, may be to us "the beneficent private war which makes one man strive to climb on the shoulders of another, and remain there;"* or it may loom to us, out of the blood and tears and misery of the strife, as a horrible remnant of the barbarism from which man has half risen since

"We dined, as a rule, on each other:
What matter? the toughest survived."

That survival from an obsolescent form or the struggle for existence may seem the best guarantee for the continuance of the community and the race; or it may, on the other hand, appear a suicidal internecine conflict, as fatal as that between the belly and the members. All through the tale two views are possible, and we shall take the one or the other according to our knowledge and temperament.

* Sir Henry Maine, *Popular Government*, pp. 49, 50.

This power of prepossession and unconscious bias constitutes, indeed, the special difficulty of the Individualists of to-day. Aristotle found it easy to convince himself and his friends that slavery was absolutely necessary to civilization. The Liberty and Property Defence League has the more difficult task of convincing, not the proprietary class, but our modern slaves, who are electors and into whose control the executive power of the community is more and more falling. And in this task the Individualists receive ever less and less help from the chief executive officers of the nation. Those who have forced directly upon their notice the larger aspects of the problem, those who are directly responsible for the collective interests of the community, can now hardly avoid, whether they like it or not, taking the Socialist view. Each Minister of State protests against Socialism in the abstract, but every decision that he gives in his own department leans more and more away from the Individualist side.

Socialism and Liberty.

Some persons may object that this gradual expansion of the collective administration of the nation's life cannot fairly be styled a Socialistic development, and that the name ought to be refused to everything but a complete system of society on a Communist basis. But whatever Socialism may have meant in the past its real significance now is the steady expansion of representative self-government into the industrial sphere. This industrial democracy it is, and not any ingenious Utopia, with which Individualists, if they desire to make any effectual resistance to the substitution of collective for individual will, must attempt to deal. Most political students are, indeed, now prepared to agree with the Socialist that our restrictive laws and municipal Socialism, so far as these have yet gone, do, as a matter of fact, secure a greater well-being and general freedom than that system of complete personal liberty, of which the "sins of legislators" have deprived us. The sacred name of liberty is invoked, by both parties, and the question at issue is merely one of method. As each "difficulty" of the present social order presents itself for solution, the Socialist points to the experience of all advanced industrial countries, and urges that personal freedom can be obtained by the great mass of the people only by their substituting democratic self-government in the industrial world for that personal power which the Industrial Revolution has placed in the hands of the proprietary class. His opponents regard individual liberty as inconsistent with collective control, and accordingly resist any extension of this "higher freedom" of collective life. Their main difficulty is the advance of democracy, ever more and more claiming to extend itself into the field of industry. To all objections, fears, doubts, and difficulties, as to the practicability of doing in the industrial what has already been done in the political world, the democratic answer is "*solvitur ambulando*;" only that is done at any time which is proved to be then and there practicable; only such advance is made as the progress in the sense of public duty permits. But that progress is both our hope

and our real aim : the development of individual character is the Socialist's "odd trick" for the sake of which he seeks to win all others.

Industrial democracy must therefore necessarily be gradual in its development ; and cannot for long ages be absolutely complete. The time may never arrive, even as regards material things, when individual is entirely merged in collective ownership or control, but it is matter of common observation that every attempt to grapple with the "difficulties" of our existing civilization brings us nearer to that goal.

BASIS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the re-organisation of Society by the emancipation of Land and Industrial Capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of private property in Land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of Rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such Industrial Capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into Capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out, without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), Rent and Interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

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THE LONDON Tenant's Sanitary Catechism.

THE attention of householders and lodgers is directed to the powers given to local authorities and to the Local Government Board by the Acts mentioned below. Occupiers finding that their houses are not in the sanitary condition prescribed by those Acts, should fill in the answers to the questions printed below in the spaces provided for them and should then send this paper, either signed by themselves or NOT, to the Sanitary Inspector for the district, who will be obliged when he receives it to enquire into the matter.

Any person employed in an insanitary workshop may use this form to describe it, and in such cases the form should be sent either to the Sanitary Inspector of the district or to the Factory Inspector, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., who will cause enquiry to be made.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Name of borough and ward or parish.	
2. Name of street and number of house.	
3. Name of occupier or occupiers.	
4. Name and address of the reputed owner.	
5. Has the house a water closet for the sole use of its inmates ?	
6. If not, how many (a) persons, (b) houses use the same closet ?	
7. If a water closet, is it properly flushed with water from a cistern separated from that used for drinking water ?	
8. Is any of the rooms fitted with a proper sink ? Is the sink in sound condition and trapped ?	
9. Is there a properly constructed dustbin or sanitary pail for the sole use of the inmates ? Is it regularly emptied ?	
10. Is the water supply abundant ? Is it constant or intermittent ? Are the cisterns regularly cleaned and in an accessible place for inspection ?	

QUESTIONS.

ANSWERS.

11. Are the taps conveniently placed? If a tenement house, is there one on each floor?

12. If the house is a tenement house, is there (a) suitable cooking accommodation for each family, (b) a suitable pantry or other storage accommodation for food on each floor?

[NB—(a) can only be demanded if the house was built or first used as a tenement house after August, 1908, and (b) if it was built or first used as a tenement house after August, 1909. London County Council (General Powers) Acts, 1908 and 1909.]

13. Are the ceilings, walls, and floors throughout in a proper state of repair?

14. Is the roof sound and watertight?

15. Are there bugs or other vermin in any part of the house?

16. Is any part of the house damp?

17. Is the back yard properly drained and paved?

18. If underground rooms are used for sleeping in, (a) what height are they from floor to ceiling, (b) what distance are they below the surface of the street, and (c) how are they lighted, ventilated and drained?

19. How many rooms are there in the house?

20. Is the house or are any of the rooms so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the health of the inmates?

21. Is any part of the house in such a condition as to be a nuisance or to be dangerous or injurious to the health of its inmates?

22. What is the space, back and front, between the house and the nearest buildings?

23. Has the house through ventilation, or is it a back to back house?

24. Are there any works near which cause bad smells or noises at night? Are there any factory chimneys which persistently pour smoke upon the dwelling?

QUESTIONS.**ANSWERS.**

25. What weekly rent do you pay?
 26. Was the house in proper condition when you became the tenant?

Signature

Address

Date

NOTES.

The following notes will be found useful.

PUBLIC HEALTH (LONDON) ACT, 1891.

Section 2 defines nuisances which may be dealt with summarily. These include "premises in such a state as to be a nuisance or injurious or dangerous to health," pools, ditches, gutters, watercourses, cisterns, water closets, privies, urinals, cesspools, drains, dungpits, or ashpits so foul as to be a nuisance or injurious, etc., any accumulation or deposit similarly a nuisance or injurious, etc., and "any house or part of a house so overcrowded as to be injurious or dangerous to the health of the inmates, whether or not members of the same family." Overcrowding is defined in the Model Byelaws as being more than one adult to three hundred cubic feet of air space, two children being equal to one adult.

Section 3 directs the local authority on ascertaining the existence of any nuisance to take immediate steps to mitigate it, and the procedure under this Act has since been simplified by the Housing and Town Planning, etc., Act, 1909. See below.

Section 7 permits the closing for a given period, to be decided on in each case, of any house for persistent overcrowding, *i.e.*, two convictions within three months.

Section 16 directs the local authority to make byelaws to prevent nuisances arising (1) from offensive matter flowing from any manufactory, slaughter yard, etc.; (2) from keeping animals in unsuitable places, (3) from the yards of dwelling houses or open spaces connected therewith not being properly paved.

Sections 21 and 23 deal with bad smells, noises at night, and black smoke coming from factories and works. Where such nuisances can be proved, they must be abated, but it must be noted that the persistent pouring of black smoke is difficult to prove.

Section 30 requires the local authority to make provision for the due and regular removal of house refuse, and in default a fine not exceeding twenty pounds may be imposed. No one employed in this work may accept fees or gratuities from the occupier of any house or his servant.

Section 37 deals with the provision of ashpits and water closets, etc. Each house newly built or rebuilt must be provided with a proper and sufficient water closet, and in any house already built, the local authority may require such provision to be made. But where a water closet before the passing of this Act had been used by the occupants of two or more houses, it may, if the local authority thinks it sufficient, continue to be so used, and the local authority need not require a water closet to be provided for each house.

(N.B. But all local authorities should so require.)

Sections 39 and 50 require local authorities to make byelaws as to the proper supply of water for water closets and for securing cleanliness and freedom from pollution of cisterns, tanks, etc., used for storing of water used or likely to be used for drinking or domestic purposes or for manufacturing drink.

Section 54 requires local authorities to make and enforce such byelaws as are requisite for dealing with houses let in lodgings or occupied by members of more than one family (1) for registering and inspecting them, (2) for fixing the number of per-

sons who may occupy them and the separation of the sexes, (3) for enforcing drainage and promoting cleanliness and ventilation, (4) for cleansing and lime-washing at stated times, and (5) for taking precautions in case of infectious disease.

This does not apply to common lodging houses, which are dealt with in separate Acts.

THE HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES ACT, 1890.

Section 31 provides that if four or more householders in or near a street make written complaint of any house or houses in that street, the Medical Officer of Health shall inspect and report to the local authority the condition of the property in question.

Section 38 gives power to the local authority to order the removal of any building which though not in itself unfit for human habitation causes an obstruction to other buildings by stopping ventilation, impeding light or preventing necessary improvements to such other buildings from being carried out.

LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL (GENERAL POWERS) ACT, 1907

Section 78 requires that a supply of water shall be provided on each storey of a tenement house unless it can be shown that such a supply is not reasonably necessary.

THE HOUSING AND TOWN PLANNING, Etc., ACT, 1909.

Under the provisions of this Act, sections 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, extended powers are given to the local authorities for keeping houses in repair and closing or demolishing insanitary dwellings. The duty of making from time to time a house to house inspection is laid upon the local authority. The local authority having served an order upon any landlord for necessary repairs, may in the event of their not being carried out within the time specified, do the work itself and recover the cost from the landlord. Further the landlord of a house in London rented at £40 a year or under is bound to make it "in all respects reasonably fit for human habitation" before letting it and afterwards to keep it so, and damages may be recovered against him if he neglects to do so and the tenant suffers thereby. The local authority also may put it into proper condition and charge the landlord with the cost. The procedure with regard to closing orders and orders for demolition has been altered so that the local authority may now make such orders instead of a magistrate, and the owner can appeal against them only to the Local Government Board. Further, the local authority may pay to any occupier of property against which a closing order is made a reasonable sum for the cost of removal, and this sum may be recovered by the local authority from the owner.

By section 10 provision is made whereby if the local authority refuse to take steps to deal with any insanitary property, any four inhabitant householders in the district may appeal to the Local Government Board, who may order a public enquiry to be held and as a result of such enquiry may make an order directing the local authority to take the necessary steps.

Section 17 (7) provides that an underground room used as a sleeping place shall be deemed unfit for human habitation if it is more than three feet below the surface of the street and not on the average seven feet from floor to ceiling, and if further it does not comply with the regulations made by the local authority for proper ventilation, drainage, etc. The local authority must make such regulations when required to do so by the Local Government Board, or in default the Local Government Board will make them. Such regulations must be made by the local authority with the consent of the Local Government Board when required by the Local Government Board to do so. If the local authority does not make the regulations or if the Local Government Board does not approve them, the Local Government Board may make them itself, and they will have the same force as though made by the local authority. Underground rooms not complying with these regulations are not necessarily closed for other purposes than use as sleeping places.

Section 43 prohibits the building at any time after the passing of this Act of back to back houses.

Any Act of Parliament may be obtained for a few pence from P. S. King & Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

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THE MORAL ASPECTS
OF SOCIALISM.

By SIDNEY BALL, M.A.
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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THE MORAL ASPECTS OF SOCIALISM.*

Socialism and Character.

MODERN SOCIALISM, or Collectivism, is often regarded as a typical expression of the neglect, or even the denial, of the principle that in social reform character is "the condition of conditions." At first sight, it seems true that character has not been put in the foreground of Socialist discussion: its emphasis appears to be laid almost exclusively on machinery, on a reconstruction of the material conditions and organization of life. But machinery is a means to an end, as much to a Socialist as to anyone else; and the end, at any rate as conceived by the Socialist, is the development of human power, and capacity of life. The quarrel with Socialists cannot be, then, that they mistake the means for the end, but either that they take a low or narrow view of human nature, or that the means they suggest will lower rather than raise the scale of human life.

The Evolution in Modern Socialism.

It is important that we should realize the nature of the development which has been at work in the conception of Socialism. If Socialism repeats itself, it repeats itself with a difference. If we fairly compare the Socialism of the earlier with that of the latter part of the century, we shall find that, however much they have in common, there is a sense in which the conception of Socialism is entirely modern. Socialism would not be the vital thing it is, if it remained unaffected by the development of social and industrial experience, and the general progress of scientific thought. The context is different, and even when the language is the same, the meaning is changed.† The claim of modern Socialism to be "scientific" may be just or not, but it means by "scientific" such an economy as shall be on a line with the modern scientific treatment and conception of life. Its dominating idea is that of conscious selection in social life, or of the expression of practical economics in terms of quality of life. From the point of view of its alleged indifference to character, the aims of modern Socialism may be described as an endeavor to readjust the machinery of industry in such a way that it can at once depend upon and issue in a higher

* Reprinted (by permission) from the *International Journal of Ethics*, April, 1896, with some omissions and additions.

† To give one example. State Socialism means one thing to a German, another to an Englishman; and one thing to an Englishman of Adam Smith's time, and another to an Englishman of our own time: the State, in the latter context, means the community democratically organized for collective purposes, whether parochially, locally, or nationally.

kind of character and social type than is encouraged by the conditions of ordinary competitive enterprise. If it does, in a sense, want to make things easier, it is only for the worker, and not for the idler; and the problem with which it is concerned is not primarily a more or less of enjoyment, but a more or less of opportunity for development of character and individuality. Its criterion of economic machinery is simply—does it or does it not make for a greater amount and quality of life and character?

The older Socialism rested upon such ideas as "the right to live," "the right to work," "payment according to needs," the denial of "the rent of ability," "expropriation without compensation," "minimizing" or "materializing" of wants—all ideas of retrogressive rather than of progressive "selection." But it would not be too much to say that all these ideas are either silently ignored or expressly repudiated by modern Socialism. The "ideology" of the older Socialists has given way to a deliberately, and in some ways rigidly, scientific treatment of life. Modern Socialism recognizes the laws of social growth and development in setting itself against catastrophic impossibilism and the manufacture of mechanical Utopias; it recognizes the moral continuity of society in its consideration for vested interests; it does not base industrial organization on "the right to work" so much as on the right of the worker, not on "payment according to needs" so much as "payment according to services"; it recognizes the remuneration of ability, provided that the ability does not merely represent a monopoly of privileged and non-competitive advantage; it is aware of the utility of capital, without making the individualist's confusion between the employment of capital and the ownership of it, between the productive and proprietary classes; it is not concerned about the inequality of property, except so far as it conflicts with sound national economy; it does not desire so much to minimize as to rationalize wants, and attaches the utmost importance to the qualitative development of consumption; and, finally, not to enumerate more distinctly economic developments, it recognizes "the abiding necessity for contest, competition, and selection," as means of development, when it presses for such an organization of industry as shall make selection according to ability and character the determining factor in the remuneration of labor.

Socialism and Competition.

So far from attempting to eliminate "competition" from life, it endeavors to raise its plane, to make it a competition of character and positive social quality. The competition which takes the form not of doing one's own work as well as possible, but of preventing any one else from doing the same work—the form of competition, that is, in which the gain of one man is the loss of another—is of no social value. The only competition that can advance individual or social life is simply a corollary of co-operation; it implies the recognition of a common good and a common interest which gives to our "individual" work its meaning, its quality, and its value; and the

further recognition that a competitor is also a co-operator. If a seeker after truth regards another seeker merely as a competitor, it is a sure sign that it is not truth he cares for: and we are only too familiar with the consequences of a system of industry which does not provide for the disinterestedness of all genuine production. The competition to get as much as possible for one's self is incompatible with the competition to get a thing done as well as possible. It is this kind of socially selective rivalry that Socialism is concerned to maintain; and the two kinds of competition* belong, as Plato might have said, to two distinct "arts."

Socialism Affirms a Standard.

This is the meaning, for instance, of a "standard" as opposed to a "market" wage. The Collectivist policy of the "Union" wage for skilled, and a minimum wage for unskilled labor, is a deliberate preference of a form of competition which promotes efficiency over a form of competition which aims at (apparent) cheapness. Which is the most productive method of selection? The Individualist policy results in the degradation of labor and the increase of burdens upon the State; the Socialist policy, so far from favoring the weak, favors the strong, if weakness and strength are interpreted as relevant to social value; it is a process of conscious social selection by which the industrial residuum is naturally sifted and made manageable for some kind of restorative, disciplinary, or, it may be, "surgical" treatment. The organization of dock laborers and the extension of factory inspection to sweated industries follow the same lines. Any such form of collective interference as the freeing of education, or the weakening of protected and non-competitive privilege, is in favor of the competition which is not simply a struggle for (unqualified) individual existence, but for existence in a society which rests upon the distribution of "rights" according to character and capacity. In this way it not only favors the growth of the fittest within the group, but also of the fittest group in the world-competition of societies. The whole point of Collectivism is the recognition by society of its interest as a society in a certain type of character and quality of existence. "Can there be anything better for the interests of a State," as Plato puts it, "than that its men and women should be as good as possible?" It is just this social reference that explains the demand which Socialists make upon the organization of industry. Their whole quarrel with private competitive enterprise is that it does not give a qualitative form to the struggle for existence, and does not—or rather cannot—concern itself with the maintenance of a standard of life.

Individualism Denies a Standard.

To speak, therefore, of "the principle of Collectivism" as "lying at the root of a compulsory poor rate" (*Charity Organ. Rev.*), reveals an astonishing incapacity for grasping the distinction between the organization of industry (upon selective lines) and the distribution

* Cf. Plato's "Republic," Bk. I., 347-B; also, Morris and Ruskin, *passim*.

of relief—a *role* which Socialists would contend the individualistic system and method of industry has forced upon “the State.” The Poor Law system, so far from being a concession to Socialism, is a device of Individualism, which, indeed, could not “work,” unless its logical consequences were intercepted by the workhouse and the infirmary. The Poor Law ministers to a system which, in the judgment of Socialists, makes for deterioration—a system which lends itself with fatal facility to partial and discontinuous employment, starvation wages, cheap and nasty production, wasteful, useless, and characterless competition. Collectivism is nothing if not constructive, and constructive on lines of social selection; the Poor Law as it now exists serves the purpose of a waste-receiver of “private enterprise.” Collectivism would not, indeed, dispense with the necessity of a poor law; so far, however, as it provided for the able-bodied idler, the workhouse would be simply a branch of the criminal department of the State.* It is no doubt true that this kind of selection is forcing itself upon the system of private commercial enterprise in the interests of economic production, and Professor Loria has based upon this fact his forecast of the gradual evolution of capitalistic industry into some form of associated labor. But “the economy” of high wages, of regular and organized labor, and of genuine production, is discounted by the “active competition” of low wages, casual labor, cheap and adulterated product. And we find, in fact, that the competition of “quality” is only made possible by the cessation of “the competition of the market.”

Monopoly versus Competition.

This is the significance of modern Combinations, conceived not as a temporary speculation, but as a permanent organization of a particular industry, based upon the extinction of wasteful rivalry between competitive firms. Whatever may be the abuse of the Combination, it is clearly a higher type of industrial organization, and its abuse is the occasion of Collectivism. It certainly makes a standard of work and a standard of industrial conditions possible; and also it renders the particular industry much more amenable to public opinion and, if need be, public control. And the interest of the modern Combination is that it is not an artificial creation, but a normal development of modern business: it represents a monopoly not of privilege, but of efficiency. It has become, in fact, no longer a question between Competition and Collectivism, but between private and public monopoly, between monopolies controlled by private capitalists and monopolies controlled by the community.†

* Collectivism would provide for the “deserving” and incapable, partly by providing against them, partly by public and humane institutions, partly by the more effective use to which weakness can be put under a better organization of industry; while pensions in old age would be the logical complement of honorable public service.

† This is, doubtless, a disputable generalization, but it accords with the judgment of American economists. Cf. also Baker’s “Monopoly and the People,” or Von Halle’s “Trusts in the United States.”

Monopolies of local service, again, are still higher in the industrial scale, so far as they represent the organization of production by the consumers (that is, on the basis of rational and persistent wants), and are under direct public control. And the policy of "practical Collectivism" lies in exacting from such monopolies the full measure of their capacity, and making them object-lessons in co-operative industry.

Monopoly as a Result of Selection.

It is, after all, only by selection that the collective organization of industry can itself prevail, and thus is an argument, if any were needed, against any catastrophic closure of the present system. Hence the significance of the demand that government and public bodies should proceed upon a more scientific method than private competitive enterprise "can well afford"—in the direction of better organization of employment, standard wages for standard work, shorter hours, and other model conditions of industry. In Glasgow, at the present moment, there is actually a competition between municipal tramways and private means of transit; and the whole (if short) history of the municipalization of tramways is full of interest and instruction. Municipal management is a higher type of industry, and represents a competition of quality. It might be objected that this argument points to a mixed system of public and private industry, and does not meet the difficulty that a monopoly once established is liable to deterioration. It does point to the means by which public will supersede private administration of certain industries: that is, by competition and proved superiority of type. But it also assumes that the inferior type must give way. Still, the standard remains; it has been to a certain extent set, and to a greater extent recognized and approved, by the community. It could only fall back with a falling back in the community itself, that is, in its standard of satisfaction, material and moral. The higher type at once makes and depends upon its "environment." It may, indeed, have become an object of local pride and civic self-consciousness; a competition may be set up between one municipality and another, and that again would be a competition of quality. Readers of "Unto This Last" will remember a suggestion of the same kind—not the least fruitful idea of the economist who has best understood the real significance of the pre-established harmony between ethics and economics. In the same way it may be said that the real evil of the "drink traffic" is that it is a private, instead of a public, enterprise.

Collectivism will, in fact, proceed by selective experiments of the kind I have indicated, granting the moral and intellectual conditions required by a higher type of administration; and where it does not take the form of social ownership, the principle may be just as effective in the form of social control—control, that is, in the direction of a higher type of industrial character. Mining, railway, and factory legislation is, from this point of view, simply the application of "standard" ideas to competitive industry.

Socialism and its Critics.

If, then, this general account of the drift of Collectivism and of its real inwardness be at all true, what becomes of the polemic against Collectivist ideals that underlies the criticism of eminent social philosophers, and of the false antithesis that is so often set up between "moral" and "economic" Socialism. All the tendencies they attack, Collectivists attack; but while "moral" Socialists are content with ascribing them generally to (abstract) moral and intellectual causes, Collectivists, rightly or wrongly, find that they are moral and intellectual causes which are logically connected with the whole principle and practice of individualistic or private competitive industry, and refuse to believe that some undefined miracle of moral agency is better than any intelligible causation. I propose to deal in detail with this kind of objection to Collectivism, mainly with a view to exhibiting in a clearer light the logical idea and consequences of that position. For I will readily admit that this task is necessary, in view of the language that has been, and to a certain extent still is, used by responsible Socialists. I admit that there is some excuse for the perversion, or rather the construction, of Collectivist philosophy on which the "moral" case against Socialism is supposed to rest. For in some cases the teaching is ambiguous, in others it is evasive, and in certain cases it is demonstrably illogical. The philosophy of Collectivism is still in the making, and reasonable Collectivists themselves are perfectly aware of the extent to which their social doctrine has still to be thought out. But if we can once disengage the root idea, we can, at any rate, say what are logical consequences and what are not; and I hope to show that neither "free meals," nor "relief works," nor "pensions without services," nor "the abolition of private property" are logical deductions from the Collectivist principle; they are, in fact, the denial of it, and could not be part of a strictly Socialist economy.

The Idea of Collectivism.

What, then, is the idea of Modern Socialism, or Collectivism? I take it, Socialism implies, first and foremost, the improvement of society by society. We may be told that this is going on every day; yes, but not with any clear consciousness of what it is about, or of an ideal. Moreover, empirical social reform does not go beyond improvements within the existing system, or consider the effects of that system as a whole. As a rule, it means the modification of the system by an idea which does not belong to it, with the result that it is either ineffective or that it hampers the working of the system itself. When a prominent statesman can say that "We are all socialists now," he has reduced the idea of socializing individualistic commerce to its logical absurdity; it only means that we are endeavoring to rearrange the handicap between laborer, capitalist, employer, and landlord, according as either becomes the predominating partner in legislation. It is impossible to get out of the

confused aims of social reformers anything like a point of view, or an idea of social progress; it is a question of *evils* rather than *ideals*. Collectivism, as I have said, implies the consciousness by society of a social ideal, of a better form of itself, and its distinction lies in its clearer consciousness of the end to be attained and its conception of the means of attaining it. The means, as we know, are the collective control or collective administration of certain industries* by the community as a whole—"by the people for the people." (The ordinary formula of the "nationalization of the means of production" is unnecessarily prophetic, and is rather a hindrance than a help to the understanding of the ideal; by itself, it does not give the point of Socialism, and belongs to the picture-book method of social philosophy, which presents us rather with a ready-made system than a principle of action to be progressively applied.) But, clearly, "control," "organization," "administration," are merely forms, the body without the soul; we want to know—organization in what direction, control to what end? And the answer in quite general and formal terms is (as already suggested) a certain kind of existence and a certain standard of life to be maintained in and through the industrial organization of social needs. Mere nationalization, or mere municipalization, of any industry is not Socialism or Collectivism; it may be only the substitution of corporate for private administration; the social idea and purpose with which Collectivism is concerned may be completely absent. The presence of the idea is recognized by the extent to which the public machinery is made the conscious and visible embodiment of an ideal type of industry, taking form in certain standard conditions of production as also certain standard requirements of consumption. It is agreed that there are certain things which society is so concerned in getting done in a certain way and after a certain type, that it cannot leave them to private enterprise. We may recall Aristotle's arguments in favor of public as against private education; the important consideration being that education involves principles affecting the kind of social type and character which a particular society is interested in maintaining. The modern industrial state is beginning to realize that it is as deeply concerned in the conditions of industry that determine for better or worse the type and character of its citizens and the standard of its social life. This recognition implies the action of the general or collective will and purpose (which is, of course, also the will and purpose of individuals), represented by the social regulation of industry in the interest of a standard of industrial character and production—a standard of life—which society as society is concerned to maintain. The Collectivist calls upon society to face the logical requirements of the situation; rightly or wrongly, he conceives that

* I am not now concerned with any further specification of these expressions, as this belongs to a more strictly economic inquiry. Mr. Hobson's "Evolution of Modern Capitalism" deals with some of the aspects. Cf. also Fabian Tracts generally. "The community" means parish, district, municipality, or nation, as democratically organized. I assume throughout that modern Socialism means emphatically industrial democracy, that is, the realization in the industrial sphere of the principle already realized in the sphere of politics and religion.

a requirement of this kind is incompatible with the existence and the *raison d'être* of "private competitive enterprise." He is trying to familiarize the community with the incompatibility by "example and practice," and at the same time to show that it is not with business, but with modern competitive business that the requirement is incompatible. What is good in ethics cannot be bad in economics, and *vice versa*, is an axiom of Socialism. A standard wage, for instance, is from the point of view of modern commerce a non-competitive wage, for it is not regulated by the supply and demand of the market; but from the point of view of good business and also good ethics, it is competitive; men are selected for their efficiency, and not for their cheapness. The attempt to enforce this method of remuneration upon government and public bodies, as also to abolish the contractor,* is described and resented by the ratepayer as "Collectivist;" he is right in his description, not in his resentment. The School Board, again, adapts its scale of salaries not to the supply of the market, but to the service required. It is only an individualist who can talk of "high" wages and "high" salaries in this connection; a high wage is simply a wage that is adequate to a certain kind of work done at its best; the wage is high according as the conception of the conditions required for the highest performance of the work is high. The Socialism of the School Board is, in the last resort, nothing else than a high standard of education, and therefore of the educator and his conditions of life. It is well to put it in this way, because it is often supposed that Collectivism or Socialism is simply a policy of securing better conditions of life for the worker, which gives the impression that it is a class and not a social point of view. The starting-point of social economics is, after all, consumption, and again its qualitative, not merely its quantitative development, rather than the conditions of work and worker as such; they are, of course, really aspects of the same thing, as readers of Ruskin are in no danger of forgetting. Accordingly, we find that the economic problem is not approached by the modern Socialist primarily from the side of "distribution," except so far as it affects the character of "production" or "consumption." Anyhow, the great thing is that the point of view is qualitative; or, the regulative idea of Socialism is the maintenance of a certain standard of life, whether it is looked at from the point of view of the condition of the producer or his product. The whole point of factory legislation, again, lies in its attempt to exercise such social control over the conditions of industry as will prevent them from lowering the standard of life which society as society is interested in maintaining; it is becoming less sentimental, and more itself. In its scope; and, again, it is now called "Collectivist." socialists.

Commerce to it. Socialism and Humanism.

endeavoring to reapit of such an interpretation of the "idea" and employer, and landle Collectivism (which is, after all, sufficiently nating partner in leg admirable vindication of the "Economic Heresies" of

—Contemporary Review.

justified by the language of its opponents), the suggestion that it is theoretically careless of the type, indifferent to any standard of life, or to the claims of character, is somewhat wide of the mark. So long as Socialism remains true to its scientific conception and treatment of life, it is not likely to commit itself to means of improvement at the cost of the type. Its animating idea is neither * pity nor benevolence—at least, not as usually understood—but the freest and fullest development of human quality and power. It is characteristic of modern Socialism or Collectivism that its typical representatives are men who have been profoundly influenced by the positive and scientific conception of social life; while its popular propagandists have derived their inspiration from Ruskin, who is, in economics at least, a profound humanist. What is common to the indictment of modern industrialism, set out in “good round terms” by Ruskin, Morris, Wagner, Mr. Karl Pearson (not to mention others) on the one hand, and “Merrie England” on the other, is their sense of the frightful and quite incalculable waste and loss of quality (in producer and product) that it seems to involve. Whether this finding is just or not, Socialism is a principle which stands or falls by a qualitative conception of progress. It is bound up with ideas of qualitative selection and competition, and with the endeavour to raise in the scale the whole machinery, the whole conception and purpose, of industrial activity, so as to give the fullest scope to the needs and means of human development. Increase of human power over circumstance, increase of humanizing wants, increase of powers of social enjoyment—these are the ends of state or municipal activity, whether it take the form of model conditions of employment, and model standards of consumption, or the provision of parks and libraries and all such things as are means, not of mere, but of high existence.† And, in all these directions, it would be true to say that the State or municipality operates through character and through ideas, and that, as the organized power of community, it helps the individual not to be less but more of an individual, and because more of an individual, therefore more of a definite social person.

The Meaning of State Activity—National and International.

State activity, as thus conceived, is not the substitution of machinery for the mainspring of character, but a process of training and adaptation, or it may be of restriction and elimination—the human analogues of “natural selection” in the physical world. In this way the State, while it endeavors to give the personal struggle for existence a distinctively human and qualitative form, gains a

* Socialism without pity is empty, but a Socialism of mere pity is blind; and as I am concerned with the idea and method rather than the sentiment or psychological stimulus of Socialism, what may appear as an ultra-scientific view should not be misunderstood.

† On the “Socializing of Consumption” cf. Smart’s “Studies in Economics”; also the writings of Mr. P. Geddes and Mr. Hobson, among others. There is certainly a sense in which “Consumption” is the beginning and end of Economics.

clearer consciousness of the meaning of its own struggle for existence in the social world as a whole. And, just as it raises the plane of competition within its own social group, so it raises it in relation to other groups in the wider social organism. The study of great social experiments in Germany, the comparison of "experiences" at International Congresses, and other movements, suggest that there may be a more valuable kind of rivalry between nations than that of mere power, mere trade, or mere territory—a rivalry of social type and efficiency, within the limits of the specific part each is most fitted to discharge in the whole. The law of national self-preservation, upon such a view, passes from a non-moral to a moral stage, for it is not a mere and exclusive, but a specific and inclusive "self." Anyhow, one effect of Collectivism would be to increase the self-consciousness of a State as organized for the attainment of a common good and a certain kind of social existence; and this consciousness is, from the Socialist's point of view, an increasingly determinate factor in social evolution, just as it is the worst effect of competitive industry that the idea of the State and the conception of a social ideal either disappears or becomes vulgarized and materialized.

The Distinction Between "State" and "Society."

It is worth while to dwell for a moment upon a distinction which is often placed to the credit of modern, as distinguished from Greek, political philosophy—the distinction between "Society" and "the State." When the political community is regarded as "Society" it is looked at as a number of individuals or classes, or professions—as an aggregate of units. When we speak of the "State," we understand a single personality, as it were, representing all these interests and endowed with force which it can exercise against any one of them. In other words, "the State" cannot be reduced to "Society" or to "Government," which is only one of its functions, but is Society organized and having force. This distinction in one way implies an advance: we can and do leave more than the Greeks to social influence, as distinguished from the action of the State, because the foundation of social morality is stronger and deeper, and because we lay more stress on individual freedom and the value of the individual. But, in another way, it implies a loss, and is apt to degenerate into the idea that the State has no moral function, and that the individual possesses separate rights which only belong to him as a member of a community. To vulgar political Economy, for instance, as to the Liberty and Property Defence League, "the State" simply means Society; and there has been a tendency on the part of Economists who start with the commercial point of view to push to the extreme the view that the best result will come from the free interaction of conflicting interests, to take this view as final and make it a "law." Modern thought and modern practice are reverting to the position of Aristotle, that the State ought to put before itself "the good of the whole," by interfering with the "natural" course of economic events in favor of collective ends. And it is Democracy that has made Collectivism

possible: the State is not some mysterious entity outside individuals, but simply represents the individuals organized for a common purpose, whether in parochial or national assembly. When, therefore, German Social-Democracy avows its aim to be the substitution of "Society" for the "State," this is simply a sign of arrested political and social development: the State is not co-extensive with the self-governing community, but represents oligarchic and centralized bureaucracy. To depreciate the stress which Collectivists lay upon "organization" is really to depreciate the value of the moral atmosphere any particular manifestation of Collectivism may generate in familiarizing the members of the community with the idea of the social reference and destiny of industry, and of the State as the expression of the nation's will and conscience. .

General View of Socialism and its Justification.

Whatever else, then, Socialism may be, it certainly implies organized action for a social purpose, and this purpose may always be reduced to the conception of a certain standard of life other than mere animal existence.

I am aware that this representation of Socialism, as concerned with the maintenance of natural selection under rational human conditions, does not cover all the visible phenomena of Socialism. But the philosophic student is justified in limiting his view to the conception of Socialism as a reasoned idea of social progress; and it is its shortcomings in this respect that the "moral reformer" selects for condemnation. His criticism may, perhaps, be roughly indicated as follows: Socialism, it is suggested, aims at the substitution of machinery for character, in the sense that it fails to recognize that the individual is above all things a character and a will, and that society, as a whole, is a structure in which will and character "are the blocks with which we build"; it attaches, therefore, undue, if not exclusive, importance to material conditions and organization; and, further, it is fatal to the conditions of the formation of character, these conditions being private property competition (of character). In all these points we may discover a confusion between the "Appearance" and the "Reality" of Socialism.

Socialism and Machinery.

No doubt, at first sight, it seems to be the common idea of all Socialists that, by reconstructing the machinery of the actual material organization of life, certain evils incidental to human life, of which that organization is regarded as the stronghold, can be greatly mitigated, if not wholly removed. The theory of modern Socialism gives no countenance to this conception of the matter. It suggests neither utopias nor revolutions in human nature or modern business: it does suggest a method of business which makes rather larger demands upon human nature, but which, at the same time, and for the same reason, is "better" business. Even if that were not so, it is clear that Collectivism is, as I have said, not machinery, but machinery with a purpose; what it is concerned with is the

machinery appropriate to a certain spirit and conception of industry. It implies therefore emphatically *ideas*, and can only operate through "will and character" If, for instance, the machinery of public industry is not directed to keeping this idea before its employees from the highest to the lowest, then they stand in just as much a material and mechanical relation to their work as the employee of a private person or company; and, on the other hand, in proportion as the employee, through want of will or character or intelligence, fails to enter into that social purpose, his work would be as inferior in itself and in its relation to his character as it might be under any individualistic administration. As a practical corollary, the machinery of public industry must be organized in such a way that the workman can feel its interest and purpose as his interest and purpose.* The mere substitution of public for private administration is the shadow and not the substance. The forces required to work Collectivist machinery are nothing if not moral; and so we also hear the complaint that Socialists are too ideal, that they make too great a demand upon human nature and upon the social will and imagination. Of the two complaints, this is certainly the more pertinent. A conception, however, which is liable to be dismissed, now as mere mechanism, now as mere morality, may possibly be working towards a higher synthesis. May it not be the truth that Socialism is emphatically a moral idea which must have the machinery fitted to maintain and exercise such an idea—for a moral idea which is not a working idea is not moral at all—and this machinery is, formally speaking, the public control and administration of industry. Every advance in ethics must be secured by a step taken in politics or economics. Socialism implies both a superior moral idea and a superior method of business, and neither could work without the other. The superiority of the moral idea can only show itself by its works, by its business capacity, so to speak; and the superiority of a method of business lies in what it can do with and for human nature. It follows, therefore, that, just as Democracy is the most difficult form of government, Socialism is the most difficult form of industry, because, like Democracy, it requires the operation of ideas; and the test of the perfection of Socialist machinery is just its capacity to give to the routine industries of the community that spirit and temper which are the note of the freest and highest work. Apart from this atmosphere of interest and purpose, the State and municipality are distinctly inferior as employers of labor, and the history of the co-operative movement itself provides a series of object lessons in the divorce of machinery from ideas. In its complete form as the organization of production by the consumers, Socialism presupposes a responsiveness in producer and consumer, and Trades-Unions of producers would be as much a part of Socialism as of individualistic organization, as witness the National Union of

* This is the proper significance of the principle of the Co-partnership of Labor, which is apt to be too exclusively envisaged in "the self-governing workshop" or (private) profit-sharing, and is for that reason hardly given the recognition or prominence by Socialists it deserves

Elementary Teachers. On the other hand, if it has sufficient ground-work in moral and intellectual conditions, then the material organization itself helps to create the character it presupposes, and will be educative, in proportion as the employee of the community feels his social recognition in a raised standard of life all round—shorter hours, dignity and continuity of status, direct responsibility. It cannot be said that Socialists are insensible to the amount of education—in ideas and character—that is required before any sensible advance can be made in the direction of co-operative industry. On the other hand they do not believe that grapes can grow upon thorns: they believe that things make their own morality. The idea of industry is what habit and institutions make it: it is impossible to put the social idea into institutions* which make for the artificial preservation and encouragement of an antagonistic idea—the plutocratic ideal; and it is impossible to get it out of them. It is not enough to modify the bias of the individualistic organization of society: that organization itself makes the whole idea of the organization of society on the basis of public service or labor “the baseless fabric of a vision.” The moralist demands, and rightly (in theory) demands, that the working-man should realize that he exists only on the terms of recognizing and discharging a definite social function. But what is there in the economic arrangements under which he finds himself, to suggest such an idea—the idea on which Socialism rests—either to the propertied or to the propertyless man? How is a man who depends for his employment upon a mechanism he can in no wise control or count upon, and upon the ability of a particular employer to maintain himself against rivals, enabled to realize a definite position in the social structure? What he does feel, for the most part, is that he is dependent on a system in which the element of chance is incalculable, and it is just this feeling which makes for a materialistic and hand-to-mouth conception of life. Or what is there in the economic structure of society which suggests to the employer or the capitalist, that their *raison d'être* is not so much to make a fortune as to fulfil a function? In what way, in a word, does the individualistic organization† of industry make for the extension of the sense of duty which a man owes to society at large? Moral ideas must have at least a basis in the concrete relations of life. In the same way, we are told, and rightly told, that the value of property lies in its relation to the needs of personality. But how can a man who cannot count on more than ten shillings a week, or at any rate the man who depends upon casual employment or speculative trades, regard property as

* Cf. J. S. Mill's "Autobiography," pp. 230-234, *et seq.*, "Interest in the common good is so weak a motive in the generality, not because it can never be otherwise, but because the mind is not accustomed to dwell on it as it dwells, from morning to night, on things which tend only to personal advantage."

† The private organization of industry is often defended on the ground that it provides the morality of "faithful service." But democracy requires the substitution for private or personal services of public service, which admits of just as much personal, and certainly more social, "faithfulness"; and Socialism is bound up with democracy.

"the unity of his material life"? "A man must know what he can count on and judge what to do with,"—this is stated to be a requirement of morality (as it is certainly is of Socialism). But how is this condition realized under a system which not only lends itself to the most violent contrasts between careless ease and careworn want, between lavish indulgence and narrow penury, but makes it the (apparent) interest of the employing classes that the employed shall not have property—a situation which Trades-Unions were meant to meet. Moral ideas are, after all, relevant to a particular working organization of life. The "moral Socialist" seems to require a Socialist ethics of property and employment from an economic system which is worked upon an individualistic conception of property and employment. But the moralist who insists on the fulfilment by society of ideas for which its actual institutions and every-day life give no warrant seems to suggest that ethics are not relative, that moral conceptions are not ideas *of* life, but ideas *about* life. To this abstract moral idealism and transcendentalism, Socialism, at any rate, furnishes a needful corrective. Is there anything, the Socialist asks, in men's ordinary industrial life which suggests the "lofty and ennobling" ideas they are to have about it? And I conceive that the Socialist who criticises the economic arrangements of society from the standpoint of these ideas is the more helpful moralist of the two. He has done well if he has simply called attention to the antinomy; and, in a sense, that is the only remedy, for, unless it is felt and recognized, there is nothing from which anything better can grow up. If institutions depend on character, character depends on institutions: it is upon their necessary interaction that the Socialist insists. The greatness of Ruskin as a moralist lies in his relevance, and in his recognition of the inseparability of the moral and the material, of ethics and economics. But the practical man calls him a moral rhetorician and an insane economist.

"Moral" and "Material" Reform.

Apart from the general value of economic organization or of the consideration of it, the moral Socialist certainly tends (in theory) to minimize, if not to discount, the influence of material conditions on the betterment of life. The great thing, we are told, is to "moralize" the employer, or "moralize" the workman. The only radical cure for the sanitary atrocities of the Factory system lies, it is said, in a wider interpretation of their duty by the employers. Why is it, one may ask, that a system against which it is considered superficial, or indeed immoral, to "agitate," lends itself to this appeal from the employer's sense of interest to the employer's sense of duty? The Socialist suggests a system of industry in which self-interest does not require to be checked. And is it quite reasonable or consistent to complain, on the one hand, that Socialism does not provide the economic motive of private profit, and, on the other hand, to look for the improvement of the conditions of the laborer to the moralization or socialization of the motives of the employer? The evils which the moral Socialist admits are just those for which a radical

cure can only be found in the popular control of industry. Or, are we to say that "the morality of the working classes" depends, not upon "circumstances," but upon some mysterious gift of grace or redemption? The intimate connection between "circumstances" and drinking, the degrading effect of material uncertainty (which the doctrinaire moralist seems to regard as an unmixed moral benefit—for the working classes), are, at any rate, as normal phenomena as the powerlessness of a "degenerate" to cope with such conditions at all. A good deal more investigation is surely needed of the conditions under which "character and ideas" operate before we can so easily assume their spontaneous generation and their indefinite possibilities. Universalize the principle, and it is doubtless good for all persons that they should not be above the possibility of falling into distress by lack of wisdom and exertion; competition is in this sense a sovereign condition of life, and the Socialist regrets that more room is not made for its beneficent operation in the "moral development" of our "splendid paupers." There seems to be just a tendency on the part of the Charity Organization Society to treat the working-classes as if they had peculiar opportunities for independent life, just because their circumstances are so difficult; the eye of the moral disciplinarian should surely also be turned upon the many people who are as much pensioners of society as if they were maintained in an alms-house. The poor man's poverty (it would seem) is his moral opportunity. But this kind of beatitude for the poor would have more point if it were always their own lack of wisdom and exertion which occasions their "falling into distress." It must be admitted that the existence of an unemployed rich is as great a source of danger and deterioration to society as that of an unemployed poor, and to a great extent the one is an aggravating cause of the other. Much of the casual employment of the employed classes directly ministers to the unproductive and exclusive consumption of the rich; and one great difficulty in the way of the organization of production on the basis of rational and persistent wants, and the provision of a true industrial basis to the life of the worker, lies in the irregular, capricious, and characterless expenditure of superfluous incomes.

The Insufficiency of the Charity Organization Society.

All that our "Poor Law Reformers" have to say about the policy of "relief works," "shelters," and relaxation of the Poor Law is undeniable; but the corollary that in "refraining from action" we are helping on a better time seems hardly adequate, however graphically it can be illustrated from the history of unwise philanthropy. So long as the Charity Organization Society contents itself with the demonstration that devices of this kind only drive the evil further in, it is really helpful; but in refusing to look for any source of the evils except foolish benevolence on the one side and reckless improvidence on the other, it seems to be unduly simplifying the conditions of the problem. It is, at any rate, scarcely justified in deprecating the inquiry as to whether the absence of any rational organization of

industry may not be a part of the situation. Thinkers of this school are so much concerned for the moral independence of the worker that his actual economic dependence hardly enters into their consideration. The circumstances beyond the control of great masses of workers engaged in machine industries are much larger than those that their own action goes to make up, and here again Collectivism endeavors to bring these circumstances much more within their control. Lack of employment means, we are told, lack of character; but where, after all, does character come from? The contention of Socialists is that the absence of any permanent organization of industry, by setting a premium upon partial and discontinuous employment, is itself a contributory cause of shiftless character; and where the character is hopeless, the best way of dealing with it is such an organization as would really sift out and eliminate the industrial residuum. All permanent organization means the withdrawal of partial and inadequate employment from a certain class.*

Surely in this case system and character act and react; discourage intermittent employment, and you save the "marginal" cases from social wreckage; while it becomes possible to deal with the industrial residuum in some restorative or restrictive way. But is not this the point of Collectivism? The Fabian Society has repudiated the false economics of "relief works" with quite as much energy as the Charity Organization Society. But the real objection to relief works, as also to "Old Age Pensions," is that they have no logical connection with the system they are designed to palliate. "Continuity of employment" and "superannuation pensions" would be a logical part of a Socialist state; but the idea of "the State" as a relief society to the employees of private industry can only be satisfactory to the employer, whose irresponsibility it would effectually sanction. Under a system of individualistic industry, "State relief" and "State pensions" can only mean an allowance in aid of reckless speculation and low wages; and these devices only serve to distract reform from the true line of deliverance—the best possible organization of industry and the improvement of the conditions of labor. It is not the Socialist who contemplates the "ransom" of the capitalistic system by relief work and old age pensions.† I do not think that even the most impatient Socialist has ever suggested that out-door relief in any shape was Socialism; while the scientific Socialist has never regarded so-called wholesale "Socialistic remedies" of this kind as other than the herring across the track. Socialism means the organization not of charity, nor of relief, but of industry, and in such a way that the problem of finding work which is not apparently wanted, and of devising pensions for no apparent service, would not be "normal."

* The net result of organization at the Docks was, we are told, in the direction of confining to about 6,000 people the work which had previously been partial employment for between 12,000 and 10,000. Cf. also the unorganized "cab-tout," etc.

† On the other hand, Pensions—and even carefully guarded and exceptional relief schemes—might be regarded as part of a transitional policy. The Socialist who advocates Old Age Pensions is at the same time advocating a different conception and consequent method of industry, and not simply trying to save the credit of a discredited system.

Socialism and Natural Selection.

The real danger of Collectivism, indeed, is not that it would take the form of the charity that fosters a degraded class, but that it would be as ruthless as Plato in the direction of "social surgery." It may take a hard and narrow view of the "industrial organism" and the conditions of its efficiency. For the progress of civilization gives a social value to other qualities, other kinds of efficiency, than merely industrial or economic capacity. "Invalidism" may be said to develop valuable states of mind, and to strengthen the conception of human sympathy and solidarity. It is possible to apply the conception of an industrial organism in two ways: the State is an organism, and therefore it should get rid of its weak; the State is an organism, and therefore it should carry its weak with it. Perhaps, it might be said that the modern problem is not so much to get the weak out of the way, as to help them to be useful. There is no reason in the process of natural selection, as such, why every member of society, provided he be not criminal, should not be preserved and helped to live as effectively as possible. But this would depend upon the possibility of such a readjustment of the economic system that would enable all members to maintain an efficient existence under it, and, conversely, upon the condition that each person should do the work for which he is best fitted. "Weakness" and "unfitness" are, after all, relative; and in any more systematic organization of society what is now a man's weakness might become his strength. One advantage of the organization of industry would be the increased possibility of "grading" work, as also of estimating desert. The problem is no other than that of finding a distribution of work which would allow the weak to render a service proportioned to their ability in the same ratio as the service is required of the strong. The present system makes too little use of the weak and too much of the strong; instead of helping the growth of all after their kind, it fosters an overgrowth of an exclusive and imperfect kind. And, lastly, if it be said that any form of Socialism would be immoral if it denied the necessity for individual responsibility, it may also be urged that the compulsory elevation by municipal and State activity of the most degraded classes is a necessary preliminary to their further elevation by individual effort and voluntary association. But none of these considerations seem germane to private competitive enterprise, which can hardly afford to "treat life as a whole." From all these points of view, therefore, I venture to think that the question of morality is largely a question of machinery, and that the consideration of morality apart from machinery reduces ethics to the level of a merely "formal" science.

Socialism and Property.

Socialism recognizes the value of property by demanding its wider distribution. The social situation is, upon its showing (rightly or wrongly), largely created by the divorce of the worker from property and the means of production, which means that the arrangement and disposition of his life is outside his control. Private

Property may be said to have an ethical value and significance so far as it is at once a sign and expression of individual worth, and gives to individual life some sort of unity and continuity. It follows that wages and salaries, on which society is largely, and under Collectivism would be wholly based, fulfil the principle of private property so far as they are in some degree permanent and calculable; otherwise, there is a discontinuity in the life of the individual; he cannot look before and after, cannot organize his life as a whole. Socialists not only accept the "idea" of individual property, but demand some opportunity for its realization.* One point of the public organization of industry is that it would admit of more permanency, stability, and continuity in the life of the worker than is provided by the precariousness of modern competition. His life, it is contended, is much more exposed than it need be to the worst of material evils—uncertainty. The "Trust" organization of industry, as also the organization of dock labor, are in this point in the line of Socialist advance; and it is well known that the civil service attracts because it not only secures the livelihood of the employed, but leaves him time for volunteer work in pursuit of his interests and duties, private and public. Or, again, we are told that the social need is to make the possession of property very responsive to the character and capacity of the owner. Could the endeavor of Socialism be better expressed? Socialism does not, like certain forms of Communism, rest upon the idea that no man should have anything of his own; it is concerned with such an organization of industry as shall enable a man to acquire property in proportion to his character and capacity, but will cease to make the mere accumulation of private property a motive force of industry. Just to the extent that property serves the needs of individuality, Socialism would encourage its acquisition: the idea of hand-to-mouth existence or "dependence," the ideal of the slave or the child, is probably much more encouraged by the fluctuations of competitive industry than by the routine but regular and calculable vocation of the public servant.

It may be further considered that it is the object of Collectivism not merely to give a true industrial and calculable basis to the life of the worker, but to give to the possession of property character and propriety. There is a justifiable pleasure in surrounding one's self with things which really express and respond to one's own character and choice of interest, and in the feeling that they are one's own in a peculiar and intimate sense. But the number of books, pictures, and the like, which one "desires for one's own," is comparatively small, and would be much smaller, if one had within reach a museum, a library, and a picture-gallery. The property that is revolting is that which is expressive, not of character, but of money; the house, for instance, of "a successful man" made beautiful "by contract." Emerson's exhortation to put our private pictures into public galleries is perhaps extreme, and not altogether

* Throughout this discussion I am thinking of "the enjoyment of individual Property" as distinct from the employment of private Capital and the private possession of Land.

practical or reasonable. But the public provision of libraries and galleries, and of things that can be best enjoyed in common, not only enlarges the background of the citizen's life and adds to his possessions, but suggests a reasonable limit to the accumulation of property; as it would most certainly give a social direction to art, when it could minister to the needs of a nation rather than the ostentation of the few. And the same may be said of public parks, means of transit, and the like—all in the direction of levelling those inequalities of property which serve no social purpose. Whether, then, property be regarded as a "means of self-expression," or as "materials for enjoyment," the Collectivist ideal may be said to lie in the direction, not of denying, but of affirming and satisfying the need; and the Socialists criticise the distribution of property under individualistic institutions just from the point of view of its failure to satisfy a need of human nature. Mr. Bosanquet,* for instance, really expresses the Socialist's position when he says: "The real cause of complaint to-day, I take it, is not the presence, but the absence of property, together with the suggestion that its presence may be the cause of its absence." He points out, moreover, that the principle of unearned private property and the principle of Communism really meet in the common rejection of the idea of *earning*, of some quasi-competitive relation of salary to value or energy of service—in fact, of the organization of Society upon a basis of labor, which is the ideal of Socialism. Similarly he puts himself at the point of view of the Socialist when he says: "The true principles of State interference with acquisition—and alienation—would refer to their tendency, if any, to prevent acquisition of property on the part of other members of society," a principle which omits nothing in Collectivist requirements, and opens up a series of far-reaching considerations.†

Socialism and Competition.

I have already endeavored to show that Socialism is a method of social selection according to social worth (in the widest sense): that it desires to extend the possibilities of usefulness to as many as possible, and would measure reward by the efficiency of socially valuable work. The differences in reward would, however, be of less account in proportion as social consideration and recognition, and the collective privileges and opportunities of civilization, are extended to any kind of worker, and as the motives to personal accumulation are reduced within social limits.‡ Indeed, it is a question whether the conven-

* In "Some Aspects of the Social Problem," which originally suggested this paper.

† Cf. The "Land Nationalization" propaganda generally. For the sake of their economic case, as also for purposes of political propaganda, it is regrettable that modern Socialism gives more prominence, in its theory, to "Capital" than to "Land"—but cf. the works of Achille Loria and his school.

‡ Cf. Mill ("Autobiography") and Marshall ("Principles") on the "Motives to Collective Action"; also Sidney Webb's "Difficulties of Individualism" (Fabian Tract No. 69). "A social system devised to encourage 'the art of establishing the maximum inequality over our neighbors'—as Ruskin puts it—appears destined to be replaced, wherever this is possible, by one based on salaried public service, with the stimulus of duty and esteem, instead of that of fortune-making."

tional idea of reward is relevant to the system of industry contemplated by the Socialist, a system under which the freest industrial motive—the motive of work for work's and enjoyment's sake, the stimulus of self-expression—could be extended from the highest to the humblest industry. The incompatibility of pure industrial motive with our modern industrial system is, indeed, as Ruskin and Morris and Wagner have witnessed, its profoundest condemnation.

The Benefits of Commercial Competition.

*It is not to be denied that competitive private enterprise may develop character and discharge social services. But the character and the services are of a partial and inferior type: partial, because a few grow out of proportion to the rest, and therefore in a narrow and anti-social direction; inferior, because the character of the economically strong is not of the highest type; if it is of a type fittest to survive in a commercial and non-social world, it is not the fittest to survive in a moral and social order. And what can one say about the quality of products and standard of consumption? Is it as such directed to evolve and elevate life? Matthew Arnold's description of an upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, and a lower class brutalized, is a fairly accurate description of modern commercial types.

Competition and Population.

Not only is commercial competition inferior in form, but it is directly responsible for an increase in quantity over quality of population. The idea that unchecked competition makes for the natural selection of the fittest population is singularly optimistic. It is just that part of the population which has nothing to lose that is most reckless in propagating itself. The fear of falling below the standard of comfort at one end of the social scale, and the hopelessness of ever reaching it at the other, combine to increase the quantity of population at the cost of its quality. And what is a loss to society is a gain to the sweater; he is directly interested in the lowering of the standard of life, and in the competition of cheap labor; and the sweater is a normal product of commercial competition. Collectivism deliberately aims at the maintenance and elevation of the standard of life, and at such an organization of industry as would not enable one class of the community to be interested in the over-production of another. It treats the "population question" as a problem of quality.

Socialism and Progress.

There are, of course, many other aspects of Socialism than its adequacy to the requirements of a moral and social idea; that is, of the principle of a progressive social life. It may be thought that Socialism is essentially a movement from below, a class movement; but it is characteristic of modern Socialism that its protagonists, in this country at any rate, approach the problem from the scientific rather than the popular view; they are middle class theorists. And the future of the movement will depend upon the extent to

which it will be recognized that Socialism is not simply a working man's, or an unemployed, or a poor man's question. There are, indeed, signs of a distinct rupture between the Socialism of the street and the Socialism of the chair; the last can afford to be patient, and to deprecate hasty and unscientific remedies. It may be that the two sides may drift farther and farther apart, and that scientific Socialism may come to enjoy the unpopularity of the Charity Organization Society. All that I am, however, concerned to maintain is that there is a scientific Socialism which does attempt to treat life as a whole, and has no less care for character than the most rigorous idealist; and I believe I am also right in thinking that this is the characteristic and dominant type of Socialism at the present day. It may not be its dominant idea in the future, but it is the idea that is wanted for the time, the idea that is relevant, and it is with relevant ideas that the social moralist is concerned.

Other Moral Aspects: Socialism and Religion.

There are, again, other moral aspects than those with which I have been concerned. I have said nothing as to the moral sentiment of Socialism, nothing as to the creation of a deeper sense of public duty. I have taken for granted the sentiment, and confined myself to its mode of action, or the more or less completely realized moral idea of Socialism, and tried to see how it works, or whether it is a working idea at all. The question of moral dynamics lies behind this, and the question of faith—as the religious sentiment—still further behind. Perhaps in an anxiety to divorce Socialism from sentimentality, we may appear to be divorcing it from sentiment. But the sentiment of Socialism must rest on a high degree of intellectual force and imagination, if it is not to be altogether vague and void. There is no cheap way, or royal road, to the Religion of Humanity, though there may be many helps to it short of a reflective philosophy. But it would be idle to deny that Socialism involves a change which would be almost a revolution in the moral and religious attitude of the majority of mankind. We may agree with Mill* that it is impossible to define with any sort of precision the coming modification of moral and religious ideas. We may further, however, agree that it will rest (as Comte said) upon the solidarity of mankind (as represented by the Idea of the State), and that "there are two things which are likely to lead men to invest this with the moral authority of a religion; first, they will become more and more impressed by the awful fact that a piece of conduct to-day may prove a curse to men and women scores and even hundreds of years after the author is dead; and second, they will more and more feel that they can only satisfy their sentiment of gratitude to seen or unseen benefactors, can only repay the untold benefits they have inherited, by diligently maintaining the traditions of service." This is the true positive spirit, and in something like it we must seek the moral dynamics of Socialism.

* John Morley's "Miscellanies": "The Death of Mr. Mill" Cf. also the passage on Socialist sentiment in Mill's "Autobiography."

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LABOR IN THE LONGEST REIGN

(1837-1897).

BY

SIDNEY WEBB.

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LABOR IN THE LONGEST REIGN.*

THE "Sixty Years' Reign" of Queen Victoria—1837 to 1897—inevitably produces a crop of comparisons between the condition of the people at the two dates. At first sight, nothing is more conducive to our self-complacency.

If the Chartists, in 1837, had called for a comparison of their time with 1787, and had obtained a fair account of the actual social life of the ordinary working man at the two periods, it is almost certain that they would have recorded a positive decline in the standard of life of large classes of the population. And if the Spenceans or the "Corresponding Societies" of 1787 had compiled a trustworthy comparison of that year with 1737, it is probable they must have marked a similar decline. There seems reason to believe, indeed, that in 1837 some large sections of the "dim inarticulate multitude" were struggling in the trough of a century's decline in all that makes life worth living. Whatever had been of advantage in the patriarchal or semi-feudal relationship between social classes had passed away, without yet being succeeded by the political freedom and mutual respect of democratic organization. The industrial independence which marked the hand industry had been in great part lost, whilst the advantages of the factory system were as yet not universally developed. The poor had lost the generous laxity of the old Poor Law without having yet gained the bracing education in independence which was the main advantage of the new. The parochial and manorial systems of local administration had, in many places, broken down under the enormous growth of population and industry, while the new municipalities were but beginning, and public sanitation and public education were unknown.† And whilst the worst horrors of industrial anarchy prevailed in the mills and mines, not yet subject to any effective legislation, the workman found his food rendered artificially dear by the remnants of the protective system. In almost every respect, indeed, the wage-earner in 1837 was suffering from the surviving evils of the old order, whilst losing all its advantages; and he was already exposed to many of the disadvantages of the new era, whilst enjoying but few of its benefits. Nothing is more difficult than to estimate fairly the comparative well-being of a whole community at different periods. But if one may trust one's impression of numerous converging testimonies, 1737 shows approximately the high-water mark of prosperity, at any rate since the

* Reprinted (by permission), with numerous alterations, from the Wholesale Co-operative Society's *Annual for 1893*.

† Lord Beaconsfield's novel, *Sybil, or the Two Nations*, gives a good idea of some of the horrors of this period, as Mrs. Gaskell's *Mary Barton* does of the poverty of Lancashire. Engel's *Condition of the Working Classes in 1844* (Sonnenschein, 1892) is a picture of the period largely compiled from official reports.

Middle Ages, of the farm laborers and perhaps also of the little handicraftsmen. Their life, no doubt, was then rude and hard, but it had, perhaps, with its yearly bonds and customary wages, more permanence and regularity on the whole than has since been possible. On the other hand, 1837 marks almost the lowest depth of degradation of the English rural population, and a very low level indeed in the condition of the miner and the mill operative. And, therefore, even if 1897 represents a great advance in almost every respect on 1837, we cannot accept this result with any very great self-complacency. In comparing ourselves with 1837 we set an appallingly low standard, and great indeed would be our guilt if amid our huge increase in national wealth no advance on that year were recorded.

It is not possible in a Fabian Tract to attempt a full examination into the condition of the workman to-day as compared with his position in 1837. All that can be done is to give a general impression on the subject, and a few of the many detailed facts which could be cited in support of that impression.* Bad as we are sometimes tempted to think the present condition of the people, it is clear that, on the whole, there has been a substantial advance since 1837. In the great mass of trades, and in nearly all places, the money wages of the men are much higher, and the workman obtains a far larger supply of commodities in return for his labor than he did sixty years ago. In many cases the hours of labor are shorter, the conditions of work are better, and the general standard of life has been considerably raised. The house accommodation, both in town and country, is much improved; the sanitary conditions have often been revolutionized; education is not only far more general, but is also far more extensive; whilst such opportunities for culture as libraries, museums, art galleries, music and healthy recreation are much more accessible to the workman than they ever were before. In a word, the great bulk of the population are far more civilized than they were sixty years ago. Cruel as is our industrial system, life in England is in nearly every respect much more humane than it was. The evils which still exist must not blind us to the progress that has been made. So far the panegyrics of the optimistic statisticians of our time are justified.

Wages.

It is unnecessary to say very much about the general rise in money wages which has taken place since 1837. There seems no reason to doubt, *so far as concerns the male worker*, the general accuracy of Sir Robert Giffen's conclusion that the rise in nearly

* The Queen's Jubilee in 1887 produced a number of "Fifty Years Retrospects," to which reference should be made by those studying the subject. Of these, Sir Robert Giffen's two essays on "The Progress of the Working Classes during the last half-century" (in his *Essays in Finance*, second series, 1887), contain the best survey of the economic facts, presented in a somewhat too optimistic way. Mulhall's *Fifty Years of National Progress* contains a mass of statistics. A more general survey is taken in Sir W. Besant's *Fifty Years Ago* (Chatto and Windus), which contains a mass of interesting particulars as to the social condition of the nation, but is untrustworthy upon economic facts. *The History of Trade Unionism*, by S. and B. Webb, tells the story of the working classes; see also *The Tailoring Trade*, edited for the London School of Economics and Political Science by F. W. Galton (Longmans).

all trades has been from 50 to 100 per cent.* In some of the building trades, for instance, wages have in certain localities actually doubled during the present century. The son of a carpenter in Scotland told me that he remembered his father, about 1850, regularly bringing home $34/6$ as his wage—not for one, but for four weeks' work, the system of monthly pays not yet having been abolished. It is true that this was in the neighborhood of Inverness, but I mention the incident to recall the fact that wages have often risen most in obscure nooks and corners of the land which have been opened up by those great levellers of wages and prices—railways and the postal system. But even in Glasgow the minutes of the energetic Joiners' Union show that it was fighting hard between 1833 and 1837 to get a standard rate of 21/- per week, as against 36/- at the present day. And the stone-masons in Glasgow have improved their rate of pay from 5d. per hour in 1853, which is the earliest year for which I could obtain the figures, to 8½d. per hour now. And if we turn to quite another industry, I have ascertained the rate of wages of the engine-men at a small colliery in the Lothians since the year 1831. They began at 11/- per week, and rise steadily, though with numerous fluctuations, to 23/4 in 1872, and to no less than 33/3 per week in 1892.

The compositors, too, in many places have doubled their money wages during the present century. In Edinburgh, for instance, in 1803 the average earnings of compositors in eleven of the best printing offices of the city varied from 13/9 to 17/11½ per week, the rate being 3½d. per 1,000. The "Interlocutor" of 1805—an order of the Court of Session fixing a scale of piecework rates—raised the average earnings to about 20/3; but from that time until 1861 no advance was made on these rates, and the average earnings of men at piecework in book printing establishments seem positively to have declined during these years. But in the meantime the "stab" system had greatly increased in the city, and "stab" wages had risen from 21/- in 1833 to 26/- in 1861. Edinburgh has never been a good city for compositors, but the rate per 1,000 is now 6½d., and the minimum weekly wage of men on the establishment is 32/6.†

But perhaps one of the most remarkable instances of improvement of social condition is that of the Northumberland coal miner. Two generations ago, he was a helpless, degraded wage-slave, utterly without the means of resisting the worst abuses of capitalist tyranny. The hewer of 1830, if we may trust a contemporary pamphlet, often received no more than 11/- or 12/- a week for ten or twelve hours a day underground. The miners' delegate meeting settled the strike of 1831 on terms which included a minimum of 30/- per fortnight

* See Sir Robert Giffen's two papers on "The Progress of the Working Classes in the last half-century" (*Essays in Finance*, second series, 1887, pp 365-409). But it must be remembered that this general rise has not taken place without numerous ups and downs in good and bad times, the details of which for particular trades and in particular localities would well repay study.

† It may be added that the method of computing piecework per 1,000 ens is said to have been introduced in London in 1774, when the rate was 4d. (Edinburgh being 3d. at that time). By 1785 the London rate had advanced to 5½d., where it appears to have remained stationary until 1861, when it was raised to 6d. It now averages 8½d.

for twelve hours a day.* But the miner was constantly cheated in the weight of coal drawn, and in the food and other commodities that he was compelled to buy at his employer's "tommy-shop." Spasmodic rebellions resulted in particular martyrdoms, without producing either any durable combination or any appreciable improvement in the miner's lot. His "yearly bond," enforced by ruthless magistrates, kept him in a position little better than serfdom, whilst the utter absence of any provision for education seemed to leave no ray of hope for any uplifting of his class. Now the Northumberland miner stands in the very front rank of what is often not inappropriately termed the aristocracy of labor. A strong and admirably led Trade Union defends him both from employers' tyranny and the accidental fluctuations of earnings which arise from the changing character of the "face" of the mine. He has secured effective legislative protection against fraud, and, to no small extent, against the avoidable dangers of his calling. He works hard, but his labor is concentrated into fewer hours so as to leave him leisure for public and private affairs.

It would be in the highest degree instructive to study in detail the means by which this beneficent revolution has been accomplished. It is very significant that the Northumberland miners were unable to form any durable Trade Union until the Mines Regulation Act of 1842 had given them some protection from the worst abuses of competition, and that the strength and efficiency of their union has grown in direct proportion to the amount of legislative regulation which the union has been able to procure for their industry. A similar remark might be made concerning the spread of co-operation among them. The Northumberland pitmen appear, indeed, to present an almost perfect example of the manner in which every form of well-devised collective action, whether legislative regulation, Trade Union control, or consumers' co-operation, act and react one upon the other to the permanent elevation of the standard of life.

The splendid progress of the Northumberland coal-hewers has been shared in greater or less degree by many other classes; but it is unnecessary to dwell further upon this side of the question. It will not, I think, be generally disputed that the last sixty years have seen a very great advance in the condition of a very large part of the people. But it is essential to notice the fact that this great advance in prosperity, this great rise in the standard of life, has not been universal. There are living in our midst to-day considerable masses of people who, as regards their economic circumstances, are still in 1837. I have already referred to the difficulty of comparing with any accuracy the general condition of the people at one period with that of another, but there is one datum line which remains pretty constant, and that is the level of mere subsistence. If we find any class existing just at this subsistence level, we may feel quite sure that no great improvement can have taken place in its condition; and if we discover in our midst classes who do not even manage to get enough for durable subsistence—who live, to use Mr. Charles

* See *An Appeal to the Public from the Pitmen*. Delegates' meeting, Newcastle, 6th May, 1831. Reprinted in the Appendix to *Fyne's Miners of Northumberland and Durham* (Blyth, 1873); see *The History of Trade Unionism*, p. 110.

Booth's phrase, "in a state of chronic want"—we may be certain that the lot of these classes can, by the nature of things, never have been any worse even in 1837. Mr. Charles Booth tells us,* in the effective "eloquence unadorned" of his columns of statistics, that some 32 per cent. of the whole four millions of London's population fall within his four classes of "poverty," earning not more than a guinea per week per family. It is difficult to believe that, even in 1837, the percentage of persons at a corresponding low level can have been greater. It is practically certain, remembering the great increase in the total population, that at no previous time were the actual numbers more than at present. It has been reserved for our own prosperous time to produce the spectacle of over a million of people within one city living "in poverty." And when we examine closer into Mr. Booth's appalling details, and begin to realize that out of this huge residuum nearly a third are actually below what can be called even full subsistence for a London family, we shall begin to feel that our boasted progress since 1837 has not, after all, taken us very far. The 300,000 Londoners who fail to get even 18/- a week per family, and live in "chronic want," can never have been poorer. Their actual number in the much smaller city of 1837 cannot have been so great. And if we take into account the slums of our other great cities, and realize that we have in our midst a class of at least a million persons, besides the million at any one time in receipt of Poor Law relief, who live in "chronic want" of even the necessities of life, we shall begin to understand how very partial after all has been our progress.

It is often assumed that this huge residuum which is existing in our midst at starvation wages, is made up entirely of unskilled laborers, women plying the needle, and drunkards and wretches of all kinds. But this is not the case. The unskilled laborer, indeed, is morally entitled to full subsistence, though he does not always get it; but even men with a trade are sometimes little better off. We find to-day numerous small classes of skilled craftsmen in large towns whose weekly earnings do not amount to a pound a week. The Sheffield fork-grinders, for instance, working at a horribly unhealthy and laborious trade, are constantly found working at time-work for 16/- to 20/- for a full week of fifty-six hours, subject to considerable reductions for lost time. Similarly the Sheffield table-blade grinders, who do the common work, do not get more than a guinea a week net when working full time. Even in the comparatively prosperous textile industries there are large classes of men working as weavers, card-room operatives, &c., who do not make a pound a week. Consider, too, the wages which our civilization allots to adult able-bodied women. It is difficult to believe that the "shilling a day" wages of unskilled women in the East End of London, the 6/- to 7/- a week earned by the Belfast rope-maker or tobacco-worker, or even the 10/- or 12/- earned at piecework by the skilled linen-weaver or Glasgow cotton mill operative, represents any appreciable advance on the scale of the past generation. Women's wages for unskilled labor still gravitate, as a rule, pretty close to the subsistence level,

* See *Life and Labor of the People*, vols. i. to iv.

below which they can never have sunk for any length of time.* Out of the four millions of women who are working for wages at the present time, a very large percentage must be earning practically no better subsistence than their grandmothers did. It is at least doubtful whether any previous age could show so large a total number at this low level. And if we might sum up in one general impression the different facts as to comparative wages, we should, I think, have to come to this conclusion: Whilst the skilled male craftsman has largely increased his income, and a practically new class of responsible and fairly well-paid laborers and machine-minders has come into existence, there exists now a greater sum, though a smaller proportion, of hopeless destitution than at any previous time. It appears at any rate highly probable that in 1897 there are positively more people in Great Britain who are existing at or near starvation wages than there were in 1837, although their number bears a smaller proportion to the whole.

It must not, of course, be forgotten that prices are not the same now as in 1837. The workman pays much more in rent than he did then, not only on account of the positive rise of rent, but also because a far larger proportion of the total population now live and work in towns. Meat, too, and milk, with a few other articles, are dearer. But I see no reason to doubt the statistical conclusion that prices are on the whole lower than in 1837. The reduction in the price of bread is worth more to the agricultural laborer or to the family at sheer subsistence level in London than any alteration in the price of meat. The rise in rent is a real and most serious deduction from the increase of wages, and is no doubt a great cause of the destitution of the urban residuum. The proportion of the income which is paid away for rent is, of course, greatest in the very poorest class, and this accordingly suffers most from the rise. But it is far from being equal to the advance in the money wages of the skilled artisan, whose weekly earnings certainly procure for himself and his family a considerably larger share of comfort and civilisation than could have been commanded by his grandfather. My conclusion is that, on the whole, wages are not only higher but are also worth more than they were before. On the other hand, the increased cost of rent, and meat and milk, presses with undue severity upon the helpless poor of our great cities, and does much to keep their condition down to the old bad level.

Irregularity of Employment.

But it would be misleading to consider only the rate of wages without paying at least equal attention to the extent to which the workman is irregularly employed. The weekly earnings of a stonemason, for instance, may run up to 36/- or 42/- for the time that he is in constant employment, but any estimate of his yearly income would be fallacious in the extreme if it did not take into account that he usually earns little or nothing during the winter months. We cannot, therefore, usefully compare rates of wages unless we at

* For statistics of women's wages—scarcely mentioned by Sir R. Giffen—see an article by the present writer in the *Economic Journal*, December, 1891; and *Studies in Economics* by Professor W. Smart (London; 1895).

the same time endeavor to estimate whether employment has become more or less intermittent and irregular.

Now, on this point of comparative regularity of employment, we have at present practically no statistical information, and the most diverse accounts are given by different witnesses. If we were to believe some of our friends we should conclude that irregularity of employment was a new thing, the product of the competitive system in its decay, unknown to our forefathers. But whatever may have been the case in that semi-mythical golden age of the hand industry, it is quite certain that sixty years ago there were periods of bad trade and widespread lack of employment. Of this we find abundant evidence in all directions. It is unnecessary to do more than refer to the large number of persons who at that time received Poor Law relief. A better index to the chronic lack of employment in the winter months is given by the way in which the numbers in receipt of relief went up as soon as the cold weather set in. But evidence of another, and perhaps more trustworthy kind, is to be found in the records of the old Trade Unions. The skilled craftsman, earning good wages while at work, was then, as now, loth to throw himself on the parish, and some of the early Trade Societies were formed largely with the object of providing maintenance for their members when out of work. Out-of-work pay, or, as it is sometimes expressively termed, "idle aliment," was, as far as I am aware, not given in 1837 by any Trade Union, but elaborate provisions were made to enable men who could not find employment in their town to go on tramp in search of it. "Tramp" had not then become a term of reproach, and the "tramps' room" was a regular feature of every public-house patronized by one of the larger Trade Societies.* The tramp had usually exhausted all his scanty funds before he made up his mind to wander, and it was therefore necessary to organize a regular system of daily relief all over the kingdom. Already, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the wool-combers were associated from Taunton to the Tees in a single widespread association for relieving their travelling members. Their example was followed within a few years by the wool-staplers, and long before 1824 the compositors also appear to have covered the land with a network of local societies, one of whose chief aims was the mutual relief of each other's tramps. The little society of ironmoulders, which started at Bolton in 1809, soon expanded into an organization of national extent with similar objects. The member "clear on the books" who was driven to travel, received a "clear card" which entitled him to a bed in the tramps' room and a shilling or so from the branch secretary at each of the society's branches on his route until he came to a place where he found a job, or until he became "box-fast" and entitled to no more relief. It is needless to say that in those days there were few railways, and practically no cheap means of transit. The tramp, therefore, invariably walked from stage to stage, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, for he could receive no more than one day's allowance at each station, and the stations were often many

* The tramping system has not entirely died out, but most societies abandoned it between 1840 and 1870, generally substituting the present "home donation" in its place; see *History of Trade Unionism*.

miles apart. And so we find, for instance, the bookbinders enacting in 1835 that "members whose shoes had become defective after travelling eighty miles with a document, could have them repaired at the Union's expense by obtaining an order from the local secretary of the town he was in to that effect."

Of the extent to which this tramping system was used little exact information can be obtained; but the entries in the branch minute-books of this period show that a considerable number of *bona fide* tramps were at all times on the road, and every now and then the complaints became frequent and loud of the large numbers of men arriving with cards from other towns, or leaving, furnished with the same credentials, in search of work elsewhere.

It would therefore be incorrect to assume that irregularity of employment is any new thing, or even that it is greater now than sixty years ago. The building trades were just as much checked by the cold weather then as now. The frozen-out gardeners were quite as familiar a sight to our forefathers as they are to us. The farm laborer depended on the parson and the squire for his winter coals and blankets to at least as great an extent as he will this winter. And if we turn to the more widespread destitution caused by change in fashion or a commercial crisis we find the records of sixty years ago full of evidence of the existence of depressions at least as acute as any we suffer from to-day. The year 1842 was the culminating point of that "rebellion of the belly" which had begun three years before in the Birmingham and Newport riotings, and which took the form of a demand for the "People's Charter"; and throughout the whole period between 1837 and 1848 we find the Chartist movement swelling and contracting in almost exact correspondence with the acuteness of the economic distress of the people. In 1841 and 1842 things got very bad indeed. The harvest for four successive years was wretchedly deficient, and trade seemed to be coming to an end altogether. Genuine hunger strikes took place, and the staple industries of Yorkshire and the Midlands were nearly at a standstill. The cotton trade was so bad that in 1842 some bitter jester placarded Stockport with bills announcing that the whole town was to let. The sufferings of Bolton in January, 1842, are described by one of the strong men of the time in language which palpitates with anger. "Anything like the squalid misery, the slow, mouldering, putrifying death by which the weak and feeble of the working classes are perishing here, it never befel my eyes to behold nor my imagination to conceive. And the creatures seem to have no idea of resisting or even repining. They sit down with oriental submission, as if it was God and not the landlord that was laying his hand upon them!"*

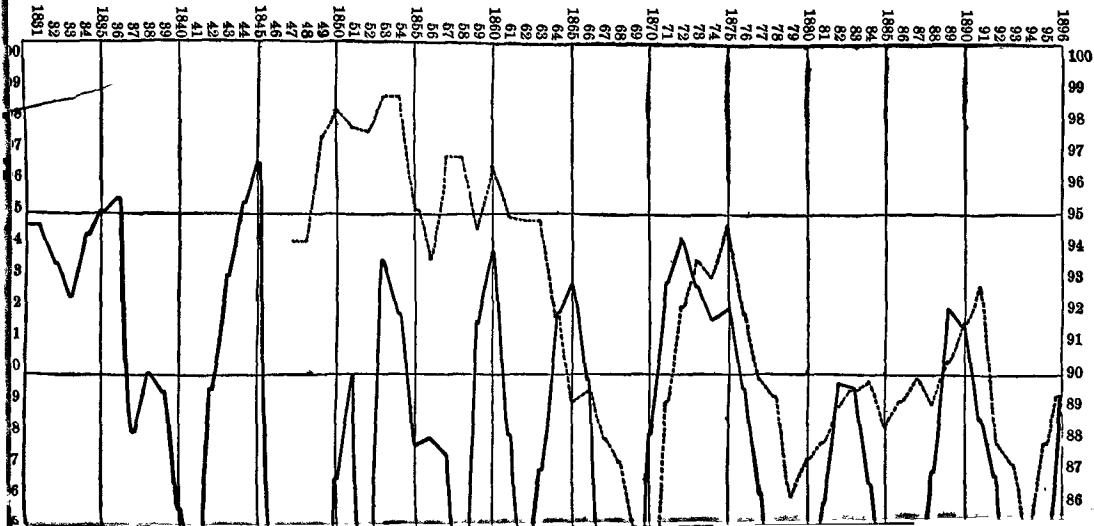
Nor was this widespread lack of employment peculiar to 1842. The following instructive diagram represents the percentage of the members of the Ironfounders' Society in each year, from 1831 to 1896, and of the members of the London Society of Compositors in each year, from 1848 to 1896, who were fortunate enough to be in employment, and is compiled from the official statistics published by those societies. Out of the sixty-six years shown in the case of the

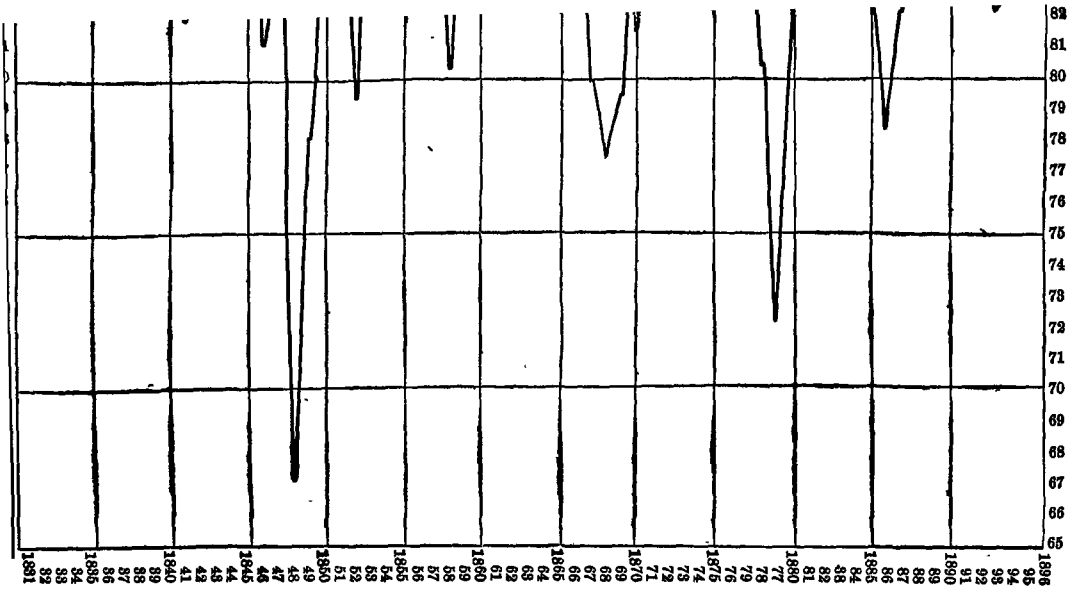
* Colonel Ferronet Thompson, in the *Star*, 9th January, 1842.

Average Percentages of the Friendly Society of Ironfounders who were in employment during each of the years 1831 to 1896 inclusive; and of members of the London Society of Compositors who were in employment in each of the years 1848 to 1896 inclusive.

[Thick black line (————): Friendly Society of Ironfounders. Dotted line (.): London Society of Compositors.]

The figures at top and bottom of diagram denote the years; those at the sides, the percentage in employment.





Ironfounders' Society, there have been no fewer than twenty in which the average number of members unemployed has exceeded fifteen in every hundred. The worst point was reached in 1848, when a third of the members were on benefit.* In the case of the compositors, on the other hand, whose society is a local one, and whose trade is for the home market only, there have been only three years out of the forty-nine shown in which the average number of unemployed has exceeded fifteen per cent., and the worst year was 1870, when nineteen per cent. of the members were on benefit.† What the curve shows most graphically is that irregularity of employment due to commercial crises is no new thing.

We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that whatever deduction from the artizan's nominal income must be made for "short time" at the present day, it is probable that a corresponding reduction would have had to be made from the nominal income in 1837. The statisticians are therefore justified in comparing the weekly wages of the two periods, however uncertain we may be as to the exact amount of the deduction which ought to be made at either of them.‡

It would be beyond my province at the present time to say anything upon the serious problem which this fluctuation of employment presents to the economist and the statesman. But nothing is gained by the assertion frequently made, that it is in any sense a new problem. Rightly understood, the antiquity and persistence of the problem is only an additional reason why our statesmen ought at once earnestly to set to work to find out how to grapple with what is one of the most serious evils of our industrial organization.

* The exceptional percentage of men employed in 1845, and the correspondingly exceptional depression of 1848, denote the growth and collapse of the railway mania, which had an exactly similar effect upon the employment of compositors, though inability to obtain figures earlier than 1848, and the fact that those obtained relate only to the London Society, prevent this from being fully shown in the diagram. It must be borne in mind that, during the period covered by this curve, both the societies have changed from being small minorities of their trades to comprising a very large proportion of the men in them. The proportion of men on the funds would therefore be greater now than in a similar state of trade a generation ago. For perfect accuracy of comparison also, rates, periods, and other conditions of the out-of-work benefit would have to be taken into account.

† The diagram is offered solely for the purpose of comparing the percentage of unemployed members in either society at one period with the percentage so unemployed in the *same* society at any other period. The two curves cannot be compared with each other, as, in addition to the fact that one relates to a national society with members engaged largely in shipbuilding for export, while the other relates to a local society with members engaged solely in home trade, the figures on which they are based are compiled on entirely different methods. Such a comparison, therefore, could not be other than very misleading.

‡ An even more difficult detail in the comparison is the amount of time lost in hours by workmen in so-called constant employment. Sixty years ago employment by the hour was unknown. The yearly bond was still usual among large classes; monthly engagements were very frequent; and, at any rate, the workman was hired for the day or the week. Now, in some trades, he seldom gets paid for quite his full week's hours, and this constant loss of dribbles of his time, whilst it does not appear even in the Trade Union records, must make a real deduction from his nominal income.

Hours of Labor.

But there are other things besides wages to be taken into account in considering the condition of the wage-earner, and one of the most important of these, from the point of view of civilization, is the length of the working day. I believe that the great value of any shortening of the hours of labor lies, as I have elsewhere urged,* not in the absorption of the unemployed, which must, at best, be but partial and evanescent, nor yet in the raising of wages, which is uncertain, but in the increased leisure which the workman gains for life outside his work. A worker who is employed from morning till night, especially if his work is monotonous or without real intellectual dignity, suffers a subtle degradation of character. Instead of a man and a citizen, he becomes merely a "hand." I believe that nothing has so powerfully contributed towards the rise in the standard of life of our wage-earners as the general diminution which has taken place in the hours of labor. The Factory Acts were the salvation of Lancashire.

A hundred years ago the English artisan commonly worked for about seventy-two hours per week. Even this was a reduction from 1747, when in London, at any rate, the bulk of the men worked nearer seventy-five or eighty hours. A rare pamphlet of that year gives us the hours of labor of 118 different trades in London, of which thirteen worked from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., three from 6 to 7, sixty-one from 6 to 8, thirty-nine from 6 to 9, and two from 5 to 9.† The unregulated greed of the mill-owners in the new textile industries rapidly lengthened the working-day to fourteen and even sixteen hours. One striking feature of this period is the way in which children, usually employed at time wages, were kept at work even longer than the adult workers, among whom piecework was already prevalent. Thus, in 1831, the boys in the Northumberland mines, who were paid by the day, are said to have been kept at work for fourteen to seventeen hours a day, whilst the hewers, paid by the ton, already restricted their shifts to ten or twelve hours each.‡

But by 1837, the ten hours day was becoming generally established as the normal working time of town artisans, and in 1847, the passage into law of the Ten Hours' Bill made it the rule for textile operatives also. Overtime, was, however, still frequently worked in many trades, and the Saturday half-holiday was, of course, yet unknown.

Since that time, Sir R. Giffen computes that the hours of labor have been reduced on an average by 20 per cent., an estimate which seems to me to be rather over the mark. Many people are prone to fall into an optimistic complacency on this point from too exclusive consideration of the textile industries, in which the hours of labor

* See *The Eight Hours Day*, by Sidney Webb and Harold Cox (W^hoor; *The London*, 1891; 1-).

† See *A general description of all trades*, &c., London, 1747. Copies of *The London* hall and Patent Office Libraries only; *The Tailoring Trade*, by *Housing of* (London; 1896).

‡ See *An Earnest Address and Urgent Appeal to the People of En: the oppressed and suffering pitmen of the Counties of Northumberland* W. Scott, Newcastle, 1831.

actually worked. It is therefore difficult to come to any very optimistic conclusion as to the extent to which the hours of labour have been shortened during the last sixty years. The progress has been very partial, and large masses of workers have still to labor far more hours than is good either for them or the community. It seems evident that if we are really resolved that no worker shall be compelled to spend his whole working life in monotonous toil, we shall have to take more energetic measures than have yet been attempted.

The Housing of the People.

And if we turn from the hours of labor to the workman's dwelling, and enquire what kind of home our civilization affords him, it is equally difficult to give an optimistic answer. It is true that sixty years ago sanitation both for rich and for poor was almost unknown, and that owing to the "Municipal Socialism" of our town councils, the workers have to a large extent shared in the general improvement in this respect. But in the matter of actual room accommodation the statistics of the present day reveal such deplorable shortcomings that one is tempted to declare that things could scarcely ever have been worse. The great crowding into the large towns, which has been so marked a feature of the last sixty years, has gone far to counteract the spasmodic and partial efforts towards better housing. When the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor began its labors in 1884, the Commissioners turned first to a veteran philanthropist who had taken part in every movement for social improvement. Their report tells us that: "The first witness who was examined, Lord Shaftesbury, expressed the opinion more than once, as the result of nearly sixty years' experience, that however great the improvement of the condition of the poor in London has been in other respects, *the overcrowding has become more serious than it ever was*. This opinion was corroborated by witnesses who spoke from their own knowledge of its increase in various parts of the town."⁶

When we consider other parts of the kingdom we find conclusions which are scarcely less appalling. Much has been done in the way of improvement in various parts of Scotland, but 22 per cent. of Scottish families still dwell in a single room each, and the proportion in the case of Glasgow rises to 33 per cent. The little town of Kilmarnock, with only 28,447 inhabitants, huddles even a slightly larger proportion of its families into single-room tenements. Altogether, there are in Glasgow over 120,000, and in all Scotland 560,000 persons (more than one-eighth of the whole population), who do not know the decency of even a two-roomed home.† Compare with this phase of Scottish working-class life the fact

* See the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor; *The Housing of the Poor*, by F. H. Millington (Cassell and Co.; 1s.); *The Housing of the Working Classes*, by J. Theodore Dodd (National Press Agency; 1d.); *The London Programme*, by the present writer (Sonnenschein; 2s. 6d. and 1s.); *The Housing of the Working Classes*, by E. Bowmaker (Methuen; 2s. 6d.); *Municipalities at Work*, by F. Dolman (Methuen; 2s. 6d.); *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, by A. Shaw (Unwin; 6s.); and Fabian Tract No. 76.

† Census Returns, Scotland, 1891. (C.—6755, 1892).

lately revealed by an elaborate enquiry into the dwelling houses of Boston, Massachusetts, a city of 311,000 inhabitants, where rents are high. The number of families dwelling in single rooms was found to be only 1,053, or less than 1½ per cent., as against Glasgow's 33 per cent.*

Our Scottish record represents indeed some improvement, for in 1861 35 per cent. of the family groups in Scotland lived each in a single room. But the rate of improvement—at no time rapid enough—has actually slackened during the last decade. The total number of single-room families positively increased between 1861 and 1871 by over 4,000; it decreased in the next ten years by 27,000, or 11 per cent.; whilst the last decade has shown a decrease of only 18,000, or less than 9 per cent. At the present rate of progress it will take over a century to remove this disgrace to Scottish civilization.

In England no attempt was made until 1891 to collect statistics relating to the overcrowding of the people in their homes. But the census returns of that year, for the first time, present such statistics, and they show that while the number of one-roomed dwellings is undoubtedly very much smaller in England than in Scotland, yet there is an enormous amount and a very large percentage of "overcrowding" still existing in this kingdom. Out of a total of 6,131,001 separate tenements enumerated in England and Wales in 1891, 286,946, or 4·68 per cent., consisted of one room only, and these contained no fewer than 640,410 persons,† or 2·2 per cent. of the whole population, with the high average of 2·23 persons per room. In London 18·40 per cent. of all the tenements enumerated are one-roomed, and even this high percentage is far distanced by Plymouth, where no less than 24·40 per cent. of all the tenements are similarly one-roomed. Nor do these figures even exhaust the extent of the evils revealed. Even a two or three-roomed tenement may be disgracefully overcrowded. The Census Commissioners, who were left to give their own definition of overcrowding, concluded that "ordinary tenements which have more than two occupants per room, bed-rooms and sitting-rooms included, may safely be considered as unduly overcrowded,"‡ a conclusion with which, considering the small size of the rooms in most of the tenements, few will be found to disagree. Of such homes there were enumerated in England and Wales 481,653, or 7·86 per cent. of the total number of separate tenements enumerated. In these homes lived 3,258,044 persons, or 11·23 per cent. of the total population, with an average of 2·81 persons to each room. The distribution of this great mass of people, officially described as living in "overcrowded" homes, is almost

* Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Report for 1891, p. 567.

† Both the number of single-room tenements and the total number of persons living in them seem much too small to correspond with impressions derived from other sources, and it is probable, as the Census Report admits, that this enumeration is inaccurate. On the other hand, the number of occupants per room of the one-roomed dwellings seems too high to be accurate, remembering the large number of single men and women occupying one-roomed homes.

‡ Census of England and Wales, 1891. Vol. iv. General Report, p. 22. (C.—7222, 1893. Price 1s. 3d.); see also Booth's *Life and Labor of the People*, vols. v. to viii.

entirely confined to the towns (this means that overcrowding of rural cottages has still to be statistic^d and it is observed that in some of the coal-bearing crowding is very severe. In the towns the percentage of population inhabiting these dwellings varies from 40·78 per cent. highest, in Gateshead, to 1·74 per cent., the lowest, in Portsmouth. London with 19·71 per cent. being about midway.‡

Although, therefore, the condition of England presents some improvement upon that of Scotland in this respect, there are yet hundreds of thousands of single room and overcrowded tenements in all our great towns, and the total number of persons in our midst to whom the elementary conditions of decent family life are unknown, exceeds three millions. Here again, although the percentage of the total population is doubtless much less than in 1837, I feel some doubt whether the actual number of those in this condition is very much diminished; and this is a point of supreme importance in our estimate of comparative civilization. It is nearly impossible to get good citizenship, good trade unionism, or good co-operation out of a one-roomed home. Until we can secure to these unfortunates the conditions of elementary decency we can count upon no real progress in their civilization. I will venture to quote, on this point, the unpublished autobiography of Francis Place, the Radical Reformer, of Westminster, whose unique experience included many years of life as a journeyman breeches-maker in a one-roomed home in London, towards the end of last century

"The consequences," he says, "of a man and his wife living in the same room in which the man works is mischievous to them in all respects, and I here add, as a recommendation to all journeymen, tradesmen, and other workmen who are much at home, and even to those who are only at home at meal-times and after working hours, and other times such as Sundays and when they have no employment, to make almost any sacrifice to keep possession of two rooms, however small and however inconveniently situated as regards the place of their employment. Much better is it to be compelled to walk a mile or even two miles to and from their work to a lodging with two rooms, than to live close to their work in a lodging of one room. I advise them also to arrange them contrary to the usual custom of those who have two rooms, and to put the bed in the room in which as much as possible of the domestic work is done. A neat, clean room, though it be as small as a closet, and however few the articles of furniture, is of more importance in its moral consequences than anybody seems hitherto to have supposed. The room in which we now lived was a front room at a baker's shop. The house had three windows in the front, two in the room, and one in a large closet at the end of the room. In this closet I worked. It was a great accommodation to us; it enabled my wife to keep the room in better order; it was advantageous, too, in its moral effects. Attendance on the child was not as it had been always in my presence. I was shut out from seeing the fire lighted, the room washed and

‡ For all these statistics relating to overcrowding, etc., see the Census of England and Wales, 1891, General Report, pp. 19-25. (C.—7222, 1893. Price 1s. 3d.).

lately revealed of Boston, Massachusetts, are high. They went to bed, as we had but too often been accustomed found to be a wet or damp floor, and with wet clothes hanging up in 33 per cent. Still, a great deal of the annoyance and too close an intercourse with each other in many disagreeable particulars (which our 1867-8 but one room made inevitable) were removed—happily removed for ever.”*

Conclusion.

Space does not permit me to enlarge further on my theme. Under every heading it might be shown that, whilst the position of a large section of the wage earners has greatly advanced since 1837, other sections have obtained little, if any, share of the general growth in wealth and civilization. If we took each department of life in turn, and fixed a datum line below which we considered that the workman could not decently live, we should find, alike in wages, hours of work, dwelling and general civilization, that the *percentage* of those who fell below the line is less now than it was in 1837. But we should discover also that the lowest level reached was quite as low as at that time, and that the *total number* falling below our assumed datum line is, in actual magnitude, probably greater than in 1837. The depth of the poverty is as great as it can ever have been; its actual breadth even is as great or greater; the residuum of 1837 remains, indeed, undiminished on our hands and our consciences. Under these circumstances, the fact that the more prosperous section has increased and multiplied in numbers and in wealth, whilst leaving so large a part of the community unimproved, appears to me to aggravate our responsibility in the matter. The general moral of the whole survey seems to be the need for more earnest endeavor to “level up” this residuum. The retrospect teaches us that this levelling up is possible. It has actually been accomplished as regards particular industries. The inference is that it could be equally carried out in others did we but really choose to take the appropriate means. And if I had to name one great factor in the continued industrial degradation of large sections of the community who remain in the trough of destitution, I should not hesitate to place first the demoralizing influence of what is called the “sweating system,” or more precisely, home work.† Home work it is, with all its insidious demoralization, that keeps down the earnings of East London, of the down-trodden Sheffield trades, of the miserably paid workers in the Black Country, of women workers everywhere.‡ And it is instructive to notice that, just as in 1837 it was the decaying influence of eighteenth century organization that produced so much of the misery of that time, so in 1897, it is the evil effect of the obsolescent hand industry, with its

* The Autobiography of Francis Place, edited by Graham Wallas—to be published shortly—will throw new light on the social and political history of the century.

† I do not forget the twin social curses of drink and gambling; but these affect individuals in every grade of society. Home work demoralizes whole classes.

‡ See Fabian Tract No. 50, *Sweating: its Cause and Remedy*; and *How best to do away with the Sweating System*, by Mrs. Sidney Webb. Co-operative Union, Manchester; 1892. 1d.

small masters and isolated home labor, that is perhaps the greatest cause of industrial disorganization. Not until we can thoroughly eradicate the remnants of this system from our midst can we hope to level up its unfortunate victims to the high standard of life which has been given to their more fortunate brethren by the machine industry and the world-commerce.

And if we think seriously of setting to work to lift London to the level of Lancashire, and the Black Country to the standard of Northumberland, the lesson of history is clear. Unregulated individualism it was that produced the "white slavery" of the Lancashire of 1837, and the degraded serfdom of the Northumberland collier. Our fathers dealt with the problem in these cases by replacing this industrial anarchy by the restrictions of well-considered collective control. For the headlong competition which was lengthening the hours and destroying the health and character of the Lancashire mill hand, they substituted the Factory Acts. The heedless greed of the Northumberland coal-owner was checked by successive Mines Regulation Acts. Upon the firm basis of these ever-lengthening codes, strong Trade Unions arose still further to assert the common will. Protected by law and their Trade Union, the coal-hewers and the cotton-spinners were able to combine in yet other ways. Co-operative stores, which had hitherto failed, began to flourish;* town councils stepped in with fresh assertions of Collectivism to raise the standard of sanitation, and to minister to the common needs of urban populations; and finally it was the votes of these comparatively prosperous communities which secured for themselves and their less fortunate brethren that tremendous development of Collectivism, our system of national education. In every department of life where any progress has taken place since 1837, we find that progress marked by an ever-growing substitution of collective rule for individual control. And just where the advance of this collective rule has been checked—in the industries jealously fenced off from effective factory legislation, in the localities from which thorough municipal institutions have been withheld—just there do we find the chief instances in which progress in civilization has been small or even non-existent. Factory legislation, trade unionism, and that combination of consumers for educational or administrative purposes which takes the form either of Municipal Socialism or the Co-operative Store, these, together with the potent engines of taxation and central administrative control, have been the great factors in whatever progress has been made since 1837. Our chief hope for the levelling up of the residuum must lie in the well-devised extension of these manifestations of Collectivism.

* See *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain*, by Beatrice Potter, 3rd edition (London; 1896).

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By REV. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.

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SOCIALISM AND THE TEACHING OF CHRIST.

An Address delivered by DR. JOHN CLIFFORD at the Annual Meeting of the Christian Socialist League, at Westbourne Park Chapel, February, 1895.

ONE of the objections frequently brought against the application of the principles of Socialism to our industrial life is that such a process is opposed to the teaching and spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Christianity, it is said, moves in a higher realm than that of humdrum toil, and operates for far higher purposes than those of settling the disputes of capital and labor, adjusting profit and loss, organizing production and distribution, fighting a dangerous plutocracy, and mediating peace between the masses of wage-earners and a narrowing number of wage-payers. It does not "preach a gospel of material blessedness." It ministers to a mind diseased by sin, banishes remorse, and prepares for death and eternity. It is not concerned with this fleeting life; so brief that "it is like a dewdrop on its perilous way from a tree's summit"; but with the infinite development of the human spirit through the eternity, and in the home, of God. In support of this eclipse of the life of the present by the stupendous and transcendent greatness of the life of the future revealed in Christianity, the saying of Jesus is quoted. "Work not for the meat that perisheth, but for the meat which abideth unto eternal life, which the Son of Man shall give unto you: for Him the Father, even God, hath sealed."

Hence, many Christians look with misgiving on Churches that venture to study the politico-economical conditions of the life of the people around them, touch with the tips of their fingers the problems for the abolition of poverty, and seek the up-lifting of the wage-earning classes by juster and healthier modes than those of spasmodic charity and unlimited soup. They denounce ministers who hold and teach that the laws of God run everywhere, even into wages and prices, into houses of toil and the sanitary conditions of factories and drapery establishments; and generally reason that the capacity of the mind for the hospitable entertainment of ideas is so sadly limited that no preacher can be faithful to Christ's message concerning sin and redemption, and at the same time agitate for a "fair living wage," or toil for the reorganization of the industrial life of the country on bases of justice and brotherhood.

Is Socialism Christian?

Professor Flint, a man of vast learning and great ability, has said in one of the largest and least discriminating and most unsatisfactory books I have read on Socialism: "What is called Christian Socialism will always be found either to be unchristian in so far as it is socialistic or unsocialistic in so far as it is truly and fully Christian"*; and again, "so far as Socialism confines itself to proposals of an exclusively economic and political character, Christianity has no direct concern with it. A Christian may, of course, criticize and disapprove of them; but it cannot be on Christian grounds; it must be merely on economic and political grounds. Whether land is to be owned by few or many, by every one or only by the State; whether industry is to be entirely under the direction of government, or conducted by co-operative associations, or left to private enterprise; whether labor is to be remunerated by wages or out of profits; whether wealth is to be equally or unequally distributed, are not in themselves questions of moment to the Christian life, or indeed questions to which Christianity has any answer to give."† To me that is flat Paganism, and as anti-Christian as it is misleading and delusive.

A still more potent voice speaking from the pontifical chair, Leo XIII., on what are called "socialistic aberrations," asserts their essential antagonism to the Christian Church; and the Right Rev. Abbot Snow, O.S.B., goes as far to say: "Socialists are led to abolish religion in order to get rid of its ministers. They (the ministers) are of the governing class, and let them disappear with the rest. Thus the process of general levelling and the abolition of independent authority leads to the negation of religion and formal worship of God, and makes Socialism tend to Atheism."‡

It cannot be doubted that these citations tend to the widespread feeling on the part of many leisured and comfortably placed Christians, who have had not only the "promise of the life that now is," but, what is much more, the splendid fulfilment of the promise: that a League like our Christian Socialist League has amongst its first duties to give an account of itself before the tribunal of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

The Social Question.

II.—In doing this let me first of all fully recognize that these objecting Christians and Churches allow that the Christianity of Christ Jesus is not averse to the denunciation of the wrongs of modern society and the exposure of the miseries of our present condition. Indeed, it is eagerly maintained that Christ condemns every manifestation of *individual* selfishness, backs every earnest crusader against *personal* covetousness and greed, and justifies the strongest language we can use against the abuses of *individual*

* *Socialism*. By Professor Robert Flint; p. 441.

† *Socialism*. By Professor Robert Flint; p. 452-3.

‡ *The Catholic Times*, August 10, 1894.

competition. All Christians agree in these outbursts of righteous indignation, and rather enjoy seeing the vials of oratorical wrath poured out on the heads of their neighbors; and some of them are beginning to think that after all the "accumulation of gold" is not the highest virtue, and that there is something wrong in that mediæval interpretation of the words of the Master, "The poor ye have with you always," which regards the continuance of poverty as a necessary condition to the exercise of the spasmodic charity of the rich. Many Christians, if not all, at last admit that there is a social question and that they must do something for it, if it is only to talk about it and to denounce somebody or something. They see the poor separated by a great social gulf from the rich, though geographically not far from one another. They lament overcrowding and ask what is the chance for chastity and health, for decency and comfort, to say nothing of happiness under such inhuman conditions. Here in West London—in *West London*—is a house of eight rooms and a small ante-room containing not less than forty-two persons; and it is a sample of the way in which we are violating God's idea of society, and destroying the very germ of social well-being in the extinction of the decencies and wholesomeness of the home.† The awful facts borne in upon us by the gathering masses of unskilled, decrepit, and hopeless laborers, the appalling armies of the unemployed, are forcing Christian men to think and to say "Something must be done." It is not wholly a question of "plenty of room at the top" for the men of tough fibre, clear brain and iron will; but of the "strong bearing the infirmities of the weak," and of brother caring for brother. The bitter separation of class from class, the tyranny of drink, the vice of gambling, the debasement and misery of early marriages, the degradation of women, "the huddling together of thousands of workers, the prey of the sweater"—all these increasing wrongs are, it is confessed, inextricably involved in our vast egoistic industrialism; men, women, and children are caught and crushed in the revolving wheels of this competitive machinery and then flung aside to perish in the workhouse, or to overweight the earlier efforts of their offspring. So that not a few observant souls are ready to accept the strong words of Ruskin and say, "to call the confused wreck of social order and life brought about by malicious collision and competition an arrangement of Providence, is quite one of the most insolent and wicked ways in which it is possible to take the name of God in vain."^{*}

The Sense of Spiritual Brotherhood.

III.—Some of the disciples of Christ will go further and give personal service. A real hearty, loving sympathy carries them to the homes of the poor and suffering, to feed patience, to brighten life, to uphold the afflicted, to sustain the workers in the fierce struggle with toil and want. They believe Christianity bids them

^{*} *Time and Tide*. By John Ruskin; p. 9.

† See Fabian Tract No. 5, *Facts for Socialists*; 1d.

preach justice, love, and brotherhood. They even plan for co-operative production. They inculcate stewardship and bid men remember that they have to give account of all they have and use to their Father in heaven. To them the social organism is a reality; and the spiritual brotherhood of men more than a phrase. They have seen God in Christ Jesus, and to them the Incarnation is the revelation of their obligations to their brother man, the widening of the definition of sin so as to include transgressions of the parish and city, of the nation and of humanity. No man lives to himself. Cain is anti-Christ. There is a solidarity of man. The kingdoms of this world are to become *the* kingdom of our God and of His Christ. Law and government are not beyond His policy; and even our industrial civilization may be shaped according to His will. It is a great change; and those who have experienced that regeneration of the social consciousness in the Churches of Christ are shaping the future of labor and of the life of the world.

Where Christians Part.

IV.—But it is when we come to a *social policy*, to a *method* or industrial re-arrangement, that the question arises whether we are moving along the lines of Christ's ideas, and are providing *the best industrial body for the incarnation of His spirit*. It is at this third stage we part. Christian men are agreeing more and more—(a) In their antagonism to individual greed and injustice; (b) in personal and sympathetic devotion to the welfare of the people; the parting of the ways is (c) as to the real basis on which modern industry shall organize itself. It is when scientific Socialism or Collectivism says—(a) Our industrial life should be based not on individual but on a collective ownership of the chief elements and material instruments of production, (b) that production should be managed not according to the will or caprice or might of private individuals, but collectively, and (c) that the results of toil should be distributed to all who have a share in the toil on the principles of absolute justice, *i.e.*, on the principles of equality in value;* it is then we are charged with opposing the teaching of the Master.

Now, let there be no mistake as to what this Collectivism is. It does not advocate the absorption of the individual by the State; or the suppression of the family; or the total extinction of private property; or the direction of literature, and art, and religion by the collective wisdom of the community; it does not involve the sudden overthrow of the machinery of industrial life; but in the light of the historical development of industry it seeks to accelerate the evolution of the industrial life, so that it shall free itself from the defects and evils that now belong to it, and shall fulfil its Divine mission in the enrichment of the whole life of mankind.† It seeks to build a far better body for the soul of Christ's teaching, and the spirit of His life and death, than this fiercely competitive system, through which He

* *Socialism: its Nature, Strength and Weakness*. By Professor R. T. Ely; p. 9, at seq.

† See Fabian Tract No. 51, *Socialism: True and False*; id.

now struggles almost in vain to make His voice heard and His power felt.

The Possibility of Collectivism.

V.—I may take it for granted that our present industrial *regime* is not final. Collectivism is at least *possible*. It is often forgotten that the present commercial system is not far advanced. It has scarcely travelled through its earlier and more crude years. There is no fixed necessity for regarding the present conditions of production and distribution of wealth as their final form. The era of Individualism, of syndicates and companies, of capitalists sitting round a green table and directing the movements of hundreds of laborers with no connection with each other except that created by what Carlyle calls the "cash-nexus," may give place to one in which State-industrialism, as seen in our police arrangements, post-office, the civic ownership and control of gas, water, electric lighting, and tramways, Government employment of labor in Woolwich and Portsmouth Dockyards and Enfield factories, enforcement of education, and the payment of teachers for the children of the nation, the provision by the rates of public baths, wash-houses, parks, gardens, art galleries, museums, hospitals, and asylums, will issue in a completely equipped co-operative commonwealth. All these may be. Human nature is confessedly very intractable; but British society may pass by certain stages from the limited Collectivism which now exists to one which covers the whole machinery of the lower part of life, and provides for that physical basis of human existence on which the spiritual structure is being slowly reared.

Mr. Robert Wallace, M.P., tells us in a recent article, "The Collectivist scheme can never be set up." He does not think "the private capitalist will allow himself to be destroyed." No doubt the said capitalist will strenuously resist his extinction, and he may be successful; though that is not very likely, considering the massive strength and tremendous energy of the social forces now at work. But the *practicability* of Collectivism is not our question. We assume that what Mr. Hayes, in his account of the "Great Revolution of 1905" calls "the ideal of common sense," may be "applied to the business transactions of the nation," and that the "very simple organization" of Collectivism may be substituted for the existing chaos of complexity, stupidity, and inefficiency, and utterly hopeless failure to meet even the most elementary requirements of a civilized community.

What Collectivism Would Do.

Asserting, then, that there is nothing in Christianity against the change, and assuming that it is not impracticable, I now seek to prove that the Collectivist arrangement has at least four distinguishing merits, demonstrating its closer and stronger affinities with the teaching of Jesus Christ than the present method of administering the physical life of man—(1) It destroys the occasions of many of the evils of modern society; (2) it advances, elevates, and ennobles the struggle of life; (3) it offers a better environment for

the development of Christ's teaching concerning wealth and brotherhood, and (4) it fosters a higher ideal of human and social worth and well-being. I do not deny all ethical advantage to the individualistic system. I am aware it has developed that prodigious business capacity in a limited and distinguished few of our workers, which secured to Britain thirty years ago the commercial primacy of the globe. It has created the race of merchant princes, traders, and paragons in developing and supplying new material wants. It has found the opportunity for builders of enormous industries in coal and iron, in the production of food and clothing, of machines and news, thereby bringing the produce of the world to our doors and the news of the world to our tables. It has fed legitimate ambitions and saved men from indolence, quickened the sense of responsibility, educated, drilled, and enriched inventive and business faculty.

Not for a moment would we forget these advantages ; but we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that, as a system, it has not stirred the most unselfish desires nor fostered the most generous sympathies on any large scale. It has been egoistic, not altruistic. It is more in keeping with the gladiatorial than the Christian theory of existence. It provides for ruthless self-assertion rather than self-restraint. It does not inspire brotherly helpfulness, but the crushing of competitors and thrusting aside of rivals. Instead of co-operating in the struggle to save and enrich the lives of others, it tends to make its administrators forgetful of their claims, and renders it necessary to bring the power of legislation to the support of children in coal-mines and factories, to the protection and defence of weak women, to the limitation of hours of labor, and the imposition of sanitary conditions of toil. Could any confession be a stronger indictment of individualistic views of labor questions than John Morley's, in his *Life of Richard Cobden* : "Modern statesmanship has definitely decided that unfettered individual competition is not a principle to which the regulation of industry may be entrusted." It is a fact that pure individualism gives every advantage to the strong and renders no aid whatever in bearing the infirmities of the weak. If that is in the least bit in accordance with the mind of Christ, then I must confess that I have failed to read aright its wonderful contents.

On the other hand Collectivism, although it does not change human nature, yet it takes away the occasion for many of the evils which now afflict society. It reduces the temptations of life in number and in strength. It means work for every one and the elimination of the idle, and if the work should not be so exacting, responsible, and, therefore, not so educative for a few individuals, yet it will go far to answer Browning's prayer :

O God, make no more giants,
Elevate the race.

Hesiod teaches that "Work is the one road to excellence." "There is no shame in labor ; idleness is shame." An effortless existence is intolerable, and leads to incalculable mischief. Individualism adds to the number of the indolent year by year ; Collectivism sets everybody alike to his share of work, and gives to him his share of reward.

As it is necessary to work, so it is useless to steal. Misrepresentation is not a gain. Grasping avarice is "out of work." Equivocation lacks opportunity. Crimes against property are diminished, and become more and more rare. The degradation of woman ceases in so far as it is due to want. The problem of the "unemployed" is solved. And the possibilities of realizing a nobler type of manly life are increased a thousandfold. Surely all this is in perfect harmony with the teaching and spirit of "Him who came to seek and save that which was lost."

The Elevation of the Struggle for Life.

VI.—Another sign of the closer kinship of Collectivism to the mind of Christ is *in the elevation and nobility it gives to the struggle for life*. Collectivism does not extinguish combat, but it lifts the struggle into the worthiest spheres, reduces it to a minimum in the lower and animal departments, and so leaves man free for the finer toils of intellect and heart; free "to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice." Benjamin Kidd says, "True Socialism has always one definite object in view, up to which all its proposals directly or indirectly lead. This is the final suspension of that personal struggle for existence which has been waged, not only from the beginning of society, but in one form or another from the beginning of life." But I think that Professor Drummond puts the matter more completely, and therefore more fairly, when he says, "War is simply the modern form of the struggle for life. As the higher qualities become more pronounced and their exercise gives more satisfaction, the struggle passes into more refined forms. One of these is the industrial struggle. Another is the moral struggle. The former of these must give place to the latter. The animal struggle for life must pass away. And under the stimulus of ideals man will continually press upwards, and find his further evolution in forms of moral, social, and spiritual antagonism."

It is a fact "as soon as the first wants are satisfied, the higher wants become imperative." Engrossed in the "things that are on the earth," man cannot seek the things that are above. Chained sixteen hours a day to the car of labor, his life is one of toil and sleep; an animal life almost of necessity. But Collectivism secures leisure for the cultivation of character; man is not so fretted and worn by the exhausting use of his bodily faculties that there is not strength as there is not opportunity for the higher labor of spirit on behalf of the life that is life indeed; but he is as fresh as he is free, and so the displacing of the animal from the throne of existence is at least rendered possible, where now it can only be accomplished, if accomplished at all, in the face of tremendous odds. Labor is thus brought into accord with the Greek idea of the state; and, like it, exists "not for the sake of life, but of a good life." Are not these results in keeping with "the mind of Christ"?

The Ideals of Labor and Brotherhood.

VII.—Again, Collectivism affords a better environment for the teachings of Jesus concerning wealth and the ideals of labor and

brotherhood. If man is, according to Drummond, only "the expression of his environment," if, indeed, he is that in any degree, then it is an unspeakable gain to bring that environment into line with the teaching of Jesus Christ.

In the Gospels, accumulated wealth appears as a grave peril to the spiritual life, a menace to the purest aims and the noblest deeds. Christ is entirely undazzled by its fascinations, and sees in it a threat against the integrity and progress of his kingdom. "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth." "Man's life consists not in the abundance of the things he possesses," but in the *use* he makes of what he has—if for himself—still for himself not as an end, but as a means for promoting the well-being of the world. Jesus frowns on the hoarding of wealth. Collectivism renders that accumulation unnecessary and inconvenient. Still, Collectivism does not mean confiscation. It is not robbery. The Bishop of Derry is reported to have said that the spirit of Socialism says: "Here is a man who possesses more than we do; let it be taken from him." Whereas that of Christianity says: "Here is a man who has less than I have; let me give him something." "Socialism" is a vague term, I admit, and probably there is somewhere a "socialism" that speaks the language attributed to it by the Bishop of Derry; but that is not the speech of scientific Socialism or Collectivism. It says, "Here is the great business of industrial life; let us manage it so that all may share in the responsibility and share in the gains, and share fairly and justly as nearly as possible; not one doing all the work and another taking all the gains." It is allowed that individualism in commerce affords abundant opportunity for the use of wealth. It creates means for splendid charities. The millionaire can feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and heal the sick. He can build cathedrals, endow universities, give libraries for study and parks for recreation. And he has done it. Abundant are the witnesses to his wisdom and goodness in distributing his wealth for the welfare of the people, and large is the contribution to the progress of the world due to his thoughtful generosity. But it is some drawback to this consideration that the means for philanthropic work are placed exclusively in the hands of a few; and that the *occasions* for it are due, not only to the vices of men—drunkenness, gambling and the like, but also in a large measure to the political, industrial and social injustices of the reign of individualism. For we must ask: How are these fortunes made? Have any neighbors' landmarks been removed? Is there any grinding of the faces of the poor? Are the workers doomed to harsh and hard conditions of toil? It is notorious that our individualistic commerce is often a tyrant where it should be a servant, and an injustice where it ought to be a help. Here is a picture drawn by Frederic Harrison:—

Ninety 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 which 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. And 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 to be the permanent arrangement of modern society civilization must be held to bring a curse on the great majority of mankind—(Report of Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1886, p. 429.)

Now, though Collectivism does not profess to extinguish vice and manufacture saints, it will abolish poverty, reduce the hungry to an imperceptible quantity, and systematically care for the aged poor and for the sick. It will carry forward much of the charitable work left to the individual initiative, and, like the London County Council, provide recreation grounds, adding the charms of music for adults and gymnasia for the children.† Again, I ask, is not all that in harmony with the spirit and teaching of Him who bids us see Himself in the hungry and sick, the poor and the criminal?

VIII.—Possibly the greatest gain of Collectivism is in its stronger affinity with the high ideals of individual and social life given by Christ Jesus. Collectivism fosters a more Christian conception of industry; one in which every man is a worker, and each worker does not toil for himself exclusively, but for the necessities, comforts, and privileges he shares equally with all the members of the community. He works for what we call "the State," *i.e.*, for the whole of the people of the city and nation in whose prosperity he has a direct interest and whose business is carried on for the welfare of all his fellows, and thereby for himself; succoring the weaker members, aiding the aged and infirm and reclaiming those who are vicious and criminal, as part of the duty of a collectivist citizen.

It is to the phiant genius of Greece we owe the first effort to reconcile the claims of the State and of the individual. The Greeks were gifted with the power of delicate judgment, of combining principles apparently opposite, of harmonizing conflicting claims; they possessed a sense of measure, a flexibility, a faculty of compromise opposed to the fatal simplicity with which the Eastern politics had been stricken. Not tyranny nor anarchy satisfied the Greek, but "ordered liberty."* It is that ordered liberty which obtains in and through the collectivist arrangement of human industry, ruling out fierce competitions and methodizing the struggle for the life of others; making the work for bodily living automatic and regular and unexhausting to the last degree, and so securing leisure for the larger life of the mind and heart, of the imagination and of the spirit.

It is notorious that the ideals of individualistic labor are narrow, low-roofed, and self-centred, and men neither have time nor chance to win "their soul," the Divine portion of their life and of the life of society, the life of noble aims, tender humanities, strong faith and glowing love of God and of men.

It is a new ideal of life and labor that is most urgently needed. England's present ideal is a creation of hard individualism; and therefore is partial, hollow, unreal and disastrous. But ideals are

* Cf. Professor Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*. (52, et seq.)

† See Fabian Tracts Nos. 60, 61, 62, etc.

the main factors in the progress of the home, the parish, and the State. They are the forces that move individuals. Individualism fosters the caste feelings and the caste divisions of society, creates the serfdom of one class and the indolence of another ; makes a large body of submissive, silent, unmanly slaves undergoing grinding toil and continuous anxiety, and a smaller company suffering from debasing indolence and continual weariness ; begets hatred and ill-will on one hand, and scorn and contempt of man on the other. No ! the ideal we need and must have is in the unity of English life, in the recognition that man is complete in the State, at once a member of society and of the Government—" a ruler and yet ruled " ; an ideal that is the *soul* at once of Collectivism and of the revelation of the brotherhood of man in Jesus Christ our Lord, Son of God and Son of man.

Finally, I am sure that as we seek to build up our industries more and more on this basis we shall discover that we need a deep and wide-spread revival of the Spirit of Christ, a clearer insight into His ideas, so that we may suppress the passions that feed our individualistic system and sweep away the accumulated evils which have gathered round it, and at the same time to advance to perfection the Collectivist methods already operative in profit-sharing, in co-operative labor, and in Municipal and State industries. Collectivism will become an argument for a deepened spiritual life. Were we more Christian we should, as did the first Christians, seek with passionate ardor to incarnate a collective rather than an individualistic idea in society. Nothing more forcibly witnesses to the need of Christ than the failure of the Churches to cope with the evils of nineteenth-century life. It is Christ we need. Light both leads and kills. Science has just told us the swiftest and surest foe of the disease-spreading germs is the light. Christ is the light of the world. He shows us the way we should take ; and He also will yet destroy the microbes of physical and moral pestilence and death in our modern industrial life, and render the animal the obedient servant instead of the tyrannical master of the human spirit.

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"People may have no intention to oppress, yet by entering on expensive ways of life their minds may be so entangled therein, and so engaged to support expensive customs, as to be estranged from the pure sympathizing spirit." ("Remarks on Sundry Subjects." First printed, London, 1773.)

JOHN WOOLMAN, the author of this hundred-year-old tract, lived in the New England Colonies, in the days when they still paid allegiance (and taxes) to the British Government.

He is usually known as a Quaker advocate of the cause of the slave, at a time when slave-holding was still looked on, even by most of his co-religionists, as an essential part of the normal and heaven-ordained state of society. It is, however, frequently overlooked that he perceived clearly that the question of slavery was but one phase of the Labor question: he wrote not only "Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," but also "On Merchandizing," "On Trading in Superfluities," "On Schools." In his writings he enunciates, in simple religious phraseology, some of the truths which economists are only now beginning to understand: he is, as it were, the voice in the wilderness, the John the Baptist of the Gospel of Socialism.

The following essay contains the most connected account of his views on social questions. Though first printed in 1793, it was probably written about 1771, shortly before Woolman's death, and just before the publication of "The Wealth of Nations." But the ten years spent by Adam Smith at Glasgow University and Balliol College, Oxford, were passed by his American contemporary in work on his father's farm and in a small country store. So that the question naturally arises, by what authority is it that the working tailor

says these things? Woolman's answer may be found in his Journal: his writings are "openings from the Lord," his words are spoken "from an inward knowledge that they arise from the heavenly spring." "There is," says Woolman, "a principle which is pure, placed in the human mind, which in different places and ages hath had different names; it is, however, pure and proceeds from God. It is deep and inward, confined to no forms of religion nor excluded from any, when the heart stands in perfect sincerity. In whomsoever this takes root and grows, they become brethren."

John Woolman was, he tells us in his Journal, "born in Northampton, in Burlington County, West Jersey, in the year 1720." He was one of a large family, and, his parents being Quakers, he was brought up in conscientious Puritan fashion. He received "schooling pretty well for a planter," probably at the small country school of the village. This he supplemented by work in winter evenings, and with much reading of "the Holy Scriptures and religious books." Till he was about twenty-one he lived with his parents and worked on his father's farm. Then he left home for the neighboring village of Mount Holly, New Jersey, "to tend shop and keep books," for "a man in much business as a shopkeeper and baker." Here, in a small Quaker community, he made his home, and the plain, two-storey, whitewashed house in which he lived was standing fifty years ago, still overlooking a country rich with farms and woodlands. Here, on the 18th of eighth month, 1749, he was married to "a well-inclined damsel," Sarah Ellis; and here he brought up his little family.

But it was not his lot to die in this spot where he had passed so much of his life. In 1772 he felt a "religious concern" "to visit Friends [Quakers] in the northern parts of England." Notwithstanding the wishes of his friends, he thought it right to travel "steerage," and doubtless suffered from the thirty-eight days' voyage across the Atlantic. In his journeying through England he usually went about on foot in order to avoid participating in the cruelties under which post-boys and stage-horses suffered. Five months after leaving home he fell a victim to small pox, and died at York on the 7th of tenth month, 1772.

His business career illustrates the principles he advocated. Perceiving that "a humble man with the blessing of the Lord might live on a little," he learned the trade of tailoring and settled down in Mount Holly as a tailor, with a small retail business in trimmings, linings, and cloth—in spite of the temptation to enter the lucrative calling of general storekeeper, and his "natural inclination to merchandise." But even in his tailor's shop "trade increased every year, and the way to large business" in cloths and linen appeared open; but he tells us, "I felt a stop in my mind," "believing that Truth required me to live more free from outward cumbers." Not without some regret, some natural longing after the position of ease and wealth which he might have won for his family, he laid down merchandise in 1756 and lived as a working tailor without even an apprentice. Part of the time and energy thus freed from the

* "Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes," 1762.

cares of this world, he devoted to tending his garden and orchard, believing that "if the leadings of the Spirit were more faithfully attended to" . . . "more people would be engaged in the sweet employment of husbandry, and in the path of pure wisdom, labor would be an agreeable healthful employment."⁶ He gained leisure, moreover, to write many valuable essays, and to undertake journeys through the States in the service of the slaves. It is probable that his work was an important factor in the ultimate abolition of slavery.

The whole life of Woolman was a protest against superfluities. He saw with singular clearness that "every degree of luxury hath some connection with evil." Thus it is to an excess of fatigue, to an "increase of labor beyond that which our Heavenly Father intends," that he attributes the undue use of spirituous liquors among the poor. He held "that if such as had great estates generally lived in that plainness and humility which belong to a Christian life, and laid much easier rents and interests on their lands and moneys, and thus led the way to a right use of things, so great a number of people might be employed in things useful, that labor both for men and other creatures would need to be no more than an agreeable employ, and divers branches of business, which serve chiefly to please the natural inclinations of our minds, and which at present seem necessary to circulate that wealth which some gather, might, in this way of pure wisdom, be discontinued" †—an idea which he expanded in Section IV. of his pamphlet. He carried his principles into even the smallest details of life. He did not feel easy to drink from vessels of silver at the house of a friend. He stipulated in his last illness that no medicines should be given that come "through defiled channels or oppressive hands." Believing that the dyeing of garments injured the material and led to uncleanness, he gradually adopted a costume of "natural colored" garments; yet he suffered much from the fear of ridicule, especially as light-colored hats were coming into fashion at the time, and his motives might therefore be misunderstood! There is wonderful pathos in his simple account of these and other of his practices; and there is much practical sense in his longing that "people might come into cleanness of spirit, cleanness of person, and cleanness about their houses and garments." ‡

The following extracts constitute about one half of the pamphlet. † Omissions are, in every case, indicated, and the cross-headings have been added by the editors.

* "Remarks on Sundry Subjects." † "Journal," eighth month, 1761.

‡ "Journal," 13th, ninth month, 1772 (the date of the last entry).

§ Published with "The Journal of John Woolman, with an Introduction by John G. Whittier." London: Headley Brothers, 14 Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C. Eleventh edition, 1896. 2s. 6d. and 3s. nett.

A WORD OF REMEMBRANCE AND CAUTION TO THE RICH.

Section I.

WEALTH desired for its own sake obstructs the increase of virtue; and large possessions in the hands of selfish men have a bad tendency, for by their means too small a number of people are employed in useful things, and some of them are necessitated to labor too hard, while others would want business to earn their bread, were not employments invented which, having no real usefulness, serve only to please the vain mind.

RESULTS OF HIGH RENTS.

Rents on lands are often so high that persons of but small substance are straitened in taking farms, and while tenants are healthy and prosperous in business, they often find occasion to labor harder than was intended by our gracious Creator. Oxen and horses are often seen at work when, through heat and too much labor, their eyes and the motions of their bodies manifest that they are oppressed. Their loads in wagons are frequently so heavy that when weary with hauling them far, their drivers find occasion in going up hills or through mire, to get them forward by whipping. Many poor people are so thronged in their business that it is difficult for them to provide shelter for their cattle against the storms. These things are common when in health, but through sickness and inability to labor, through loss of cattle, and miscarriage in business, many are so straitened that much of their increase goes to pay rent, and they have not wherewith to buy what they require.

Hence one poor woman, in providing for her family and attending the sick, does as much business as would for the time be suitable employment for two or three; and honest persons are often straitened to give their children suitable learning. The money which the wealthy receive from the poor, who do more than a proper share of business in raising it, is frequently paid to other poor people for doing business which is foreign to the true use of things.

"UNIVERSAL LOVE" AS AGAINST LAWS AND CUSTOMS.

Men who have large estates and live in the spirit of charity; who carefully inspect the circumstances of those who occupy their estates, and, regardless of the customs of the times, regulate their demands agreeably to universal love, being righteous on principle, do good to the poor without placing it to an act of bounty. Their example in avoiding superfluities tends to excite moderation in others; their uprightness in not exacting what the laws and customs would support them in tends to open the channel to moderate labor in useful affairs, and to discourage those branches of business which have not their foundation in true wisdom. . . .

Section II.

GOD'S OWNERSHIP.

The Creator of the earth is the owner of it. He gave us being thereon, and our nature requires nourishment from the produce of it. He is kind and merciful to his creatures ; and while they live answerably to the design of their creation, they are so far entitled to convenient subsistence that we may not justly deprive them of it.

MAN'S TENURE.

By the agreements and contracts of our predecessors, and by our own doings, some enjoy a much greater share of this world than others ; and while those possessions are faithfully improved for the good of the whole, it agrees with equity ; but he who, with a view to self-exaltation, causeth some to labor immoderately, and with the profits arising therefrom employs others in the luxuries of life, acts contrary to the gracious designs of Him who is the owner of the earth ; nor can any possessions, either acquired or derived from ancestors, justify such conduct. Goodness remains to be goodness, and the direction of pure wisdom is obligatory on all reasonable creatures

NO CONTRACT JUSTIFIES OPPRESSION.

Though the poor occupy our estates by a bargain, to which they in their poor circumstances agree, and we may ask even less than a punctual fulfilling of their agreement, yet if our views are to lay up riches, or to live in conformity to customs which have not their foundation in the truth, and our demands are such as require from them greater toil or application to business than is consistent with pure love, we invade their rights as inhabitants of a world of which a good and gracious God is the proprietor, and under whom we are tenants.

Were all superfluities and the desire of outward greatness laid aside, and the right use of things universally attended to, such a number of people might be employed in things useful as that moderate labor with the blessing of Heaven would answer all good purposes, and a sufficient number would have time to attend to the proper affairs of civil society.

Section III.

GREAT ESTATES ARE A TRUST.

Section IV.

Our blessed Redeemer, in directing us how to conduct ourselves one towards another, appeals to our own feelings : " Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

HOW THE POOR LIVE.

Now, when some who have never experienced hard labor themselves live in fulness on the labor of others, there is often a danger of their not having a right feeling of the laborer's condition, and of being thereby disqualified to judge candidly in their case, not know-

ng what they themselves would desire, were they to labor hard from one year to another to raise the necessaries of life and pay high rent besides. It is good for those who live in fulness to cultivate tenderness of heart, and to improve every opportunity of being acquainted with the hardships and fatigues of those who labor for their living; and thus to think seriously with themselves, Am I influenced by true charity in fixing all my demands? Have I no desire to support myself in expensive customs, because my acquaintances live in such customs?

THE GOLDEN RULE.

If a wealthy man, on serious reflection, finds a witness in his own conscience that he indulges himself in some expensive customs which might be omitted consistently with the true design of living, and which, were he to change places with those who occupy his estate, he would desire to be discontinued by them; whoever is thus awakened will necessarily find the injunction binding: "Do ye even so to them." Divine love imposeth no rigorous or unreasonable commands, but graciously points out the spirit of brotherhood and the way to happiness, in attaining which it is necessary that we relinquish all that is selfish.

Section V.

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"AS OTHERS SEE US."

Let us reflect on the condition of a poor innocent man, on whom the rich man, from a desire after wealth and luxuries lays heavy burdens; when this laborer looks over the cause of his heavy toil and considers that it is laid on him to support that which hath no foundation in pure wisdom, we may well suppose that an uneasiness ariseth in his mind towards one who might without any inconvenience deal more favorably with him. When he considers that by his industry his fellow-creature is benefited and sees that this wealthy man is not satisfied with being supported in a plain way, but to gratify a desire of conforming to wrong customs increaseth to an extreme the labors of those who occupy his estate, we may reasonably judge that he will think himself unkindly used. When he considers that the proceedings of the wealthy are agreeable to the customs of the times, and sees no means of redress in this world, how will the sighings of this innocent person ascend to the throne of that great and good Being who created all, and who hath a constant care over his creatures! He who toils year after year to furnish others with wealth and superfluities, until by overmuch labor he is wearied and oppressed, understands the meaning of that language, "Ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Many at this day who know not the heart of a stranger indulge themselves in ways of life which occasion more labor than Infinite Goodness intends for man, and yet compassionate the distresses of such as come directly under their observation; were these to change

circumstances awhile with their laborers, were they to pass regularly through the means of knowing the heart of a stranger and come to a feeling knowledge of the straits and hardships which many poor innocent people pass through in obscure life; were these who now fare sumptuously every day to act the other part of the scene until seven times had passed over them and return again to their former states,

THE GOLDEN RULE ONCE MORE.

I believe many of them would embrace a less expensive life, and would lighten the heavy burdens of some who now labor out of their sight, and who pass through straits with which they are but little acquainted. To see their fellow creatures under difficulties to which they are in no degree accessory tends to awaken tenderness in the minds of all reasonable people; but if we consider the condition of those who are depressed in answering our demands, who labor for us out of our sight while we pass our time in fulness, and consider also that much less than we demand would supply us with things really useful, what heart will not relent, or what reasonable man can refrain from mitigating that grief of which he himself is the cause, when he may do so without inconvenience?

Section VI.

TOO MUCH LABOR A CAUSE OF THE CRAVING FOR STRONG DRINK.

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Section VII.

ACCUMULATION OF WEALTH FOR OUR CHILDREN.

If by our wealth we make our children great, without a full persuasion that we could not bestow it better, and thus give them power to deal hardly with others more virtuous than they, it can after death give us no more satisfaction than if by this treasure we had raised others above our own, and had given them power to oppress them.

Section VIII.

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CHRIST'S TEACHING.

The greater part of the necessaries of life are so far perishable that each generation hath occasion to labor for them; and when we look towards a succeeding age with a mind influenced by universal love, instead of endeavouring to exempt some from those cares which necessarily relate to this life, and to give them power to oppress others, we desire that they may all be the Lord's children and live in that humility and order becoming his family. Our hearts, being thus opened and enlarged, will feel content with a state of things as foreign to luxury and grandeur as that which our Redeemer laid down as a pattern.

For, as he lived in perfect plainness and simplicity, the greatest in his family cannot by virtue of his station claim a right to live in

worldly grandeur without contradicting him who said, "It is enough for the disciple to be as his Master."

THE TYRANNY OF SELFISHNESS,

Tyranny as applied to a man riseth up and soon has an end ; but if we consider the numerous oppressions in many states, and the calamities occasioned by contending nations in various countries and ages of the world, and remember that selfishness hath been the original cause of them all ; if we consider that those who are unredeemed from this selfish spirit not only afflict others but are afflicted themselves, and have no real quietness in this life nor in futurity, but, according to the sayings of Christ, have their portion " where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched " ;

CAUSING UNREST :

if we consider the havoc that is made in this age, and how numbers of people are hurried on, striving to collect treasure to please that mind which wanders from perfect resignedness, and in that wisdom which is foolishness with God are perverting the true use of things, laboring as in the fire, contending with one another even unto blood, and exerting their power to support ways of living foreign to the life of one wholly crucified to the world ;

AND WASTE OF LABOR.

if we consider what great numbers of people are employed in preparing implements of war, and the labor and toil of armies set apart for protecting their respective territories from invasion, and the extensive miseries which attend their engagements ; while they who till the land and are employed in other useful things in supporting not only themselves but those employed in military affairs, and also those who own the soil, have great hardships to encounter through too much labor ; while others in several kingdoms, are busied in fetching men to help to labor from distant parts of the world, to spend the remainder of their lives in the uncomfortable condition of slaves, and that self is the bottom of these proceedings ;—

THE EXAMPLE OF CHRIST.

amidst all this confusion, and these scenes of sorrow and distress, can we remember that we are the disciples of the Prince of Peace, and the example of humility and plainness which he set for us, without feeling an earnest desire to be disentangled from everything connected with selfish customs in food, in raiment, in houses and in all things else ? That being of Christ's family, and walking as he walked, we may stand in that uprightness wherein man was first made, and have no fellowship with those inventions which men in their fallen wisdom have sought out.

Section IX.

The way of carrying on wars common in the world is so far distinguishable from the purity of Christ's religion that many scruple to join in them. Those who are so redeemed from the love

of the world as to possess nothing in a selfish spirit have their "life hid with Christ in God," and he preserves them in resignedness, even in times of commotion.

As they possess nothing but what pertains to his family, anxious thoughts about wealth or dominion have little or nothing in them on which to work ; and they learn contentment in being disposed of according to His will who, being omnipotent and always mindful of his children, causeth all things to work for their good ; but when that spirit works which loves riches, and in its working gathers wealth and cleaves to customs which have their root in self-pleasing, whatever name it hath it still desires to defend the treasures thus gotten.

CONNECTION BETWEEN WEALTH AND WAR.

This is like a chain in which the end of one link encloseth the end of another. The rising up of a desire to obtain wealth is the beginning ; this desire being cherished, moves to action ; and riches thus gotten please self ; and while self has a life in them it desires to have them defended. Wealth is attended with power, by which bargains and proceedings contrary to universal righteousness are supported ; and hence oppression carried on with worldly policy and order, clothes itself with the name of justice and becomes like a seed of discord in the soul. And as a spirit which wanders from the pure habitation prevails, so the seeds of war swell and sprout and grow and become strong until much fruit is ripened. Then cometh the harvest spoken of by the prophet, which "is a heap in the day of grief and desperate sorrows." Oh that we who declare against wars, and acknowledge our trust to be in God only, may walk in the light, and therein examine our foundation and motives in holding great estates ! May we look upon our treasures, the furniture of our houses and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these our possessions. Holding treasures in the self-pleasing spirit is a strong plant, the fruit whereof ripens fast. A day of outward distress is coming, and Divine love calls to prepare against it.

Section X.

THE EARTH ONLY A CONDITIONAL GIFT.

"The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's ; but the earth hath he given to the children of men." As servants of God our land or estates we hold under him as his gifts ; and in applying the profits it is our duty to act consistently with the designs of our Benefactor. Imperfect men may give from motives of misguided affection, but perfect wisdom and goodness gives agreeably to his own nature ; nor is this gift absolute, but conditional, for us to occupy as dutiful children and not otherwise ; for He alone is the true proprietor. "The world," saith He, "is mine, and the fulness thereof."

THE TRUE JUBILEE.

The inspired lawgiver directed that such of the Israelites as sold their inheritance should sell it for a term only, and that they or

their children should again enjoy it in the year of jubilee, settled on every fiftieth year. "The land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine, saith the Lord, for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." This was designed to prevent the rich from oppressing the poor by too much engrossing the land; and our blessed Redeemer said: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled."

When Divine love takes place in the hearts of any people, and they steadily act in a principle of universal righteousness, then the true intent of the law is fulfilled, though their outward modes of proceeding may be various; but when men are possessed by that spirit hinted at by the prophet, and, looking over their wealth, say in their hearts, "Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?" they deviate from the Divine law, and do not count their possessions so strictly God's nor the weak and poor entitled to so much of the increase thereof, but that they may indulge their desires in conforming to worldly pomp.

THE LUST FOR LAND.

Thus when house is joined to house and field laid to field, until there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened, though this is done by bargain and purchase, yet so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe predicted by the prophet will accompany their proceedings. As He who first founded the earth was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains, and though he hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it while they continued here, yet he hath never alienated it, but his right is as good as at first; nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some by oppressing others without being justly chargeable with usurpation.

Section XI.

THE EXPANSION OF THE EMPIRE: TREATMENT OF NATIVE RACES.

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Section XII.

While our minds are prepossessed in favor of customs distinguishable from perfect purity, we are in danger of not attending with singleness to that light which opens to our view the nature of universal righteousness.

THE DIVISION OF LABOR.

In the affairs of a thickly-settled country are variety of useful employments besides tilling the earth; so that for some men to have more land than is necessary to build upon and to answer the occasions of their families may consist with brotherhood; and from the various gifts which God hath bestowed on those employed in husbandry, for some to possess and occupy much more than others may likewise so consist; but when any, on the strength of their possessions, demand such rent or interest as necessitates their tenants to a

closer application to business than our merciful Father designed for us, it puts the wheels of perfect brotherhood out of order, and leads to employments the promoting of which belongs not to the family of Christ, whose example in all points being a pattern of wisdom, the plainness and simplicity of his outward appearance may well make us ashamed to adorn our bodies with costly array or treasure up wealth by the least oppression.

RIGHT AND "RIGHTS."

Though by claims grounded on prior possession great inequality appears among men ; yet the instructions of the Great Proprietor of the earth are necessary to be attended to in all our proceedings as possessors or claimers of the soil. "The steps of a good man are ordered of the Lord," and those who are thus guided and whose hearts are enlarged in his love give directions concerning their possessions agreeably thereto ; and that claim which stands on universal righteousness is a good right ; but the continuance of that right depends on properly applying the profits thereof. The word "right" commonly relates to our possessions. We say, a right of propriety to such a division of a province, or a clear, indisputable right to the land within certain bounds. Thus this word is continued as a remembrancer of the original intent of dividing the land by boundaries, and implies that it was equitably or rightly divided, that is, divided according to righteousness. In this—that is, in equity and righteousness—consists the strength of our claim. If we trace an unrighteous claim and find gifts or grants proved by sufficient seals and witnesses it gives not the claimant a right ; for that which is opposite to righteousness is wrong ; and the nature of it must be changed before it can be right.

AN UTOPIA.

Suppose twenty free men, professed followers of Christ, discovered an island, and that they with their wives, independent of all others, took possession of it and, dividing it equally, made improvements and multiplied ; suppose these first possessors, being generally influenced by true love, did with paternal regard look over the increasing condition of the inhabitants, and, near the end of their lives, gave such directions concerning their respective possessions as best suited the convenience of the whole and tended to preserve love and harmony ; and that their successors in the continued increase of people generally followed their pious example and pursued means the most effectual to keep oppression out of their island ; but that one of these first settlers, from a fond attachment to one of his numerous sons, no more deserving than the rest, gives the chief of his lands to him, and by an instrument sufficiently witnessed strongly expressed his mind and will ;—

TWENTIETH PART OF UTOPIA UNDER A LANDLORD :

suppose this son, being landlord to his brethren and nephews, demands such a portion of the fruits of the earth as may supply himself, his family and some others, and that these others thus supplied out of his store are employed in adorning his building with

curious engravings and paintings, preparing carriages to ride in, vessels for his house, delicious meats, fine wrought apparel and furniture, all suiting that distinction lately arisen between him and the other inhabitants ;

RESULT—IN POLITICS ;

and that, having the absolute disposal of these numerous improvements, his power so increaseth that in all conferences relative to the public affairs of the island, these plain, honest men, who are zealous for equitable establishments, find great difficulty in proceeding agreeably to their righteous inclinations—suppose this son, from a fondness to one of his children, joined with a desire to continue this grandeur under his own name, confirms the chief of his possessions to him, and thus for many ages there is one great landlord over near a twentieth part of this island,

IN RISE OF A “ PREDATORY ” CLASS.

and the rest are poor oppressed people, to some of whom, from the manner of their education, joined with a notion of the greatness of their predecessors, labor is disagreeable ; who, therefore, by artful applications to the weakness, unguardedness, and corruptions of others in striving to get a living out of them, increase the difficulties among them, while the inhabitants of other parts, who guard against oppression and with one consent train up their children in frugality and useful labor, live more harmoniously ;—

“ QUO WARRANTO ? ”

if we trace the claims of the ninth or tenth of these great landlords down to the first possessor and find the claim supported throughout by instruments strongly drawn and witnessed, after all we could not admit a belief into our hearts that he had a right to so great a portion of land after such a numerous increase of inhabitants.

The first possessor of that twentieth part held no more, we suppose, than an equitable portion ; but when the Lord, who first gave these twenty men possession of this island unknown to all others, gave being to numerous people who inhabited the twentieth part, whose natures required the fruits thereof for their sustenance, this great claimer of the soil could not have a right to the whole to dispose of it in gratifying his irregular desires ; but they, as creatures of the Most High God, Possessor of heaven and earth, had a right to part of what this great claimer held, though they had no instruments to confirm their right.

CONCLUSION.

Thus oppression in the extreme appears terrible ; but oppression in more refined appearances remains to be oppression, and when the smallest degree of it is cherished it grows stronger and more extensive.

To labor for a perfect redemption from this spirit of oppression is the great business of the whole family of Christ Jesus in this world.

JOHN WOOLMAN (OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS) "OF MOUNT HOLLY IN THE JERSEYS, NORTH AMERICA."

Born 1720. Died 1772.

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28. On Loving Our Neighbors as Ourselves. Written by JOHN WOOLMAN, of Pennsylvania. (First printed in 1794.) With a Preface by JOHN THORP. Macclesfield; 1807. 8vo. S₁

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- Note.*—Some of the volumes reached a 2nd edition.
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- Note.*—Smith mentions that there were many other reprints. See No. 47.
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GAN Y

PARCH. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.

[THIS TRACT IS A WELSH TRANSLATION OF TRACT No 78,
AND IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE SETS.]

PRIS CEINIOG.

LLUNDAIN :

P'W GAEL ODDIWRTH Y FABIAN SOCIETY, 3 CLEMENT'S INN, W.C.

JUNE 1899.

Municipal Slaughterhouses.

DECEMBER, 1899.

It is a remarkable fact that while in most respects the sanitary code in this country is considerably in advance of those of the Continental nations, yet in the matter of meat inspection we are very far behind them.

Dr. Morison Legge, the Secretary to the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis, in his work on *Public Health in European Capitals*, says that in regard to meat-inspection "Great Britain is at least twenty years behind France, Germany, Belgium and Denmark."

Importance of Meat Inspection.

For the protection of public health it is of the utmost importance that all meat intended for human consumption should be examined and approved by a skilled inspector. Many diseases are caused by the consumption of unsound meat. Meat that has begun to putrefy is capable of causing acute, and often fatal, sickness and diarrhœa. Tapeworms, trichinosis, anthrax, tuberculosis and other diseases may be acquired by eating the flesh of animals that have suffered from those complaints, some of which are by no means uncommon. Tuberculosis is especially prevalent. It was found that 27 per cent. of the animals slaughtered in Saxony in 1895 were suffering from this disease. Mr. King, Veterinary Inspector to the Manchester Corporation (quoted in Legge and Sessions' *Cattle Tuberculosis*), states that at the slaughterhouse in that city 41 per cent. of the cows, 22 per cent. of the heifers, 25 per cent. of the bulls, and 16 per cent. of the bullocks were found to be infected with tuberculosis. It has been proved that this dreadful disease—which is responsible for one-seventh of our mortality, and last year killed 60,000 persons in England and Wales—may be acquired by eating the flesh of tuberculous animals. The Jews are required by their religious ritual to inspect meat with special care, and much is rejected by them. It is well known that they are freer from tuberculosis than their Gentile neighbors.

That this danger is real and ever present is proved by occasional disclosures concerning the seizure of tubs full of putrid livers destined for the manufacture of sinister "breakfast delicacies," or cow-beef containing "tuberculous deposits in some places as large as a small walnut."* These casual horrors are, however, soon forgotten, and the consumption of diseased meat goes on unchecked.

* *Meat Trades Journal*, July 4, 1899.

How can we Protect Ourselves from Diseased Meat?

In Germany, France and most civilized countries, slaughtering takes place at stated hours in large public slaughterhouses and all the meat is examined by highly trained inspectors, nearly all of whom are qualified veterinary surgeons. In this country the animals are killed in small private slaughterhouses, usually situated behind the butcher's shop. These slaughterhouses are very numerous. In London, for example, there were in 1897 no less than 470, and the number in smaller places is proportionally much greater; Sheffield, with a population of 356,000, contains 190 private slaughterhouses. The establishments are scattered over the town, no stated hours for slaughtering are observed, and the so-called inspectors are nearly always persons who have had no special training for their work. According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Tuberculosis. "In Battersea, for instance, four plumbers and three carpenters discharge the office of meat-inspectors; in Hackney the duties have been committed to two plumbers, one carpenter, one compositor, one bricklayer, one florist, one builder, one surveyor, and one stonemason. In Portsmouth a solitary butcher has received as colleagues three school-teachers, one medical dispenser, one carpenter, and one tram-conductor."

It is obvious that the task of efficiently inspecting a large number of scattered private slaughterhouses where slaughtering may take place at any time is one of extreme difficulty and would require a large and expensive staff of specially trained officials. But in the large municipal slaughterhouse, with slaughtering carried on at fixed hours, meat inspection becomes a comparatively simple business.

The Royal Commission on Tuberculosis reported that "the use of public slaughterhouses in populous places, to the exclusion of all private ones, is a necessary preliminary to a uniform and equitable system of meat inspection." This, important as it is, would not be the only advantage arising from the supersession of private establishments by public slaughterhouses. There are many other

Advantages of Municipal Slaughterhouses.

Many of our private slaughterhouses are in so insanitary a condition that the meat is exposed to foul emanations from drains, decomposing blood, offal, etc. They may easily become a source of grave danger to the surrounding districts. In municipal slaughterhouses, on the other hand, the buildings are specially designed for their purpose, they are kept in good sanitary condition, and the meat is therefore not subject to deterioration. The concentration of the business of slaughtering in one large establishment removes many sources of nuisance from the neighborhood of dwelling-houses, and by placing the building near a railway station, the driving of weary and exhausted cattle through the streets would be avoided and the street danger to the public would be lessened. On humanitarian grounds the superiority of municipal slaughterhouses is obvious. The closed doors of private slaughterhouses must hide many a pitiful

scene of clumsy cruelty. In our public establishments we could insist that none but skilled persons should be employed in the work of killing, and that only the most improved appliances, such as the Greener method, should be used.

German experience has shown the disadvantage arising from even the slightest modification of the municipal slaughterhouse system. In the Berlin slaughterhouses separate chambers are provided for each butcher who desires to rent one; but this in practice has been found to militate against the inspection of meat, and hence in slaughterhouses more recently constructed the butchers slaughter in common halls, paying fees for the use of the premises. Osthoff (*Handbuch der Hygiene*, Vol. VI.), in considering the cost of the use of public slaughterhouses, and of the inspection of the meat in relation to the cost of the meat, estimates the additional cost due to these causes as amounting to about half-a-farthing per pound of meat. The German public slaughterhouses are in all cases self-supporting. The six municipal slaughterhouses of Paris cost the city £680,000, and as far back as 1851 they were stated to be yielding an interest of 6½ per cent. per annum upon the outlay.

Provincial Experience.

By section 169 of the Public Health Act of 1875 any urban sanitary authority has the power to provide a public slaughterhouse, and the system is already in operation in fifty towns in the United Kingdom, and others, as Rochdale, in September, 1899, and Yarmouth in October, 1899, are adopting the same plan. In some cases, as, for example, Glasgow and Manchester, the system has proved a financial success; in others, it has entailed some charge upon the rates. It must, however, be remembered that local success or failure depends largely upon the butchers, who may decide to use the municipal slaughterhouse, but cannot be compelled to do so. It is therefore not sufficient to provide the municipal slaughterhouse, we must also

Abolish the Private Slaughterhouses.

Many towns in England, Wales and Ireland have provided slaughterhouses, but (apart from a few exceptional instances) they have no power to abolish those under private control except in case of flagrant violation of the law. Dublin has erected a fine public slaughterhouse, but few butchers use it. They prefer the private slaughterhouses where practically the carcasses are not inspected and could not be without a large staff of inspectors. In Germany, when the town council has erected a public slaughterhouse, it may issue an order prohibiting the slaughtering of animals in the district except at the public slaughterhouse. In Scotland, a municipality has the power to declare that when a public slaughterhouse has been provided, no other place shall be used for slaughtering, except for a period of three years in the case of existing registered slaughterhouses. Scotch town councils should be urged to use this power, which, according to the recommendation of the Royal Commission on

Tuberculosis, should be extended to all towns in England, Wales and Ireland. English town councils should be urged to petition Parliament for legislation to this effect, and should meanwhile provide a public slaughterhouse.

The establishment of public slaughterhouses, and the abolition of private ones, are measures that have received the strong support of the medical profession in this country. At the meeting of the British Medical Association, in August 1899, the State Medicine Section unanimously supported Dr. Manby, the Assistant Medical Officer of Health of Liverpool, who read a paper strongly advocating the municipal slaughterhouse and the abolition of the private slaughterhouse. Our leading writers on public health are unanimous on this subject. It will suffice to quote Sir Richard Thorne Thorne, the Medical Officer to the Local Government Board: "Public slaughterhouses, officered by skilled inspectors, and supervised by medical officers of health, are urgently required, amongst other reasons, for the prevention of tuberculosis in man." ". . . the properly administered public slaughterhouse is demanded as an act of justice to those trading in meat; it is demanded in the interests of public health and of decency; it is demanded for the prevention of cruelty to the lower animals, and it is demanded to bring England—if not the United Kingdom—somewhat nearer to the level of other civilized nations in this matter."

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HOW TRADE UNIONS BENEFIT WORKMEN.

What do Workmen Want?

GOOD WAGES, Short Hours, Fair Conditions, Proper Treatment, Protection from arbitrary dismissals, Regular Work, and something to fall back on when work is scarce.

These are what Trade Unions can get for workmen and workwomen, and without Trade Unions no one is sure of them.

Let us take them in order.

Good Wages.—Why do men in one trade get 30s. or 40s. a week, whilst in another, for work as hard and no less skilled, they get 15s. or 20s.? It is the Trade Union that makes the difference. Union men get more money because they demand it: "Ask and ye shall receive" is an old and true saying. But why cannot the man who has no Union ask? Because he dare not. If one man asks for more wages, the employer replies: "I can't afford to pay more. If you don't like my job, you can go—there are plenty of other men to take it." And this is true. If a man keeps asking for more wages he gets the sack, and there is an end of it. A man who belongs to a Union has no need to ask for a rise of wages. His Union does that business for him, and a Union Secretary, paid by the men to manage their affairs, is not afraid of an employer, because his living does not depend upon any master except his fellow-workmen.

Men in a Union act together; and their Union often makes them stronger than any one master, and sometimes almost as strong as all the masters put together.

An employer may sack one man for a mere whim. It is nothing to him. But he will often give up half his profits sooner than drive a big Union into a strike.

Men who want good wages and think they will get them without the help of a Trade Union are fools.

Short Hours.—What is true about wages is true also about hours. A strong Union gets men good wages for short hours: long hours and low pay fall to men who do not unite. Why do miners work eight hours, and engineers eight or nine, whilst agricultural laborers and van-men sometimes work twice as long, and generally get less than half the money? Years ago miners worked long hours for low pay. Then they started a Union, and that soon made a change. No trade gets short hours unless it has a strong Union.

Fair Conditions.—What is true of hours is equally true of conditions. Men who have a strong Union to look after them won't stand dirty, unhealthy workshops, or the petty tyrannies of foremen and managers.

Victimisation.—When a man stands up for his mates, and asks better wages, or complains of an unjust foreman, the employer is ready enough to get rid of him. "Such men," he says, "are a nuisance in a shop." Without a Union, no man dares to speak out what he thinks. But where the Union is strong the employer dare not dismiss a man merely for speaking his mind and standing up for his fellows. And if the Union cannot prevent dismissal, a man receives "victimised pay" from his Union until he gets another job, or else the other men come out in a body, and their Union backs them up until the "victimised" man is reinstated.

Regular Work.—When the master can make his men work as long as he pleases, he gets his orders done in a rush; if business becomes slack, his men can play for a bit. That may suit him, but it does not suit the men. Rent has to be paid and food bought each week, and regular money every Saturday is what the workman wants. In all the trades where a Union has organized the men, shortened the working hours and made overtime expensive to the masters, it has been found that work has become more regular.

Out-of-Work Benefit.—Many Unions pay this to help their members tide over slack times. How useful this is, every workman knows. Moreover, out-of-work benefit keeps up wages. A man is tempted to take less than the regular rate of wages if he has nothing in bad times to fall back on; and employers are always ready, if they dare, to take advantage of a man's need, by offering work at lower wages.

Trade Unions, like nearly all other good things in the world, have to be paid for. Let us see what the Trade Unionist gets for his money.

He gets Officers to look after his interests and to help him to get the full benefit of the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Factory Acts, the Truck Acts, and the other laws which employers are ready enough to evade when their workmen are not organized,

He gets Strike Pay, if he has to come out for better wages, shorter hours, or against an injury done to himself or some other member.

He gets Out-of-Work Benefit and Sick and Accident Benefit, in many Unions.

Many Unions do far more than this. Often they help men to get work by keeping lists of jobs, or because the employers apply to the Union when they want men. Some Unions pay funeral benefit. Others give old age pensions to members past work. Others insure tools against fire. Many regulate such matters as the number of apprentices. Some send their officials to Town and County Councils, and to Parliament, and thus give their trade a proper share in the making and administering of the laws.

The Labour Party.—Strong as are Trade Unions, one thing is stronger still, and that is the law. But the law, which in old days was made by the masters and for the masters, is now often made by the men and for the men. Why is this? Because the Trade Unions have formed with the Socialists a political party of their own. Men who belong to a Trade Union can through it send their own trade representatives to the House of Commons. The Miners have

eleven to represent them; the Railwaymen, three; the Iron Trades, four; and in all there are (1915) thirty-six Labor M.P.s sent to Parliament by Trade Union votes. The Miners, who are strong, got through Parliament a law forbidding the masters to work them more than eight hours. The State helps those who help themselves. If all trades were as well organized as the miners, all trades would get the laws they need to protect their interests. Men who join a Union help themselves, and at the same time help all their fellows.

Remember one thing! It is the Trade Union which keeps up wages and keeps down hours; which makes the master respect his men and treat them like human beings. Unions are paid for by the members. Any man who does not belong to a Union is spunging on his mates. He benefits by the better wages and shorter hours which the Union has obtained, but he refuses to pay his share towards the cost of getting them.

Therefore we say:—

Every workman and workwoman in the country
ought to

JOIN A TRADE UNION.

[Blank space to be filled by Trade Unions, if desired.]

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Fabian Tract No. 107.

SOCIALISM FOR MILLIONAIRES

By BERNARD SHAW.

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY
THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

SINCE the appearance of the following essay in the *Contemporary Review* (Feb 1896) a Millionaire Movement has taken place, culminating in the recent expression of opinion by Mr Andrew Carnegie that no man should die rich. A reference to Fabian Tract No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," will convince Mr. Carnegie that the danger he warns us against is still far from widespread. Nor is the doctrine new: John Ruskin "unloaded" and published his accounts with the public years ago; and Mr Passmore Edwards's annual investments for the common good have come to be regarded as an ordinary asset, like the established Parliamentary Grants in Aid. But the modern substitution of Combination for Competition as the principle of capitalism is producing a new crop of individual fortunes so monstrous as to make their possessors publicly ridiculous. Unloading is, for the moment, the order of the day. The problem is, how to unload without the waste, pauperization, and demoralization that are summed up in England under the word charity. It seems clear from some late sensational disbursements that the Millionaires have not solved this problem. For this they cannot be blamed, because the problem is fundamentally insoluble under the social conditions which produce it, but they can at least do their best instead of their worst with their superfluity; and, so far, they seem to prefer, with the best intentions, to do their worst. In the hope that my essay may prove suggestive to them, the Fabian Society has decided to reprint it, with the permission of the Editor of the *Contemporary Review*, as a Fabian Tract.

LONDON, 1901.

G. B. S.

SOCIALISM FOR MILLIONAIRES.

The Sorrows of the Millionaire.

THE millionaire class, a small but growing one, into which any of us may be flung to-morrow by the accidents of commerce, is perhaps the most neglected in the community. As far as I know, this is the first Tract that has ever been written for millionaires. In the advertisements of the manufactures of the country I find that everything is produced for the million and nothing for the millionaire. Children, boys, youths, "gents," ladies, artisans, professional men, even peers and kings are catered for; but the millionaire's custom is evidently not worth having: there are too few of him. Whilst the poorest have their Rag Fair, a duly organized and busy market in Houndsditch, where you can buy a boot for a penny, you may search the world in vain for the market where the £50 boot, the special dear line of hats at forty guineas, the cloth of gold bicycling suit, and the Cleopatra claret, four pearls to the bottle, can be purchased wholesale. Thus the unfortunate millionaire has the responsibility of prodigious wealth without the possibility of enjoying himself more than any ordinary rich man. Indeed, in many things he cannot enjoy himself more than many poor men do, nor even so much; for a drum-major is better dressed; a trainer's stable-lad often rides a better horse; the first class carriage is shared by office-boys taking their young ladies out for the evening; everybody who goes down to Brighton for Sunday rides in the Pullman car; and of what use is it to be able to pay for a peacock's-bram sandwich when there is nothing to be had but ham or beef? The injustice of this state of things has not been sufficiently considered. A man with an income of £25 a year can multiply his comfort beyond all calculation by doubling his income. A man with £50 a year can at least quadruple his comfort by doubling his income. Probably up to even £250 a year doubled income means doubled comfort. After that the increment of comfort grows less in proportion to the increment of income until a point is reached at which the victim is satiated and even surfeited with everything that money can procure. To expect him to enjoy another hundred thousand pounds because men like money, is exactly as if you were to expect a confectioner's shopboy to enjoy two hours more work a day because boys are fond of sweets. What can the wretched millionaire do that needs a million? Does he want a fleet of yachts, a Rotten Row full of carriages, an army of servants, a whole city of town houses, or a continent for a game preserve? Can he attend more than one theatre in one evening, or wear more than one suit at a time, or digest more meals than his

outler? Is it a luxury to have more money to take care of, more begging-letters to read, and to be cut off from those delicious Almaschar dreams in which the poor man, sitting down to consider what he will do in the always possible event of some unknown relative leaving him a fortune, forgets his privation? And yet there is no sympathy for this hidden sorrow of plutocracy. The poor alone are pitied. Societies spring up in all directions to relieve all sorts of comparatively happy people, from discharged prisoners in the first rapture of their regained liberty to children revelling in the luxury of an unlimited appetite; but no hand is stretched out to the millionaire, except to beg. In all our dealings with him lies implicit the delusion that *he* has nothing to complain of, and that he ought to be ashamed of rolling in wealth whilst others are starving.

Millionaires Less Than Ever Able to Spend Their Money on Themselves.

And please remember that his plight is getting worse and worse with the advance of civilization. The capital, the energy, the artistic genius that used to train themselves for the supply of beautiful things to rich men, now turn to supply the needs of the gigantic proletariats of modern times. It is more profitable to add an ironmongery department to a Westbourne Grove emporium than it was to be a Florentine armorer in the fifteenth century. The very millionaire himself, when he becomes a railway director, is forced to turn his back on his own class, and admit that it is the third-class traffic that pays. If he takes shares in a hotel, he learns that it is safer, as a matter of commercial policy, to turn a lord and his retinue out of doors than to disoblige a commercial traveller or a bicyclist in the smallest reasonable particular. He cannot get his coat made to fit him without troublesome tryings-on and alterations unless he goes to the cheap ready-money tailors, who monopolize all the really expert cutters because their suits must fit infallibly at the first attempt if the low prices are to be made pay. The old-fashioned tradesman, servile to the great man and insolent to the earner of weekly wages, is now beaten in the race by the universal provider, who attends more carefully to the fourpenny and tenpenny customers than to the mammoth shipbuilder's wife sailing in to order three grand pianos and four French governesses. In short, the shops where Dives is expected and counted on are only to be found now in a few special trades, which touch a man's life but seldom. For everyday purposes the customer who wants more than other people is as unwelcome and as little worth attending to as the customer who wants less than other people. The millionaire can have the best of everything in the market; but this leaves him no better off than the modest possessor of £5,000 a year. There is only one thing that he can still order on a scale of special and recklessly expensive pomp, and that is his funeral. Even this melancholy outlet will probably soon be closed. Huge joint-stock interment and cremation companies will refuse to depart to any great extent from their routine of Class I., Class II., and so on, just as a tramway com-

pany would refuse to undertake a Lord Mayor's Show. The custom of the great masses will rule the market so completely that the millionaire, already forced to live nine-tenths of his life as other men do, will be forced into line as to the other tenth also.

Why Millionaires Must Not Leave Too Much to Their Families.

To be a millionaire, then, is to have more money than you can possibly spend on yourself, and to suffer daily from the inconsiderateness of those persons to whom such a condition appears one of utter content. What, then, is the millionaire to do with his surplus funds? The usual reply is, provide for his children and give alms. Now these two resources, as usually understood, are exactly the same thing, and a very mischievous thing too. From the point of view of society, it does not matter a straw whether the person relieved of the necessity of working for his living by a millionaire's bounty is his son, his daughter's husband, or merely a casual beggar. The millionaire's private feelings may be more highly gratified in the former cases; but the mischief to society and to the recipient is the same. If you want to spoil a young man's career, there is no method surer than that of presenting him with what is called "an independence," meaning an abject and total dependence on the labor of others. Anybody who has watched the world intelligently enough to compare the average man of independent means when he has just finished his work at the university, with the same man twenty years later, following a routine of fashion compared to which the round of a postman is a whirl of excitement, and the beat of a policeman a chapter of romance, must have sometimes said to himself that it would have been better for the man if his father had spent every penny of his money, or thrown it into the Thames.

Parasites on Property.

In Ireland, the absentee landlord is bitterly reproached for not administering his estate in person. It is pointed out truly enough that the absentee is a pure parasite upon the industry of his country. The indispensable minimum of attention to his estate is paid by his agent or solicitor, whose resistance to his purely parasitic activity is fortified by the fact that the estate usually belongs mostly to the mortgagees, and that the nominal landlord is so ignorant of his own affairs that he can do nothing but send begging letters to the agent. On these estates generations of peasants (and agents) live hard but bearable lives; whilst off them generations of ladies and gentlemen of good breeding and natural capacity are corrupted into drifters, wasters, drinkers, waiters-*foi-dead-men's*-shoes, poor relations, and social wreckage of all sorts, living aimless lives, and often dying squalid and tragic deaths. But is there any country in the world in which this same wreckage does not occur? The typical modern proprietor is not an Irish squire but a cosmopolitan shareholder; and the shareholder is an absentee as a matter of course. If his property is all the better managed for that,

he himself is all the more completely reduced to the condition of a mere parasite upon it ; and he is just as likely as the Irish absentee to become a centre of demoralization to his family connections. Every millionaire who leaves all his millions to his family in the ordinary course exposes his innocent descendants to this risk without securing them any advantage that they could not win more effectually and happily by their own activity, backed by a fair start in life. Formerly this consideration had no weight with parents, because working for money was considered disgraceful to a gentleman, as it is still, in our more belated circles, to a lady. In all the professions we have survivals of old pretences—the rudimentary pocket on the back of a barrister's gown is an example—by which the practitioner used to fob his fee without admitting that his services were for sale. Most people alive to-day, of middle age and upward, are more or less touched with superstitions that need no longer be reckoned with by or on behalf of young men. Such, for instance, as that the line which divides wholesale from retail trade is also a line marking a step in social position ; or that there is something incongruous in a lord charging a shilling a head for admission to his castle and gardens, or opening a shop for milk, game, and farm produce ; or that a merchant's son who obtains a commission in a smart regiment as guilty of an act of ridiculous presumption.

Dignity of Labor.

Even the prejudice against manual labor is vanishing. In the artistic professions something like a worship of it was inaugurated when Ruskin took his Oxford class out of doors and set them to make roads. It is now a good many years since Dickens, when visiting a prison, encountered Wainwright the poisoner, and heard that gentleman vindicate his gentility by demanding of his fellow prisoner (a bricklayer, if I remember aright) whether he had ever condescended to clean out the cell, or handle the broom, or, in short, do any work whatever for himself that he could put on his companion. The bricklayer, proud of having so distinguished a cell mate, eagerly gave the required testimony. In the great Irish agitation against coercion in Ireland during Mr. Balfour's secretaryship, an attempt was made to add to the sensation by pointing to the spectacle of Irish political prisoners, presumably gentlemen, suffering the indignity of having to do housemaid's work in cleaning their cells. Who cared ? It would be easy to multiply instances of the change of public opinion for the better in this direction. But there is no need to pile up evidence. It will be quite willingly admitted that the father who throws his son on his own exertions, after equipping him fully with education and a reasonable capital, no longer degrades him, spoils his chance of a well-bred wife, and forfeits the caste of the family, but, on the contrary, solidifies his character and widens his prospects, professional, mercantile, political, and matrimonial. Besides, public opinion, growing continually stronger against drones in the hive, begins to threaten, and even to execute, a differentiation of taxation against unearned incomes ;

so that the man who, in spite of the protests of parental wisdom and good citizenship, devotes great resources to the enrichment and probable demoralization of remote descendants for whose merit the community has no guarantee, does so at the risk of having his aim finally defeated by the income-tax collector. We, therefore, have the intelligent and public-spirited millionaire cut off from his old resource of "founding a family." All that his children can now require of him, all that society expects him to give them, all that is good for themselves, is a first-rate equipment, not an "independence."

And there are millionaires who have no children.

Why Almsgiving is a Waste of Money.

The extremities to which the millionaire is reduced by this closing up of old channels of bequest are such that he sometimes leaves huge sums to bodies of trustees "to do good with," a plan as mischievous as it is resourceless; for what can the trustees do but timidly dribble the fund away on charities of one kind or another? Now I am loth to revive the harsh strains of the Gradgrind political economy: indeed, I would, if I could, place in every Board School a copy of Mr. Watts' picture of a sheet profiled by the outline of a man lying dead underneath it, with the inscription above, "What I saved, I lost: what I spent, I had: what I gave, I have." But woe to the man who takes from another what he can provide for himself; and woe also to the giver! There is no getting over the fact that the moment an attempt is made to organize almsgiving by entrusting the funds to a permanent body of experts, it is invariably discovered that beggars are perfectly genuine persons: that is to say, not "deserving poor," but people who have discovered that it is possible to live by simply impudently asking for what they want until they get it, which is the essence of beggary. The permanent body of experts, illogically instructed to apply their funds to the cases of the deserving poor only, soon become a mere police body for the frustration of true begging, and consequently of true almsgiving. Finally, their experience in a pursuit to which they were originally led by natural benevolence lands them in an almost maniacal individualism and an abhorrence of ordinary "charity" as one of the worst of social crimes. This may not be an amiable attitude; but no reasonable person can fail to be impressed by the certainty with which it seems to be produced by a practical acquaintance with the social reactions of mendicity and benevolence.

"The Deserving Poor."

Of course, this difficulty is partly created by the "deserving poor" theory. I remember once, at a time when I made daily use of the reading-room of the British Museum—a magnificent communistic institution—I gave a £2 copying job to a man whose respectable poverty would have moved a heart of stone: an ex-schoolmaster, whose qualifications were out of date, and who, through no particular fault of his own, had drifted at last into the reading-room as less literate men drift into Salvation Army Shelters. He was a sober,

well-spoken, well-conducted, altogether unobjectionable man, really fond of reading, and eminently eligible for a good turn of the kind I did him. His first step in the matter was to obtain from me an advance of five shillings; his next, to sublet the commission to another person in similar circumstances for one pound fifteen, and so get it entirely off his mind and return to his favorite books. This second, or rather, third party, however, required an advance from my acquaintance of one-and-sixpence to buy paper, having obtained which, he handed over the contract to a fourth party, who was willing to do it for one pound thirteen and sixpence. Speculation raged for a day or two as the job was passed on; and it reached bottom at last in the hands of the least competent and least sober copyist in the room, who actually did the work for five shillings, and borrowed endless sixpences from me from that time to the day of her death, which each sixpence probably accelerated to the extent of fourpence, and staved off to the extent of twopence. She was not a deserving person: if she had been she would have come to no such extremity. Her claims to compassion were that she could not be depended upon, could not resist the temptation to drink, could not bring herself to do her work carefully, and was therefore at a miserable disadvantage in the world: a disadvantage exactly similar to that suffered by the blind, the deaf, the maimed, the mad, or any other victims of imperfect or injured faculty. I learnt from her that she had once been recommended to the officials of the Charity Organization Society; but they, on inquiring into her case, had refused to help her because she was "undeserving," by which they meant that she was incapable of helping herself. Here was surely some confusion of ideas. She was very angry with the Society, and not unreasonably so; for she knew that their funds were largely subscribed by people who regarded them as ministers of pity to the poor and downcast. On the other hand, these people themselves had absurdly limited the application of their bounty to sober, honest, respectable persons: that is to say, to the persons least likely to want it, and alone able to be demoralized by it. An intelligent millionaire, if tempted to indulge himself by playing the almsgiving philanthropist (to the great danger of his own character) would ear-mark his gift for the use of the utterly worthless, the hopelessly, incorrigibly lazy, idle, easy-going, good-for-nothing. Only, such a policy would soon exhaust the resources of even a billionaire. It would convince the most sentimental of almsgivers that it is economically impossible to be kind to beggars. It is possible to treat them humanely, which means that they can be enslaved, brought under discipline, and forced to perform a minimum of work as gently as the nature of the process and their own intense objection to it permit; but there is no satisfaction for the compassionate instincts to be got out of that. It is a public duty, like the enforcement of sanitation, and should be undertaken by the public. Privately supported colonies of the unemployed, like that of the Salvation Army at Hadleigh, are only the experiments on which an inevitable extension of the Poor Law will have to be based. What is urgently needed at

present by the poor is the humanization of the Poor Law, an end which is retarded by all attempts to supplant it by private benevolence. Take, for example, the hard case of the aged poor, who are not beggars at all, but veterans of industry who have in most cases earned an honorable pension (which we are dishonest enough to grudge them) by a lifetime of appalling drudgery. We have to deal with at least 350,000 of them every year. Very little can be done by private efforts to rescue these unfortunate people from the barbarity of the ratepayers by building a few almshouses here and there. But a great deal can be done by arousing the public conscience and voting for reasonably humane and enlightened persons at elections of guardians. The guardians of the West Derby (Liverpool) Union, instead of imprisoning aged couples separately and miserably in their workhouse, put them into furnished cottages, where, provided they keep them neat and clean, they are no more interfered with than if they were in a private almshouse. The difference in happiness, comfort, and self-respect, between the cottage and the workhouse, is enormous: the difference in cost is less than two shillings a week per pair. If a millionaire must build almshouses, he had better do it by offering to defray the cost of a set of cottages on condition that the guardians adopt the West Derby system. This, of course, is pauperizing the ratepayer; but the average ratepayer is a quite shameless creature, loud in his outcry against the immorality of pauperizing any one at his expense, but abject in his adulation of the rich man who will pauperize him by those subscriptions to necessary public institutions which act as subsidies in relief of the rates.

Never Endow Hospitals.

Hospitals are the pet resource of the rich man whose money is burning a hole in his pockets. Here, however, the verdict of sound social economy is emphatic. Never give a farthing to an ordinary hospital. An experimental hospital is a different thing: a millionaire who is interested in proving that the use of drugs, of animal food, of alcohol, of the knife in cancer, or the like, can be and should be dispensed with, may endow a temporary hospital for that purpose; but in the charitable hospital, private endowment and private management mean not only the pauperization of the ratepayer, but irresponsibility, waste and extravagance checked by spasmodic stinginess, favoritism, almost unbridled licence for experiments on patients by scientifically enthusiastic doctors, and a system of begging for letters of admission which would be denounced as intolerable if it were part of the red tape of a public body. A safe rule for the millionaire is never to do anything for the public, any more than for an individual, that the public will do (because it must) for itself without his intervention. The provision of proper hospital accommodation is pre-eminently one of these things. Already more than a third of London's hospital accommodation is provided by the ratepayers. In Warrington the hospital rate, which was 2d. in the pound in 1887-8, rose in five years to 1s. 2d. If a billionaire had

interposed to take this increase on his own shoulders, he would have been simply wasting money for which better uses were waiting, demoralizing his neighbors, and forestalling good hospitals by bad ones. Our present clogging hospital system will soon go the way of the old Poor Law ; and no invalid will be a penny the worse.

Be Careful in Endowing Education.

Education comes next to hospitals in the popular imagination as a thoroughly respectable mark for endowments. But it is open to the same objections. The privately endowed elementary school is inferior to the rate-supported one, and is consequently nothing but a catchpit in which children, on the way to their public school, are caught and condemned to an inferior education in inferior buildings under sectarian management. University education is another matter. But whilst it is easy to found colleges and scholarships, it is impossible to confine their benefits to those who are unable to pay for them. Besides, it is beginning to be remarked that university men, as a class, are specially ignorant and misinformed. The practical identity of the governing class with the university class in England has produced a quite peculiar sort of stupidity in English policy, the masterstrokes of which are so very frequently nothing but class solecisms that even the most crudely democratic legislatures of the Colonies and the most corrupt lobbies of the United States are superior to ours in directness and promptitude, sense of social proportion, and knowledge of contemporary realities. An intelligent millionaire, unless he is frankly an enemy of the human race, will do nothing to extend the method of caste initiation practised under the mask of education at Oxford and Cambridge. Experiments in educational method, and new subjects of technical education, such, for instance, as political science considered as part of the technical education of the citizen (who is now such a disastrously bungling amateur in his all-important political capacity as voter by grace of modern democracy); or economics, statistics, and industrial history, treated as part of the technical commercial education of the wielder of modern capitals and his officials: these, abhorrent to university dons and outside the scope of public elementary education, are the departments in which the millionaire interested in education can make his gold fruitful. Help nothing that is already on its legs is not a bad rule in this and other matters. It is the struggles of society to adapt itself to the new conditions which every decade of modern industrial development springs on us that need help. The old institutions, with their obsolete routine, and their lazy denials and obstructions in the interests of that routine, are but too well supported already.

Endowing Societies.

The objection to supplanting public machinery by private does not apply to private action to set public machinery in motion. Take, for example, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. If that society were to undertake the punish-

ment of cruel parents by building private prisons and establishing private tribunals, even the most thoughtless subscriber to private charities and hospitals would shake his head and button up his pocket, knowing that there are public laws and public prisons and tribunals to do the work, and that they alone should be trusted with such functions. But here the public machinery requires the initiative of an aggrieved person to set it in motion ; and when the aggrieved person is a child, and its "next friend" the aggressor, the machinery does not get started. Under such circumstances, Mr. Waugh's society, by stepping in and taking the child's part, does a great deal of good ; and this, observe, not by supplanting the State, or competing with it, but by co-operating with it and compelling it to do its duty. Generally speaking, all societies which are of the nature of Vigilance Committees are likely to be useful. The odium which attaches to the name came from the old-fashioned American Vigilance Committee, which, in the true spirit of private enterprise, not only detected offenders, but lynched them on its own responsibility. We have certain State vigilance officers : sanitary inspectors, School Board visitors, a Public Prosecutor (of a sort), the Queen's Proctor, and others. The only one of these who is an unmitigated public nuisance is the censor of the theatre, who, instead of merely having power to hale the author of an obnoxious play before a public tribunal, has power to sentence him to suppression and execute him with his own hands and on his own responsibility, with the result that our drama is more corrupt, silly, and indecent than any other department of fine art, and our unfortunate censor more timid and helpless than any other official. His case shows the distinction which it is essential to observe in vigilance work. But though we have an official to prevent Tolstoy's plays from being performed, we have no official to prevent people from stealing public land and stopping up public footpaths. The millionaire who gives money to "Days in the Country" for city children, and will not help Commons Preservation Societies and the like to keep the country open for them, is unworthy of his millions.

All these considerations point in the same direction. The intelligent millionaire need not hesitate to subsidize any vigilance society or reform society that is ably conducted, and that recognizes the fact that it is not going to reform the world, but only, at best, to persuade the world to take its ideas into consideration in reforming itself. Subject to these conditions, it matters little whether the millionaire agrees with the society or not. No individual or society can possibly be absolutely and completely right ; nor can any view or theory be so stated as to comprise the whole truth and nothing but the truth. A millionaire who will not subsidize forces that are capable of a mischievous application will subsidize nothing at all. Such justice as we attain in our criminal courts is the outcome of a vehemently partial prosecution and defence ; and all parliamentary sanity is the outcome of a conflict of views. For instance, if we try to figure to ourselves a forcible reconstruction of society on lines rigidly deduced either from the Manchester School or from State Socialism

we are at a loss to decide which of the two would be the more intolerable and disastrous. Yet who hesitates on that account, if such matters interest him, to back up the Fabian Society on the one hand, or the Personal Rights Association on the other, according to his bias? Our whole theory of freedom of speech and opinion for all citizens, rests, not on the assumption that everybody is right, but on the certainty that everybody is wrong on some point on which somebody else is right, so that there is a public danger in allowing anybody to go unheard. Therefore, any propagandist society which knows how to handle money intelligently and which is making a contribution to current thought, whether Christian or Pagan, Liberal or Conservative, Socialist or Individualist, scientific or humanitarian, physical or metaphysical, seems to me an excellent mark for a millionaire's spare money.

Yet after all, mere societies are good marks for anybody's spare money. Most of them may be left to the ordinary guinea subscriber; and though millionaires are such inveterate subscribers and donors that I dare not leave the societies out of account, I confess I despise a millionaire who dribbles his money away in fifties and hundreds, thereby reducing himself to the level of a mere crowd of ordinary men, instead of planking down sums that only a millionaire can. My idea of a millionaire is a man who never gives less than ten thousand pounds, ear-marked for the purchase of something of the best quality costing not a penny less than that amount. The millionaire should ask himself what is his favorite subject? Has it a school, with scholarships for the endowment of research and the attraction of rising talent? Has it a library, or a museum? If not, then he has an opening at once for his ten thousand or hundred thousand.

Starting Snowballs.

There is always something fascinating to the imagination of a very poor man in the notion of leaving a million or so to accumulate at compound interest for a few centuries, and then descend in fabulous riches on some remote descendant and make a Monte Cristo of him. Now, even if there were likely to be any particular point in being Monte Cristo after a couple of hundred years further social and industrial development, a modern millionaire, for the reasons already stated, should be the last person in the world to be much impressed by it. Still, the underlying idea of keeping a great money force together, multiplying it, and finally working a miracle with it, is a tempting one. Here is a recent example, quoted from a local paper:

"The gift of a farm to the Parish Council of St. Bees by the Rev. Mr. Pagan, of Shadforth, Durham, is accompanied by some peculiar conditions. The farm is 33a. 3r. 2p in extent, and is valued at £1,098. The rent of the farm is to be allowed to accumulate, with two reservations. Should the grantor ever require it, the council may be called upon during his lifetime to pay him from time to time out of the accumulated investments any amounts not exceeding £1,098. Not more than £10 may be spent in charity, *but not in relief of the rates.* The balance is to be invested in land and houses until all the land and houses in the parish have been secured by the parish council. When that is accomplished, the sum of £1,098 may be handed over to some adjacent parish, which shall deal with the gift similarly to St. Bees."

Beware of the Ratepayer and the Landlord.

In the above bequest, we have a remarkable combination of practical sagacity and colossal revolutionary visionariness. Mr. Pagan sets a thousand pound snowball rolling in such a way as to nationalize the land parish by parish until the revolution is complete. Observe—and copy—his clause, “not in relief of the rates.” Let the millionaire never forget that the ratepayer is always lying in wait to malversate public money to the saving of his own pocket. Possibly the millionaire may sympathize with him, and say that he wishes to relieve him. But in the first place a millionaire should never sympathize with anybody: his destiny is too high for such petty self-indulgence; and in the second, you cannot relieve the ratepayer by reducing, or even abolishing, his rates, since freeing a house of rates simply raises the rent. The millionaire might as well leave his money direct to the landlords at once. In fact, the ratepayer is only a foolish catpaw for the landlord, who is the great eater-up of public bequests. At Tonbridge, Bedford, and certain other places, pious founders have endowed the schools so splendidly that education is nobly cheap there. But rents are equivalently high; so that the landlords reap the whole pecuniary value of the endowment. The remedy, however, is to follow the example of the Tonbridge and Bedford founders instead of avoiding it. If every centre of population were educationally endowed with equal liberality, the advantage of Bedford would cease to be a *differential one*; and it is only advantages which are both *differential and pecuniarily realisable by the individual citizens that produce rent*. Meanwhile, the case points to another form of the general rule above deduced for the guidance of millionaires: namely, that bequests to the public should be for the provision of luxuries, never of necessities. We must provide necessities for ourselves; and their gratuitous provision in any town at present constitutes a pecuniarily realizable differential advantage in favor of living in that town. Now, a luxury is something that we need not have, and consequently will not pay for except with spare or waste money. Properly speaking, therefore, it is something that we will not pay for at all. And yet nothing is more vitally right than the attitude of the French gentleman who said: “Give me the luxuries of life, and I will do without the necessities.” For example, the British Library of Political Science is prodigiously more important to our well-being than a thousand new charitable soup-kitchens; but as ordinary people do not care a rap about it, it does not raise the rent of even students’ lodgings in London by a farthing. But suppose a misguided billionaire, instead of founding an institution of this type, were to take on himself the cost of paving and lighting some London parish, and set on foot a free supply of bread and milk! All that would happen would be that the competition for houses and shops in that parish would rage until it had brought rents up to a point at which there would be no advantage in living in it more than in any other parish. Even parks and open spaces raise rents in London, though, strange to say,

London statues do not diminish them. Here, then, is the simple formula for the public benefactor. Never give the people anything they want : give them something they ought to want and dont.

Create New Needs : the Old Ones Will Take Care of Themselves.

Thus we find at the end of it all, appositely enough, that the great work of the millionaire, whose tragedy is that he has not needs enough for his means, is to create needs. The man who makes the luxury of yesterday the need of to-morrow is as great a benefactor as the man who makes two ears of wheat grow where one grew before. John Ruskin set a wise example in this respect to our rich men. He published his accounts with the public, and shewed that he had taken no more for himself than fair pay for his work of giving Sheffield a valuable museum, which it does not want and would cheerfully sell for a fortnight's holiday with free beer if it could. Was not that better than wasting it heartlessly and stupidly on beggars, on able-bodied relatives, on ratepayers, on landlords, and all the rest of our social absorbents? He has created energy instead of dissipating it, and created it in the only fundamentally possible way, by creating fresh needs. His example shows what can be done by a rich expert in fine art ; and if millions could bring such expertness to their possessor, I should have discoursed above of the beautification of cities, the endowment of a standard orchestra and theatre in every centre of our population, and the building of a wholesome, sincere, decent house for Parliament to meet in (noble legislation is impossible in the present monstrosity) as an example for parish halls and town halls all through the country, with many other things of the same order. But these matters appeal only to a religious and artistic faculty which cannot be depended on in millionaires—which, indeed, have a very distinct tendency to prevent their possessor from ever becoming even a thousandaire, if I may be permitted that equally justifiable word. The typical modern millionaire knows more about life than about art ; and what he should know better than anyone else, if he has any reflective power, is that men do not succeed nowadays in industrial life by sticking to the methods and views of their grandfathers. And yet not until a method or a view has attained a grandfatherly age is it possible to get it officially recognized and taught in an old country like ours. In bringing industrial education up to date, the millionaire should be on his own ground. Experiment, propaganda, exploration, discovery, political and industrial information : take care of these, and the pictures and statues, the churches and hospitals, will take care of themselves.

Conscience Money and Ransom.

I must not conclude without intimating my knowledge of the fact that most of the money given by rich people in "charity" is made up of conscience money, "ransom," political bribery, and bids for titles. The traffic in hospital subscriptions in the name of Royalty fulfils exactly the same function in modern society as Tevel's traffic

in indulgences in the name of the Pope did before the Reformation. One buys moral credit by signing a cheque, which is easier than turning a prayer wheel. I am aware, further, that we often give to public objects money that we should devote to raising wages among our own employees or substituting three eight-hour shifts for two twelve-hour ones. But when a millionaire does not really care whether his money does good or not, provided he finds his conscience eased and his social status improved by giving it away, it is useless for me to argue with him. I mention him only as a warning to the better sort of donors that the mere disbursement of large sums of money must be counted as a distinctly suspicious circumstance in estimating personal character. Money is worth nothing to the man who has more than enough ; and the wisdom with which it is spent is the sole social justification for leaving him in possession of it.

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COTTAGE PLANS
AND
COMMON SENSE

BY
RAYMOND UNWIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY BARRY PARKER AND RAYMOND UNWIN

PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY
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Cottage Plans and Common Sense.

How to provide for the Housing of the People is a problem for which our larger municipalities are now being compelled to find some solution; and all over the country these bodies are busy preparing plans for housing schemes. Social reformers are generally agreed that the people must be housed outside the congested town areas; many, like the Garden City Association, advocating the creation of entirely new towns. Such thoroughgoing schemes are hardly yet practicable for municipal bodies; but under the Housing Act of 1900 they now have power to build outside their own districts: and in the following remarks on the character of the houses required it is taken that the best policy for the municipalities is to build attractive cottages on the outskirts of their towns, always having due regard to the reasonable accessibility from these houses of places of employment and centres of interest and amusement.

In building, that work is being done for the future rather than the present must never be forgotten. It is of the utmost importance that dwellings which are to last one hundred years or more should be of such a character as it is reasonable to suppose will be valuable dwellings during the whole of their lifetime. As a matter of mere financial justice to succeeding generations this is essential, especially in view of the demand for an extension of the time over which payment for the buildings can be spread. Obviously it is not fair to borrow on the future and build for the present only. It is not enough for a municipal authority to copy the house and arrangement which satisfies the average builder or speculator. Only the very best that is known and can be devised to-day is likely to stand the test of time; and this must be based upon the permanent and essential conditions of life and health, not on passing fashions or conventions established by the speculative builder.

Chief Purpose of a House. In designing any particular building it is generally very helpful to take the primary requirements and think out the problem from the beginning, as though no custom in connection with such buildings had ever grown up. Only in this way is it possible to separate the essential requirements and conditions from others which are merely conventional, and to get them all into some due perspective of importance. In like manner, to approach the question of cottage design and arrangement from the point of view of the original requirements, and develop from them, will probably be the best way to bring the various points into true relations. It is safe to assume that shelter from inclement weather, protection from predatory neighbors (human or otherwise), and comfort and privacy for family life, were the chief reasons which impelled men in the first instance to live in houses. Probably the seeker for house-room to-day is influenced by much the same considerations, although the second, protection, has lost some of its force. In satisfying this desire for shelter, comfort and privacy, one is at once confronted by a difficulty: the roof and walls which shut out the driving rain, the searching wind and the neighbors' prying eyes, at the same time exclude fresh air and sunlight, the full enjoyment

of which is one of the most necessary conditions of a healthy life. Against this difficulty it is a primary duty of the house-builder to be on his guard. The degree both of shelter and privacy must, in fact, be limited to what is compatible with a sufficiency of fresh air and sunlight.

Air and Sunlight. Modern building bye-laws have already done something towards securing air-space to every house, though, as will presently appear, there are methods of defeating their object, which they do not at present touch. But a sufficiency of air may be regarded as an acknowledged first condition for every decent house. The necessity for sunshine has still to receive the same public recognition; and there can be no doubt that our present knowledge of the importance of sunlight to health makes it needful to add to the first condition a second, that every house shall be open to a sufficiency of sunshine. Every house should at least get some sunshine into the room in which the family will live during the day-time. Into as many more of the rooms as possible let the sun come, but let no house be built with a sunless living room: and this condition must cease to be regarded merely as *desirable* when it can conveniently be arranged; it must be insisted upon as an absolute *essential*, second only to air-space: other things must, if need be, give way before it. At the present time, although for larger houses acknowledged as an important point, for cottages the question of aspect seems hardly to be considered; and, where thought of at all, a comparatively trivial consideration, such as the convention that a cottage should face to the street, is allowed to over-ride it. The essential thing is that every house should turn its face to the sun, whence come light, sweetness and health. The direction of roads and the fronting to streets are details which must be made to fall in with this condition, or to give way to it.

By no means the least advantage which will arise from giving to aspect its due weight will be the consequent abolition of backs, back yards, back alleys and other such abominations,

Back Yards. which have been too long screened by the insidious excuse of that wretched prefix *back*. For if every house is to face the sun, very often it must also have "its front behind"—as the Irishman expressed it. The little walled-in back yard is of course somewhat firmly established in the public affection: entrenched behind the feelings of pride and shame, it appeals alike to those who are too proud to be seen keeping their houses clean and tidy, and to those who are ashamed to have it seen how unclean and untidy they are. To encourage pride is a doubtful advantage, while it is a positive disadvantage to weaken in any way the incentive towards cleanliness which shame might bring. Like lumber-rooms, too, these yards constitute a standing temptation to the accumulation of litter, far too strong for the average mortal to resist: old hampers, packing cases, broken furniture and such like find a resting-place there in which to rot, instead of being promptly disposed of. They are but wells of stagnant air, too often vitiated by decaying rubbish and drains. Back yards have, of course, their uses and advantages. They are convenient for the younger children to play in; but, alas! how very unsuitable! Too often sunless,

always dreary, the typical back yard, shut in with walls and out-buildings, is about as sad a spot as one could offer to children for a playground. The coster may keep his barrow there, and the hawkler sort his wares; while as open air washhouses something may be said for them. But some of these uses are occasional only, and too much must not be sacrificed for them, while the rest may be met in other ways. It does not seem to be realized that hundreds of thousands of working women spend the bulk of their lives with nothing better to look on than the ghastly prospect offered by these back yards, the squalid ugliness of which is unrelieved by a scrap of fresh green to speak of spring, or a fading leaf to tell of autumn.

Town or Country. How far the improvement of transit facilities and the solution of the land question would enable the whole of the dwellers in large towns to be spread out on the basis of about six houses to the acre, as at Bourneville, has yet to be proved. Undoubtedly, whenever at all possible of attainment, the majority of men would accept Mr. Ruskin's ideal of a house. "Not a compartment of a model lodging house, not the number so and so Paradise Row, but a cottage all of our own, with its little garden, its healthy air, its clean kitchen, parlor and bedrooms." Under present conditions in large towns such schemes seem beyond the reach of municipalities. It is the great suburban districts which have to be considered for the present, where, after all, the majority of working folk are housed, neither in the country nor in the city, but between the two. Those vast areas filled with streets of houses where it seems impossible to secure for each cottage land enough for a separate garden, where houses are not six to the acre, but four or five times six, or even more.

Some space to each house, however, there must be, **Open Space.** even in towns. If, instead of being wasted in stuffy yards and dirty back streets, the space which is available for a number of houses were kept together, it would make quite a respectable square or garden. The cottages could then be grouped round such open spaces, forming quadrangles opening one into the other, with wide streets at intervals. Every house could be planned so that there should be a sunny aspect for the chief rooms, and a pleasant outlook both front and back.* At present it is too often the custom to draw out a cottage plan that will come within a certain space and then repeat it unaltered in street after street, heedless of whether it faces north, south, east or west. Nothing more absurd or more regardless of the essential conditions could be imagined. Every house should be designed to suit its site and its aspect; and this is not less necessary when dealing with small houses built in rows, but more so.

There is something at once homely and dignified about **Quadrangle.** a quadrangle which gives it a charm even when the buildings are quite simple and unadorned. There is a sense of unity, of a complete whole, which lifts it out of the commonplace in a manner that nothing can accomplish for a mere street of cottages.† Each square could have some individuality of treatment,

* See Plate I.

† See Plates II. and III.

the entrances could be utilized to produce some little central feature, and the effect of thus grouping small cottages to produce collectively a larger unit in the street, of a scale capable of assuming some dignity, would be such an improvement as will not readily be realized by any who have not seen what a few simple college quads may do for an otherwise commonplace street. An Oxford or Cambridge college is simply a collection of separate small tenements, built in squares, with some central common buildings. It is undoubtedly the most satisfactory arrangement for numbers of such tenements where the space is limited. In this manner from twenty to thirty houses, according to size, can be arranged to an acre, including streets, and this number should nowhere be exceeded except under very great pressure. Even if it must be exceeded, probably it is better to go up and make extra floors, let in flats, than to curtail the open space. One larger space of ground is more effective than a number of small yards. Squares, such as suggested, would always be sweet and fresh, being open to the sun and large enough to be airy without being draughty. The distance across, preventing the overlooking of windows, would ensure the essential privacy of the house, in spite of the want of back yards. The space in the centre would allow a few trees to grow, some gardens to be made, and a safe play place for the children to be provided, while it would afford a pleasant and interesting outlook for all the cottages.

In the planning and laying out of these squares it would be well to provide for all sorts of tastes, for it will be easy to get plenty of variety. In some cases the whole square could be filled with allotment gardens let to those who wanted them; in others the space might be devoted to a broad lawn for tennis or bowls; in some a band of small gardens might surround a children's central playground, and in others a public garden be established; in some cases there might be a roadway all round the quadrangle, while in others the road might run down the centre with gardens attached to the houses on each side. On some sites it would be possible to get three-sided squares open to the south. Where the cost of land makes it needful to build more than two storeys high it would be a great advantage if on the southern side the buildings were kept lower to allow the sun to get well into the court.

In some localities the corner houses of squares would not pass existing bye-laws; there would in such a case be an opening for small walled gardens, which would be a boon to break the monotony of the streets, while stores, laundries, warehouses, workshops, and other needful buildings might find sites on these corners.

Self-contained Houses. Before passing on to internal arrangement it is necessary to refer to the plan of building small houses with long projections running out behind, which, common in all towns, is almost universal in London. These projections effectually shade the rooms from such sunshine as they might otherwise get, and impede the free access of fresh air. Some municipal flat-dwellings afford a depressing example of this. In these houses the living rooms, which are only about ten feet square, face each other across a narrow space between such projections, and are only eleven

feet apart.* That a municipality could build living rooms at the top of an alley 24 ft. long, with windows only 11 ft. from the face of the opposite house, and could call that "clearing the slums," affords surely some measure of what slums must be. From such rooms the sun is effectually excluded, whatever their aspect; little fresh air will penetrate to the ends of those blind alleys; and a drearier outlook one would hardly have thought it possible to conceive. But, alas, it *has* been conceived; and on a fine estate near London there are to be found houses of this type having kitchens (sure to be used as living rooms) the windows of which look into alleys only 10 ft. 3 in. wide; these windows project, and the fronts are just 6 ft. 3 in. apart, while between them rise blackened wood fences exactly 3 ft. from each window! These houses are specially planned to accommodate two families, being provided with two living rooms and two outlets to the back.† To realize how bad this type of house is, one has but to consider how they would appear in the light of the most lenient building bye-laws if the doors from the main buildings to the projections were built up, making each house into two cottages technically, as already it is two virtually. Some municipalities would then consider themselves almost justified in pulling down such projecting cottages, to let air and light reach the others. They are virtually "back to back" houses opening on to 11 ft. wide streets with a dead end. Where houses must be built in rows, it is difficult to get enough air and sun to them in any case; and it is *only* possible to do this when all projections which can cause stagnation or shade are avoided. Every house in a row should contain all its rooms and offices under the main roof, and present an open and fair surface to sun and air on both its free sides. If so built it matters not which side is to the street, or which to the court; both are alike presentable; the aspect can govern the arrangement of the rooms unhampered by superstitions of front and back.‡

The self-contained house is not only better but more economical. A given cubic space can be built more cheaply when it is all within the main walls and under the main roof. A somewhat greater width of frontage is needed, and where streets are already laid out there might be extra cost of ground due to this which would be greater than the saving in the building. But the narrow house with straggling projections requires greater depth; and the deeper the houses the greater is the expense of the side streets which has to be divided among them. Where land is to be laid out, if the quadrangle arrangement is adopted, there need be no waste in side streets, because the houses face all ways, and this would about balance the extra cost of street per house due to the wider frontage, while the saving of detached outbuildings and back yard walls would mean a considerable economy.

Under present rates of ground rents, cost of building and wages of occupants, we must reluctantly admit that it is hardly possible to give to every cottage all that is in the abstract desirable. But, far from being a reason why the ideal of cottage accommodation should be left out of

* See Plate IV.

† See Plate V.

‡ See Plates III., VI. and VIII.

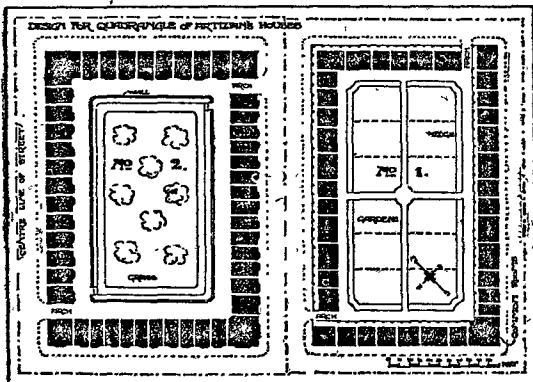


PLATE I.

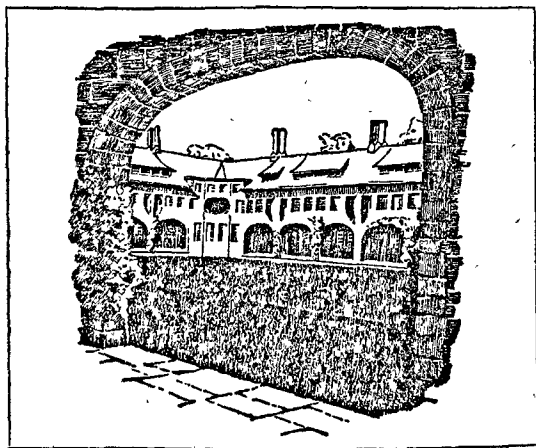


PLATE II.

View in Quadrangle No. 1, Plats I. Showing Common Room at the angle.

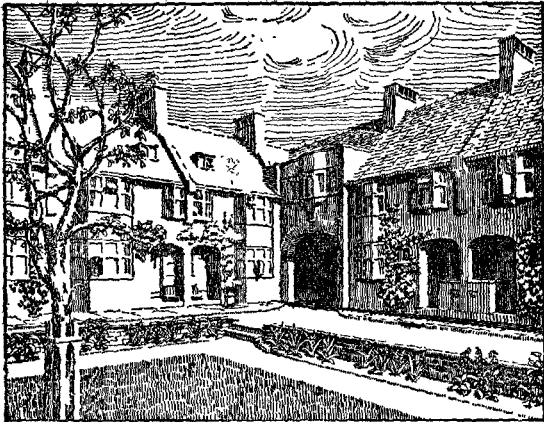


PLATE III.

View in Quadrangle No 2, Plate I N.B.—The fronts of some cottages and the backs of others are shown.

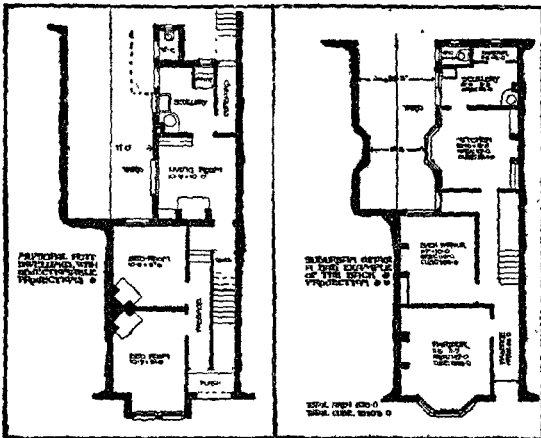


PLATE IV.

PLATE V.

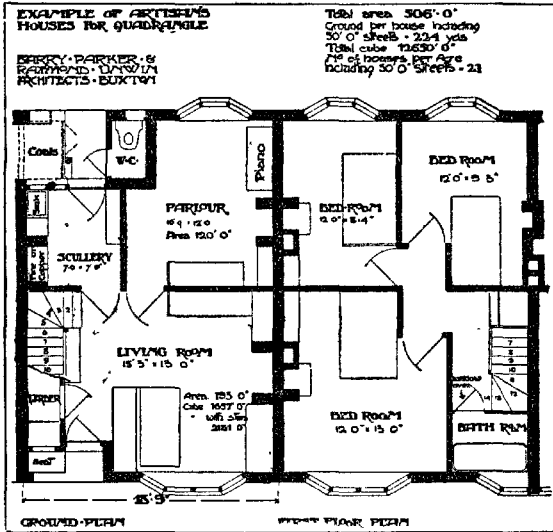


PLATE VI.

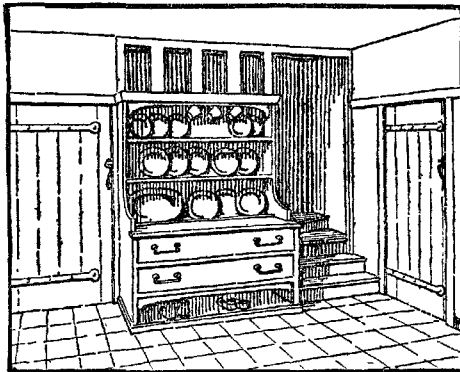


PLATE VII

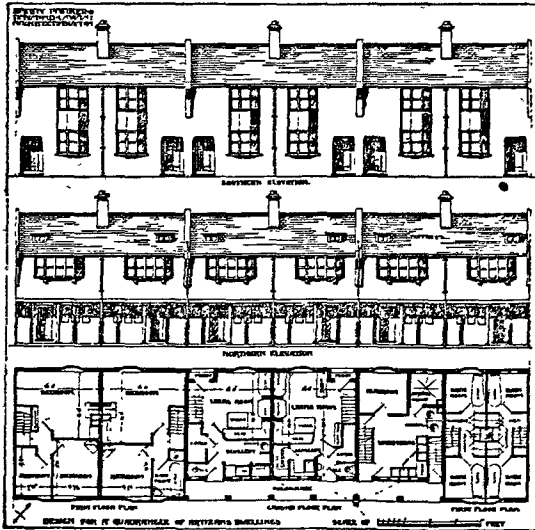


PLATE VIII.

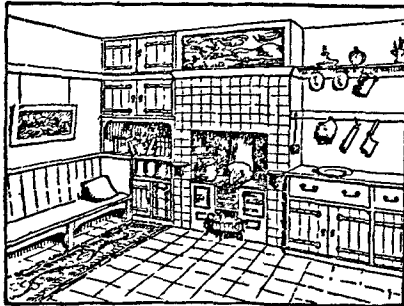


PLATE IX.

consideration, this is really a most cogent argument for its careful study. For the less the accommodation it is possible to give, the more important it is that what is given shall be so carefully apportioned that the house may approach as far as possible to the ideal. Although we all probably hope and strive for some change in one or other of the restricting conditions, for the time being it is needful to remember that a certain limited rent will only pay for a certain limited space. Except by a very careful study of the life which that space is to shelter, it is not possible to design the house so as to properly fit and accommodate that life. And it is only by making the house fit the life of its occupants that a right and economical use of the space can be obtained. The available room must be most liberally given where it will be most thoroughly and continuously used. When mankind first took to living in houses these consisted of one room; perhaps the most important fact to be remembered in designing cottages is that the cottager still lives during the day-time in one room, which for the sake of clearness is best **Living-room.** called the living-room. In the vast majority of cases the housewife has neither time nor energy to keep more than one room in constant use, and, during the greater part of the year, the cost of a second fire effectually prevents another room from being occupied. This living-room, then, will be the most thoroughly used and in all ways the chief room of the house; here the bulk of the domestic work will be done, meals will be prepared and eaten, and children will play, while the whole family will often spend long evenings there together. The first consideration in planning any cottage should be to provide a roomy, convenient, and comfortable living-room, having a sunny aspect and a cheerful outlook. In it there should be space to breathe freely, room to move freely, convenience for work, and comfort for rest. It must contain the cooking stove, some good cupboards, and a working dresser in a light and convenient place.* No box 11 or 12 feet square should be provided for this purpose. Such a place cannot be healthy when occupied by a whole family, nor can it be other than inconvenient and uncomfortable.† In a very small room neither door nor window will be kept open except in very hot weather, because there can be no avoiding the direct draught. It is very important to plan a living-room so that the doors or stairs may not destroy the comfort, or even the sense of comfort. They should be kept away from the fire, and, above all, should not open across either the fire or the window. By far the most comfortable arrangement is to have the outer door set inwards a little, in a shallow porch, leaving a window-recess on the same wall; if the room is a fair length, say not less than 15 feet, the door can then be wide open, and yet the light side of the room be free from draught. The common arrangement of an inside porch with the inner door opening at right angles to the outer one, directs the draught straight across the window to the fire, and largely destroys the sense of comfort in the room, while cutting it off more effectually from the fresh air. The chimney extracts a very large volume of air continuously from the room, and this must be made good

* See Plates VII. and IX.

† See Plate VI.; also VIII.

from outside. The more easily this air can come in the less keen will be the draught. It is not sufficiently realized that what has to be done is not to exclude cold air, which is impossible in a room with a fire, but to admit it in the way which will give the best ventilation with the least discomfort. In planning the room the furniture should always be arranged and drawn in, to make sure that provision has been made for work and rest,

Furniture. for meals and play. Many a room is ruined because the dresser, the table, and the settle, have not been tried in on the plan.

Bay Windows. Windows facing the street are much less depressing if slightly bayed to invite a peep up and down as well as across; a projection of a few inches in the centre, with some advantage taken of the thickness of the wall to set back the sides, will suffice to add very much to the outlook.*

Fittings. With regard to windows, doors, cupboards, and all other fittings, it should not be forgotten that when a quantity is required, as is usually the case in housing schemes, no extra cost is entailed by having them well designed, and of good proportions. Money is often spent in bad ornament, which but detracts from the appearance of the buildings; but an elegant mould or shaping costs no more than a vulgar one, and a well proportioned door or mantel is as easily made as one ill-proportioned. That nothing can be spent on the ornamentation of artisans' cottages is no excuse whatever for their being ugly. Plain and simple they must be, but a plain and simple building well designed may be very far from ugly.

Bedrooms. After the living-room, the sleeping-rooms must be regarded as next in importance, for these will be occupied all the night. Of these it is only needful to say that they should be as large as can be provided, and as well ventilated as possible. There should be plenty of windows, easily opened, and everything possible done to encourage the opening of them. If the rooms can be arranged so that there shall be a comfortable corner between fire and window, where a quiet hour with book or pen can be spent, this is very desirable. For there is no real reason why the accommodation of the small house should not be increased by a more general use of the bedrooms.

Larder. A small larder with direct light and ventilation should be provided for every cottage, the window of which should not be exposed to the heat of the sun. A cupboard in the living-room, even when ventilated, is hardly a fit place in which to keep food.†

Scullery. A scullery, to relieve the living-room from the more dirty work, should be the next consideration. This must have a glazed, well-drained sink, under an opening window. If the washing is to be done in each cottage, there must be a copper or set-pot and space for a small mangle to stand. When it can be arranged, a little cooking-stove, just large enough to be used in hot weather, will be a boon. But it is not well to put the main cooking-stove in the scullery, for the result will inevitably be

* See Plates VI. and VIII.

† See Plates VI. and VIII.

that, for the greater part of the year, the family will live with the fire, in the tiny scullery, and the more airy living-room will be left vacant, and will, in fact, become a parlor.

However desirable a parlor may be, it cannot be said to be necessary to health or family life, nor can it be compared in importance with those rooms and offices which we have been considering. There can be no possible doubt that until any cottage has been provided with a living-room large enough to be healthy, comfortable, and convenient, it is worse than folly to take space from that living-room, where it will be used every day and every hour, to form a parlor, where it will only be used once or twice a week.

If this is true of the parlor, how much more true is it of the passage? To cut a piece three feet wide off the end of a small room, for the very doubtful advantage of having two doors between the inmates and the fresh air, or to obtain the occasional convenience it may be for a visitor or member of the family to be able to pass in or out without being observed, is surely an extreme instance of valuable room and air space sacrificed to thoughtless custom and foolish pride.* Any one who has known what it is to occupy a large airy house-place will not readily sacrifice its advantages for either a needless parlor or a useless passage. For the question is not whether it is an advantage to have either a passage or parlor in addition to a decent living-room, but whether it is worth while to have either at the sacrifice of the living-room. A desire to imitate the middle-class house is at the bottom of the modern tendency to cut the cottage up into a series of minute compartments

Stairs and Landing. In small houses, such as we are considering, the 500 or so cubic feet of air space which are usually shut up in a staircase and landing, would be much more useful if thrown open to the living-room. That there is any advantage at all, either to that room or to the bedrooms, in having this "buffer state" of stagnant air between them, seems extremely doubtful; while there can be no doubt at all of the immense gain of having an extra 500 feet of air in a room which contains, perhaps, only 1,400 feet altogether, and many rooms contain less. The space should in any case have ventilation, and direct light is, of course, desirable. The extra height which would be obtained by throwing stairs and landing open to the living-room would greatly help in keeping that room well ventilated, as also would the possibility of having a window open so far from the occupied parts of the room.

To complete the self-contained cottage, there must be found some place for coals, some small receptacle for ashes and rubbish, to be emptied every few days, and a water-closet or properly fitted earth-closet. A porch opening from the scullery provides a suitable place for these, so that, while within the main building, they may still be entirely in the outside air. The facility afforded for inspection, and the general tendency which even the less enthusiastic have to keep clean the outside which shows, would prove valuable advantages of this plan.†

* Compare Plate V. with Plates VI. and VIII. † See Plates VI and VIII.

A bathroom for every cottage is an ideal which some day will surely come to be regarded as essential. In small tenements where the cost of this ideal may still be prohibitive, there seems no reason why there should not be provided at least a bathroom to each quadrangle. One of the great advantages of substituting open courts for narrow streets would be the ease with which some little corporate feeling might be fostered in them. In municipal housing schemes, which spring from the co-operative effort of the whole town or city, it would seem specially fitting that something should be done to foster associated action among the tenants.

And this is the more urgent because it is only by such association that we can hope to provide for the many some of the most desirable conveniences of life which wealth now enables the few to secure for themselves individually. We have already pointed out what advantage would arise from the associated use and enjoyment of the small plots of land which are all that can be given to each cottage. It has been found quite practicable in very many flat-dwellings to have a considerable amount of associated usage of wash-houses, sculleries, drying-grounds, etc., even among the most unenlightened tenants. There is no reason why the same arrangement should not be made with cottages. Quadrangles lend themselves peculiarly to the provision of small laundries, baths, reading-rooms, and other such simple and easily managed co-operative efforts.

A well-fitted wash-house having a plentiful supply of hot and cold water laid on to all the tenements, a proper washing and wringing machine, and a heated drying closet, is out of the reach of even the well-to-do cottager. But there is no reason why one or two such should not be provided for each court of houses, no reason why every little scullery should be blocked up with inadequate washing appliances, why every woman should have to spend a whole day toiling at the weekly wash which she could do with less labor in an hour or two if she had the use of proper apparatus; or why every living-room should be encumbered with clothes-horses or made uncomfortable with steam.* The capital cost that would be saved by not providing space for, and fitting, washing appliances in all the sculleries, would pay for the one co-operative wash-house. And a very small addition to the rent would allow for the provision of hot water and heat for drying. To such a laundry should be attached a small room divided from

it by a glazed screen, where little children could play under the mother's observation. The want of such a place prevents many a mother from using a public laundry, as also does the distance from home, and the necessity of conveying clothes to and fro through the public streets, objections which would not be present in the case of the quadrangle with its small laundry. One

or two baths, heated from the same source, could be provided; and it might be found possible to lay on a hot water supply to each cottage from the same centre. This has been done by the Liverpool Corporation in their Dryden-

* See Plate VIII.

street houses, where a constant supply of hot water is provided to every sink at a charge of twopence per week to each tenement. This arrangement would greatly simplify the problem of providing baths to each house, as it would save the cost of the separate hot water installations. It is very desirable that a bath should have hot water attached, but one with cold water only is a great advance on none at all; and, in plans for artisans' houses, every alternative arrangement should be well considered, and every effort made to provide a bath of some sort. A bath-room adjacent to the scullery, or even a bath placed in the scullery, may sometimes be contrived when space on the bedroom floor is out of the question. And there are several alternative arrangements for getting a supply of hot water from the copper or side boiler direct into the bath. Where, however, a bath-room to each house is out of the question, one or two baths could easily be worked in connection with the laundry.* Add to these a recreation or reading-room (also being tried at the Dryden-street houses) and there would be in each quadrangle a small co-operative centre, the attendance on which might easily be arranged to be undertaken by the tenant of the next cottage, for a small payment.

Communal Centre. Such a centre would, by associated effort, provide for each cottager many advantages which he could not hope to secure for himself by his individual effort, and all for the payment of a few pence per week extra rent. Beginning with the laundry and baths, the most necessary and well-tried items, such co-operative centres would undoubtedly grow, as experience taught the tenants the advantage of association in domestic work; the common-room to supply somewhat the place of the individual parlor, the bakehouse, and even the common kitchen would be matters only of time and the growth of self-restraint, and the co-operative spirit. As the communal centre grows in importance, it will begin to affect our architecture, forming a striking feature in each court and giving a more complete sense of unity to it. At some point it may become worth while to have a covered way from the cottages to the common rooms—care being taken, of course, to put this only where it will not shade any sun from the house. But this is, perhaps, wandering too far into the future, leaving the immediately possible for the ideally desirable. None the less, it is along these lines that we must look for any solution of the housing question in town suburbs which shall be satisfactory from the point of view of health and economy, and at the same time afford some opportunity for the gradual development of a simple dignity and beauty in the cottage, which assuredly is necessary, not only to the proper growth of the gentler and finer instincts of men, but to the producing of that indefinable something which makes the difference between a mere shelter and a home.

* See Plate VIII.

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THE SECRET OF RURAL DEPOPULATION.

By LIEUT.-COL. D. C. PEDDER,
OF OGBOURNE ST. GEORGE, WILTSHIRE.

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The Secret of Rural Depopulation.

A paper read to the Fabian Society on February 26th, 1904.

THE question "Why do I stay where I am?" is one that interests all of us. Its answers range between that of Sterne's starting with the simple "I can't get out" and that of the happy few who can say "It is well for us to be here." But most people who are what in the country we call "fixters" have to confess that they are the prisoners of habit. The more regular our life the harder it is to break away from its rule.

Now of all occupations that of the tiller of the soil is perhaps the most regular. He is hitched on to the zodiac. Every action of his working life is as recurrent as the seasons themselves. Ploughing is a step towards ploughing, sowing is a step towards sowing again. And so it goes round. The son of a field laborer, in the ordinary course of things, goes to field work as soon as the school will let him. By the time he is getting "man's money" he has little volition left. Habit has taken its place. The odds would seem to be long in favor of his remaining a field laborer for the term of his natural life.

But there is something more than habit to fasten him to the land. By the time he is sixteen he is specialized for field work. That is the only skilled labor for which he will ever be fit. Off the land he is only so much horse-power. He can dig—under direction—in a drain, or he can carry bales at the docks. He is past learning another craft. He is moored head and stern to the land by two hawsers, habit and hopelessness.

And yet his breaking away from the land is becoming so common as to constitute a national danger. Why is this? We must go back. I think, to a period before rustic unrest began distinctly to take the form of escape.

The Fauna of the Country.

Up to some thirty odd years ago agricultural laborers were regarded as a quite permanent factor in the sum of English life. They were part of the *fauna* of the country—like pheasants and partridges; only there is no getting a good head of game without preserving, and there was no need to preserve country laborers. Sergeant Kite was almost the only poacher to be feared, and the toll he took was trifling. Now and then typhus or an emigration agent would descend upon a village, and a cottage would be empty for a month or so. But that was only a momentary inconvenience to an individual employer. The real difficulty was not how to breed laborers, like pheasants, but how to keep down their numbers, like rabbits. No more cottages were allowed upon an estate than would just supply roofage to the laborers it employed. Increase was not

allowed for. Infant mortality was high. Overcrowding and sanitary neglect did their work. Semi-starvation helped. Still, however, the supply of labor exceeded the demand. Those were the days in which a great farmer is said to have offered a friend a guinea if he could find a weed in his wheat-field. With men's wages at six or seven shillings a week, women glad to take what they could get for field work, and corn at 50s. a quarter, the land could be well "done," as they say. The employer could be well "done," too. A great agriculturist's recollections of about this period were published a few years ago. They were a record of good living, *menus* of dinners, reminiscences of hunting breakfasts, conversations with admiring noblemen. "Hey, the green holly. This life is most jolly," ought to have been the motto of the book. The world went very well then—with squires and farmers.

I do not think the idea of what we call a "rural exodus" occurred seriously to anyone before the early seventies. There was the land, and that there should be men to till it seemed a law of nature.

That the men might possibly one day turn their backs on the land in sufficiently large numbers to seriously inconvenience squires and farmers generally—this idea never entered the head of the average employer. Where were they to go? The land of Egypt, the house of bondage, was pretty secure in the deserts and seas that surrounded it. The prison was hard to break.

Looking at the wages and the housing of the laborer in those days, it really seems as though physical laws were all that prevented the process of degradation and deprivation of which he was the victim from being continued indefinitely. Men cannot work unless they eat—something. The proverbial straw a day had very nearly been reached. Out of English countrymen, the descendants of the men who rose in arms with Wat Tyler and Jack Cade, had been evolved by the sheer greed and selfishness of squires and farmers, a race so reduced by long continued starvation and oppression that they seemed, generally, as incapable of resistance as their tyrants were, generally, incapable of ruth. "Hunger will tame a lion," says Robinson Crusoe. The British farmer put the maxim to proof.

Froissart called the English common people of his day the haughtiest and most overweening that the world could show. That was in the fourteenth century. This is what Joseph Arch said at the end of the nineteenth: "I had seen my brother laborers stand and tremble like an aspen leaf at the dark look of the employer simply because they had not the pluck of men." You may see the same thing to-day. Nothing is sadder than the abjectness of the laborer before the scowl of his master.

The laborer who was to be hanged the other day and who said "Thank ye, sir," to Jack Ketch on his adjusting the rope is a fair instance of the attitude of his class to any Jack-in-office or authority. They are descended from generations of half-starved parents, and they show "the mettle of their pasture."

The farmer seemed to have done his work thoroughly. He had produced what he wanted, a submissive drudge who cost little, did his work and gave no trouble whatever. The laborer's hand had not yet lost its cunning.

In the Days of the Corn Laws.

The work was done and done well. The farmers ate, drank and enjoyed themselves. That the laboring population had any "rights" as against the "masters" was a notion dismissed with contempt as part of the professional agitator's stock-in-trade. "The country" meant the landlord and the farmer. When we think of Athens in the days of Pericles, we hardly give a thought to the slave population. They are below the notice of history. And so it practically was with our rural laborers until the days of the Agricultural Laborers' Union. The Church knew them as "the poor." To the employers they were "the men." Charles Kingsley, in *Alton Locke*, gives a vivid description of an agricultural riot, its aimless despair, its impotent violence. I have here a reprinted report of a more peaceful demonstration in 1846. It is sad reading. But there is nothing in it to frighten anybody. The word "rising" cannot be applied to these pitiful wriggings of the great invertebrate earth-worm upon which the classes then recognized as England were so light-heartedly treading. Its head was never reared to strike. Its demonstrations demonstrated nothing but its own feebleness. The repeal of the Corn Laws left the laborer morally much where he was. Bread was cheaper, but the hand of the employer was perhaps heavier than before. From 1855 to the days of Joseph Arch was perhaps as black a time as any the laborers had to pass. The price of wheat was high, the squires raised their rents, the farmers recouped themselves by cutting down wages. The prosperity of squires and farmers was thus squeezed out of the already abject poverty of the poor. Any appearance of discontent was sternly repressed. To quote the words of a great agricultural authority, "It was a state of things disgraceful to all concerned." Except to laborers, I think. But it created no commotion. The Church, represented in every country parish, raised no protest. The parson had long ceased to be the "persona" of his flock. He thought more of the hurdles than of the sheep, as they say. The souls of squires and farmers rotted in the cradle of an easy conscience. They were good Churchmen to a man. Then, all at once, a bolt from the blue, came

The Agricultural Laborers' Union.

I need not dwell upon the history of that great movement. Opposed though it was by the landed interest in every form, denounced by too many of the country clergy and unhelped by the rest, it went on triumphantly until it had raised agricultural wages almost throughout the whole of England to a point at which the existence of the laborer was no longer *intolerable*. That much obtained, it collapsed. It is a remarkable instance of a great rising against long-endured oppression which contented itself with a bare rectification of the immediate wrong complained of. There was no violence, no resentment. This was undoubtedly due in great measure to the personal character and influence of the leader of the movement, Joseph Arch, a man of whom it is impossible to think without gratitude and respect. But it is no less true that the moderation shown by the men, both in their struggle and their success, argues a

certain want of resilience which testifies to the extent to which the fire and vigor of the race had been sapped by long-continued semi-starvation and enforced submission to petty tyranny. The Agricultural Union did not, I think, appreciably raise the laborer; it only raised his wages. Instead of calling up a spirit of independence like that which animated the leader (a man, we must remember, born and bred in a cottage the property of his father, not of his employer), it left them generally, although materially better off, individually as submissive and as incapable of assertion of their personal rights as they had been through long generations of practical serfdom.

But the apathy of their hopelessness had been disturbed. The employers' difficulty had been the emigration agents' opportunity, and the plethora of labor had been relieved by the departure of a large percentage of the agricultural population. When the smoke of the struggle cleared off it was quite obvious that horizons had widened. Young men who dared not defy the arrogance of their employers found courage enough to escape from it to the railways or the towns. In this way the best young blood kept gradually draining away. The process has been steadily going on since.

The best men go. Laboring parents plot escape for their boys from the land as if they were prisoners in an enemy's country. Nobody stays of choice. You may hear former farm laborers speak of their late employers as a seventeenth century mariner might have spoken of the Moors of Tangiers, among whom he had been a captive.

Is the Laborer in Fault?

It has been said by a vigorous clerical writer that the laborer's discontent is merely a survival from the "bad, old, black past," when he really had something to complain of. All that has long gone by. It is the laborer's "evil temper" that still "provokes masters to harsh measures, harsh words, driving, and all such seemingly needless regulations as the command to keep no fowls or pigs, the tied cottages, and the domineering tone." All this is the laborer's fault, says the writer. Things are not now as they were in the times when "laborers were scornfully trampled on—and when the Church, cowed and faithless, was as little inclined as the State to help their condition." All that is gone by. Farmers and parsons have undergone a wonderful change. Like the Homeric hero they "boast that they are a great deal better than their fathers." But the laborer is bad indeed. The characteristics of the laborer are "shirking, dishonesty and negligence." "Tom, Dick and Sam abuse their employer, sit under the hedge when he is out of sight, steal his corn and meal, leave his horses harnessed and go off drinking, teach him that they have no love or gratitude, but only fear." The coloring suggests the moral complexion of a chain-gang. He might have adopted the words which Mr. Sam Weller in *Pickwick* puts into the mouth of a "virtuous clergyman." "He's a malicious, bad-disposed, worldly-minded, spiteful, vindictive creature, with a hard heart as there ain't no soft'nin'."

Our "virtuous clergyman" in this case pronounces the rural villages to be in a state of utter decay, and exhorts us to build our hopes for the future entirely upon the progress of our urban population. Villages and villagers are played out.

Well, I dissent entirely. I am no believer in sudden and unintelligible changes. Farmers are much what they were sixty years ago. Clergymen are not so very different. The cut of their coats is altered, that is about all. Their intentions are as good as ever and the influence they exert exactly as bad, as far as the independence and manliness of their poor parishioners is concerned. And the laborer is what these have made him. He is still, as he has so long been, like an eel on an eel spear. He can wriggle, but that is about all. Until he is set free we can't expect anything very great of him in the way of moral improvement. But his good qualities are only dormant, held in abeyance till the winter of his discontent is made glorious summer by the sun of—Land Reform. At any rate, whatever he is, it is the social and economical system of England that has made him so. He has been crushed under an intolerable pressure, and until that is removed we must expect his faults to be of the grovelling sort. Give him opportunity and he will be erect, and his faults will probably be what they were in Froissart's time.

How the Laborer Lives.

Let us give one comprehensive glance to the conditions under which the laborer mostly lives, and under which some people expect him to cultivate all the Christian graces. A miserable cottage which as a tenant-at-will he can only repair or improve at the risk of his outlay in labor or in money being appropriated by his employer, a life of constant hardship, wages even now barely sufficient for food, fire and clothing, the proud man's contumely, the want of hope, the long vista of thankless drudgery through which the eye looks only to rest finally upon the workhouse, the absence of anything like social enjoyment, the tyranny of drink, the capricious restrictions upon personal liberty of action which his employer may at pleasure impose, and to which he must submit or go. It is a gloomy picture.

The strange thing is that up to so comparatively recent a time Englishmen should have accepted a life like this, a life still worse than this, as their natural doom, exactly as an Esquimaux may submit unrepiningly to the rigors of an Arctic climate. An Esquimaux wants more seals; ice and snow and darkness are matters of course. So Joseph Arch's men wanted more wages, they had no dislike to their occupation or the hardships inseparable from it. The best of them had doubtless the same pride and pleasure in their work which every skilled craftsman finds in the exercise of his skill. A great change has passed over the laborer in this respect. Tillage in all its branches appears to most of them sheer drudgery, absolutely uninteresting if not positively hateful. No mere rise of wages will alter this.

Skilled Labor and Farm Wages.

I do not think I can put this more forcibly before you than by condensing here a conversation I had a month or two ago with a man of the highest farming class, engaged in the management of one of those immense farms which seem to me to be the ruin of England.

It was a very favorable specimen. The management was evidently liberal, the owner, I believe, personally kindly. But the system was

too strong. On this great farm the piecework principle was in force. "So if a man wastes his time, he wastes what is his own," said my informant. The scale of pay was high for the district. "With these wages the men save, I suppose?" I said. "No, never. It goes as it comes. The men who get most don't live more comfortably than the others." "Do they take much interest in the work?" "Not the very slightest. If it were not for the piecework plan we might as well give up." "Are the men who are now in their prime as skilled in their work as the old men used to be?" "There is no comparison." He referred to an old laborer who possessed nine arts. I will count them up. Hedging and ditching (in two varieties), dry fence making, rick building, thatching, hurdle making, sheep-cage making, mowing, brewing. "You have no laborer who can do the same now?" "No, not one of them." "You mean no one man can do all?" "I mean that there is not a man on the farm who can do *one* of these things as it ought to be done."

Now, what is the reason of this? The general answer is "education" Education has something to do with it, doubtless. But let me read what Professor Thorold Rogers wrote in 1878 on the subject of rustic arts. He enumerates five or six, including ploughing, which I have omitted as too universal for special mention.

And he sums up thus: "Well, if you compare the work of the agricultural laborer who possesses the five or six qualifications I have mentioned with the work of an ordinary artisan who receives 35s. a week, the agricultural laborer, as regards the varied nature of his accomplishments, is inconceivably the superior of the artisan." I think we must add to this that the field hand is more exposed to wind and weather than the artisan. His life is a harder one. I have known men who lately have never had a dry stitch on them from Monday morning to Saturday night.

Now, let us suppose a farm hand to have mastered half a dozen of these arts. On the land he is *lucky* if he gets 15s. or 16s. a week, all counted. If he gets "on the line," the railway, just with pick and spade, he gets 18s. or 20s. What encouragement is there for a laborer to learn his craft? Again. The other day, in the village where I live, there was a little semi-political meeting, held by some working-men from a neighboring town. It was a lively little business enough. But few laborers came. There was a largish group of farm hands at the door just before the speaking began. Someone, I was told, asked them if they were not coming in. "Well," says one, "we've been thinking it over. But if we come in we shall hear of it to-morrow from the master." So they went off. The yoke is never for a moment off the agricultural laborer's neck. I daresay the ganger looks after the platelayers on the line at their work sternly enough. But when a man shoulders his pick and goes home he is his own man. And that is what a farm hand never can say. Perhaps education may have helped him to feel it.

Why do men dislike farm labor? How is it possible that they should like it? Here is an occupation in which skill brings no reward, which marks a man quite early in life with an ineffaceable brand of social inferiority, which compels submission in a way almost unknown to any other, which offers no hope and does not even

promise permanence enough for habit to go to work assuredly in the task of accommodating existence to its conditions

All this explains discontent. But it does not explain why up to some thirty years ago the sort of discontent with which we now have to deal should apparently not have existed.

Education may have something to do with it. Even what a lad learns at the village school does to a certain extent develop his imaginative faculties; and imagination is like a kite. The stronger it flies the more it pulls its flyer after it. But personal contact with men from the outer world has done more. Modern ideas are introduced, not by the schoolmaster, but by the tramp, and the traveller and the tallyman. The laborer sees himself through their eyes. And, what is more, *he sees his master*. The conditions under which he labors are degrading. This is strangely brought home to him by comparison of his position with that of others. And he confounds the labor with the conditions. A country laborer's great ambition is to disguise his occupation. As far as he can he dresses like a townsman, and wishes to be taken for one.

I lately read a book called *Mendip Annals*, an account by Mrs. Hannah More's sister of the good work done in Somerset by those two plucky old ladies just a hundred years ago. Comparing the ordinary farmer as he is there depicted with Charles Kingsley's references to him in the forties, with what the condition of his laborers showed him to be in the fifties, with Joseph Arch's account of him in the seventies, and with what I have myself gathered from laborers and personal observation of his general character since, I should say that he had undergone less change in the course of the century than perhaps any other class of Englishman. A writer in *Longman's*, commenting upon Mr. Rider Haggard's *Farmer's Year*, says that the schools to which farmers' sons go very often do not teach them as much as the village school teaches the laborers' boys. It is hard to believe, I grant, but the tradition of class superiority is kept up in all its vigor in the farmhouse. The little Spartan, well taught or not, is reared up in the contempt of the little Helot. The consequence is that class characteristics survive in a curious way. The ordinary non-working farmer (there are, of course, exceptions) belongs to the period of Parson Trulliber and Squire Western. He has stood still. The laborer has reached a point from which he can, inarticulately, criticize his master. And he does. Enquire why a man leaves his place. The answer varies in form, but is generally the same in substance. "He couldn't stand the way Mr. So-and-so goes on."

Now how does Mr. So-and-so go on? If we can get a clear idea of him we shall be on the way to an explanation of laboring discontent.

The Modern Farmer.

A century or so ago England was still the land of "characters." Uncle Toby and Lieutenant Lismahago, Commodore Truncheon and Parson Adams were popular in fiction because they were familiar in fact. The closer association of modern times has rounded off our angles into a somewhat distressing uniformity. We are too much afraid of one another not to straighten out the crooks in our natures

before a bend becomes a distortion. We show little mercy to eccentricity unless it has a powerful backer, wealth or rank or talent. People who live in a crowd learn to keep their elbows to themselves. In farming society there is elbow room and to spare. We all know the merchant skipper according to Clark Russell and Frank Bullen, and we understand that the conditions of seafaring life naturally evolve him, that any man in that position will have to fight a battle with himself not to become a brute. It is the same thing with the farmer. He is not so completely isolated as the skipper, the law is more present to him, his men are not so completely at the mercy of his temper. Self-indulgence in food and drink is qualified by the presence of his family; though very nearly, he is not entirely beyond the reach of public opinion. But the conditions of his life are such as to make him a petty tyrant unless he is superior enough to shape and fashion it for himself. Public opinion that keeps most of us on our legs, will give him no help in this. And a petty tyrant he generally is. As long as he keeps within the law he need not fear the cold shoulder among his fellows. "A man mustn't be unneighborly," they say. Now if there is one thing established by rural practice it is that farmers are farmers' neighbors. Laborers do not stand to them in that relation. Class charity covers a multitude of sins.

The non-working farmer is like Nora Creina in the song. His beauties are free "to sink or swell as Nature pleases." They mostly swell. He is under little extraneous restraint, and intellectual self-repression belongs to an intellectual level that he has not reached. We are all subject to attacks of temper. These are suppressed by a feeling of intellectual shame. It is this which mostly prevents passing irritation from hardening into petty spite. Now for a farmer to lose his temper seems to him and his class the most natural thing in the world. "Spite" is constantly looked for as a motive in rural matters, and pretty generally found.

Rural Spite.

I must give instances. You will ask, "How do you know them to be true?" Some, of course, are taken from reports of magisterial proceedings, or the like. For others, I can only say I believe them and I know them to be believed among the people whom they concern. What is believed to be fact does, morally, the work of fact. That is enough for my immediate purpose.

Here is one. Two elderly laborers had given offence to some farming magnates before whom, sitting in an official capacity, their wives had to appear in order to obtain their share of a village charity to which their claim had formerly been allowed without question. They, poor old women, were sneered rudely away and their just claim summarily refused. The whole of the circumstances were made public in three county papers. (I am glad to say that in this case the County Council was successfully invoked.) You would think that some apology was offered; you do not know the great farmer. Here is another case. A poor man had to carry round a circular, in which he was in no way concerned, emanating from the vicar of the parish. He took it to a great farmer in the same way as to the rest of the village. It did not please him, and he spoke very angrily to

the bearer. Such an ebullition of temper is sometimes too sudden to be restrained. Yes, but for weeks afterwards (for ever afterwards for aught I know to the contrary), when the poor man touched his hat, the great man passed on without noticing his salute. There is somewhere a fine translation of an old Spanish ballad of a Moorish king receiving the news of the taking of one of his towns by the enemy.

" Letters to the Monarch tell
How Athama's city fell.
In the fire the scroll he threw
And the messenger he slew."

The feeling is the same in both cases. Neither the fifteenth century tyrant nor the nineteenth century farmer could see any reason for repressing a natural feeling. Such men are not pleasant masters.

As far as my observation goes, I think primitive impulse is less restrained among non-working farmers than among any other equally well-fed and well-dressed class in England. For instance, cursing has died out among us generally. As villagers say, "We damn and done wi' it." It survives in corners where ridicule does not come. Here is rather an elaborate specimen of farming malediction. The speaker a well-gloved, well-hatted, well-groomed man, a non-working farmer. He had been disappointed (not in any way defrauded) of the services of the laborer to whom he was speaking.

"I wish you may die in a ditch without a rag to cover you or a crust of bread to put in your mouth. And I hope I may live to see it."

This want of the conscious self-restraint which is imposed by the pressure of public opinion produces what I have called "characters." In one farm there may be a half frantic sot; in another a man with a bad temper which he will discharge by following a laborer "up a furrow and down a furrow" and swearing at him all the way. One wealthy agriculturist is famous for his cottages which are known as "Tommy's Pigsties." He cannot bear to put his hand in his pocket for necessary repairs. It was in one of his cottages that the carpenter, going to measure a corpse for a coffin, started back in surprise. The white face was all streaked and blotched with green. It was only the drip of the rain through the rotten thatch—the moss, rather, for there was more moss than straw. "We've put us in the driest corner there was," said the family apologetically. People who live in the sight of society (I mean of those whom they consider their associates) may be proud, but their pride rarely takes an aggressive form. Villages are seldom visited by the search-ray of publicity. In them pride of class has its perfect working. A celebrated agriculturist in the Bible might be the patron saint of many of his modern fellows—Nabal. "Such a man of Belial that a man cannot speak to him." I have just been reading Sir Edmund Verney's book, *American Methods*. Nothing is more striking than the easiness of access of the employer and the way he invites suggestions. I told a story once of a laborer, a friend of my own, who sat up nearly a whole night to get a plough of his master's fit for work—without so much as a thank you. The employer was a

typical and leading man of his class. It would have been considered derogatory to notice a bit of work like that with a "thank you." Do what he will the laborer is an unprofitable servant.

To sum up this part of my subject. The isolation and the habits of life of the non-working farmer tend strongly to exaggerate in him those selfish instincts which make a man intolerable to his dependents. This is the more galling because his authority has been stretched so as to cover matters that lie quite outside the ordinary sphere of the relations of employer and employed.

I give this a leading place in the causes of rural depopulation.

Cottages as Booby-Traps.

Another cause is to be found in the laborer's helplessness before what he rightly or wrongly considers injustice. I take the matter of housing as illustrative of this. Bad housing is admittedly one reason of rustic discontent. I speak here of the cottage merely as a booby-trap.

I used as a boy to read of the booby-birds on the islands of the South Seas. They sat in rows, and sailors knocked them on the head one after the other, without its occurring to them to fly away. Laborers are much of the same sort. So should we be, I suppose, if our faculties and our energies had been deliberately crushed down for generations. They are trapped one after the other with the most touching simplicity. But they do not like it. Irritations of this sort go on accumulating unnoticed until the cup runs over. It is running over now.

Most cottages are "tied" to farms. Say a farmer has a very bad one; how is he to get a laborer in and make him stay? What is he to do? First, there is the advertisement, "good cottage and garden." Much hiring is done by letter. The laborer sees the advertisement. To go and see the cottage means losing a day's wage. I wish the wives went. But they don't. And they don't encourage their husbands to go. There is the money lost to begin with, and very likely a bad head resulting from much strange beer; and after all "what could *he* tell if he saw it?" Such is the contempt felt for the masculine mind by our natural rulers! He applies by letter for the place, is accepted, and fetched over with family and furniture in his master's waggon. If he goes into the cottage provided, the trap falls. He will be had up before the magistrates if he refuses to fulfil his agreement of service, in writing or verbal. I must give instances. Here is one from an Oxfordshire paper of a couple of months ago. A labor is inducted as I have described. He stays one day and goes. His plea is that he had not seen the inside of the cottage; that it was raining, and that he had no choice but to put his furniture and family under cover. The master's son says he took him round, and that he had "a chance" of seeing the inside before he took the place. I have no doubt he might have seen it if he had insisted. But laborers, as a fact, have no courage to insist. He had *not* seen it. Fined £2 6s.; a month's wages, I suppose.

Here is another case in which a man made the best of a bad business but grumbled loudly. The inside was here also in fault. "Well, didn't you see it before you took it?" "I seed the *outside*

right enough. But the master as took I round didn't *happen* to have the key wi' 'un." Trapped!

The story I am going to tell came from the poor woman concerned through a lady who repeated it to me immediately afterwards exactly as I tell it. The family were engaged by advertisement. On arriving they found the "good cottage" a hovel, and refused to take their things off the waggon. On going up to the house they saw the master, "a girt big man, dressed up to the nines," who dealt roundly with them. "So you're the new carter. And you don't like your cottage. Now I'll tell 'ee summut. You've got to go where you be put and do what you be bid. I don't want none of your chat." They return to the waggon, the things still loaded, the woman resolute, the neighbors amused. The master comes down and bullies. The woman declares that she will spend the night where she is. The master goes away. On returning he changes his tactics and addresses the husband. "Now don't you go on like this here, a-making a fool of I afore all the village! Come up to the house and talk it over reasonable."

He goes. The woman stays with the things and children. By-and-bye at dark night he comes back "as drunk as ever I seed 'un." The things are put in. Trapped! "Why didn't you go to the clergyman?" asked my informant, scandalized. "Clergyman! why he and Mr. Blank be as thick as two thieves!"

A laborer came to a place by train. He wanted to "see things." The master met him and never lost sight of him till he put him into the train again after he had signed his agreement. The man came and stayed the twelvemonth he had agreed for. No more. *He did not even get the cottage he had been shown.* Trapped!

Here is a Hampshire case. The main facts are that the man was promised a good cottage and got one which, he said, was a bad one. That a number of laborers left the farm after he came, so that his position was different to what it would have been had the farm been full handed. That his "little boys" (lads) were compelled to do work he had never agreed that they should do and were paid next to nothing. Three were put to work and two shillings a week was paid. It was admitted that the boys had had "a rough time for a bit" in consequence of shorthandedness. The man thought he had not been fairly treated and left. He had a sickly wife and ten children. The cottage had only two bedrooms. He gave eight days' notice. He was fined with costs *eight guineas* for having broken his signed agreement. I enquired privately into the case from people who were in a position to know the circumstances. There was also some correspondence about it in the papers. He had the character of being a steady laborer. The impression left on my mind was that his place had become almost intolerable. What could he do? Prosecute his master for breach of contract? Farmers would laugh at the very idea. Once in the trap he had to stay—or pay whatever fine country magistrates might impose.

The words used by the employer, the boys had "a rough time for a bit," cover a good deal. I will give you an instance.

The Society for Preventing Cruelty to Children was called in to help two poor boys signed away by their father (by his mark: he

could not read or write), under an avowedly illegal agreement decorated with a sixpenny stamp to impress the signer, for two years to a farmer. The society removed them at once, their condition of cold, filth and misery being extreme. The excuse given (I heard it with my own ears) was that "life was a bit rough on a farm."

The conclusion of the whole matter is this. The law says to the laborer "Caveat emptor." It does not protect him from sharp practice. There is no public opinion to which he can appeal. His sons drift away to the towns. I was told once as a fact of an aged laborer who bound all his children *by an oath* never to bring up a boy to the land. Can anyone wonder at it?

Some months ago I read in a London paper that laborers from town did not get on with farming employers because they would not understand that "a farmer's word was his bond." That is where it is. If the laborer is taken round by a possible master to see a cottage, for instance, and disputes the great man's assertion or insists upon seeing it for himself, he "gives offence." He had better not take the place after that. If he takes things upon trust and finds that he has been done, he has practically no remedy. And the master is utterly unabashed.

Another thing is that country laborers are shy. To enter into sanitary details with a well-dressed man of dominant manners is extremely difficult to them. One came to me a year or so ago and asked me what he was to do. I can't enter into details. I think they would surprise you. He had been taken round, and the master had assured him on the subject with a comprehensive wave of the hand, "*That's all right.*" Of course nothing could be done. He had been trapped.

I must pass very slightly over many things which combine to make the laborer's lot distasteful, void of savor, if not disgusting. I may mention (as I once wrote something on the subject that was met with a good deal of contradiction) that the immense, well-conducted farm of which I have spoken has of course swallowed up several considerable holdings, the residences on which, good sizable houses, are empty. There is no letting them. Gentlefolk of moderate means will not bury themselves in country villages. No one knows better than I do how very trifling is the difference to the laborers that the presence in a village of an independent family of small means can make. But it does make a difference, just as the presence of a decent passenger makes a difference to the crew of a merchant ship commanded by a brutal skipper. The passenger is powerless. But he sees, and the skipper knows it. I place the general and increasing absence of small gentry as a contributory cause of the distaste for the village life felt by the laborer. There is no one to break the long *l'le-à-l'le* between master and man. *Except the parson.*

The Laborer and the Church.

In speaking of the parson and the Church, I tread on dangerous ground. Let me begin by saying that parsons are almost invariably good and well-meaning men. My charge against them may almost be summed up in a rustic joke. The sign of "The Farmer's Man"

is not an uncommon one among village public-houses. The joke is that it ought to be taken down from the inn and hung up over the parsonage door. The parson is "the farmer's man." It can hardly be otherwise. According to the prevailing ecclesiastical theory, his object is to elevate the Church. The Church is to elevate the people. To do this, to give the Church the dominating influence necessary to her efficient action, the cordial co-operation of the leaders of the village world is indispensable. And it is not to be had for nothing. The payment made is simply this. The priest is to "pass by on the other side" while the farmer deals with the laborer. It is not his business to take a part in disputes. He is a man of peace—as far as his own village goes. His churchwardens are farmers. They are the Aaron and Hur who hold up the hands of Moses. So he conciliates them. He conciliates everybody of influence. He is perfectly civil to the publicans whose very existence depends upon their success in making laborers steady sots. He has a friendly greeting for the grocer, and knows nothing of adulteration and short weight. It is very unfortunate that cottages should be so bad. Encroachments on village rights are not within his province. Sometimes his desire to be pleasing to the great men of his flock goes further. Laborers very seldom use forcibly descriptive expressions. The turnips their grandfathers fed on have got into their blood. Yet I heard of one who was moved to speech after listening to an address in which a parson exhorted a number of laborers to be properly grateful for the generosity of their masters. "It was enough," he said, "to make a dog sick." I have felt the same myself.

A man and his master fell out. "Go to the parson and ask him what *he* thinks," said the master. "Why, you know, sir, what *he* would say," said the man.

I might go on. But I won't. Parsons are good men. But their very virtues keep the laborers down. They "seek peace and ensue it" at the cost of justice. Right and wrong are not merely the government and the opposition. Once admit party methods, and wrong infallibly prevails. It has prevailed. And the Church (like the man in Charles Lamb's celebrated thesis) "never knows it." She goes on. "I wonder you will still be talking, Signor Benedick. Nobody marks you." In a village nobody "marks" what the Church says.

We have all heard of Mithridates, the king of Pontus, who ate poison till he was poison-proof. So in *Hudibras*, the "King of Cambay, whose daily food is asp, and basilisk and toad." Well, an English village is saturated with religion until it is religion-proof. Everybody goes to church, immense pressure is brought to bear to get the old men and women confirmed, most people are communicants. And religion, as a rule of conduct or a motive power, is absolutely non-existent. Why?

The success of the Church is the extent to which she can command the attendance of the village at her services. That is gaugeable. The Church is the mill that, theoretically, grinds congregations into Christians. But there is something wrong with the machinery. They come out, not contrite, not "ground up," but exactly what they went in.

Let us look back. In 1846, before the repeal of the Corn Laws, can anything have been more horrible than the condition of the country laborer? That was the very time when the Oxford movement was in the first flush of its youthful energy. An immense deal was done—for the restoration of Churches. Erroneous ideas about Gothic architecture were severely dealt with. But the clergy thought infinitely more of crockets and finials than of cottages and cesspools. Five-and-twenty years later, at the time of the Agricultural Laborers' Union, it was exactly the same thing. The Church was contented that things should stay as they were. She saw no need of reform. It is said that she has undergone a complete change since: and the farmers also. What has brought about this wonderful, *this most wonderful change?*

No explanation is given. Is it not strange that the laborer should not have shared in it? He has sunk morally, it appears, while his spiritual guide and his kindly and tender employer have gone up. What is the natural inference? That the two have (wittingly or not) joined forces to keep him down.

For many, many years the position of Moses lay open to the acceptance of the Church. All she had to do was to qualify by slaying an Egyptian or two, by ranging herself definitely on the side of the oppressed. But the fear of families, as Job says, is too much for her.

In the forties, as in the seventies, she stood like a hen with a brood of ducklings, clucking reprobation while her charge faced the Red Sea. It was only when assured that the passage could be made dry-foot that she timidly ventured over.

The laborer hears the parson denounce from the pulpit the vices he condones in the street. He sees him greet with perfect friendliness a wealthy man known to all as an impudent thief of village rights, or the owner of tenanted cottages hardly fit for pigs, or a glutton and a soaker whose example makes his laborers sots. And he draws the natural conclusion. The parson is the farmer's man. The law is against him, the master is against him, and the parson maintains a benevolent neutrality.

To sum up. The law is dreaded by the laborer, not regarded as a protector. It is administered by men who mostly belong to the class who set it in movement against him. The clergyman identifies himself socially with the same class. Any power of combination that laborers might possess is nullified by the insecurity of their tenure as cottagers. He has no one to turn to in trouble.

What has the laborer to regret in leaving his village? Home ties have grown very weak. "The home" means, in rustic parlance, the beds and chairs and tables, "the bits of sticks" a family has got together. The tied cottage is no more to the laborer than a borrowed umbrella.

Village life is very dull. There is nothing communal in it. The school is the property of the parson and the managers, generally farmers. The poor have got to send their children. There their interest practically ceases. They want them to become half-timers as soon as possible, that is all. The Church gives them no interest. They have no voice in its management, and are fed with this doc-

trine or that as it pleases the patrons. At best, it represents to them the "circus" which Lord Salisbury said was more to their taste than a council.

The Decay of the Village Band.

Sixty years ago music still survived in country villages. What killed it? The Church. The old church band was too independent for the clergyman of the Oxford movement. The "musicianers," as they were called, used to quarrel in an unseemly way. Disputes among the band were got rid of by something very like the summary process of the father who cuts his little boy's head off to cure him of toothache. The band was suppressed and a harmonium substituted. Away went fiddles and brass with the bass viol and the "old serpent" at their head into the limbo of the village past. (The old serpent was a brass instrument of mysterious convolution.) Music was promoted from the fireside to the schoolroom or the vicar's parlor, where the choir met for practice. The old fiddles were hung up and forgotten. Only the other day I was told by a lady of great musical accomplishment of an attempt she was making to get up a string band in a large parish. People laughed at her. How were poor people to buy violins? But nearly all the instruments wanted were there. In many poor families the old fiddles had been kept, though the art of playing had been utterly forgotten.

The intention of the clergy was admirable. A decorous worship, and the village boys brought under the influence of the Church. That is one side. On the other, the destruction of almost the last form of communal effort for a common end, the capture by "the powers that be" in a country parish, of a last little stronghold of the independence that has disappeared from our laboring population. There are none such now; the guns of the Church, directed by the landed interest, range unobstructed over a plain of dead and fiat submission. Dissent! Dissent pays homage at births and deaths and marriages. The chapel has little power to raise. The old Puritan spirit, in country villages at least, seems to have been squeezed out of it.

Co-operative Stores?

What inducement is offered to the laborer to stay in the village? I am told by a very competent authority that, reckoning quality and price, to deal at London stores is 25 per cent. cheaper than to buy at the village shop. Besides, laborers are mostly in debt, and "beggars mustn't be choosers." That makes things still worse. The remedy, of course, is co-operation. But how are families to co-operate when neighborhood is not permanent? Besides which, mutual trust has perished with community of interest. It has been atrophied by want of exercise.

Half-a-dozen villagers might conceivably club together to let some lady, for instance, whom they all knew, get them a side of the best bacon from the stores at the price they paid for the very worst at the shop, and divide it. She would certainly be accused of partiality but *perhaps* not of absolutely dishonesty. But to do such a thing among themselves would be out of the question.

Fixity of tenure must precede co-operation, and until co-operation is the rule the laborer will continue to be despoiled in every petty transaction of his existence. One attraction of the city for him is that there he gets more choice and better value for whatever little money he has. Whatever he may possibly regret in the "land of Egypt, the house of bondage," it is not the flesh-pots. A "penn'orth of fried fish" in Whitechapel is probably a tastier meal than the escaped ploughboy has ever put into his mouth.

Village Schools.

What does the village school do with the brains entrusted to it? Brains are valuable. The Yankees are teaching us that. Well, in one village school I know, with an average attendance of between 80 and 90, I cannot hear on enquiry that any lad educated there has risen in the last twenty years above the position of a mere laborer. Go to the town or stay in the village; it is all one. Schooling directed by the Church and the Land has naturally turned out the article wanted by the Church and the Land—men of low intelligence and no enterprize. There are no games, and there is none of the initiative that comes of games. There is no recreation ground, no village green. The 3,500 acres of the village are practically divided into three great farms, sprinkled with the remains of former smaller homesteads. There was in old times a recreation ground. Old men have told me of the back-swording and wrestling that went on there. It was "absorbed" long ago, whether legally or illegally I know not.

Remedies.

To suggest remedies hardly comes within the limits of my subject. If I touch upon that I must be brief indeed. And every word may be a bone of contention. Well, the great farmer stops the way. No progress is possible as long as he dominates the situation. We must call into existence a class of small, independent cultivators, the natural growth of which will progressively thrust him off the track. Some small beginnings have been already made. The results show, I think, that the machinery provided by law (Agricultural Holdings Act, 1892—result, 700 or 800 acres) will not work. Local government has become the appanage of acres. Parish councils, rural district councils, county councils, they all represent the essence of landed interest in various degrees of concentration. And the classes that now enjoy a practical monopoly of the land will never efficiently help in dispossessing themselves.

Now, what part of England has the largest interest in the land of England's being made the most of? The country? Or the town? The town population is four to one of the country population. And a large proportion of the number represented by the one only live by sufferance on the land. This is the case with almost the whole of agricultural laborers. The evils inflicted upon the great majority by this insignificant minority are, I think, the following :

1. Dearness of food arising from low productivity of land.
2. The burden of providing labor for country men. The land does not take her share of the task of finding employment

for the working men of England, but shuffles it off upon the towns.

3. The consequent congestion of the towns.
4. The ruin of the country as the breeding-field which ought to keep up the vigor of the town populations.
5. The closing of the country to the towns, so that increased facilities of locomotion do not do anything like the good to the towns that they should.

The moral I draw is that the towns should claim the right of dictating to England the way in which the land should be put to profit. The great majority of the classes nearest the land, squires and farmers and parsons, are disqualified respectively by *self-interest*, by religious prejudice that scruples at anything that may lead to the mental enfranchisement of the poor, and by sheer *sluggishness* of intellect joined to a blind selfishness without parallel in any class of English society. The land and the laborer have hitherto been left to them. And we want a change of management.

I should like to say something of the last of the evils I have enumerated. The closing of the country to the towns

Take a mechanic with 35s. a week. He wants country air. There is the bicycle and there is the beanfeast. One means dust, the other drink. If he is enterprising he will go down to Brighton or Ramsgate and change the asphalt of the streets for the asphalt of the promenade and a crowded park for a stretch of crowded sand. Lodgings are dear, so is food. He gets uncommonly little refreshment for the good money and the priceless holiday he throws away there. To go down and spend his three days in a country village never occurs to him. And rightly. But suppose it does. What is he to do? Take lodgings in a cottage? If he is a decent man it would turn his stomach. In a beer-house? Hardly better. The food would be uneatable, the price calculated by his coat. At the lowest, it would be three times that at which he could feed himself well in London. What is he to do with himself? The park is closed, the downs warn him off with a threatening notice. "Farmer Blank," he is told, "doesn't like people trespassing in his fields." The churchyard or the bar-parlor, he may spend his day in either and welcome. Perhaps, not generally, there is a village green, with a goose or two. It is a fine evening, but there are no children at play. He asks. "Ay, the farmers get up a match at cricket among 'emselfes once or twice i' summer." "Don't the boys play?" "Naw. Summon gied 'em a bat but they bin and lost the ball."

He returns to London in despair and disgust.

Let us suppose 30 or 40 small independent holders to have taken the place of three or four large farmers. From what we know of Denmark, Belgium, France, Holland, and of recent experiments in Ireland, we have reason to believe that co-operation will have largely taken the place of the individual struggle for life that now makes of an English village a den of hungry beasts. We may hope that in a few years villagers will have re-learned the forgotten art of enjoyment. They will have learnt to feel with energetic conviction that the

natural beauties that surround a village are the property of the village, as far as the *enjoyment* goes that neither does material damage nor interferes with other legitimate enjoyment. They will have learnt to believe that the maddest dog in England is the Dog in the Manger, and when such a one shows his nose in a village their belief will be very apt to take an active form.

Views are not damaged by being looked at; it does not spoil timber to sit in the shade of a tree; grass is little hurt by children's picking cowslips in cowslip time; blackberrying breaks few hedges.

A New Village Industry.

You here know better than I do to how many Londoners "each simple joy the country yields" would be an attraction and a real rest and refreshment, if they could only come by them. I look forward to a time when the entertainment of London visitors will be one of the great industries of country villages. When the country will be to London what Switzerland is to Europe. When the communal guest-house will "do" a London visitor *well* for 2s. 6d. a day and night and bring a handsome profit to the community. When relations of friendship will exist between townsmen and countrymen and when the born rustic who happens to be a native of Whitechapel will quite naturally and easily take the place of the born Londoner who came into the world at Stogginton. When a girl going up to service in town will find that she has there a circle of acquaintances made in the country, and holiday London, instead of swarming like bees to the treacle-pots of Ramsgate and Hastings, will scatter itself over the villages within a radius of 50 or 60 miles. A game of bowls under a tree is pleasanter than "Aunt Sally" on the sands; a stretch over high downs and sandwiches under a may-bush are better than the foulness of the sea beach at the great tripping places and the heart-sickening uniformity of the cheap restaurant.

London should remember that the restoration of the laborer to the land in the character of an independent peasant may mean to London the opening of several hundred places of enjoyment; to many thousands of Londoners, themselves only two or three generations away from the country, the re-awakening of that natural love of fields and leaves which exists in them so strongly as children and is so terribly obscured as they grow up by the uncounteracted influences of the public-house and the music-hall. London should remember, too, that it is better that the country should send up to recruit her population young freemen, with a happy boyhood behind them, than heart-broken drudges escaping from a bitter servitude.

There is no making a Garden City of London. But the whole country within a radius of 70 or 80 miles may be made a garden of pleasure for Londoners to enjoy, with wrong to none, with infinite good to many, and to the general benefit of England.

Only—THE GREAT FARMER STOPS THE WAY.

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Public Wealth and Corporate Expenditure.

*An Address to the Ancient Order of Foresters at their Annual Gathering in Birmingham Town Hall, on Sunday, October 9th, 1904.**

“PUBLIC WEALTH” means wealth belonging to a Community or Corporate Body; and the possessor of such wealth can utilize and administer it as Corporate Expenditure. By “Corporate Expenditure” I mean not municipal expenditure alone, nor trades union expenditure alone, nor benefit society expenditure alone, but something of all of them; combined expenditure for corporate ends, as distinguished from private and individual expenditure. I wish to maintain that more good can be done and greater value attained by the thoughtful and ordered expenditure of corporate money, than can be derived from even a lavish amount distributed by private hands for the supply of personal comfort and the maintenance of special privileges.

It sounds like a secular subject, but no subject is really secular, in the sense of being opposed to sacred, unless it is a subject intrinsically bad; and if the truth be as I imagine myself now to conceive it, the subject I am endeavoring to bring forward has possible developments of the most genuinely sacred character. I shall not have time to develop this fully, but I can make a beginning.

Careless Spending.

First I would direct your attention to a fact and ask you to observe how little thought is expended by mankind in general on the spending of money, and how much time and attention are devoted to the earning of it. That may seem natural; it is considered easy to spend and hard to earn. I am by no means sure that it is easy to spend wisely. Men who have much money to spend—and few of us are in that predicament—if they are conscientious

* The Society is indebted to Sir Oliver Lodge for permission to print and issue this Address as a pamphlet.

and good men, feel the difficulty seriously; they realize that it is so easy to do harm, so difficult to know how to do real good. Charity may seem a safe and easy method of disbursing, and much of it at present alas is necessary, but few things are more dangerous: it is an easy salve to the conscience, but it by no means conduces to fulness and dignity of life.

But eliminating men of large fortunes, let us attend to our own case. We, the ordinary citizens, how little time do we find to consider our manner of spending; we mostly do it by deputy, all our time is occupied in earning. It may be said roughly that men earn the money and that their wives spend it: a fair division of labor. They spend it best: and if the man insists on retaining and spending much of it, he is liable to spend it very far from wisely or well.

Public v. Private Expenditure.

I will not labor the point; we get something by private expenditure undoubtedly: we get the necessaries of life, and we get some small personal luxuries in addition. We do not get either in the most economical fashion. Buying things by the ounce or by the pint is not the cheapest way of buying; nor is a kitchen fire in every household the cheapest way of cooking, especially in the summer. Without going into details, and without exaggerating, we must all see that individualism results in some waste. If each man pays for the visits of his own doctor it is expensive. If each man provides his own convalescent home it is expensive. If each man goes on his own excursion or travels it is not so cheap as when several club together and run the journey on a joint purse. Private and solitary travel may be luxurious, but it is not cheap. A cab is dearer than an omnibus; a private garden is far dearer in proportion than a public park. Of private expenditure altogether it may be said: some of it is necessary, much of it is luxurious, but none of it is economical.

Corporate or combined expenditure achieves a greater result, not only for the whole, but actually for each individual. "Each for himself" is a poor motto; the idea of "Each for all" is a far more powerful as well as a more stimulating doctrine than "Each for himself." Thus

already you see our subject shows signs of losing its secular character and of approaching within hailing distance of the outposts of Christianity.

The Objects of Thrift.

Very well, now go on to consider the subject of *thrift*—not personal spending, but personal saving. What is the saving for? There are two chief objects:—

(1) To provide for sickness, for old age, and for those who are dependent upon us, and whom we should otherwise leave helpless when we go. This is clearly the chief and especially forcible motive for saving: it is the main-spring and original motive-power of this and all other benefit societies. But there is also another not at all unworthy motive, though it is one less generally recognized or admitted, and to this I wish incidentally to direct attention.

The second great motive for thrift and wise accumulation is—

(2) To increase our own power and influence and effective *momentum* in the world.

The Power of Wealth.

The man of wealth is recognized as a force in the world, sometimes indeed a force for evil, sometimes for good, but undeniably and always a power. People often complain of this and abuse the instinct which recognizes wealth as being such a power. But it is inevitable. It does not indeed follow that great wealth need be concentrated in a few hands, or that one single individual shall have the disposal of it: it is an accidental and, as I think, an unfortunate temporary arrangement of society which brings about that result; but, whether in many hands or in few, wealth is bound to be a power: it is no use abusing what is inevitable, we must study and learn how to utilize the forces of nature. Wealth is one of those forces.

Why is it so powerful? Because it enables its owner to carry out his plans, to execute his purposes, to achieve his ends. He has not to go cap in hand to somebody and ask permission; he can do the thing himself. He cannot do everything indeed, his power is limited, but

he can do much. So also the members of a wealthy corporate body, if they want to do something, if they want to meet elsewhere than in a public-house, for instance, encounter no difficulty, they can have a hall of their own, or they can hire one. Wealth is accumulated savings. Considered as power, it does not matter whether the wealth is in many hands or in few. The owners of it are important people; and if they mean to do good the material accessories are at their command. A rich corporation, like a rich man, has great power. Suppose he wants to bring out an invention, his own or someone else's, he has the means. Suppose he wants to build a laboratory or endow a University, he can do it. Suppose he wants to plant waste land with forest trees, who will stop him? But he cannot do everything. A genius has powers greater than his. A rich man's power is great, but it is limited; for suppose he wants to compose an oratorio, to paint a picture, to make a scientific discovery, and has not the ability; his wealth is impotent, he cannot do it. No, his power is strictly limited, but it is not so limited as that of the poor man.

The Weakness of Poverty.

We are poor men, and some of us want to renovate the Black Country and cover up its slag heaps with vegetation and with forests—a beautiful and sane ideal—but it is a difficult task. I do not own a square foot of soil, nor do most of you. What right have we to go to plant trees on someone else's land? We should be trespassers; and, at a whim of the owner, they might be rooted up. The owners of the soil however may be willing for the re-forestation of the Black Country, they may give us assistance, they may enable us to carry out the scheme. I sincerely hope they will, but we must go and ask them. Without the wealth we are powerless. We see so many things that might be done if we had the means: for instance, we helplessly lament the existence of slums, we see numerous ways in which to improve cities, we would like to suppress smoke and show how the air could be kept pure for the multitudes herded in cities to breathe and enjoy; but we cannot do it, we are not rich enough. Moreover, if we did, what would happen; at least at

first? Rents would rise, and the improved property would become too dear for the present inhabitants to live in. Clear and purify the air of towns, and they would at once, with their good drainage and fine sanitary conditions, become the best and healthfullest places to live in. Now they are too dirty, then they would be too dear.

But, if the land near all large towns belonged to the community, if we had corporate ownership of land, what would we not do! Then the improvements would be both possible and profitable, and the community who made them would reap the benefit.

Someday: someday an approach to this condition of things is bound to come. It feels to me almost like part of the meaning of that great prayer "Thy Kingdom come"; and if so we are again not far away from the atmosphere of Christianity.

Public Wealth and Public Debts.

For accumulation of wealth to be really beneficial it should contribute to the common weal, it should conduce to well being, and so be worthy of the name of *weal-th* or wealth.

The only way probably you and I can ever become wealthy is by becoming corporately wealthy, by clubbing our savings and becoming an influence and a power in the land.

Already I see, by your Report, that this organization or corporate body owns more than seven millions: not seven millions free to be dealt with as you like, it is all ear-marked to good and beneficent objects, and all needed for the achievement of those objects; but still it is a substantial sum, and it can increase. Roll it up to seventy millions, apply it to other objects than sickness and death, and you will become capitalists, able to execute your behests, an influence and a power in the world.

Would this be a good thing? Ah, that is a large question. There are always dangers in great capital, it is a serious responsibility; and if badly and domineeringly used, it may become a fearful evil. In unwise and unscrupulous hands, if they are ignorant and foolish, it is far from safe. But let it come gradually, let it be owned by mankind or by the community at large, and I for one

would trust them—we are bound to trust mankind—would trust them at first to endeavor to make a good use of it, and ultimately to succeed in so doing.

I believe in public capital and public expenditure, so it be clean and honest and well managed; everything depends upon that; but in this fortunate city that is already accomplished. What is known as a public debt is really a public investment, and anything not spent in the waste of war should have public works, or elevated humanity, or other good results, to show for it. Then it at once becomes capital, and is no more appropriately called debt; it has not been spent, but invested. "Funds" is a better name for it.

The Economy of Rising Rates.

That is why I believe in Rates—not altogether in the Poor Rate, for I am unable to feel that the Poor Law is on a satisfactory basis, though it is administered with the best intentions by the guardians: the system is as I think in some respects mistaken, but I will not go into that now; I only say parenthetically that the Poor Rate I do not welcome—but rates for public works, education rates, rates for municipal and corporate services generally, rates for museums and libraries and recreation grounds and parks and rational amusements, all these I would welcome and wish to grow.

We should not try to economize in these things, we should put our heads together so as to spend the public money wisely and well, and then, we should spend it. Private thrift, public expenditure; that is the way to raise a town or a nation in the standard of civilization.

The spendings of an individual, what are they? They are gone in his individual comfort and luxury. The spendings of a community are Capital: they result in public works, in better housing, in good roads, in thorough lighting; they open up the country, they develop its resources, they educate the citizens, they advance all the amenities of existence, in an economical because corporate or co-operative manner.

Good management is required; and that is why you take pains to send good men to the City Council to look after your interests: your interests, not in screwing and

economizing, but in spending wisely and honestly and well, getting the most they can for your money, and looking out for improvements and for good schemes worthy of encouragement. And when they do this well, be ready to trust them with more; see that not only the municipal but the national purse also is properly supplied. Our National Government is for all good purposes miserably poor. I fear there is sad waste somewhere, and that before the taxes can be judiciously raised the sources of the waste must be discovered and checked. I trust that already this labor is being put in hand. You have fine public servants who are trying to do their best with an ancient and very cumbrous and over-centralized machine; much revenue has to be spent in various unprofitable ways, wars and other, but in every good and noble direction of expenditure the country is miserably poor. Where it is economical it should be lavish; and where it is lavish it should be economical; that is an exaggeration, but there is a kind of truth underlying it. Our national economy in higher education is having disastrous results, it is a real danger to the Nation. While other nations are investing millions of public money on higher education and research we prefer to keep the money in our pockets in order to spend it privately; and the result is that while the State is poor the individual is rich. Individuals are over rich in this country; money breeds money on our present system with very little work, and it is apt to roll itself up into portentous and top-heavy fortunes. The result is, I fear, a *state of things* that some people say is becoming a scandal. I do not know. But however that may be I should like to see this wealth owned by communities; I should like to see it in corporate hands and expended for the general good.

Unearned Incomes.

Do not think that the original making of a fortune is easy. Most fortunes began by thrift and enterprise; it is not the making of a fortune that is easy: it is the transferring and the inheriting of it that are so fatally easy and so dangerous. If the maker of the fortune himself had the disbursing of it, there would be but little harm done, and there might be much good. No fortune can be

honestly *made* without strenuous industry and character. But a fortune can be inherited, *can* be inherited I say, though I hope it seldom is, by a personification of laziness and folly and vice.

That however is not my point. My point is that self-denial is the beginning of capital and the essence of thrift—present self-denial for future good. This self-denial for future good you of this and kindred societies are already exercising in a small way, but it is possible and indeed likely that it will come to be exercised in a larger way, and so gradually a considerable fraction of the property of the world may ultimately pass into your hands. Wake up to this possibility, and do not abuse capital or capitalists, for some day you will be capitalists yourselves. Then it will strain your energies to know what to do with it, and how to use it for the best and highest good of humanity—the ascertainment of which is a noble aspect of human endeavor.

I do not expect agreement in all that I have to say, nor do I speak with authority; I am anxious to admit that I may be mistaken; I only ask you to consider and weigh my message, the more so if you disagree; as I know many will, especially in what follows:—

The Cheapness of High Salaries.

The tendency of public bodies is to economize in salaries. People look askance at highly paid public servants; whereas it is just from those that you do get something for your money. You don't get much service as a rule from dividend shareholders, but you do as a rule from salaried officers. That is the danger of municipalities and other democratic corporations: they will not realize with sufficient clearness that the manager and administrator is worthy of large remuneration, that to get the best man you must pay him well, and that to put up with a second rate article when you can get the best is but a poor policy, and in the long run bad economy. Cheap men are seldom any good. In a large concern they may waste more than their annual salary in a week. Some people want to pay all men alike. It will not work. It is a subject full of controversy, I know, and I do not wish to dogmatize, but so far as I can see, and I have no

personal interest in the matter, I say that the principle of inequality of payment must be recognized, that it is a necessary consequence of inequality of ability.

Some organizations seem to think, too, that the available work of the world is limited, and that you must each be careful not to do too much of it lest work become scarce. The truth is that the work potentially required by mankind is essentially unlimited; and if we could only get better social conditions there would be work and opportunity and scope for all, each according to his grade and power and ability.

Stand shoulder to shoulder and help each other, and form a banded community for mutual help, by all means; let all co-operate together, and let not one human being be idle except the sick and insane; but allow for different kinds of work, and put the false glamor of the idea of artificial equality out of your minds. In any organization, as in any human body, there must be head and there must be hands, there must be trunk and limbs: the good of the whole is secured by each doing his apportioned task and obtaining his appropriate nourishment: not every part alike, though each sufficient for his need: each brought up to his maximum efficiency.

And what is true of property is true of personal service also. That which is spent for the individual is of small value compared with service done for the race. It is on the pains and sacrifice of individuals that a community is founded. "The pleasures of each generation evaporate in air; it is their pains that increase the spiritual momentum of the world." (J. R. Illingworth, in *Lux Mundi*.) The blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church; it is by heroism and unselfish devotion that a country rises and becomes great.

The Results of Public Spirit.

Witness the magnificent spectacle of Japan to-day: the State above the individual; common good above personal good; sacrifice of self and devotion to the community; these great qualities, on which every nation has risen to glory, were never displayed more brightly in the history of the world than now before our eyes. It is a nation which is saturated and infused with public spirit,

the spirit of the race, enthusiasm for the community and for the welfare of humanity. This is the spirit which elevates cities; it is this which makes a nationality; it is this which some day will renovate mankind.

A splendid article in the *Times* of last Tuesday calls it "the soul of a nation," a translation of the Japanese term Bushido. It is a sort of chivalry, but the term "chivalry" does not convey it; our nearest approach to it is "public spirit," public spirit in a glorified form, the spirit which animated the early Christian Church, so that prison, suffering, death itself, were gladly endured so that the gospel might be preached and humanity might be saved—a spirit which must be near akin to the divine idea of Sacrifice for the salvation of the world. To lose your life as the highest mode of saving it; to lose the world but retain the honor and dignity of your own soul; that spirit which animated the apostles, prophets, martyrs, is alive in Japan to-day. Is it alive in us as a nation? If not, if we have replaced it to any extent by some selfish opposite, by any such diabolically careless sentiment as "after me the deluge," then we as a nation have lost our soul, sold it for mere individual prosperity, sold it in some poor cases for not even that, for mere liquid refreshment, and we are on the down grade.

I trust it is not so, but sometimes I greatly fear it. It is surely not too late to arrest the process of decay; the heart of the Nation is sound enough: the men, as they said in South Africa, the men are splendid. Give them a fair chance, introduce better conditions, set forth high ideals, and be not ashamed to speak of these ideals and to follow them: then we shall find that there is plenty of the spirit of unselfishness still, the spirit which calls men to harder tasks than momentary spurts of bravery, calls us all to the long and persistent effort of educating ourselves in the facts of the universe, grasping the real truth of things, and, then with patience and self-control, applying our energies to the material betterment and spiritual elevation of the world.

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Municipal Milk and Public Health.

THE attention of students of social science, as well as that of public health workers generally, is daily being more and more directed to the food supply of the people. The great epidemics of the nineteenth century resulted in such legislation as the Public Health Acts, which aimed at the external control of the environment of the population of the urban and rural sanitary authorities. But experience shewed that mere external interference was insufficient, and hence a movement became general towards investing the *ownership* as well as the control of the water supplies of the country in the hands of the community. The result shewed that although carelessness was not entirely got rid of, yet the condition of the publicly owned supplies was far safer and better than those left to private commercial management. It was proved that in the case of such a prime necessity as water—one so liable to pollution—the aim of profit-making must be superseded by the consideration of the public health, even though this might involve financial loss. No one will now deny the beneficial results of this change, and few will be found who oppose, in principle, the municipal ownership of water supply. This change has consisted in the replacement of an unlimited number of privately owned wells, from which bad water was sold at a high price, by a popularly owned central supply systematically distributed at about cost price to rich and poor alike. This change of industrial method, combined with public knowledge, has been the main cause of a reduction in the death-rate* of about 3 per 1,000 per annum in the space of about twenty years. The annual rate of mortality from enteric fever—the chief of water-borne diseases—sank in the same time from '390 per 1,000 to '100.

With these facts in view, sociologists are beginning to ask themselves the question whether there is not the same need for public ownership and control of the milk supply. At the present time this indispensable commodity is being drawn from a thousand indiscriminate sources, whose main characteristic is the general dirtiness and stupidity of their methods of production; and whose distribution is through agencies, most of which are marked by their liability to contaminate the article they handle. It is no exaggeration to say that the great bulk of milk producers, distributors, and retailers know nothing of the nature and properties of the material they deal in, while such an elementary knowledge is essential for the public safety. County councils are doing something to teach dairying, but so long as it is as profitable to sell dirty milk as clean, or preserved butter as fresh, these efforts will produce but scanty fruit.

* See Sixty-Sixth Annual Report, Registrar-General for England and Wales, 1905.

Public attention has recently been drawn to the existence of widespread physical deficiency among the children attending the public elementary schools of the country, and although the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration reported that there was no evidence to prove the existence of actual degeneracy, both that body and the Scotch Commission on Physical Training draw attention to the infantile mortality which is now actually higher than in the decennium 1841-50, as well as to the manifest weakness and liability to disease of a considerable proportion of the children at or below school age. Both agree that for children, at all events for young children, the most important factor in development is their food, and that, in this particular, everything seems against the children of the poor in increasing degree towards the earlier periods of life.

In times when breast feeding is on the decline*, milk is becoming the staple food of an increasing number of the population. Throughout the earlier years of life it forms the most important element of diet, and hence the absence of milk from the diet of the poor involves almost certain underfeeding, or even starvation, for a proportion of their children. In order to build up the physique of the masses of the people, some method must be devised of procuring for them a clean, wholesome, and cheap supply of milk, and the question to be answered is: Can complete public control do this, or can it be better done in some other way? Let us, however, see what are the present methods of production and distribution.

Present Methods.

It may be confidently said that nowhere, except on the very small number of model farms, is anything like a really scientific method of milk-production known. But the most noticeable thing is not the absence of science, but of common cleanliness. Indeed, many dairy farmers believe that dirt is a good thing, that heated and ill-ventilated cowsheds are good for the cows, and that manure gives body and flavor to the milk. For instance, Dr. Leslie Mackenzie, speaking for Scotland, says: "To watch the milking of cows is to watch a process of unscientific inoculation of a pure, or almost pure, medium with unknown quantities of unspecified germs. Everywhere throughout the whole process of milking the perishable and highly nutrient liquid receives its repeated sowings of germinal and non-germinal dirt . . . and this in good dairies. What must it be when the cows are never groomed, and the udders are never washed, where the byres are never even approximately cleaned, where ventilators are never opened, where the pigs are a few feet away, where cobwebs are ancient and heavy, where hands are only by accident washed, where heads are only occasionally cleaned, where spittings are not infrequent, where the milker may be a chance comer from some filthy place, where, in a word, the various dirt of the civilized human are at every hand reinforced by the inevitable dirt of the domesticated cow."†

* Infantile Mortality and Infant Milk Depots G. F. M'Cleary; 1904. Chapter L.
 † "The Hygiene of Milk." *Edinburgh Medical Journal*; 1898.

In a series of articles, entitled "The Milk Supply of Large Towns," the *British Medical Journal* drew attention, in March, 1903, to the defective conditions of milk production which are so prevalent. The Commissioner, reporting on a farm outside a large town, says: "The operation of milking was in full swing, three dirty-looking boys being hidden away behind their respective cows. . . . The clothes which the boys wore were equally dirty, and the stalls, which they were supposed to have been cleaning out while I was waiting, were several inches deep in manure and foul-smelling straw. . . . The hind-quarters of the cows were coated with filth. . . . I was horrified to see the filthy state of the milk as it flowed out of the pail. It was discolored with grit, hair, and manure. 'Look at that,' I said, pointing to a specially large bit of manure. I regretted my zeal, for Tom dipped his whole hand into the pail, and, as he brought it out, said, 'Oh that aint nothing; it's only off the cow.'" That this condition is a very prevalent one is shewn by reports of medical officers of health from widely separated parts of the country.* In Staffordshire, for instance. "The ventilation of the [cow] sheds was, in most cases, not attended to in the slightest degree. In some it was necessary to open the doors for a few minutes before going in on account of the oppressive smell and moisture-laden air; in some there was no means of ventilation. . . . In few was there any attempt at keeping the floors or walls clean, and, in some cases, they were filthy. The hind-quarters of the cows were in a similar condition." In a county report, Dr. Reid summarizes the condition of Staffordshire dairy farms as follows:—"I may mention generally that I very rarely come across a dairy farm which is satisfactory as regards the cowsheds; *most are ill-lit, over crowded, badly ventilated, and badly drained.*" "With a few exceptions," says Dr. Newman, "the farms in Leicestershire sending milk to Finsbury appear to be neither regulated nor registered." Similarly unsatisfactory reports come from all over the country.

From a recent report of the Local Government Board (England)† it will be seen how little control is exercised over the farms in Ireland. The dirty and insanitary condition of many of the Dublin cowsheds is specially mentioned, and the general condition of the provincial dairy farms seems also very unsatisfactory.

These are but specimens, and give only a feeble idea of the extent and nature of the unwholesomeness of sources of the food of the invalid and infant.

Some Results.

All observers are agreed that the conditions described above form the rule, and that a cleanly managed dairy farm—clean even in the everyday meaning of the word—is the exception. There are two ways of measuring the results on the health of the community. First, by means of the recorded epidemics which have been traced to milk; and next, by the Registrar-General's Mortality Returns.

* Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury. Dr. Newman; 1903.

† Parliamentary Paper (Cd—833). Appendix IV.

It must be borne in mind that the study of milk as a vehicle of disease is a comparatively recent one, and that it is, in regard to many diseases, such as diphtheria, only in its infancy; thus it will be seen that recorded epidemics probably represent only a small part of the disease due in reality to milk infection. There is little doubt but that large numbers of isolated attacks of illness are due to this cause, although no one has a suspicion as to their origin.

In 1900 the Local Government Board for Ireland issued a report on the spread of typhoid fever, which alleged that "there had been repeated and detailed observations of the spread of enteric through creamery skimmed milk." In Glasgow in 1880 there was an epidemic of typhoid which caused 508 cases and 69 deaths; altogether no less than 200 of these epidemics were traceable to contaminated milk supplies. About 18 epidemics of diphtheria have been traced to milk-borne infection, one of the worst was in St. John's Wood in 1878 when 262 persons were attacked, and 38 died.

About 73 epidemics of milk-borne scarlet fever have been traced to carelessness or ignorance among milk producers. In most cases these were due to infection among the employees which had been kept secret, and, in some instances, it is more than probable that the cows themselves were the source of the disease.

There is little doubt but that a proportion of the tuberculous disease, which is such a scourge of modern communities, is due to the drinking of milk from tuberculous cows, or infected with dust containing the bacilli. This is especially the case with regard to the young, who not only, as a rule, drink milk more freely, but are also more susceptible than are adults.

One of the most fatal diseases from the child's standpoint is that of *diarrhœa*. In 1901, 30,121 deaths* were recorded as due to this cause alone. In London in 1902, 2,504 deaths were due to this malady. In Brighton in 1901-2 out of 226 deaths from diarrhœa, 191 were directly traceable to the unwholesome milk supply, and there is every reason to believe that this proportion holds good for the country generally. That this disease is prevalent in hot weather, that it occurs most frequently where food is liable to contamination, that it is much less common among children who are breast-fed, and that its incidence is most heavily felt by those who live exclusively on cow's milk—all point to the fact that the milk supply is the main cause of this waste of human life.

Much of the disease just referred to was conveyed by the milk, through dirty water either used to dilute the milk, or to clean the vessels in which it was conveyed. Some was traceable to dust or dirt getting into the supply on its way to the consumer; some again to diseased people coming in contact with it. But, in addition, there is the question of diseased cows to be considered. If we take the proportion of tuberculous cows discovered in Manchester as the general average for the whole country, we shall find that about 10,800 out of 2,000,000 milch cows are affected in the udders with

* Registrar-General's Annual Report.

this dangerous disease. But experience has shewn that country cows are, owing to less stringent inspection, more diseased than those kept in towns, and if we add to this the fact that there are several other diseases in the cow which, though apparently slighter, can yet cause severe illness in the human being, we shall realise that the proportion of diseased milk-sources is much higher than this.* Under present conditions it is to the interest of farmers to hide the fact of disease among the cows, and hence the financial interest of one class is directly opposed to the health interest of another, and in this case, at least, the money wins. Any solution of the milk problem must aim at harmonizing the interest of producer and consumer, so that the occurrence of disease in an animal shall not be financially disastrous to the one or physically injurious to the other.

The Use of Preservatives.

The distance which modern town life has necessarily placed between the source of the milk supply and the consumer has not only tended to remove control from the producer, but has necessitated a growing delay between the milking and the final delivery of the milk. With the present dirty methods of production it can easily be understood that the milk, butter, and cream are peculiarly liable to decompose, especially in hot weather. Hence it has become an almost universal custom for dairymen to mix varying quantities of chemical preservatives in their milk, cream, and butter, in order that they may keep well. With a public unable to detect the taste of the added chemicals, with a complete ignorance as to the physiological action on the part of the purveyor, and with such excellent results for the trade, it can easily be understood why this custom has grown so rapidly. A Departmental Committee† in 1901 shewed that 18·2 per cent. of the milk samples examined for them, 77·9 per cent. of the cream samples, and 57·1 per cent. of the butter samples, had been doctored with such substances as boric acid, formalin, salicylic acid, or benzoic acid. In butter the common proportion is about 1 lb. of chemicals to 100 lbs. of butter; but the proportion is generally left to the "inspiring moment's care." This custom at Southampton, if we are to believe the borough analyst, is more ingenious with regard to the milk; here 1 lb. of preservative is added to a gallon of water, and 1 pint of this mixture is added to every 8 gallons of milk, so that with every tumbler of milk you take 6 grains of some sort of chemical. "Both boric acid," he says, "and formalin preparation are being increasingly used."

But Southampton is not alone in this matter. The analyst of the Dairy Trade Protection Society asserts that there is an enormous amount of preservatives used in the milk trade of London—"far more than anyone has any conception of." Most preservative goes on in summer, and especially on Sundays—a day that is hallowed in many ways by the dairy trade.

* Swithinbank and Newman: Bacteriology of Milk.

† Departmental Committee on Food Preservatives and Coloring Matter: Report.

The use of these preservatives is a necessary corollary of the dirty methods of production, and, while their action on healthy adults is at present unknown, it seems certain that for infants, young children, and invalids, the results are pernicious. The use of chemicals, again, while failing to arrest the growth of dangerous organisms, will hide the fact that the article is stale, and will thus encourage its consumption, even when unfit for food. In the words of the report of the Preservatives Committee: "There is further objection to the use of preservatives in the milk traffic, that they may be relied upon to protect those engaged therein against the immediate results of scrupulous cleanliness. Under the influence of these preservatives, milk may be exposed, without injury, to conditions which otherwise would render it unsaleable. It may remain sweet to taste and smell, and yet have incorporated disease germs of various kinds."

"It has been put before us that it is not possible to supply large towns, especially London, with new milk without the aid of preservatives, but we have abundant evidence to prove *that this is no more than a matter of organization and system*. No doubt the prohibition of preservatives in milk offered for sale would tend to the disadvantage of small retailers, who have no cold storage, *but this is not a consideration* which should stand in the way of a much needed reform."

Denmark has prohibited the use of all preservatives, even in the butter destined for exportation, and has had to introduce greater cleanliness of production to compensate. At one time, France also had a prohibition law, but this was relaxed with regard to export at the urgent request of the British butter trade.

Adulteration.

While the use of chemical preservatives and coloring matter in dairy produce is essentially a form of adulteration, a few persons may yet be found to defend the custom; but these are practices which no one will defend, practices which exist to a great extent—even an increasing extent—among the sellers of dairy produce. We have just seen how the consequences which should normally result from the dirty methods of production, and which themselves represent a great financial saving on the proper cost of production, are hidden by the use of chemicals. We have now to consider a less legitimate, although equally harmful custom. It may be pleaded that the use of preservatives is the result of ignorance, but such an excuse can hardly be put forward to defend adulteration. From earliest times milk has, by its very nature, lent itself to the dishonesty of the dealer. In the old days, chalk and calves' brains were said to have been added to replace quality; water was added to increase the bulk. But the use of the former ingredients have long since been given up, and the main forms which adulteration takes, are:—

The addition of small quantities of water.

The addition of separated to "whole" milk.

The abstraction of cream.

The addition of diluted condensed milk.

The business of adulteration is a highly skilled one, and has increased in cleverness to meet the demands of a growing number of public analysts. Formerly the making of a profit and the keeping up of a business connection were the two ends to be kept in view; now detection by experts has to be avoided as well. As a guide to analysts the Board of Agriculture has fixed the standard of 3 per cent. by weight of butter-fat, below which it is illegal to sell milk as "whole." This is to ensure that the customer shall have milk of a reasonably good quality, and which has not been grossly tampered with. This standard is arrived at by experts in dairy work, and on the basis of a very large number of analyses. That the standard is a low one is shewn by the chemist to the Aylesbury Dairy Company who, after analyzing 100,000 samples, found the average of fat was 4 per cent. by weight. The amount of fat in good milk generally amounts to about 3·5 per cent. to 4 per cent. in winter, and often to as much as 5 per cent. in summer. The recommendation of the Departmental Committee to raise the standard to 3·25 per cent. is not, therefore, an extravagant one. The great drawback of indirect interference in the matter of an arbitrary standard is shewn by the fact that many members of the trade consider it legitimate to make a profit out of any fat which happens to exceed the standard amount. Hence a custom has grown up called "toning down the milk," which consists in the addition of skimmed milk to such an extent as just to reduce the percentage of fat to the legal minimum. By the addition of separated milk (*i.e.*, milk free from fat) the adulteration is rendered less easily detectable as the proportion of "solids not fat" is left normal, and only the proportion of fat reduced. In this way it is much easier to plead that the milk had only been standing, and that the cream had been taken away from the top layers by earlier customers.

In 1902*, 11·6 per cent. of the samples taken in England and Wales were reported against, and this was the highest rate recorded for ten years. The percentage of adulterations discovered in London was 15·6 per cent. In six metropolitan boroughs the percentage of adulteration to samples taken was no less than 20; and in the Borough of Finsbury the average percentage taken over a period of ten years was 25, or a quarter of the whole. It is always possible to raise these percentages by the appointment of a fresh and specially skilled inspector. For instance, in Islington, of 385 samples taken by the ordinary inspector, 23 or 6 per cent. were adulterated; while out of 547 taken by a special officer, 111 or 20·3 per cent. were condemned. The multiplication of hands through which the milk passes greatly adds to the rate of adulteration. The profits of adulteration, even when balanced against the fines of the police courts, must be very great; in 1902 the Local Government Board reported that, on the return made to them, the people of London were paying an annual sum of £30,000 for water which had been fraudulently added to their milk. If we take this basis for the United Kingdom,

* Annual Report Local Government Board, 1902.

the nation is paying about £240,000 annually to the adulterators for the water they add;* to this must be added the annual cost of the medical officers, sanitary inspectors, police courts, lawyers, etc., etc., after deducting the fines and costs recovered. It has been estimated that, at the lowest, the people of England and Wales are paying about £25,000 per annum under these heads also. It would be thought that private enterprise had done enough when it had caused the great amount of illness which dirty and slipshod methods can account for, without defrauding those who already suffer so much.

It must not be thought, moreover, that the monetary loss represents the total social cost of adulteration. To adults it may do, but it is far otherwise with regard to the infant population. For them directions are issued by means of which cows' milk is diluted and prepared so as to somewhat resemble human milk. These proportions are based upon the use of good whole milk, and when the dealers have already tampered with the milk, the mother or nurse is misled, and the modified milk sinks below the proper standard of nourishment. In this way those children who are unfortunate enough to be hand-fed may be slowly starved. There is no doubt that the high infantile mortality, attributable to dirty milk, is increased by the supply of diluted and preservatized milk.

But it should not be imagined that all the blame rests with the producer or middleman; owing to the present slipshod methods of distribution the employees on the rounds are doing their part in the general swindle. They, on their own account, dilute, give short measure, and tamper with the milk which, totally unguarded, is left in their hands. And in these circumstances the middleman is powerless, for if he prosecutes a dishonest employee he only condemns his own business, and publishes the condemnation.† Finally, there is no doubt at all as to the existence of a system of blackmail among the inspectors themselves. A recent writer‡ describes the process. "I do not think that anything is to be gained by beating about the bush in this matter, and so let me briefly state that the inspector's fee is one guinea, as a rule paid in cash, but occasionally in kind. Now there are two ways in which this transaction may be viewed. You may picture the wicked trader bribing the innocent inspector to overlook his crimes, or you may imagine the inspector threatening the dairyman with—'Your money or your reputation.' It is not very difficult to see on which side the blame lies. It is a negative advantage only which the dairyman's money gains for him. The inspector does not say, 'Give me my guinea, and I guarantee that you will *not* get into trouble,' but 'Refuse me my guinea, and I guarantee that you will get into trouble.'" This is another explanation why the full burden of adulteration never sees the light of day.

Social Reaction.

It is impossible to do more than outline, in the limits of a Fabian Tract, the present chaotic and disastrous conditions which private

* *The Problems of the Milk Supply.* F. Lawson Dodd.

† *Vide Economic Review*, January, 1905. Article on Milk Trade from Within.

enterprise in the supply of a commodity which is essentially suitable for collective ownership, has brought into existence. The methods of distribution are as bad as those of production; the railway companies have no financial or other interest in the delivery of clean milk, and therefore very seldom provide proper vans for its conveyance. Fish, paint, petroleum, or any other unsuitable goods are packed along with the milk. The churns from the farms are allowed to stand for hours on platforms of rural stations to be dealt with as ordinary goods, or to await the slow milk train. While thus waiting, the milk is often exposed to the hot rays of the sun and the dust of passing traffic, which both make for increased bacterial contamination. It is improperly covered in badly shaped receptacles, which are scarcely ever locked, and from which the contents are often pilfered or polluted. Neither farmer, middleman, nor railway company cares what happens to the delicate foodstuff which they are handling, and so long as the farmer gets his price, the company its rate, and the middleman his fat profit, considerations of cleanliness and public health are little cared about. "If the Almighty had intended that there should be no manure in the milk, he would have placed the udder at the other end of the cow" represents the rural mind. "Doctors' fads" suffices for the rest. Hence, after passing on its slow and often interrupted journey, it finally reaches the poorest customer who buys it from a small shop where pickles, soap, vinegar, and paraffin are its close companions, and where, remaining uncovered, in a doubtfully clean basin, it forms the last resting place of flies, and a receptacle for the dust and dirt of the shop and the street. When it reaches the jugs of the poor in pennyworths and ha'porths, it is often as much as three days old, and is loaded with bacilli, but alas! unprotected by the souring which would have occurred had it not been for the doses of chemicals which it has received in its strange career. Good milk may contain 50,000 to 500,000 micro-organisms to the cubic centimetre: it will now be understood why Dr. Newman records the numbers in milk sold in the City of London and Holborn as 4,800,000 at a good class shop, and as 3,200,000 in a poor class shop in Finsbury. "In 1899, 50 samples of milk were examined in St. Pancras: 16 (or 32 per cent.) were normal healthy milks; and 34 (or 68 per cent.) were unhealthy milks. Of the latter, 12 samples contained pus [matter from abscesses] in smaller or greater amount, and 5 (or 10 per cent.) contained the tubercule bacilli."^{*}

In the face of such facts, which could be multiplied many times over, the urgency of the matter of milk supply is beginning to dawn on the minds of the people. But something has already been done which may be summarized here.

The Dairies, Cowsheds, and Milkshops Orders, 1885-1899, are issued now on the authority of the Local Government Board, under powers granted under the Contagious Diseases Animals Act, 1878. These orders throw upon every urban and rural sanitary authority the duty of regulating and supervizing the milk trade, and of carrying

* Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury. Dr. Newman.

out certain general regulations prescribed by the orders. They further have the power of making and enforcing bye-laws under section 13. A register of all cowkeepers and dairymen is to be kept and revised from time to time. Before any fresh dairy or cowshed is occupied the authority must be first satisfied as to its sanitary condition; and it is made unlawful to occupy any such place if it is likely to be injurious to the cattle, or to the milk, or may afford opportunities for infection or contamination.

It is further made illegal for any infected person to take part in the supply of milk; and no dairy may directly communicate with a water-closet, or be used as a sleeping apartment, or a piggery; lastly, no milk from a cow suffering from certain specified diseases (now including tuberculosis) may be sold for human food, or for food of animals unless first boiled.

Under the provisions of the Infectious Diseases Prevention Act, 1890, and for London, under the Public Health (London) Act, 1891, sanitary authorities are given the appearance of powers for dealing with milk-borne epidemics. When such an epidemic appears the Medical Officer of Health may, after obtaining an order from a magistrate of the locality where the dairy is situated, proceed to inspect such dairy, and, if accompanied by a veterinary surgeon, the cows also. If satisfied that this is the offending dairy, he must report to his council, and they may order the dairyman to appear before them within 24 hours, and shew cause why an order should not be made forbidding him to sell his milk in the district of the authority concerned until their order is withdrawn. If the offender refuse to obey, then proceedings may be taken in his own district, and he may be fined £5 and 40 shillings for each day of default.

This measure has been found quite worthless in practice, as it takes three or four days at least to get in motion, and then further delay may be achieved by the dairyman, who would thus get time to dispose of a diseased cow. While this delay takes place the people are all the time consuming the diseased milk. In fact, promptness is the main factor in dealing with milk epidemics, and under this Act it is the very thing that is impossible. Then, too, when all is done, you have only locked the stable door after the escape of the horse, you have not *got such control as will prevent the occurrence of disease.*

Prevention of Fraud.

We have now seen what society has done to protect itself against the filthy conditions which are so prevalent in the places where milk is produced. The machinery has been at work since 1883, and very little has been done at the sources, at least, for the administration of the law is in the hands mainly of the very persons whose interest lies in its neglect—viz., the farmers. Then, too, the somewhat later attempt made to control milk-borne disease is admittedly a failure.* We will consider lastly the measure against fraud in the form of adulteration which has been in operation since 1875, and

* See Dr. Newman's Report on the Milk Supply of Finsbury, 1903.

which was strengthened in 1899, and under which adulteration seems, till quite recently, to have been on the increase.

The Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, 1875-1899, are aimed at the prevention of (a) the mixing of injurious ingredients with any article of solid or liquid food or drug, (b) the selling of any such article of inferior quality, and (c) the abstraction of anything from such article which might injuriously affect its quality. In one class of cases it must be proved that the added substance is injurious, and, in the other class, it is only necessary to prove that the article is not of the nature, substance, or quality demanded. It is under these Acts that sanitary inspectors take samples. It will be seen from what has already been said of adulteration that it is still profitable, and that this law although preventive in its action in some cases, does not seem to touch the bulk of the evil. It may be mentioned that inspectors may not take samples outside their own areas; and that the use of coloring matter and preservatives does not constitute an offence.

These attempts to control from the outside by legislative methods a trade so thoroughly disorganized, ignorant, dirtily managed, and permeated with dishonesty, have naturally failed to produce any real and lasting result, and it is certain that such measures, while acting as palliatives, will never prevent the evil or wholly remove it.

The law then is hopelessly inadequate, even if carried out to the letter. Under the Dairies' Orders satisfactory regulations have been adopted in only a few districts, and in others they are not nearly stringent enough. Those in force in London were drawn up by the old Metropolitan Board of Works at a time when the relation of milk to disease was little understood. "In the eyes of the law milk may contain large quantities of preservatives, such as boric or salicylic acids; it may shew a deposit of stable manure; it may be colored with annatto or turmeric; it may contain pus or innumerable micro-organisms, either harmless or pathogenic; it may be coated with dust from the street, or contain dead flies in suspension; it may contain saltpetre to hide the flavor of some unsuitable food given to the cow; it may be the product of a cow fed on such fermented food as brewer's grains, which renders it unfit for infants' food—it may contain all these impurities, and yet be legally 'pure milk!'"*

Certified Milk.

The Borough of Sunderland, amongst others, has started a movement for the improvement of the milk supply by means of certificates granted to those producers who fulfil certain definite conditions. These certificates, renewable from year to year, give a guarantee of quality on behalf of those who fulfil their conditions, and may be used as an advertisement. The system has not found much favor, and the ignorance of the public is at present so great that, while caring little for the conditions of milk production, they certainly do object to the added cost that is entailed by any extra precautions under the present system.

* "The Problem of the Milk Supply." 1904

Municipal Milk Depots.

It was in France, where an increasing infant mortality accompanying a falling birth rate led people seriously to consider the question of the food of the infant population, that the first Infants' Milk Depot was started by Dr. Dufour at Fécamp under private auspices. Many local authorities, on both sides of the channel, have now followed this example. Liverpool, St. Helen's, Bradford, Battersea, and many other places have inaugurated depots in this country. The general plan in all these is to provide, at a low price, sterilized humanized milk in sealed bottles with sufficient in each for one meal. The sterilization kills the germs, and the humanization adapts the milk to infants' digestive processes. These bottles of milk are sold at a central depot, and, in the case of Liverpool, at about 30 dairies as well. In this last named place 3,000 bottles per day have been sold. The cost to the parent for the food of one child is about 1s. 6d. to 1s. 9d. per week, and in Battersea about 400 children are being fed.* By far the best municipal milk supply is that established in the City of Rochester, U.S.A., in 1897, and, as it shews the main lines on which all public supplies should be carried on, it will be useful to describe its method of working. "A central station at which the milk is prepared is organized each [summer] on a farm outside the city, where a trained nurse and assistants have full control of the cows, utensils, bottles, etc., and where all of the milk-work is carried on in a portable milk laboratory. Everything coming in contact with the milk is thoroughly sterilized in steam sterilizers. The milk itself is not subjected to any Pasteurizing or sterilizing process. Sterilizing and Pasteurizing are only an open invitation to the milkman to be careless in the production and handling of milk.

"At the milk station on the farm the milk is taken from clean, well-fed, tested cattle, into sterile cans which are carried to the farm in sterile cheese-cloth bags. Just before milking, the cows' udders are washed. A sterilized cheese-cloth fly cloth is placed over the cow, the first portion of the milk being rejected. So soon as the cans are filled they are immediately covered by a layer of cheese-cloth held in position by a rubber band. The cans of milk thus covered are immediately taken from the barn into the laboratory, about 200 yards away, where the milk is properly diluted, sweetened, and turned off into sterile nursery bottles of various sizes of the Siebert type. The bottles are corked with sterile rubber corks, placed in racks, covered with cracked ice, and immediately transferred to the city for use. Of the cleanliness of milk prepared in this way, forty-three daily samples were found to average not more than 14,000 bacteria† per cubic centimetre, while the city milk for the same period approximated 235,000 bacteria per cubic centimetre."‡

* Annual Reports on the Health of Battersea. 1903 and 1904.

† *C*₉ number found in London milk noted above.

‡ "The Influence of Municipal Milk Supply on the Deaths of Young Children," Dr. Goler, Health Officer Rochester, N.Y., U.S.A., *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 1903.

Of most municipal milk depots it must be said that they are only attempts to solve a great problem, but, though small, they go in the right direction. Good has been done, but it is little, owing to the following reasons:—

1. The farms are not under the control of the depots, and hence sterilization is necessary, although in itself bad.

2. The sale of only one kind, viz., modified milk, reduces the usefulness, as those who wish to prepare their own infants' food get the unwholesome milk of the ordinary dairy.

3. There is no system of advising each mother, and supervizing the growth of the child as is the case in Paris.

4. They do not touch the really important point, which is the clean production and general organization of the milk supply of the poor.

5. No help is given to the deserving mother, suckling her own child, who therefore needs extra nourishment for herself, and often finds it impossible from lack of food to continue in this right course.

Private Experience.

Many attempts have been made by private enterprise with varying success, and recent revelations in connection with one of the best companies in London have shewn that they in no really efficient manner protect the public from danger.* In York a pure milk supply has been carried out on commercial lines, under a skilled and intelligent dairy farmer, and so great has been the demand that prices have had to be raised above the ordinary market rate to choke off business. In Paris, Dr. H. Rothschild has organized a supply of pure sterilized milk which is sold in several depots in the poorer districts, the demand is very great, and continually increasing owing to the quality, cleanliness, and price of the milk sold; but although this milk is supplied at a much cheaper rate than at other dairies the profit made is considerable, and that the benefit has been great is evidenced by the vital statistics of the city. Another instance of a useful attempt to solve the problem by private effort is that afforded by the Copenhagen Milk Supply Company under the able direction of Mr. G. Busck. This company pays a limited dividend of 5 per cent., and the managing director expends much time, energy, skill, and experience without any remuneration. It has not only improved the quality and sources of the milk, but has successfully prevented the attempts of other companies to form a corner to raise prices. Another valuable work done to supply pure milk to the very poor is that of the Hon. Nathan Straus in New York. He has succeeded in giving good milk at reduced cost to the poor by means of careful organization of supply and distribution † It is needless to enumerate more cases. Two main facts stand out prominently to the student. First, all attempts at improvement on

* Vide case of Typhoid Fever caused, in the opinion of the jury, by the Milk from a farm on the books of the Aylesbury Dairy Company. *Frost v. Aylesbury Dairy Co.* Court of Appeal, Feb. 1905. *Times Law Reports*, p. 300.

† Infant Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots, p. 68.

present lines of distribution inevitably keep up and raise the market price of milk. The second point is that wherever improvement has taken place and the price has been kept down or lowered, the undertaking has not only been on a large and carefully organized scale, but there has always been an absence of the mere commercial element. Dr. Rothschild and Mr. Busck both bear testimony to this.

The Lines of True Reform.

Mention has already been made of the municipal milk depots established in many large centres of population. These have commenced the work of public supply; and the next move must be to enlarge their basis and increase their control over their sources of supply. Hence, each town should have a municipal milk depot for the sale of milk of all kinds—whole, separated, buttermilk, cream, and other dairy produce—connected with a farm under the same ownership and control. These depots should be situated in the poorer districts, and they should sell the articles at a cost covering production and distribution. To secure freedom from adulteration, all the employees should be well paid, and the milk should be distributed in sealed cans and bottles to the depots or the consumers. At first it might be made compulsory for the customers to fetch their own milk, and thus save the cost of delivery, as at Dr. Rothschild's depots in Paris. The municipal farm should also supply pure milk to all public institutions, whether officially or privately managed, such as fever hospitals, asylums, workhouses and schools. In connection with the elementary schools it would be advisable to follow the suggestion in the Report of the Scottish Physical Training Committee: "It would in many cases be an inestimable advantage could regular and sufficient meals—such as broth, porridge and milk, or bread and milk—be provided at a minimum cost"*; or to obtain half a pint of milk for each child at least once a day. Such an arrangement would secure a saving on the cost of the milk purchased from the contractors, and would prevent such epidemics as have occurred even in the largest London hospitals. This is no new idea. The Corporation of Nottingham, for instance, supplies its asylum from its own herd of cows, and receives about £2,500 per annum for the sale of milk and butter. In 1903-4 the Birmingham Drainage Board took £1,894 for the sale of 61,404 gallons of milk produced on their sewage farm; and at Reading the same thing is done. It is imperative that all such institutions as have just been mentioned should have an unimpeachable milk supply; and the only way to ensure that is by giving them one under the direct control of the local sanitary authority. If the physique of the poorer classes is to be built up, it is essential that their food should be both good and cheap, and this applies especially to the milk supply. The milk produced on the municipal farm would be distributed to the local depots, and the extra cost of clean and healthy production would be saved from the profits of the middlemen and the loss entailed in bad organization.

* *Vide Report*, p. 30.

These model farms should be run in connection with the technical schools, and the science and art of dairy-farming taught under the most favorable conditions. It is certain that no mere tariff interference can prevent the loss of an industry carried on in a way which not only displays technical ignorance, but also want of organization, combined with practices which are injurious to the public health.

The establishment of municipal milk depots supplied from municipal farms is the first step towards the social organization of the dairy industry; and this would inevitably lead towards a complete organization of the supply. Well-to-do people would soon purchase their milk from stores which they could rely upon, and each successive increase in demand would render the whole process more economical, and hence a lowering of price possible. The community would take over the whole of the supply, and production as well as distribution would be completely organized on one system. The milkman would be on the same footing as the postman, and his rounds would be as regular, although their frequency would be greatly reduced, owing to the better keeping quality of milk produced under clean conditions, and also to the fact that all milk would be bottled at the farms after being cooled, and thus protected from the sources of pollution which under present methods are so harmful. The number of carts and men and shops would thus be lessened, and the saving could be used to improve the article or lower the price. The number of hands through which the milk passes would also be reduced, and hence the possibility of infection or contamination made less. The sources of supply—the cows, farms, farm-hands, etc.—would be under control and supervision, and epidemics could be entirely avoided. Encouragement would be given for honesty on the part of the men in case of infectious disease existing in their homes or families; they would be paid the usual wages even when not at work if they gave the needed information, and punished if they failed to give it. The presence of disease amongst the animals would be known, and precautions would be taken to isolate the cow if curable or to destroy it if incurable or dangerously ill. Such a decision would be arrived at easily when there was no question of bringing serious financial loss to one man in the interests of the many; the community would lose the animal, but the community would gain the immunity; whereas, under present circumstances, if anything at all happens, it means that the gain of the one is made the loss of the other. The industry would for the first time be put into the hands of skilled persons, and controlled in the interest of the public health. What has happened to water will take place in regard to milk, with the same beneficent results.

The most important industries should be put under public control first. It was epidemics and not epigrams that caused the municipalization of the main sources of our water supply. If trams or electricity are mismanaged, the public reap inconvenience in transit or lighting; but if the supply of milk is mismanaged—as has been shewn to be the case—the community reaps disease and physical degeneracy in its youngest members, as well as death and

misery resulting from the frequent epidemics amongst the adult population. It is only necessary to convince the public that it can no longer afford to drink dirty and expensive milk in order to support its adherence to a worn-out and obsolete economic theory.

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STATE CONTROL OF TRUSTS.*

THE common use of the term "Trust" is not marked by any scientific precision but rather conveys an abusive by-meaning. Here we shall use it to denote all organizations designed to control competition, whatever be their form, and whether intended to be temporary or permanent in duration. It thus includes not only the huge amalgamations of many businesses, where the original firms are replaced by one permanent company, but also the temporary syndicates, associations, or kartells, where the associated manufacturers bind themselves by private penalties for specific objects for definite periods of time, but otherwise retain their separate individuality. Whether they are simple associations to fix rates of discount and terms of delivery, or price associations, or syndicates to pool output, or associations to concentrate the sale of the products of the combining firms, these terminable associations are marked by the surrender of a progressively increasing share of independence, of freedom to compete. At last, with the amalgamation, we have the complete extinction of competition.

The Abolition of Trusts.

Such a thorough reversal of the industrial principle, whereby the benefits of improvements passed to the consumer through the rivalry of competing producers, could hardly be received with favor; and it is not surprising that the first impulse has been to prohibit the new development as dangerous to the community. Destructive legislation has completely failed. In Austria kartells have sometimes disguised themselves as scientific associations in order to evade the law. In the United States anti-trust legislation has been voluminous and futile; when the original "trust" form was declared illegal it gave way to the company form, which so far has shown itself impregnable. The Sherman Act of 1890 and the supplementary Act of 1894 forbid all combinations in restraint of interstate or foreign or import trade, all attempts at monopoly of interstate or foreign commerce, and all contracts intended to restrict competition in or increase the prices of imported articles. Twenty-seven States and territories have passed laws against monopolies, and fifteen have anti-monopoly articles in their constitutions, while others rely on the common law. In the Addyston Pipe case of 1899 the combination of manufacturers in different States to fix prices was declared illegal under the Sherman Act, and similar combinations within a State have been suppressed by State laws. Even then a verbal understanding, "a gentleman's agreement," remains unaffected, even though it is as tyrannous as that of the six Chicago packing-houses, the so-called "Beef Trust." The large amalga-

* Reprinted, with some alterations, from the *New Liberal Review*, September, 1903

tions have escaped unscathed; except that in Illinois in 1899, on the petition of several shareholders in the American Glucose Co., an agreement to sell out to a new corporation, the Glucose Sugar Refining Co., was set aside so far as concerned the American Glucose Co.

Trusts and Railways.

The direct attack having thus failed, attempts have been made to destroy trusts by removing their supposed causes. The Final Report of the Industrial Commission of the United States says: "There can be no doubt that in earlier times special favors from railroads were a prominent factor, probably the most important factor, in building up some of the largest combinations." In order to prevent such discrimination the Inter-state Commerce Act of 1887 was passed, prohibiting the combination of railroads for the pooling of freight or to prevent through shipment of goods. It also, to quote the above report, "places upon inter-state carriers a prohibition against unjust or unreasonable rates and against unjust discrimination, but otherwise leaves them as free as they were at common law to make special contracts looking to the increase of business, to classify traffic, to adjust and apportion rates so as to meet the necessities of commerce, and generally to manage their own business in their own way. The commission appointed under the Act is not authorized to fix rates. . . . But its powers as thus defined are not extensive, and perhaps the criticism of Mr. Justice Harlan is justified, that 'it has been shorn by judicial interpretation of authority to do anything of an effective character.'" President Roosevelt now proposes legislation to prevent secret rebates and unjust rates, but he has to face the vehement opposition of the millionaire party, and there is no security that the administration of the new law will be more efficient than that of the old. Preferential railway rates may favor the growth of trusts, but their absence does not prevent it, as is shown by the spread of combination in Germany where the railroads have been nationalized, and in Britain where discrimination is illegal.

Causes of Combination.

The most popular view of the origin of trusts is that which declares, with Mr. Havemeyer of the Sugar Trust, that "the tariff is the mother of trusts." In one sense this is true, where the industry itself has been created by a protective tariff, but as a general proposition it is incorrect. Some of the most successful American trusts, like the Standard Oil Company, owe nothing to the tariff, and our own British combinations have, of course, grown up under free trade. The truth about the tariff is that it creates the home industry, and by making high profits possible behind its protective wall attracts an unnecessary number of manufacturers into the trade, whose violent competition produces such a state of things that combination is the only outcome.

There are two main causes of combination, the attempt to escape from the consequences of excessive competition, and the desire to realize the economies of large-scale production. From their opera-

tion we cannot escape, and we must, therefore, regard the limitation of competition as a natural development culminating in the production of private monopoly, either complete or partial. Such monopoly is marked by the unified control of business over the whole or a part of the industrial field, and is specially directed towards prices. Only the socialist welcomes this result, and he only because he sees himself in the position desired by the Roman tyrant who wished that all his enemies had but one neck. It is not enough to dismiss the problem with the dictum that public monopoly must supersede private monopoly. For such a conclusion the public mind is not yet prepared, nor is the State machinery at present fitted to cope with industrial administration. If we believe that in the end industry must be managed by the State, we must prepare the way by the gradual development of control; if, on the other hand, we hold that the organization of industry must remain in private hands, we must purge it of manifest evils. In either case we must guide our action by the endeavor to maintain the advantages of the unified control of industry, and these, over and above the usual economies of a large business, are the prevention of the waste of competition, the specialization of plants, the better organization of talent, the application of all the expert knowledge in a trade to every establishment in the trade, and the better organization of sales.

Trusts and Prices.

Apart from any injury which may be done to the State in its corporate capacity, there are four classes of persons who may be damaged by a trust—the rival producers, the consumers, the employees, and the investors. With the first of these we are only concerned so far as an injury to them may lead to greater loss to the consumer, or where the methods of competition offend against the public sense of honesty. Their interests and those of the consumer can be treated together in relation to the general policy of trusts with regard to prices. The common belief about trusts is that they exist for the purpose of forcing up prices, and every rise in the price of an article produced by a trust is regarded as an exercise of their malignant power. The advance which almost invariably follows the establishment of a trust is adduced in support of this belief, regardless of the fact that comparison is made with prices so low as to be unprofitable. An increase in such circumstances is quite as justifiable as one motivated by a rise in the cost of raw materials. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the hope of securing higher prices is one of the chief inducements to combination, and the extent to which this can be done requires our attention. The law of monopoly price is that the monopolist will charge not the highest price, but the price which will call forth the demand productive of the largest net revenue. The maximum profit, being thus a function of two variables, may be produced by different combinations of these, but the motive which will cause the monopolist to prefer a larger supply at a lower price to a smaller supply at a higher price is the fear of creating competition. Mr. Havemeyer

put the matter quite bluntly to the American Industrial Commission when, after declaring that he did "not care two cents for your ethics," he said: "As a business proposition it is right to get all out of business that you possibly can. If you get too much of a profit, you get somebody in competition." The monopolist price will be higher than that which will produce the ordinary profit gained under the rule of free competition. Thus Mr. Archbold, of the Standard Oil Company, when asked, "By virtue of your greater power you are enabled to secure prices that on the whole could be considered steadily somewhat above competitive rates?" replied, "Well, I hope so. Undoubtedly there is an ability, and when that ability is unwisely used it is sure to bring its own defeat." The degree to which competition is capable of reducing the power of a trust is strictly limited. The possibility of effective competition depends largely on the amount of capital which is required; thus, for example, it would be difficult for a new firm to compete with the United States Steel Corporation. And, so long as the trust continues to manufacture a necessary portion of the supply it can obtain its own price for it, though all the time outside producers are marketing all their product at a lower price. Thus, the Durham Coal Sales Association in 1894 was able to maintain the price of Association gas-coal at sixpence a ton above that offered by the non-associated collieries. Nor, except in exceptional cases, can reliance be placed on a shrinkage in demand, or in a shifting of demand from the trust-produced article to an alternative article. The slowness of the American coal consumers to use soft coal instead of anthracite for domestic purposes, even under the pressure of the ruinous prices of the summer and autumn of 1902, well exemplifies the conservatism of the consuming public. A trust can more quickly take advantage of a rising market and offer a longer resistance to a fall than a number of separate establishments can. It is also not under the same compulsion to give away in reduced prices the savings resulting from improvements in manufacture; in fact, the possibility of retaining these extra profits is the great inducement for a trust to seek better methods, and the Sugar Trust avowedly for years retained such profits, for, as Mr. Havemeyer said, "it was none of the public's business," and when prices were lowered that was "business policy again, and not philanthropy."

It is difficult to estimate how far there may have been an increase in prices due to trusts, or how far that has been hurtful. From the Report on the Statistics of Labor for 1901, for Massachusetts, it appears that between 1897 and 1902 the cost of living for the working classes had risen 15·37 per cent., *i.e.*, food 11·16 per cent., clothing 16·07, rent 52·43, fuel and light 9·78, the expenditure on sundries in each year being put at the same proportion of income. These increases represent the movements in retail prices, the rise in wholesale prices being 36 per cent., and both are higher than the increase in general wages, which between 1897 and 1901 was 6·6 per cent. In Germany the kartells have shown themselves guilty of far greater extortion; it is enough to quote the sugar kartell. Some have tried to measure the loss to home con-

sumers by a comparison of prices charged to home and foreign customers; thus American shipbuilders were paying \$1.65 for steel which at the same time was exported to be sold in England at 95 cents, while during the last two years the English iron trade has been disorganized by German iron dumped on our markets at or below cost price. This practice is defended by the assertion that the lower average cost of production of the larger output enables the quantity sold at home to be sold at a lower price than otherwise could be afforded. It is also the natural device of every manufacturer who tries to get a footing in a new market, or in one where he meets with strong competition, or when he has a surplus to dispose of, and is used by associations in free trade as well as in protected countries. Thus, Messrs. Denny and Co. say* that the Scottish Plate-makers' Association is prepared to sell boiler-plates abroad at £1 per ton below the home price. On the other hand a trust or kartell dealing in raw or semi-manufactured materials may, by selling abroad at low prices, injure a home trade which works up these same articles into the finished product; thus the Gerresheim Glassworks proprietors complained† in 1901 that their trade was falling off because their foreign competitors could get German coal at a lower rate than they had to pay. Obviously, the crux of the problem lies in the justice or otherwise of the home price. An important point is that the greatest sinners in the way of prices are not the great amalgamations, but the looser associations, syndicates, or kartells. A comparison of the range of prices during the earlier iron and steel pools in the United States, or of the price policy of the German kartells, with the more conservative conduct of the United States Steel Corporation is enough to establish this fact. Indeed a temporary organization, just because it is temporary, must force up prices and make hay while the sun shines, while a permanent combination must take longer views. Nowadays all the American trust magnates profess their belief in low prices.

Tariffs and Prices.

Before dealing with the normal regulation of prices we must first touch on any artificial conditions which strengthen the power of trusts. The chief of these is unquestionably a protective tariff. It is that which enabled Mr. Schwab to obtain \$27 for steel rails costing \$16 a ton. In Britain we have not had to complain of trusts raising prices because we have had the foreign producer to fall back on. The "infant industry" plea no longer holds good over large tracts of industry, and it is admitted that those iron and steel products, the labor-cost of which is low, no longer require a protective duty in America. We do not need to take the extreme view that the full amount of the import duty is always added to the cost of production and so levied from the consumer; how much will be added will depend upon the interaction of the duty and other coincident factors tending to reduce prices. In Germany the tariff seems to be very fully utilized, but in America it is not to the same degree; thus the

* *Glasgow Herald*, November 12, 1902.

† *Das Grundgesetz der Wirtschaftskrisen*. R. E. May. (Berlin, 1902.)

price of tinplate in the States has gradually approximated to the price abroad. Dr. Grunzel, the secretary of the Central Union of Austrian Manufacturers, puts the whole case very simply: * "An industry organized in kartells can exploit a protective tariff better than one not so organized, and therefore can do with a lower import duty."

One particular method of effecting tariff changes can, however, not be approved, that set forth in a Canadian Act of 1887. If the Governor believes that prices have been unduly raised owing to the operations of a trust, he may, after causing an inquiry to be held by a Judge of the Supreme Court, reduce or suspend the import duties on the articles in question. In virtue of this Act, the tax on imported printing paper was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. *ad valorem* in February, 1902. Similar powers have been conferred by the Tariff Act recently passed by the Parliament of the Australian Commonwealth. This method throws the whole tariff policy into doubt and confusion, and thereby inflicts serious injury on trade; and since production by trusts now extends over a very wide range of commodities, it has the grave constitutional defect of removing the most important industrial questions from the legislative to the administrative branch of the Government. The same objection applies to the introduction of anti-trust clauses in commercial treaties. If a tariff is to be altered at all, it should be altered at proper intervals, after due notice, and not too frequently, instead of in a sporadic and irregular fashion.

We may, therefore, conclude that where a tariff exists the surest way of preventing extortionate prices is to lower or abolish the import duties, and that where trusts exist in a free trade country, there are the strongest reasons against adopting a protectionist policy. Trusts we can put up with when modified by foreign competition; protection we might endure, if domestic competition kept down prices; but both together are too much for any nation. We, in this country, have already experienced what monopoly meant during the coal boom.

Unfair Competition.

There are certain forms of price policy which are commonly adopted in the competitive world without doing very much harm, but which, in the hands of a trust, become instruments of tyranny.

There are three ways [says Professor J. B. Clark,†] in which a trust can crush an efficient competitor. The rival may be producing goods cheaply, and he may be the man who normally ought to survive; and yet the trust may run him. It may make use of the "factors' agreement," by which it gives a special rebate to those merchants who handle only its own goods. It may be resort, secondly, to the local cutting of prices, whereby the trust enters its rival's special territory and sells goods there below the cost of producing them, while sustaining itself by means of higher prices charged in other portions of its own field. Again, the trust may depend on the cutting of the price of some one variety of goods which a rival producer makes, in order to run him, while it sustains itself by means of the higher prices which it gets for goods of other varieties.

* *Ueber Kartelle.* (Berlin, 1902.)

† "Monopolies and the Law." *Political Science Quarterly*, Sept., 1901, p. 467.

The most familiar example of the tyranny of rebates is given by the shipping rings, which have thereby inflicted enormous injury on British trade. Merchants shipping goods to South Africa by independent vessels not only lose all of the 10 per cent. rebate granted for exclusive patronage of the ring which they may have earned, but are also charged double or quadruple rates for any shipments they may be compelled to make by "ring" vessels. Messrs. Denny and Co., of Glasgow, again, recently reported an attempt made to force shipbuilders to deal only with the Platemakers' Association, by refusing supplies to those dealing with outside firms. This tyrannical conduct only drove Messrs. Denny to Germany. Other charges are that "the Associated Boiler-makers' ring . . . while holding out for inflated prices for boiler-plates, was underselling in the ship-plate market."* In America the rebate policy was one of the most effective weapons of the Tobacco Trust, and differential prices were freely charged by it, as well as by the Petroleum, Salt, and Photographic Trusts.

The United States Industrial Commission recommended :

That stringent laws be enacted by the Congress and the several State legislatures, making both penal and criminal the vicious practice of discriminating between customers, and cutting rates or prices in one locality below those which prevail generally, for the purpose of destroying local competition ; and that such laws should give to any person damaged the right to sue for and recover prescribed penalties, and make it the duty of prosecuting officers to proceed against the offenders

Professor Clark also urges the desirability of penalizing these practices, and seeing the extremely great difficulty of enforcing such laws, he advises that the commission of any one of these offences should be held proof of monopoly, thus, according to the common law of the United States, leading to the outlawry of the trust. His object is to keep alive the effective competition of efficient producers and to give reality to potential competition, which to-day are neutralized by the unfair advantages of the trusts. In this way he hopes to prevent monopoly and to escape from the ultimate nationalization of industry. Even those who do not share his hopes must agree that it is more consonant with the interests of the community that the trusts should develop solely through their efficiency as producers and not by the brute power of their wealth, and must therefore share his condemnation of trust tyranny. But in prohibiting those practices our whole view of industry is changed. It is no longer a means for securing the private gain of the individuals engaged in it, but the performance of a public service which requires all persons to be treated alike, and makes the managers responsible to the public for their whole conduct. To enforce such prohibitory laws would demand the most persistent vigilance on the part of the public, and in view of the many forms which evasion can take the best we can say is that enforcement is not absolutely impossible. In the matter of shipping rebates, the situation is much simpler than elsewhere. The case is made out for their prohibition, and we have additional weapons at hand in the grant of

* *Financial Times*, March 13, 1903.

postal and naval subsidies. Already in the Cunard subsidy it has been made a condition that the company is "not to unduly raise freights or to give any preferential rates to foreigners."

Anti-Trust Combinations.

When we have pared off these excrescences of price policy, we have still to face the fact that trusts can keep prices somewhat above competitive rates, and we may anticipate that they will prefer a steady "squeeze" in this way to sudden raids on the public purse. A trust can be met by combination among its customers, who are thus able to oppose a unified demand to a unified offer, or even to undertake manufacture co-operatively for themselves. The Austrian glass and soap workers in 1897 started a co-operative soda factory in opposition to the soda kartell, and in 1901 the mere threat of such action enabled the millers to win concessions from the Austro-Hungarian jute kartell. Early in 1902, the Union of Austrian Manufacturers, wearied of the monopoly of the coal commission houses, started an agency of their own, Gerich and Co., to purchase coal and coke as directed by the Union, to be sold to members at a price just enough to cover expenses. Last year a syndicate of Clyde ship-builders started a nut, bolt and rivet works in opposition to the Scottish Rivet, Nut and Bolt Co., an amalgamation including most of the firms in the trade, but it has not been a success. A more significant experiment is the Piece Dyeing Trade Board of Bradford, constituted last spring of an equal number of representatives of the Bradford Dyers' Association and of the merchants, their customers, the latter appointed by the Bradford Chamber of Commerce. An independent umpire or chairman is provided for, and, while the merchants agree that the Association is entitled "to a first preference in respect of dyeing work," it is stipulated "that any difference or matter of dispute arising between the Association and their customers shall, if not capable of settlement between the parties, be referred to the committee for their arbitration, and their decision shall be final." In all these arrangements, however, the interests of the ultimate consumer are left out of sight, and it might well be that if an industry were controlled by a chain of trusts each strong enough to hold the others at bay, they would come to an understanding which would work to the detriment of the final purchaser, for it must not be overlooked that the relations between the trusts are every day becoming closer.

The establishment of a counter-trust might be a comparatively easy matter in the case of manufacturers who work up semi-manufactured products, but it is much more difficult among wholesale dealers and almost impossible among retailers, whose interests are too diverse and whose relations with each other are too uncertain to permit of effective joint action. In the retail trade the tendency is to frame agreements with the manufacturers and wholesale houses to fix retail prices which are enforced by the boycott of undercutters. Abundant examples of such agreements in this country may be found in the drug, grocery, and baking trades, and the tobacco retailers are still trying to secure a similar arrangement. Naturally the interests

of the manufacturers and retailers are alone considered in these alliances. To some extent the consumer can and does find a defence in the co-operative movement. Yet though co-operators have gained great benefits from their mutual support and will in future gain even greater, the movement is not strong enough to defeat the trusts and revolutionize the industrial system. Trusts spread faster than co-operation, which is practically confined to the factory workers, and though the capital engaged in co-operative production is large, it is only a drop compared to the industrial capital of the country. The co-operative stores can cope with the retailers even though, as at present, some manufacturers withhold their goods, but they cannot get control of the sources of raw material, and the heavy lines of manufacture are quite out of their sphere.

Regulation of Prices.

In the final resort we come to the State regulation of prices. To do so we must take a great leap in advance of public opinion, and even after having performed that feat we are still in the midst of difficulties. No Government department could possess the knowledge requisite to enable it to fix prices in a number of industries differing in all their circumstances. Only an intimate acquaintance with the course of the markets, to be acquired only from daily work in each trade, could give that capacity. Besides, it is a safe assumption that the best talents in any industry would be engaged in the practice of that industry, and that only, at best, second-rate abilities would be available to exercise such important judicial functions as are involved in the fixing of prices. One might almost say that State management of industry would be simple compared with the fixing of prices. Many of the trusts could even now be taken over by the State with as little dislocation as followed on the nationalization of the telegraphs. "We might even add," says Professor W. J. Ashley,* "that in the case of the Standard Oil monopoly, the development has already reached a point at which, on the purely economic and administrative side, there could be little objection to the Government taking over the business—if only there were a Government politically capable of the task." Perhaps the Wall Paper Manufacturers' Association and the Fine Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association approximate to the same condition. The problem is made little easier if we seek to limit prices by limiting the rate of profit, though there are precedents in our dealings with gas companies. Herr R. E. May of Hamburg is a strong advocate of the limitation of profit to, say, seven per cent., and to meet the objection that this would sterilize progress, he would allow an additional one per cent. where improvements had been introduced, deducting a like amount where no effort had been made at development. The administrative difficulties would be immense in deciding which was admissible as an improvement, and in coping with juggles absolutely vitalization, depreciation, and reserves, nor must the doubtful prohibition, and the money market of such fixing of profit be overlooked.

* *Historic and Economic*, p. 387.

* *Financial Times*, *Mit der Wirtschaftskrisen*.

Supervision of Trusts.

It thus seems conclusive that the State can only effectively regulate prices by assuming the management of industry, but nevertheless some attempt at regulation may be anticipated. The plan most likely to work well is that sketched out by Dr. Grunzel, and as it comes from a believer in combination, and an official of a manufacturers' association, it is worthy of attention. He deals only with kartells or syndicates, not with amalgamations, and he would compel them all to be registered and to file their statutes with a State department. Registration would confer on kartells full legal capacity, including the power to sue members for breach of contract, which they cannot do at present in Austria, Britain or America.

The supervising department would be empowered to hear all complaints and to take cognizance of all acts contrary to the public interest; it would have the right to conduct enquiries and to call for explanations; and if the offending kartell did not amend its ways its would be struck off the register and thus cease to be legalized. The same procedure might be extended to amalgamations, though Dr. Grunzel does not go so far, for, though an amalgamation cannot be dissolved like a kartell, it could be refused the aid of the law courts in enforcing contracts, as, for instance, has happened to illegal combinations in Illinois. We may find a precedent in our own Railway Commission, though experience of that body shows that while effective in repressing injustice or excess, this method might be inoperative in dealing with rates or prices which inflicted injury on the community, as apart from individuals. Control would be strengthened by the constitution in different industries of arbitration courts, with the help of the Chambers of Commerce, similar to the Piece Dyeing Trade Board. The shipping industry would certainly seem to afford a good case for experiment in this direction. The alternative to State supervision of kartells or associations is that we must rely for the prevention of monopoly or oppression on dishonorable members who break their agreements. That happens often enough, but it does not conduce to a high moral tone in industry. It is only the abuse of combination which requires to be suppressed; combination itself is to be welcomed as leading to improved industrial organization and the contract of combination should be enforceable like any other.

Trusts and the Workers.

As with prices so with wages, the power of the trust seems at first to be absolute. A great corporation could lock out a section of its men permanently if it could keep its other works going; it could, and sometimes does, move a branch from one town to another and so has an effective weapon of punishment at hand; even in the ordinary process of concentration it inflicts suffering by the closing of unnecessary works; the terror of the "black list" is multiplied. But, on the other hand, the American anthracite strike has shown that public opinion can force even a trust to give way, and there is also the certainty that it would not be economically advantageous to force down wages, since without high wages the

care and skill cannot be secured which are needed in the handling of expensive and complicated machinery. Lastly, the working man has a much keener sense of his interests as an employé than the consumer has of his interests as a consumer, and a trust would think twice before carrying out an anti-labor policy which would send the workers flocking to the polls to vote for anti-trust candidates. So far as American experience goes the fears of an anti-labor campaign scarcely seem justified. The final report of the Industrial Commission says :

The evidence before the Commission indicates that the great majority of the combinations recognize trade unions and deal with their representatives in fixing the wage-scale and conditions of labor So far there seems to be no indication that the combinations are attempting to lower the wages of working men. The attention of the Commission has not been called to a single instance of an attempt on the part of the combinations to reduce wages generally. In fact, the combinations have, apparently, raised wages as willingly as individuals, and given their employees privileges of all kinds with no more hesitation. The investigation made by the Department of Labor shows that combinations have raised wages slightly more than other employers of labor in the same industry.

Too much must not be deduced from these facts, for American trusts have only experienced prosperity, and it remains to be seen whether in a period of depression they would not use to their own advantage that stronger strategic position which concentration gives them. That is all the more to be feared in Britain, since, as one of our judges has said, it is now almost impossible to conduct a strike without illegality. It therefore becomes necessary for the State to guarantee the minimum standard of life just as it prescribes a minimum standard of safety, and to provide for the scientific settlement of industrial disputes by arbitration. For these purposes it is urgently necessary that the trade unions should increase their membership, and devote their energies to political action. It is true that Mr. Baer, the president of the Reading Company, assured us during the American anthracite strike that "the rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators, but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of this country," but on the whole the working classes will probably prefer to supplement this fatherly care by the protection of the State.

Protection of Investors.

The investor in bubble companies is scarcely an object for much pity, and many would consider that the losers from over-capitalized trusts have little claim on public sympathy. Yet it is to the public interest that industry should have a sound financial basis, and that commercial confidence should not be shaken by the frequent collapse of water-logged businesses. The late Lord Russell's stinging denunciations of company-promoting frauds and questionable practices are not yet forgotten. In the United States the position is much worse, for there the law does not require the disclosure of the amount of purchase money, assets, earning capacity, or promoters' profits.

The larger combinations usually issue to their stockholders once a year an annual report regarding the business. This report, however, is frequently in terms so general that it is difficult to learn much regarding actual conditions. This secrecy in promo-

ion, combined with very large capitalization, gives a great advantage to directors and officers of the combination and others associated with them in knowing the value of the shares. There seems to be no doubt that in many instances the promoters of combinations have been able to unload large blocks of stock at prices far above their values, as shown by later experience.

But the Industrial Commission Report continues, "it is probable that the period of the most excessive capitalization of corporations has passed," for bankers and investors, warned by experience, are insisting on "more and more information." This improvement comes too late for a large number of heavily over-capitalized trusts which at the first breath of adversity will pass into the hands of receivers and be reconstructed. Afterwards, like the American railroads which have gone through the same process, they may become sound and prosperous. Meantime, the attempt to earn dividends on an inflated capital tends to keep up prices.

The American ideal at present seems to be to bring their joint-stock company laws up to the British level. The Industrial Commission recommended:

That, to prevent over-capitalization, the several State legislatures enact laws similar to the anti-stock-watering laws of Massachusetts; also to provide for State supervision of all public service corporations, with power to recommend or regulate rates for service, and to pass upon the public need, desirability, or exigency of any proposed new service.

These laws require that stock must only be issued for cash or for value in actual property, and the directors must obtain from the State Commissioner of Corporations a certificate that he is "satisfied that the valuation given within is a fair and reasonable valuation of the property described." The value of patents would appear to be admissible in such valuation, but not that of goodwill or trade marks. Yet this exclusion would seem to be unfair, since goodwill, if reasonable, measures earning capacity, and would only serve to end up market prices above par. To get a State valuation of goodwill does not appear feasible, and, where ordinary stock which includes goodwill is taken by the vendors, it is unnecessary. It is enough to require that all information should be given necessary to enable the investor to protect himself, and then to ask that he should exercise reasonable caution in his investments. If, as in the case of the English Sewing Cotton Co., investors are ready to pay \$457,000 for the goodwill of businesses that are admittedly "in serious difficulties," it is difficult for any law to protect them. The only other proposal, beyond the adoption of the British law made by the Industrial Commission to ensure publicity, was that "the larger corporations—the so-called trusts—should be required to publish annually a properly audited report . . . such report and audit under oath to be subject to Government inspection" in order to bring to light any irregularities or illegalities. To this there can be no objection—there is an American precedent in the State inspection of banks—but under the Companies Act of 1900 auditors in Britain have already very full powers and very serious responsibilities. In fact, the main alteration in our law required to make it fully applicable to trust evils is that it should be compulsory on promoters to disclose all expenses and proceedings leading up to the formation of the company.

Trusts and the State.

When all possible laws have been passed to prevent excessive prices, to protect the worker, and to safeguard the investor, so that the trust is left to rely on skill in management and on business advantages, its development will be slower but for that very reason the more sure. Under such circumstances the relations between the trusts and the State become of great importance, because we are then confronted by the alternatives of *private monopoly* and *public monopoly*. At the best private monopoly can only be a benevolent despotism; at the worst it may be a grinding tyranny, even though its slaves are well fed. It is an error to suppose that the joint-stock company system as exhibited in trusts leads to any widespread redistribution of wealth; at most the investing classes have turned their attention from gold mines and Turkish bonds to industrials. The Industrial Commission could find no evidence that wealth in the States was better distributed than before the trust period, and if in the United Kingdom we are scarcely likely to see the production of such a very wealthy group as in America, the concentration of businesses has given a very much greater power to the comparatively small class of men who own the largest blocks of stock. So long as he gets his dividends the small shareholder will never interfere with the directors except to urge them to the extraction of still greater profits. It is to be expected that wealth will make a strong effort to capture the national administration; it has ability, it has leisure, it has prestige, and it is at present in occupation. We do not need to look for the coarse and worn-out methods of bribery, but for the more subtle processes by which the "interests"—banking, shipping, railway, etc.—secure so large a proportion of parliamentary representation to-day, and for the vehement efforts which gas, tramway, water, and electric monopolies make to influence municipal elections. As in the parallel case of the liquor traffic so with the trusts, it would not be surprising if a strong public feeling should grow up that the only efficient control was public management. Additional impetus would be given to that feeling if, as some suppose, the private monopolies secure of their field ceased to trouble about improvements. A preliminary step to protect the State against the aggression of the over wealthy class would be the special taxation of the rich. That is already admitted in our taxation system, and the Industrial Commission advised the levying of a small graduated tax on the gross earnings of companies. On this it is only to be said that the special taxation of an industry or of a particular method of conducting an industry, not in itself objectionable, does not seem justifiable. The only discrimination which should be made in taxation is between earned and unearned incomes. When that principle is conceded taxation is an excellent method of taking for the State a portion of that wealth which is created by our common social activity.

The operations of foreign trusts have a special concern for the countries with which they trade. A threatened domestic industry can only be protected by itself combining against the foreigner. So much we learned from the Tobacco War. Even where a foreign

trust dumps its surplus product in a country at cost price, the home corporation could probably meet it by availing itself of the best methods of production and the economies of combination, by reducing prices temporarily as the Gas Strip Association did in 1902, or, like the Imperial Tobacco Co., by carrying the war into the enemy's country. The first duties of the State in aiding domestic industries against outsiders should be to ensure efficiency by providing a suitable education for all the industrial classes from top to bottom, and to prevent the hampering of commerce either by the railway companies or by shipping rings. If the German Government makes itself a partner with private industry by granting low freights for export over the national railways, then in the long run we shall find ourselves compelled to do with the railways what we have done with the telegraphs, and work them as a national system. If we cannot grasp the idea that commerce and industry are no longer merely individual undertakings, but predominantly national services, we shall neither understand the significance of recent changes nor the real character of the problems of the near future. So long as a nation is to exist as a nation it cannot endure servitude to a foreign trust and the disappearance of necessary industries. A protective tariff is so favorable to individual as opposed to national interests that it is naturally the first crude method of defence proposed, but rather than protect our industries against the efficient foreigner we want to force them up to his level; in the long run it is only efficiency that is dangerous. The Cunard subsidy plan, where the Government lends capital on conditions as to moderation in rates and efficiency in service, is a safer precedent, but with participation in the risks of capital should go too participation in management.

The international war of trusts may lead to two other results calling for State intervention. It may end, like the Tobacco War, in the division of territory, thus destroying the safety valve of foreign competition, or in amalgamation. In either case the possibilities of tyranny are enhanced. There is no effective defence against an international trust, except nationalization, for formal dissolution of the union would probably result only in the substitution of an equally objectionable and far less vulnerable private understanding. Public opinion turns inevitably towards the replacement of private initiative by national control, and nothing would hasten that development more rapidly than either the parcelling out of the world among the trusts or the appearance of many large international organizations.

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MUNICIPALIZATION BY PROVINCES.

The first Report of the Committee of the Society appointed to consider the Reform of Local Government, presented to the Society on 26th May, 1905, by WM. SANDERS, L.C.C., the Chairman of the Committee, and subsequently adopted.

Industries and Local Government Areas.

WITH the growth of municipal enterprise it has become obvious that the development of the collective control of the economic life of society is largely dependent upon the capacity of the community to adapt its local government machinery to changing social and economic conditions. Much of the existing machinery in England was created for the purpose of dealing with conditions widely different from those of to-day, and for exercising powers far narrower in scope than those which are now imposed upon it by legislation, or which the community demands that it should acquire. Local authorities are given duties to perform, or are allowed to assume duties, without due consideration of their fitness for the responsibility. Thus experiments in municipal activities are entered upon under unfavorable circumstances which preclude the possibility of complete success, whereby opportunities are given to the anti-Collectivist to vaunt the superior advantages of private enterprise.

One of the first points, if not *the* first point, to be considered in connection with any further extension of the powers of municipalities, or of the collective organization of industry in any form, is that of the area over which a municipal or other local governing authority should govern. Under the old conception, or want of conception, of the duties of local government authorities this appeared to be a matter of small importance, although in connection with main roads and sewers it was sometimes borne in mind by the legislators. When a local authority was appointed to deal solely with paving, it was a matter of minor importance whether it should have authority to pave fifty yards of the Strand only, or the whole of the streets and roads of London. But when the community proceeds to provide through its own administrative machinery water, gas, electric light and power, means of communication, educational facilities, and many other services, and, moreover, must compete with private undertakings, the promoters of which are anxious and willing for a consideration to relieve the community of the burden, the question of area becomes of paramount importance.

Tramways and Light Railways.

This can be seen at once in the case of tramways and light railways. There is no existing government area which is generally suitable for the effective and profitable management of a publicly owned tramway system. Unless a town council can persuade the neighboring local authorities to agree to some arrangement under which joint action can be taken for ownership and control, a dwarfed and crippled public service is created, comparing unfavorably in reality, as well as in the public mind, with a privately owned system which, by Act of Parliament, can, within wide boundaries, run where it listeth. The town council unit as a tramway area is obviously inadequate in the crowded centres of the North; the county council area, although less open to objection, would not be wholly satisfactory. For instance, an efficient tramway service for London and the surrounding district ought to extend over country governed by the five county councils of London, Middlesex, Surrey, Essex and Kent, and many county boroughs within their boundaries. This area is served at present by disconnected, incomplete systems, partly under public and partly under private ownership. In the existing dismembered condition of the metropolitan and extra-metropolitan tramway service, it is impossible for the community to secure the full advantages of this form of transit in either convenience or economy. The big centres of population in the Midlands and the North suffer in the same way, and provide equally convincing evidence of the imperative need for the establishment for transit purposes of new authorities having control over areas, the boundaries of which might in no case be coterminous with those of existing local government areas.

Municipal Electricity and Industrial Progress.

Another service which, in order to be economically administered under public ownership, requires new authorities and areas is the provision of electric light and power. The municipal electric light and power works now in being were, in many cases, prematurely born, and, unless they can be given room to expand beyond the limits which now confine them, they are likely to become, not only horrible examples of the failure of public enterprise, but also serious obstacles to industrial advance. The metropolis offers a striking example of the failure to appreciate the importance of area in relation to the generation and supply of electricity. The metropolitan borough councils were made the authorities for this purpose, and several of them have erected generating stations and laid down their own self-contained systems. The limitations of the usefulness of their parochial installations are now obvious. For instance, the Battersea Borough Council approaches a railway company with an offer to light a huge goods station with municipal electricity. The goods station lies on the confines of the Battersea Borough Council's area, and unfortunately a small part of the station to be lighted is within the borders of a neighboring borough council which has sold to a private company its powers to supply electricity. This company

refuses to come to terms with its Battersea rival, and the railway company naturally declines to have two installations on its premises, with the result that the Battersea Borough Council loses an excellent customer and the railway company has to set up its own more expensive installation. Many other instances of this kind could be given, showing the administrative difficulties which arise through the piecemeal system of managing municipal electric light and power in the metropolis.

Area and Cost of Production.

But administrative difficulties are small matters compared with unnecessary costliness of production arising from the adoption of the view that the ancient boundaries of the authority of an ecclesiastical institution enclose an area which is convenient as a unit for the production and distribution of electric energy. A Committee of the House of Lords has now (1905) discovered the foolishness of Parliament in not recognizing that London should have had one authority for this purpose. The private syndicates that are asking power to supply the whole of the metropolis, or large portions thereof, can bring overwhelming proof from the North of England, where such syndicates produce electricity in bulk, that they could bring about a considerable saving in the cost. The London County Council ought to have been the authority for electric light and power purposes. Not only would the administrative difficulties have been far less, and the economy secured which the companies promise, but London could have been lighted in a far more efficient manner. The poorer districts, which are now often neglected in this respect, could have been better served, without extra local expense, by means of an equalized lighting rate over the whole of the metropolis, and by the equalized distribution of the surpluses accruing from the districts with a large number of private profit-giving consumers. Moreover, with the London County Council as the authority, further economy would arise from use of the generating stations to make electricity both for tramway and other purposes and for supplying light.

But even the London County Council area does not offer the most advantageous sphere. The movements and aggregations of population pay no heed to municipal landmarks, not even to those fixed for the L.C.C. London, as a unit for a well-organized, publicly owned transit service, already stretches from Uxbridge on the west to Upminster on the east, and from Potter's Bar on the north to Purley on the south; and the area of the public authority dealing with electricity should, in the main, coincide with that dealing with transit facilities. An authority controlling a province of this magnitude would have been able not only to supply the power for tramways, lighting, factories and workshops, but should have had the monopoly right to supply the tubes and the railways that are now electrifying their local lines. It is hardly necessary to point out the important step that this would have been in further co-ordinating the control of transit services.

The great centres of population throughout England present the same problems in respect of area as London. The case of the Birmingham tramway fight, in which the city was hampered and to some extent crippled as an efficient provider of means of transit by the action of surrounding minor local authorities, shows the need that the problem of local government area be dealt with on other than parochial or narrow municipal lines. The great towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Nottingham, Leeds, etc., must be considered as centres, and not as self-contained units for all local government purposes.

With regard to the supply of water new areas and authorities are urgently needed. The large towns through their greater wealth are able to annex the best water-bearing districts to the potential if not to the yet actual detriment of the smaller towns and villages.

Direct Employment and Wider Areas.

Then there is the complex question of the direct employment of labor by the local authorities in those forms of industry in which under private enterprise steady, continuous demand, with corresponding regular employment is seldom found. Here again population and area play a considerable part in determining whether municipal undertakings of this nature can be carried on so as to ensure greater permanence of employment, together with efficient and economical working. It is of course easy for a local authority, with a small population and area, to estimate with comparative certainty the number of men it will permanently require to make up its roads and keep them clean ; to clear away dust and house refuse and the like ; and therefore to employ the men and carry out the work more efficiently than a contractor, with the added advantages of affording continuous employment with a fair wage to the men engaged. But in connection with the more intricate and fluctuating work of building, which requires a well-organized works department with expensive plant and an experienced staff, a large and well-populated area is indispensable for lasting success. The metropolitan borough council area is too small for a works department which would be really effective in adding to the number of men engaged continuously in profitable employment. Nor, under present conditions, could sufficient work be found to keep the plant in use long enough to repay its first cost. A borough council may build a bath and wash-house, a library, a coroner's court, lavatories, electric power station, stables for its horses, a town hall, houses and shops for the working classes, and a disinfecting station ; but when these have been erected it has no more building to be done. It cannot do work for another public body nor for private customers. When it approached the end of its career as a useful institution there might arise a tendency to make work for the works department because it was there and because men were unemployed, regardless of consideration whether the proposed buildings were really required. The most satisfactory way of collectivizing the building trade, as far as London is concerned, would be to give the London County Council

power to undertake contracts, through its works department, for any local authority in the metropolis at cost price. This would tend to enlarge the number of workmen continuously employed in building, because arrangements could be made between the local authorities and the L.C.C. to postpone work not of an urgent nature, if the works department and the building trade generally were busy, until a slacker period arrived. Conversely, in slack times work might be pushed forward by a similar arrangement. Owing to the never-ceasing demand for schools, fire stations, asylums, and working class houses, the L.C.C. is never likely to find that its works department has become superfluous. The London County Council might, under the plan suggested, agree to take over and run as local depots and workshops any premises with plant for building already established by a borough council. For the provinces the same principle could be applied by giving a large municipality the power to carry out building work for neighboring authorities.

Housing and Existing Municipal Boundaries.

In the administration of the Housing Acts it is often found that the existing municipal areas are far from satisfactory. Even London, in spite of the considerable amount of land still unbuilt upon in its southern portion, is now compelled to go over the border in order to find space at a reasonable price for its working class estates. Now, it is obvious that the creation of purely working class communities is an altogether unsatisfactory way of dealing with the problem of housing. The policy of the London County Council has, however, been adopted mainly through the pressure of circumstances over which it had no control. It has had no voice in determining the development of the city itself, nor of the outer ring which is as much London for administrative purposes as is the precinct of the Savoy. If the Council had possessed the power wielded by some German municipalities, it might not only have directed the growth of London as we know it, but have automatically extended the metropolis, as the suburbs, such as Tottenham, Croydon, and East Ham, came into existence; and at the same time have modified the intensity of the concentration of the poor into districts such as South West Ham, by decreeing what use should be made of the land when it became ripe for building purposes. As things are, when the London County Council goes outside its boundary to provide accommodation for the working classes, it is met by the active and passive resistance of the local authority. The Croydon Town Council naturally objects to the erection of a working class estate at Norbury, and its objection takes the form of declining to pass the plans for the houses unless the said plans conform to building regulations which, although no doubt eminently reasonable, are quite at variance with those approved by the L.C.C. Building Act Committee. The dispute which then takes place between London and Croydon causes delay, expenses of modifying plans, and a considerable amount of wasteful friction and irritation. The capital charges of the housing scheme accumulate without any return in revenue, and a promising experiment in

municipal brick-making on the sites of the scheme is almost ruined. Again, an outside suburban authority may adopt a standard of assessment or rating on a housing scheme which completely upsets the calculations as to rent made by the authority providing the houses, in order to discourage the building of working class houses by another local body. The L.C.C. has also had experience of this form of difficulty. The Council has projected a large housing estate in the area of the Tottenham Urban District Council. At first blush it would be thought that this scheme would be welcomed by Tottenham because it would lead to an increase of the rateable value of the district. But Tottenham has good reason for not rejoicing at this growth of bricks and mortar promoted from outside. The houses are to be small, and will be occupied by the working classes. Now, the working classes have large families, as a rule, and the children require education. Tottenham Urban District Council is the local education authority, levying a rate for educational purposes nearly as high as that of East Ham, and the Council is under the impression, and the impression is probably a correct one, that the addition to the ordinary rateable value, which the London County Council housing scheme would bring, would be more than counterbalanced by the charge upon the rates for educational and other purposes. The Tottenham District Council, evidently to get even, declined to allow the London County Council to compound the rates, which is the usual custom in connection with small houses, and also assessed the houses already built at a higher figure than was warranted by the rent fixed by the L.C.C. The L.C.C. was compelled to fix a rent less rates, the latter being paid by the tenant direct to the Tottenham authority, a system which, it is hardly necessary to state, does not add to the popularity among the working classes of municipally owned houses—especially when the assessment is higher than therent justifies—no matter how comfortable or otherwise satisfactory the dwellings may be. The L.C.C. is still* at loggerheads with Tottenham District Council on this matter, and the development of the estate is delayed and becoming more expensive through this inter-local, unfriendly act on the part of the latter. These instances in connection with municipal housing have been given at length, because it had been thought that if a housing authority were given power to go outside its borders to erect dwellings for its working class citizens, a great step would be gained in the solution of the housing problem. It is, however, evident that if a municipality is given the power to create its suburbs, it should receive the local control of them; and, moreover, the control should be given before the suburb has reached an advanced stage of self-consciousness. The extension of local government areas for housing purposes does not, however, entail the creation of new authorities. This form of extension differs from the kind which is necessary for the administration of such public services as transit, electricity and water.

* October, 1905.

The New Heptarchy.

Taking these three services—or rather two, reckoning transit and electricity as one—it will be necessary, in endeavoring to devise new authorities and new areas for their administration, to drop the idea that they should remain municipal services in the narrowest sense of the term municipal. They should not become even county, but provincial services. It may be that in connection with the water supply, or with the supply of electricity, it will be found that the best administrative areas will be created by following the Hegelian historical spiral until we arrive at a stage with regard to the division of the country vertically above the period of the Saxon Heptarchy, and make a halt there. But whether seven or more provincial water boards, and seven or more transit and electricity boards are formed is immaterial, provided the provincial principle is applied to those areas where narrow municipal boundaries are cramping the growth of the collective control of industry.

Voluntary Federation of Local Authorities.

It has been suggested that the new areas and authorities could be called into existence by a system of municipal federation without compulsory legislation. For instance, a large city, say Birmingham, might arrange with neighboring authorities to form a joint committee to run a transit and electricity scheme, or a water supply. This has already been done in one or two cases in connection with the latter service. This method, it is urged, would safeguard local autonomy and disarm the antagonism of municipalities to all proposals which aim at relieving them of any of their duties. These, however, are the strongest arguments that can be brought in favor of leaving local authorities to decide whether for certain purposes they should or should not be linked up. The chief defect of such a system is that it is only likely to be adopted in very few cases. A joint committee of the voluntary kind would be formed only in those instances where all the districts represented on the committee would be equally benefited by co-operation. Where a thickly populated city stood to lose for a time by combining with its thinly populated suburbs in a transit and electricity scheme, or a water supply, the city council would naturally decline to federate with the suburban local authorities. Again, local jealousy would come into play, especially in relation to profits, and this would be a barrier to joint action. It is hopeless to expect an effective linking up of areas except by legislation, which will not make allowance for purely parochial considerations.

A National Survey.

(a) TO DEFINE BOUNDARIES OF ENLARGED MUNICIPALITIES.

In order to bring the New Heptarchy into existence it will be necessary to create by legislation the preliminary power of creation. Even the business of widening the boundaries of a municipality can only be done at present by an Act of Parliament for each case. A

bill for this purpose may be thrown out for some petty local reason, over-riding for the moment the real interests of a divided community, which for municipal purposes ought to be a unit. Liverpool and Bootle, Manchester and Salford, Birmingham and the surrounding borough and urban district councils—not to speak of London, with its belt of corporations and district councils, which ought never to have been called into being as entirely separate and independent bodies—all bear witness to the want of guiding principles in English local government, especially in relation to area.

To bring about speedily a reform in this connection on national instead of on piecemeal lines, a commission should be appointed by Parliament to make a survey of, and an inquiry into, the working of the whole of England's municipal and local government institutions and machinery. A precedent for the establishment of such a body will be found in the Royal Commission which was appointed in 1833 to inquire into municipal institutions, and on whose report the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 was based. The proposed commission would have to keep two main objects in view. First, to ascertain what municipal areas required enlarging in the interests of good government. We can imagine this commission, supposing it be not composed of men imbued with a craven fear of great municipalities, reporting in favor of the inclusion within the county boundary of London of the municipal boroughs of Hornsey, West Ham, East Ham, Bromley, Croydon and Wimbledon; the urban districts of Chiswick, Acton, Willesden, Hendon, Finchley, Tottenham, Walthamstow, Leyton, Barking, Erith, Bexley, Fooks Cray, Chislehurst, Beckenham, Penge, The Maldens and Coombe, Ham and Barnes; and the rural districts of Croydon and Bromley. These local government areas touch the boundary of the existing County of London, but they do not exhaust the list of districts which could with advantage be included in a new County of London. It would also advise the extension of the powers of the municipalities of Manchester and other great cities over much larger areas than they now govern. Even cities like Norwich, and small towns of the type of Guildford, which do not at this moment display any startling signs of expansion, should be given room to stretch, for it is impossible to forecast the future of any aggregation of population. The rise of a new industry, or an improvement in the means of communication, may bring about an increase of population with surprising swiftness, which would cause the town to flow over its original confines, and lead to the springing up of independent suburbs that later might become obstacles to the welfare of the town, and ultimately, as in the case of East Ham, find the financial burdens of municipal independence more than they could, or ought to, bear.

In fusing areas there would be a large amount of work in the adjustment of rates, of the payment of interest on capital or debt borrowed for local purposes, and in settling other financial questions; but as this adjustment has been carried out with comparative ease in the complicated situation which arose from the merging of

several vestries into one metropolitan borough under the London Government Act of 1899, as well as in numerous instances of municipal extensions, this work would not prove a serious difficulty. With regard to the areas absorbed, where they were of considerable extent, as, for instance, the extra-metropolitan districts already referred to, they would retain a part of their identity and separate powers. West Ham, East Ham, and the rest would become metropolitan borough councils, and their electors would send representatives to the London County Council. In the cases of Manchester, Liverpool, and other provincial cities, the areas taken in by them could be dealt with in one of two ways. If they were small additions to the city, their separate powers would be abolished and they would become wards of the city. But if it were found necessary to bring in a number of fairly large areas, it might be advisable to adopt the system now peculiar to London, that is, to create a Manchester County Council, and a number of borough councils subordinate to it with powers over narrowly local matters, such as libraries, street sweeping, local drains, etc. This scheme would naturally involve the application of the principle of equalization of rates to the whole of the new county council area. It may be mentioned that the Prussian Government is considering the adoption of the London County Council and borough council system in the creation of a larger capital out of Berlin and the surrounding townships.

(b) TO CREATE AND DEFINE AREAS OF NEW PROVINCIAL
BOARDS.

The other and more important object of the survey and enquiry would be to map out England into suitable areas for the administration of what we have entitled provincial services. Obviously this would be a task of great magnitude, and would require the assistance of a corps of experts. In deciding upon the areas for the provincial transit and electricity boards the commission would have to take into consideration the existing tramway and light railway systems and supplies of electrical energy, and the opportunities for future development; likewise the possibilities of the inauguration of motor car services both for passenger and goods traffic; for the transit and electricity boards would have to be given power to institute other means of transit besides those associated with flanged wheels and rails. The centre of each area should be a great city such as London, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool or Newcastle. In the case of the water boards consideration would have to be given to the sources of supply, the natural catchment areas, watersheds, the distribution of population and the estimated rate of its increase. It is probable that the area under the control of a water board would have to be made extremely large. Assuming that the commission held that the water board having London for its centre should be restricted in its right to take water from the Thames, and be compelled finally to go to Wales for its supply, it might be found necessary to make a province for water purposes extending from the hills of South Wales to the eastern limit of London all placed under the control of one

board. One strong reason for this would be to ensure that the satisfaction of the existing and probable water needs of the towns and villages between the metropolis and the source of supply were provided for; another reason would be the securing to the towns, and especially the villages, along the lines of the aqueduct or water mains, of service on the same terms as London, so that they would not be compelled to pay a profit as a customer to an outside authority.

The commission would not be required to bring every part of England under the control of either of the two kinds of boards. At the same time the areas mapped out would not be final, but it would be understood that they could be extended or contracted according to the necessity for rearrangement arising from the drifting of population, or from the amalgamation of existing water, transit or electricity services. The aim should be to make the areas as elastic and the administrative machinery as flexible as possible.

Constitution of the Provincial Boards.

In forming the new boards it would not be necessary to disturb existing local governing bodies in any way. The members of the boards must be elected by the various local authorities within the area under its control. This process of formation would be a linking-up of areas and not the creation of new ones. It would be simplicity itself. For instance, assuming that the commission took the common-sense view already expressed that the transit and electricity board area for London and district should embrace not only the county of London but the greater portion of Essex, Middlesex, Surrey and Kent. In that case the transit and electricity board would be elected by the county councils of the five counties, with the addition perhaps of representatives from urban sanitary authorities within the area. This system of linking up would enable part of one county to be within the area of one board and part within another, as would most likely be necessary in the North, especially in the case of Yorkshire and Lancashire. The proportion of representatives allotted to each county council and urban sanitary authority would be based either upon population or rateable value. It might be found desirable for the boards to co-opt a certain number of experts, and power to do this should be given them.

To the transit and electricity board thus elected would be transferred all the property in transit facilities owned publicly within its area, together with all liabilities attached thereto. It would also be given the powers, possessed by its constituent bodies, of laying down new tramway and light railway systems, and of acquiring those under private control, together with fresh powers of the kind already mentioned for running motor services and the like. Financial adjustments would have to be made, as in the case of the extension of municipal boundaries. These would chiefly relate to the allocation of profits, a matter which will be touched upon presently. The constitution of the water boards would be similar to that of the transit boards.

New Powers for the Local Government Board.

The report of the commission framed on these lines should form the basis of a bill giving power to the Local Government Board to carry into effect the recommendations set forth. A bill of this kind would naturally arouse great opposition on the grounds that it conferred too much power upon a State department, and that it violated the independent rights of the municipalities. But it is obvious that no House of Commons could give sufficient time to deal with the whole of the enormous mass of detail involved in the proposals we are discussing; nor would it be a proper tribunal even if the necessary time were available. The feelings of the great municipalities might be appeased if they could be brought to appreciate the fact that the bill, in the clause dealing with the extension of municipal boundaries, would most likely give them compensation in the shape of larger territory for the loss of complete autonomy over their transit, water and electricity enterprises. Be that as it may, no method of creating the new areas and authorities in a satisfactory manner on national lines appears to be possible, except that of asking Parliament to settle principles and leaving to the Local Government Board the details of this revolutionary reconstruction of our local government.

Assuming the bill embodying our suggestions to have become law, the Local Government Board would have to create a special department for the purpose of putting the Act into operation and of supervising its working. Whenever it appeared to the Local Government Board that an extension of the area under the control of one of the new boards required modification, it should have power to issue an Order equivalent to the Act of Parliament now necessary to secure the enlargement of a municipality. Such an order would be issued when it was found desirable to extend the area of a transit and electricity or other board, or to transfer a portion of the area of one board to another. The Local Government Board should not be expected to wait until it was approached by a locality before it took action, but should be constantly endeavoring to make municipal boundaries and the areas of the boards correspond to the maximum of efficiency in administration. It is interesting at this point to note that the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, gives power to the Local Government Board "for facilitating the co-operation of any body or committee having powers under this Act for any area with any other body or committee, or with any local authority, and the provision of assistance by one such body or committee to another." (Sec. 4, 1, i.) This is a faint foreshadowing of the idea of the power the Local Government Board ought to possess in relation with the whole of local government.

Financial Arrangements.

As the two new boards which have been dealt with will be engaged in forms of public business which are likely to yield a surplus of revenue over expenditure, the question of the disposal of

the profits will have to be considered. One of the chief difficulties in the way of the transference of the tramway system from the control of the existing tramway authority, such as the London County Council or the Manchester City Council, to that of a provincial Transit and Electricity Board will be a financial one. Most of the large tramway authorities are able to relieve the rates to some extent from the surplus accruing from their lines. It may be necessary to guarantee for a period at least that this subsidy to the rate-payer shall not be lost through the merging of a municipal trading concern into a provincial undertaking. The ultimate aim, however, of the administrators of the new boards should be to make little or no profit. It is, of course, impossible to run a large business so that the revenue shall just square with the proper expenditure. In order to insure against loss it is necessary to make a surplus. This should be used whenever possible to improve and extend the undertaking which has earned it rather than to relieve the ordinary rates. The adoption of the principle of subsidising the rates out of overcharges on public services leads to a false standard of judgment as to the success or failure of those services. Should a Transit and Electricity Board fail at any time to keep its expenditure within its income, and be compelled to come upon the rates to make up the deficiency, the rate to meet it should be levied equally over the whole of the area under the control of the board. Water Boards, however, need never fall back on such assistance, as their charges can always be regulated to cover their outgoings.

From Province to Nation.

The establishment of a system of provincial boards as here indicated does not exhaust the possibilities of co-ordination of area in connection with local government and the collective control of industry. In course of time it will be found possible to carry the development a stage further, and from the Provincial Boards to elect National Boards, which would stand in the same relation to the Provinces as the Co-operative Wholesale Society does to the various societies which are its component parts. For instance, a National Board elected from the provincial Transit and Electricity Boards might be empowered to carry on the work of building rolling stock by direct employment in its own workshops for the whole of the publicly owned transit services of the country. It might also start factories for the manufacture of tramway rails and motor cars. It could undertake the work of constructing plant of all kinds for publicly owned electric light and power installations. Various local authorities build their own vans, carts, and waggons, and there is no reason why trams could not be built in a public workshop with equal ease. A similar National Board composed of representatives from the Water Boards might manage the manufacture of water pipes and pumping machinery, and run an engineering department for the construction of reservoirs, pumping stations, filtering beds, and so forth. Given space and elasticity, the Provincial Boards might evolve numerous activities, just as the railway companies

have grown from being simply the providers of an iron road into engine and other rolling stock builders and owners, hotel keepers, bakers and confectioners, printers, electric apparatus makers, and the direct employers in many trades which would seem at first to have no relation whatever with carrying persons and goods from one place to another. Every development of this kind on the part of a private undertaking means the strengthening of its hold upon industry. On the other hand, similar developments on the part of public authority lead to the extension of the power of society over its own economic life.

Method of Election.

The increased responsibility and work which will be thrown upon local government by the creation of the new boards bring up the question of the type of representative and official required for successful administration, and how they are to be harnessed to the public service. The discussion of this highly important matter does not fall within the scope of this pamphlet, but it will be dealt with in another upon the whole question of the reform of the local government official service.* Suffice it to say that the idea of direct election to *ad hoc* authorities (which the new boards would be) as the best way to secure the best representatives for that authority, is no longer held by those who appreciate the complexities of modern local government. Direct election for the new boards would mean the multiplication of electoral contests in which the public already display too little interest. Provided that the citizens of the enlarged municipalities and of the county councils and other authorities responsible for the selection and election of the members of the boards took sufficient interest in municipal affairs to elect efficient persons in the first instance, indirect election would not fail to give satisfactory results.

Flexibility and Expansiveness in Administration.

The reforms and changes here sketched out, revolutionary though they may appear, will probably receive attention sooner than may be expected. The unjust incidence of some forms of local taxation—arising from the segregation of the community into cities of the well-to-do and warrens of the poor—is sure to bring the subject of the extension of municipal boundaries to the front. The discussion of this question is bound to lead to the consideration of other aspects of the working of local government machinery. If the community is wise enough, when that time comes, to insist that its organized life should be made as flexible and expansive as that of private enterprise, then the rate of speed in the direction of collective control of industry will be increased. If it remains tied to rigid and cramping forms of social organization, experiments in collectivism are liable to be incomplete and the results unconvincing to the average citizen, who will always be prone to overlook the difficulties which

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hamper the work of local authorities and to magnify the small mistakes they may commit. The first necessity of a publicly controlled industry or service is that of every infant, namely room to grow. The needed space can be given by the adoption of the Heptarchic idea of local government in place of that which is associated with the parish pump.

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NEW EDITION.

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- By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples."—THE MASTER.
- If we love one another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us."—ST. JOHN.
- In whatsoever way a man can do good to his neighbor, and does not do it, he shall be deemed an alien from the love of God."—ST. IRENEUS.
- If you wish to love your neighbor as yourself, divide your money with him."
—ST. AUGUSTINE.

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SOCIALISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

"I seriously believe that Christianity is the only foundation of Socialism; and that a true Socialism is the necessary result of a sound Christianity."

FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE, 1849.

It is extraordinary how little many Christian people realize the meaning of their own religion, so that they are actually shocked very often at Socialism; and yet all the while Socialism is doing just the very work which they have been commanded by their Master to do. This fact is so obvious that no representative and responsible Christian body can be found to deny it.

Take as an example of this the most representative official English religious gathering possible—the Pan-Anglican Conference of Bishops which met at Lambeth just twenty years ago. These prelates, drawn from all parts of the world, belonging by birth to the propertied classes, by station to the House of Lords, and by tradition to the Tory Party, made a solemn pronouncement on the subject of Socialism. Here, if anywhere, we should find a denial that Socialism was Christian. But no! They turned and blessed it. Here are the words of their Encyclical:—

The Christian Church is bound, following the teaching of her Master, to ~~aid~~ every wise endeavor which has for its object the material and the moral welfare of the poor. Her Master taught her that all men are brethren, not because they share the same blood, but because they have a common heavenly Father. He further taught her that if any members of this spiritual family were greater, richer, or better than the rest, they were bound to use their special means or ability in the service of the whole. . . . It will contribute no little to draw together the various classes of society if the clergy endeavor in sermons and lectures to set forth the true principle of society, showing how Property is a trust to be administered for the good of Humanity, and how much of what is good and true in Socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ.*

So, then, in 1888, when there was no *Clarion* and no Labor Party, we parsons were told in the most solemn way by our official leaders that we were to be social reformers, to preach the Brotherhood of Man, and to show "how much of what is good and true in Socialism is to be found in the precepts of Christ." In writing this tract, therefore, I am but obeying the instructions of my Fathers in God.

An old agricultural laborer once admitted to me that Socialism was "all backed by Scripture"; and I need hardly remind anyone who reads his Bible, that if I were to put down every passage that

* The next Conference, that of 1897, endorsed this view and, in fact, distinctly strengthened it. So did the last Lambeth Conference in 1908.

makes for Socialism, I should want a pamphlet several sizes larger than this. But nothing is more futile than the unintelligent slinging of texts; and I shall therefore confine myself strictly to the *central features* of Christianity, and not pick out chance sayings here and there, since that could be done with the writings of every great moral teacher that has ever lived. Christianity is different. It does not only provide a few noble sayings that Socialists would welcome. It *is* Socialism, and a good deal more.

And because I have only space for the central features of the Christian faith, I must pass over the magnificent utterances of the Old Testament prophets and confine myself to the strictly Christian documents, and in these to the sayings and doings of Christ and His Apostles, with a reference to some leading principles of the Church universal.

How Christ Came.

How did Christ come into the world? That is the most important point of all, the most central. We Christians believe that God the Son became man. He could have come in any class He chose, and the Jews expected the Messiah to appear as a great Prince. If Christ had come *thus*, as an Oriental potentate, in pomp and luxury, with a crowded harem and troops of soldiers, the influential Jews of the day would have welcomed Him. But He was born in a stable. He came as a working man. He worked at His own trade till He was thirty: and then, choosing other working men as His companions, He tramped about the country as one that had not where to lay His head; doing innumerable secular works of mercy, besides preaching spiritual regeneration; and blessing the poor, while He condemned the rich and denounced the proud teachers and leaders of the national religion; and, after three years, He was executed by the law of the land, because He preached revolutionary doctrines, which the common people "heard gladly," but which were detested by the religious authorities of the day.

This was not only a reversal of all that the Jews expected, but it was also a new phenomenon in the world's history. No one before had ever thought of setting on such a basis the message of social regeneration. Nay, even the noblest of Greek philosophers, the constructors of ideal States, had utterly failed to take account of labor, and had based their ideal republics upon slavery. To Plato, even, the masses had but "half a soul"; while Aristotle, who regarded slaves as "living machines," and women as nature's failures to produce men, wrote: "Certainly there may be some honest slaves and women; nevertheless it may be said that woman generally belongs to an inferior species, while a slave is an utterly despicable being" (*Polit.* i, 13). And in Athens, B. C. 309, the slaves are said to have numbered 400,000 out of a total population of 515,000.

But by the Incarnation not only was labor given its true position, but the unity of the whole human race was proclaimed. Humanity in its solidarity was taken upon Himself by the Divine

Word, and every human being declared to be an infinitely sacred and precious thing, with transcendent rights to the fullest development.

Everybody Knew It.

Nor was there any doubt about it from the first. Christ's Mother knew it as soon as she knew that He was to be born of her; and she sang that revolutionary hymn, the *Magnificat*, which is still, curious to relate, repeated every day at Evensong in church: "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their hearts. He hath put down the mighty from their seats, And hath exalted them of low degree. He hath filled the hungry with good things, And the rich He hath sent empty away" (*Luke i, 51-3*). And at His Nativity there was a similar demonstration of social fellowship as inseparable from true religion: "Glory to God in the highest," the angels sang, "Peace on earth; Goodwill among men."

The man who was sent as Christ's forerunner, to prepare the way before Him, knew it also. "Every valley shall be filled," he cried (*Luke iii, 5*), "and every mountain and hill shall be brought low," putting the *levelling* principle in a nutshell. And when the people asked him what they ought to do, he just told them to practise communism: "He that hath two coats let him impart to him that hath none, and he that hath food let him do likewise" (*Luke iii, 11, R.V.*)* Is it not just what Socialists are trying to do—to level up the valleys, to scatter the proud, to fill the hungry by an equal distribution,—and to change an unchristian state of society, under which it is the *poor* who are sent empty away?

The first public utterance of our Lord Himself proclaimed the same social revolution. On that solemn occasion when He began His mission, He went into the Synagogue at Nazareth; He took the roll of the Hebrew Scriptures, and, out of all the sayings therein, He chose this one: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, Because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, And recovering of sight to the blind, To set at liberty them that are bruised, To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (*Luke iv, 18, R.V.*). Could anything be more significant?

Wanted, Orthodoxy.

And now I come to the question, What did Christ Himself teach? He taught much about God, but He also taught much about men. † Religion has these two sides, and both are of immense importance. ‡

* I quote from the Revised Version when it seems to bring out best the meaning of the original.

† Let it be clearly understood. This Tract is not written to belittle the Godward side of religion, or to condone that lack of spirituality which is too common already. But its subject is the Duty to our Neighbor which is as much neglected as the Duty to God.

‡ It is noteworthy that the great Pagan writer, Lucian, was as much struck by the social as by the theological side of the new religion. In the passage where he notices the existence of Christianity, he remarks: "It was impressed on them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers, from the moment that they are con-

We hear, and we need to hear, a great deal about our Duty to God; but how about that other Duty which our Lord declared to be "like unto it"—the Duty to our Neighbor? The Church Catechism* teaches all its little children that it is just as imperative to love our neighbor as ourself as to love God. And surely what we have to show Christian folk is not that we want them to embrace some strange new form of Christianity, but that we want them to be faithful to the old; not to give up their faith, but to hold it in all its fullness; not to be unorthodox, but to be really orthodox—orthodox about this Duty to their Neighbor, which St. John, the most profoundly spiritual of all the Bible writers, declares to come before the Duty to God: "For he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (1 John iv, 20).

What, then, was the social teaching of that Man, who came to reveal God to men, and yet whom St. Peter described afterwards (Acts x, 38) as one who "went about doing good"? We will take the four most prominent forms of His teaching—His Signs, His Parables, His Sermon, His Prayer.

Christ's Signs.

Very often when we go into church we find the congregation singing some hymn which expresses the utmost weariness of life and the keenest desire to die and pass to the "better land." Stout old gentlemen and smart young women sing it lustily; and we know that they are singing a lie; for if they were told that they were to die to-morrow, they would not find it at all weary "waiting here." That is an instance of the heresy of modern popular religion. Christ taught exactly the opposite. The vast majority of His miracles restored men to health and life, and enabled them to go back to their work, and to enjoy the measure of life which God allots to mankind. Death in old age, when a man's work is done, is not a sad thing; but death in youth, or in the prime of life, is piteous, horrible, abnormal; and so are sickness and deformity.

Christ, then, devoted a large portion of His time to fighting against disease and premature death, and He wept when a friend had been carried off in his prime. Our Bible often calls these acts miracles; but this is a mistranslation of the original Greek, which calls them *signs*—that is, significant acts. If we, then, realize their significance, if we are imitators of Christ in this, too, according to our power, we shall heal sickness, and fight against disease and death, in the workshop and in the slum dwelling; since all sanitary and social reform is but carrying out on a larger scale the signs which our Lord wrought for our example.† For instance, of the children

verted. . . . All this they take quite on trust, with the result that they despise all worldly goods alike, regarding them merely as common property." Lucian's *Works* (H. W. and F. G. Fowler's translation), vol. iv, p. 83.

* For a Socialist study of the Catechism see Mr. Stewart Headlam's *Laws of Eternal Life* (London, Guild of St. Matthew, 376 Strand, W.C., 3d).

† "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto the Father" (John xiv, 12).

that are born in the working classes, about one-half die* before they are five years old. And yet, if we even offend or despise one of these little ones, He tells us (*Matt. xviii*) it were better for us that we were cast into the sea with a millstone about our neck! It is surely no empty form that to the most respectable congregations it is said from the altar Sunday after Sunday, "Thou shalt do no murder." For we are all sharers in this ghastly holocaust, and the blood is on our hands, unless we are laboring with all our power to prevent it.

But, further, we learn from the signs of Christ not only to save life and health, but to increase its comfort, as He did at the feeding of the multitudes—and its merriment, as He did at the Cana marriage feast.

Christ's Parables.

Many of the Parables, too, deal with social questions. Many are terrific attacks on money-making, and one was the inspiration of that epoch-making treatise on economics, Ruskin's "Unto This Last." Another was commonly supposed to be difficult only because people did not see that money, the "Mammon of unrighteousness," must be used so as to make friends—not of Mammon, but of men,† and not enemies—a Socialist moral, as Archbishop Trench himself explained in his standard work on the Parables.

Another, that of the Good Samaritan, it is very necessary to remember for this reason: that it gives an entirely new meaning to the word "neighbor." When the Jew said "Love thy neighbor as thyself," he only meant "Love thy people," thine own tribe, as was taught in the Old Testament.‡ But when Jesus, in answer to the question "Who is my neighbor?" (*Luke x, 29*) told the story of the Good Samaritan, He expressly showed that He meant by neighbor every human being all the world over, including "enemies" even. Now, as there is no other reference to the Golden Rule in the Old Testament but this one in Leviticus, which confines it to relations, it is not really true to say that our Lord, in saying "Love thy neighbor," etc., and "Do to others," etc., was only repeating an Old Testament maxim. It was, as He said, "a new commandment."§

And here I would point out the meaning of a whole series which are called the "Parables of the Kingdom." They expressly confute the common notion that the Kingdom of Heaven is something only in the next world, and that men are set only to save what Kingsley called "their own dirty souls." For these Parables are quite unintelligible unless we believe that our Lord came to found a great

* According to Dr. Playfair, 55 per cent., as against 28 per cent. among the rich.

† "Make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon" (*Luke xvi, 9, R.V.*).

‡ "Thou shalt not avenge, nor bear any grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (*Leviticus xix, 18*).

§ "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another" (*John xiii, 34*). Maundy Thursday owes its name to this *novum mandatum*, or new commandment. The three chapters of this Great Discourse (*John xii to xvi*) should be carefully studied.

human Brotherhood, a kingdom which He called His Church, here on the earth. He came expressly to found this society, of which the New Testament is so full; He came thus on a social mission to bind men together in love, as well as to purify their individual souls. And so He said that this "Kingdom of Heaven" was like a draw-net (*Matt. xiii, 47*), not consisting only of converted persons, but of every kind; and like a field (*xiii, 24*) where the tares and wheat grow together; like a grain of mustard seed (*xiii, 31*) in the way it should grow; and like leaven (*xiii, 33*) which should spread till it had made the whole world good.

But the last parable He ever uttered is the most important of all; because in it He told men by what they were to be judged at the Last Day. If we know how we shall be judged, then we know what we have to do—how we are to be true Christians. And what does this great Parable of the Judgment (*Matt. xxv, 31-46*) tell us will settle our fate in the next world? Extraordinary to relate, it is just the opposite to what the professedly religious world has been saying, and just the very thing that the Socialists teach. We shall be saved or condemned according to our acts of social service, Christ tells us, saying nothing about church-going, or conversion, or orthodoxy; for these latter are nothing unless they are so genuine as to have a practical result. "Faith without works is dead" (*James ii, 14-26*). We shall be placed on His right hand if we have fed and clothed and helped others—not merely among our own friends, for sinners do that* but those who cannot help themselves; and our Lord, in a magnificent passage, asserts the solidarity of all mankind in Him, by identifying Himself even with the poor wretch in an unspeakable Eastern prison. Then, turning to those on His left, He says: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into the eternal fire," not because you were heathens or agnostics, but because "I was an hungred and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of these least, ye did it not unto me."†

Christ's Sermon.

And this great principle, that what we do is of far more importance than what we profess, is made the clinching passage of the Sermon on the Mount (*Matt. vii, 16-26*)—"By their fruits ye shall know them. Not every one that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father." What that Will is we shall see further on. But here

* "For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same. And if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what thank have ye? for sinners also lend to sinners, to receive as much again" (*Luke vi, 32-4*).

† St. Basil, in his Homily on Riches, shows the feeling of the early Church about this parable when he says: "The robber is not even arraigned [at the Day of Judgment], but the unsocialist [*ho akosmosmetos*] is condemned [*akosmetos*]."

I will point out how this Sermon directly contradicts modern individualism, both secular and religious.

Our religious individualism is condemned in three prominent characteristics—its self-righteous censoriousness (“Judge not . . . Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye”—vii, 1-5); its parade of “charity,” falsely so called, and subscription lists (“But when thou doest alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth: that thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret shall recompense thee”²); its love of cant (“And when thou prayest thou shalt not be as the hypocrites are; for they love to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets”—vi, 5, 6).

And now for what the Sermon says about secular individualism. Here are the Beatitudes, with which the Sermon begins, printed by Ruskin side by side with their modern perversions:—

CHRIST.

Blessed are the poor in spirit: † for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness (dikaïosuné †); for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

To which one might add two further parallels to the two remaining Beatitudes:—

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.

Besides this, the following principles are also taught in the Sermon on the Mount: Love of our enemies, anger being a form of murder (*Luke* vi, 27; *Matt.* v, 21-44); affirmation instead of oaths;

² *Matt.* vi, 1-4, R.V. Not “Shall reward thee *openly*,” which is a late addition by some scribe who hankered after anti-bibism and so destroyed the real point.

† St. Luke has simply “the poor,” and follows immediately with “Woe unto you that are rich”; and scholars think that St. Luke gives the original which was modified by St. Matthew. (See, e.g., *The Study of the Gospels*, by the Dean of Westminster, pp. 76, ff.) “Poor in spirit,” of course, does not mean poor-spirited, but simply the not caring about private property. Poverty in Christ’s time did not imply pauperism or degradation, but such a simple life as the fishermen-apostles lived.

† *i.e.* “justice”: see p. 15.

PRESENT-DAY.

Blessed are the rich in flesh: for theirs is the Kingdom of Earth.

Blessed are they that are merry; and laugh the last.

Blessed are the proud: in that they *have* inherited the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after unrighteousness (injustice): in that they shall divide its mammon.

Blessed are the merciless: for they shall obtain money.

Blessed are the foul in heart: for they shall see no God.

Blessed are the war-makers: for they shall be adored by the children of men.

avoidance of capital punishment, and of all litigation and retaliation (*Matt.* v, 33-41); a warning that we are not to insist on the "rights of property" (v, 40); a command to give to every one that asks our help (v, 42); a command to lend without asking interest or even the principal back (*Luke* vi, 34, 35); the wrongfulness of all forms of "making money" (*Matt.* vi, 19-21), and the consequent impossibility of serving God if we serve Mammon (vi, 24); that "thrift" is not the right way to abolish poverty (vi, 25-34). But that God wishes all men to have good food, and drink, and beautiful clothes (vi, 29-32), without either the grinding worry of poverty or the deadening lust of riches (vi, 24, 31, 34); and that this happy state of things is to be obtained by our seeking, first of all, two things—the holy brotherhood and the justice of God. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you" (vi, 33). Seek ye first the divine society and the divine justice, and all these things—clothes more beautiful than Solomon's, and good food and drink—shall be added unto you. Be social, godly, just, and you shall have Utopia. But the modern world is anti-social, selfish, unjust, and we have—London!

It may be urged that some of these precepts of the Sermon are ideal, and not practicable under present conditions. This is true. But it proves that a social system under which the precepts of Christ cannot be carried out is not a system which Christians can be content with. Christianity is in fact far ahead of us; and we have to assist in developing society in the direction of this ideal. So far as we can see, that direction is also the direction of Socialism; although as man develops from his present rudimentary condition to the glorious ruture which evolution and the Gospel foretell, he may pass beyond the ideal of present-day Socialism to something vaster and more sublime.

Christ's Prayer.

A prayer is generally considered a particularly "other-worldly" thing, or, at least, when it is concerned with this world, it is nearly always selfish and limited, like the prayers children are taught—"Bless father and mother, and make Tommy a good boy," which curiously illustrates how general is the narrowing of modern religion, and grows naturally in after years to—

Bless me and my wife,
My son and his wife,
Us four and no more. Amen.

Our Lord gave us only one prayer, and that quite short, for He set it as a model on which all prayer was to be based. How far we have departed from that model will be clear if we consider its clauses one by one.

The Lord's prayer was originally given for private use.* Here, then, if anywhere, we shall find Individualism! Let us see. The Prayer contains seven petitions and three extra clauses. None of

* "But thou when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret" (*Matt.* vi, 6).

these ten parts are individual ; *all* are social, three of the petitions are distinctly what some people would call "worldly," while the three extra clauses are specially inserted to insure the social application of the rest.

OPENING CLAUSE.—"Our Father which art in heaven." At the very outset Individualism is renounced ; though we pray "in secret" we have to say "Our," and to include all humanity in our prayer, approaching God as the common Father of the whole human family. And no one can say "Our Father which art in heaven" unless he has first said "Our brethren which are on the earth."

1ST PETITION.—"Hallowed be thy Name." The first Petition, like the two next, refers to this world. There should be no full-stops between this petition and "In earth as in heaven." In Westcott and Hort's Greek Testament, which represents the high-water mark of biblical scholarship, the clauses are thus printed :—

Our Father which art in heaven :
Hallowed be thy name,
Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done,
In earth as in heaven :

How, then, is God's Name to be hallowed here upon the earth ? Certainly not by a state of things under which in London alone 1,400,000 people* are living in want ! If blasphemy in word is wrong, how about blasphemy in *deed* ? Whenever we make any earthly matter the mirror of the love and justice of God we are hallowing His Name, for we are vindicating His righteousness ; but where is the love or justice in modern trade, or politics, or diplomacy ? Ask a City man, and he will reply, with a smile, that business is business ; by which he means that selfishness must be supreme, untinged by any thought of mutual love or justice. Indeed, a few years ago, before the Socialist protest, every political economist would have told you that men can only be reckoned with as "covetous machines." Now, this is the real blasphemy, the real atheism and materialism. It has driven thousands of working men into revolt against God, because they felt they could not believe in a loving Father when they saw the blank misery and oppression all around them. Yet God made the country, God places man amid lovely surroundings, which are the glory and delight of poet and artist ; and man, modern commercial man, has made the hideous modern town, which shuts out every ennobling influence from those who have to live in it. In fact, it is generally admitted by the most conservative people that "the devil made the town"—that prince of jerry-builders ! To hallow God's name, then, we must make the world a mirror of His love and beauty and justice.

2ND AND 3RD PETITIONS.—"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done." God has given man free-will because it is better to be free and imperfect than to be an irrevocable machine. But God's evolution of the world is towards perfection. Therefore Socialists

* Charles Booth, *Life and Labor*, ii, 20-1.

are right in believing in Utopia ; and as Christians we are bound to be Utopians. People often object that we are dreamy, unpractical people, because we are idealists. But everyone who says the Lord's Prayer definitely proclaims himself a fellow-worker with God for a perfect social state ; he prays for a heaven on earth, for God's will to be as perfectly done here as it is in heaven, for men to be as perfect as the angels, and for this divine evolution to take a social form in the "Kingdom of God." He is *bound*, then, to believe that all our struggles for social and moral reform are leading us to a Utopia. As Ruskin says : "When you pray 'Thy Kingdom come,' you either want it to come or you don't. If you don't, you should not pray for it. If you do, you must do more than pray for it—you must live for it, and labor for the Kingdom of God."

2ND EXTRA CLAUSE.—"In earth as it is in heaven." Our Lord inserts this to make it quite clear that He does not mean us to use the three foregoing petitions in an unreal or other-worldly sense.

4TH PETITION.—"Give us this day our daily bread." When it is evening, and the day's work is over, you are still bound to say this prayer ; for it is morning on the other side of the earth, and there are hungry people in the Antipodes. When your larder is full, you must use it none the less ; for it is not "Give me," but "Give us." And it is not "Give me my daily seven-course dinner and champagne," but "Give us our daily bread." Here, in this short prayer, Christ yet found room for a thorough statement of our most mundane needs—necessities for *all*, but harmful luxuries for *no one*. If, then, a rich man uses this prayer, he is morally bound to distribute his excess, from his luxury to supply other men's necessities, and to labor for a more equal distribution of wealth.* For what one man has another cannot have, and every penny one man has above the average product of society forces some one else to have less, and perhaps to lack his "daily bread."

5TH PETITION.—"And forgive us our trespasses." Well, you may say here, at least, is something that has nothing to do with Socialism ! Hasn't it ? Look again.

This also has an EXTRA CLAUSE attached to it, so careful was our Lord to guard against Individualism—"as we forgive them that trespass against us." Here, even here, then, the Christian Faith is social, corporate, reciprocal ; and as we shall be judged by our treatment of our brother, so by our conduct towards him we are forgiven. Christ never allows us to get away from this neighbor of ours. Therefore it was only to be expected that modern heresy should have raised a cry directly the opposite of Christ's principles. "No man shall come between me and my God," is that cry—as if they

* See, for instance, *Luke* iii, 11, already quoted on page 5, "He that hath two coats," etc. ; *James* ii, 15-17, R.V., "If a brother or sister be naked, and in lack of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled ; and yet ye give them not the things needful to the body ; what doth it profit ? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself" ; and also *1 John* iii, 17, "But whose hath the world's goods," etc., quoted on page 15.

would make private property even of the Almighty! But the teaching of the Lord's Prayer is that *every man* shall come between me and God. God will not even forgive us, unless we "forgive our debtors."

6TH PETITION.—"Lead us not into temptation." It may be objected that nothing so far has been in favor of Economic Socialism, of State Collectivism. That is quite true; for if our Lord had taught economics, instead of religion with its two great Duties, He would never have led the world to brotherhood at all: all real economic and legislative reform has been the *effect* of moral regeneration; it can never be its cause. True Socialism* is a much larger thing than Collectivism, which is but the means for realizing it under present conditions. When humanity has established Collectivism, it might very possibly pass on to Communism; and, after some centuries of Communism, humanity might become pure enough to live without laws at all, which would really be Anarchism. Christ taught for all time; and, if He had insisted on Collectivism, men would never have become unselfish enough to attain it; if they had, His teaching would have grown out of date. But His teaching and His example are always in advance of us, and thus we are able to develop.

But it is clear to my mind that this 6th Petition teaches us to be Collectivists at the present stage of the evolution of society. "Lead us not into temptation." Clearly if we twentieth century folk were Anarchists, we should be living in overwhelming temptation; and if you and I, my Socialist friend, were living as Communists, I am afraid we should find that Tom, Dick, and Harry, not to mention Levi and Cohen, would be tempted to take advantage of us. But the State in which we do happen to live is Individualistic, and I need hardly remind you that under this present competitive system the atmosphere of temptation is terrific. In the office and the workshop, in the studio and behind the counter, all day long the voices cry: "Make money, honestly if you can; but, at all events, make money! If you want to get on, you mustn't mind shouldering So-and-so out of the way. You must look after Number One. Every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!"

Now, I think this, more than anything else, has made me a Socialist. I know that money is the main cause of the awful temptations of these modern times, which have seriously made a new gospel, not of good-will towards men, but of "Self-help"; and I want not only to be freed from this temptation myself, but I want "us" to be freed from it, for I know that it is destroying all our nobility of character. If I want, then, mankind not to be led into temptation, I cannot support the present competitive system.

* "The method of Socialism is co-operation, the method of Individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain." *Socialism*, by B. F. Westcott, late Bishop of Durham, p. 4 (Price 1d. Christian Social Union Pamphlet, No. 3, from Mowbray, 28 Margaret Street, W.) See also Bishop Westcott's *The Incarnation, a Revelation of Human Duties* (S.F.C.K., Northumberland Avenue, 6d.).

Only one means of escape can I see, and that is to destroy material competition, which every page of the Bible condemns, and to establish, so far as possible, the collective ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. We cannot at present do away with money in some form, although we are told that money is a root of all evils (*1 Tim.* vi, 10, R.V.). But we can, by putting money into the common purse, minimise the temptation, till humanity is ready for a further step. Thus are we to apply to our present conditions the eternal principles which Christ gave us, and which He gave just that we might apply them from age to age, till God's will is perfectly done, and the whole lump is leavened. Can anyone produce a better way of doing this than State Socialism? If not, then let us be State Socialists.

LAST PETITION.—“But deliver us from evil.” Unsocial Christians have to learn from this how much of the evil is social, of “the world” as the New Testament so often says, using the word “*cosmos*,” which means in the Greek “the order of the world,” just as we say “the present social system.” And Materialistic Socialists have to learn that it is Evil from which we have to be delivered. Nothing is so shallow as to think that our social disorder is due to economic machinery which can be altered without any change in men's hearts; that is just the stupid materialism of the old political economy turned inside out. Our disorder is due to the evil which made this machinery; it continues because there is so much evil that men tolerate this machinery. Our statute-book is what it is because men are what they are: Socialist Acts of Parliament are only passed as men become more social; and some of the best of those Acts are a dead-letter to-day because men are too selfish to enforce them. When there is less evil in the world, less of that original sin for which the modern name is Individualism, then, and not till then, will the Parliament which *we* elect, and the autocrats which Slav and Teuton working men hold upon their thrones, allow Socialism to be established. You cannot, it is most true, make humanity good till you have made its environment good; but it is also true that you cannot make that environment good till you have made men better. The two must improve each other. And the perfect State will consist of perfect men and women.

Having now some idea of the drift of Christ's teaching, let us consider a little more fully the two leading principles of Socialism—Brotherhood and Common Wealth—in the light of the whole New Testament.

Brotherhood.

I need hardly dwell on this. Every Christian admits it—in theory, and would be surprised if the parson addressed his flock as “ladies and gentlemen” instead of “brethren.” We only have to make Christians true to the religion they profess, and to have the same religion for week-days as for Sundays. We only have to make the respectable church-goer understand that it is really devilish to stand aloof from those whom he may think beneath

him, since St. John says that "In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness, is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother" (1 *John* iii, 10).

The pity of it is that many a professing Christian does not know anything about this brotherly love. He forgets that he has to love his brother *as himself*; and so the very word "charity" has lost its true meaning, and is even applied to those petty forms of almsgiving which may justly be called the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

What we falsely call "charity" the New Testament calls ALMSGIVING, and our Lord, the first time He mentions it, calls it *justice* (*Matt.* vi, 1, R.V.). And yet, when some one cries, "We want justice and not charity," we think he is proclaiming a brand-new Socialist doctrine! The real CHARITY is described at length by St. Paul (1 *Cor.* xiii) as something that "seeketh not her own," but is patient, kind, generous, modest (v. 4), courteous, good-tempered, guileless (v. 5), honest and sincere (v. 6), confident and brave (v. 7). And this virtue is proclaimed by St. Paul as the greatest thing in the world, greater even than faith and hope—two virtues, by the way, which are almost equally necessary for the social reformer. Further, St. John says of this virtue (our translators for some extraordinary reason translated it "love" in St. John, but it is the same Greek word), that if we dwell in it we dwell in God Himself (1 *John* iv, 16), and that "every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God" (iv, 7), while "he that loveth not" (however much he goes to church) "knoweth not God." And it is remarkable that while St. John includes the love of God in this Charity, he expressly describes it as a social virtue—"But whoso hath the world's goods, and be-holdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?" (iii, 17, R.V.). He expressly declares that God is Love, and yet this Divine Love is analyzed by St. Paul as made up of acts of love *to men*.

As the inspired William Blake wrote—

Love seeketh not itself to please,
Nor for itself hath any care,
But for another gives its ease,
And builds a heaven in hell's despair.

There is another virtue necessary to brotherhood, which is a watchword with Socialists. It is JUSTICE. You may not think that it occurs often in the Bible. But it does occur eighty-six times. For every time you find the word "righteousness" you may read for it "justice." The word in the original Greek is *dikasounē*, which means justice, and is so translated in the Latin Vulgate by *justitia*. No doubt "righteousness" had a much broader sense originally, and should mean more than "justice" instead of less; but it has been degraded, like the word Charity, by modern use. Remembering this, observe that our Lord spoke of "the unrighteous Mammon," that is, of riches as an unjust thing; that He said, "Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after justice."

Every Socialist knows that a main offence against brotherhood is *Idleness*, and he claims that every idler is in fact a criminal. St. Paul is with him, "If any will not work, neither let him eat" (2 *Thess.* iii, 10, R.V.); work, he says, in another place (1 *Thess.* iv, 12), "that ye may walk honestly," being unable to conceive of an honest idler. The Communion Service, too, is with him, "Six days shalt thou labor," with a provision for a weekly holiday. The Catechism is with him, "My duty to my neighbor is . . . to learn and labor truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it *shall* please God to call me." Not "has pleased to call me," as it is generally misquoted. The Catechism does not say that men should be kept down, but that wherever the young may find themselves in after life they are to do their duty. And Jesus Christ gives no invitation to the idler, "Come unto me all ye that *labor*."

There is a Socialist song which tells of the time when there shall be "no master"; and here again they can quote our Lord's own words. "One is your Master, even Christ," "and all ye are brethren" (*Matt.* xxiii, 8, 10), "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them; and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so among you; but whosoever would become great among you, shall be your servant: and whosoever would be first among you shall be bond-servant of all. For verily the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto [waited upon], but to minister" (*Mark* x, 42-5, R.V.). It has been rather stupidly objected that St. Paul was in favor of slavery because he told servants to obey their masters. But we have only to remember that the early Christians were so full of the spirit of revolt against the "world" or society under which they lived, that they often had to be held back from ruining the whole cause by disorderly conduct. They knew that they were free, that God was no respecter of persons (*Acts* x, 34), and that however respectable a man was, if he approved of class-distinctions, he was "guilty of all" sin.* Therefore St. Paul, who was famous as a man that had "turned the world upside down" (*Acts* xvii, 6), had to tell them that nevertheless they must stick to their work.† He took pains to point out that the Christian slaves (who were as churchmen on a perfect equality with the patrician

* *James* ii, 1-10 See especially vv. 5-9 (R.V.)—"Did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him? But ye have dishonored the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment seats? Do not they blaspheme the honorable name by the which ye are called? Howbeit if ye fulfil the royal law, according to the scripture, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well: but if ye have respect of persons, ye commit sin."

† This is also true of the early Fathers. They drew a distinction between "natural law" and "human law." They all agreed that both private property and slavery were not in accordance with natural law, being due to man's sinful condition; but they held that they were justifiable under human law. At the same time they taught that to give up both private property and slaves was a good deed, and they set the example of doing so themselves. See A. J. Carlyle, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, and Professor Nitte, *Catholic Socialism*.

Christians) were to do their service, "not to men," but "as to the Lord" (*Eph.* vi, 7), and he repeats this when he writes to the Colossians, "Servants . . . whatsoever ye do, do it heartily as to the Lord, and not to men. . . . and there is no respect of persons" (*Col.* iii, 22-5). What St. Paul taught when he wrote to a master may be read in his little letter to Philemon, which is an appeal to a master to receive back a runaway slave, but "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved" (*Phil.* 16). And, as a matter of history, wherever the Church has been, she has emancipated the slaves, and vindicated the dignity of womanhood.

If we try for a moment to apply the law of Christian brotherhood to our present conditions, it is clear that they cannot stand for one moment before it. All monopolies would go, all class-distinctions would go, and war would be no more. Society would become Socialist, for we are not to lay up treasures *for ourselves* upon the earth (*Matt.* vi, 19), we are each to labor, and not to take interest upon capital (*Luke* vi, 34, 5)—interest being the great modern means of obtaining money without working for it—we are not to maintain our own rights of private property (*Matt.* xix, 21 ; *2 Cor.* ix, 9 ; *Luke* xii, 13-21), but are to work in complete co-operation and harmony one with another (*1 Cor.* 12). We are to love our neighbor as *ourselves*, to vote for his interests as our own, to educate his children as we would like our own educated, to feel his wrongs as wrongs done to us—in fact, as an early Christian writer says, "both to work and pray to get him all the good things we have ourself"* We are to do to him as we would have him do to us were our places changed ; and "this is the law and the prophets" (*Matt.* vii, 12). That goes much further than the Socialist maxim, "Each man counts as one, and no man as more than one."

Thus, if our brother is poor, we must labor for his release from the grinding, harassing toil which shuts out from him the higher things of life.

Ah ! but if he is rich, you say, ought we not to congratulate him on his prosperity, and regard his property rights as sacred ?

Common Wealth.

Pardon me, my friend. If you are a Christian, and love your rich neighbor as yourself, you will do all you can to help him to become poorer. For if you believe in the Gospel, you know that to be rich is the very worst thing that can happen to a man. That, if a man is rich, it is with the greatest difficulty that he can be saved ; for "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God" (*Mark* x, 25). This is startling now, but it was not less strange and startling to the disciples, who "were astonished out of measure, saying among themselves, Who then can be saved ?" But the needle's eye has not grown any larger since then, and the camels certainly have not grown smaller !

* St. Justin Martyr, *Tryphon*, 95.

Certain very superior persons, even among Socialists, have blamed Jesus Christ for so often denouncing the rich. But this is just wherein He showed His wisdom. It was a perfectly new idea at the time; for even the disciples, who were not rich, were shocked. But after hearing it for nineteen hundred years, Christendom still acts as if it were peculiarly difficult for a *poor man* to enter the Kingdom. And as we look round at both Church and Nonconformist governing bodies, boards of management, and representative assemblies, or at their clergy—bishops, priests, and deacons, Dissenting ministers and pastors—we find as a matter of fact that the poor man is excluded, and that the rich have somehow or other all squeezed through the needle's eye, and have comfortably taken over the direction of the poor man's Kingdom! And the State is worse than the Church; for at this moment in democratic America every member of the Cabinet but one, according to the *Spectator*, is a millionaire.* Can we blame, then, our Lord for putting the case so strongly, since even now it has not yet been driven into our greedy heads? As a matter of fact, the undesirableness of riches is the hardest lesson for man to learn; and he has to learn it, if Socialism is to be established on mutual love, or for that matter if it is to be established at all, because otherwise it is impossible.

How strongly our Lord enforced the lesson I need not remind you. People sometimes try to get out of the Parable of Dives and Lazarus by calling it the Parable of the Bad Rich Man.† It is not: it is the Parable of the Rich Man † Dives was an ordinary person, who was not without the ordinary good nature of the selfish, for he at least allowed Lazarus the hospitality of his doorstep; whereas nowadays we should send at once for the policeman if Lazarus attempted such a thing. We are told why Dives was punished in Hades: "Son, remember that thou in thy lifetime receivest thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things" (*Luke* xvi, 25).

All true Christians, then, must desire to relieve the rich man of his excess for his own sake, since the inequality that ruins the body of Lazarus ruins the soul of Dives; and Dives is the more miserable of the two, because the soul is more precious than the body.

* This was written in 1897; but in 1907 the power of the millionaire has not decreased in America. On the other hand the religious bodies are certainly more democratic, on both sides of the Atlantic, than they were.

† Old-fashioned Bibles give this parable the title of "The rich Glutton," which shows how our grandfathers shut their eyes to its meaning. They might as well have called it "The rich Dandy"; and indeed there is nothing about gluttony in the parable, the words translated "fared sumptuously" being better rendered by "living in mirth and splendour," as in the R. V. margin.

‡ St. Augustine well says on this point, "Jesus said not, a calumniator; He said not, an oppressor of the poor; He said not a robber of other men's goods, nor a receiver of such, nor a false accuser; He said not, a spoiler of orphans, a persecutor of widows,—nothing of all these. But what did He say? 'There was a certain rich man.' And what was his crime? The Lazarus lying at his gate, and lying unrelieved." Augustine, *Serm.* clixviii, 3.

St. James perfectly understood this great truth that the social revolution will be really a blessing for the rich. He stated it in the clearest terms: "Let the brother of low degree rejoice in that he is exalted: but the rich in that he is made low: because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away" (*James i, 9, 10*). This passage, by the way, happens to be the special Epistle for May 1st, which is St. Philip and St. James' Day, and therefore it has been read throughout the Church on every Labor Day for about 1,500 years. It is still bound to be read every May Day. Outside, the Socialist procession may be singing the reactionary Marseillaise, but in church the reactionary Vicar is reading to his people the Socialist message of St. James! It is a wonderful world we live in.

The identity of true Socialism with true Religion is nowhere more clearly shown than in the Christian teaching about riches. The great rival power to God is not any of the common bugbears of the religious world—not heathendom, or popery, or the public-house, or the theatre—but Mammon. If, then, we are fighting against the power of riches, we are essentially Christian. "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon" (*Matt. vi, 24; Luke xvi, 13*). And St. Paul makes it still clearer when he says (*Col. iii, 5*) that idolatry, the worship of a rival to God, is covetousness. The common religious notion of idolatry is that it consists in putting up graven images in church; but the New Testament has given the word a different meaning—it is the worship of the graven image upon a coin. Covetousness is now so openly professed that the economists have built a science upon it; yet St. Paul more than once mentions it as an equally disgraceful thing with nameless vices; to take a milder instance, he says (*Eph. v, 5*): "No whoremonger, nor unclean person, nor covetous man who is an idolator hath any inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ." And covetousness was the sin of Judas.

Once more, I repeat it. If the love of money is a root of all evils (*1 Tim. vi, 10*), we can only make the people good Christians by making the State the common trustee, which shall pay us all justly for work duly done; "not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others" (*Phil. ii, 4, 5*).

The Christian Church.

What did the first Christians do when their Church was settled in Jerusalem? They lived as Communists.* They must have known what the Master really meant, they had heard Him speak, and knew thousands of sayings of His which have not come down to us (*Joh. xxi, 25*); they had the Apostles amongst them, and had not the divine teaching on hearsay. "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them

* This Communism was voluntary. "Whiles it remained, was it not thine own?" (*Acts v, 4*). They shared out of their own free will, because they felt that it was the right, Christian thing to do; and this makes it more significant than if it had been forced upon them.

said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common" (*Acts iv, 32, R V*) And as a natural result of this Communism (as St. Chrysostom reminded his hearers many years afterwards) "great grace was upon them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked for as many as were possessors of land or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet and distribution was made unto each according as anyone had need" (*Acts iv, 33-5, R V*) From each according to his ability, to each according to his need!

Thus we have reached from the first proclamation of a levelling revolution to the establishment of a deliberate voluntary communism co-extensive with the first Church.

My task is nearly done. I have only now to point out that this Church is still pledged to Christian Socialism, not only by her first documents, but by her history. The communist experiment at Jerusalem failed, which was significant as showing how intense was the conviction of those who tried it so long before the time was ripe. But the Church did not give up the Socialist ideal for that. If it had, then Christ, who promised to be with it even to the end of the world, would have been wrong. There have, indeed, been plenty of bad bishops, and bad priests and people, and periods of corruption and recovery; but, all along, the heaven has been working, and the Kingdom growing nearer and clearer—aye, even amid the deluge of modern avarice. Nor can anyone who has studied the slow processes of evolution in man and nature approve for one moment the ignorant objection that nineteen hundred years is a long time to have taken. It is a short period in the world's history. And all along the corporate Church, as distinguished from individuals, has consistently maintained the same ideal. A form of Communism, confined to religious orders because it could not be practised in the world, has never ceased to flourish; it has always been held up as an ideal life, and whenever people wanted to be particularly good they have, as a matter of course, lived a communal life, following Christ's advice: "If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor" (*Matt xix, 21*) At the present day hundreds of thousands of Christians are so living.

It was the Church in early days, as the Bishop of Birmingham has shown,† that invented representative government. The Church also steadily condemned *all* receiving of interest on capital down to

* Note for instance how Tertullian (200 A.D.) appeals to the Socialism of the Church as a thing which can be taken for granted, and which excites the wrath of the pagan world:—"And they [the pagans] are angry with us for calling each other brethren. . . . The very thing which commonly puts an end to brotherhood among you [pagans], viz. family property, is just *that* upon the community of which *our* brotherhood depends. And so we, who are one in mind and soul, have no hesitation about sharing our possessions with each other." Tertullian, *Apol.* 39.

† Bishop C. Gore, *The Mission of the Church*, p. 143, *The Church and the Ministry*, pp. 97-107.

the 16th Century, and canon law still bears witness to this in theory.* All those whom the Church delights to honor, the Fathers and the Saints, from St. Matthew to the author of the *Utopia*, have practised and preached some form or other of what we now call Christian Socialism†.

In her sacraments she has constantly proclaimed the sacredness of common earthly things, in Baptism she asserts the absolute right of every human being, however young, or poor, or ignorant, to her brotherhood. Indeed, St. Paul, in his splendid comparison of the brotherhood (1 Cor. xii) to the one body with many members, wherein if one member suffer all the members suffer with it, bases his whole contention upon this sacrament of Baptism †

In the Holy Communion she has maintained the communal character of the highest form of worship; for, as the *Didache* says, "if you are sharers in the imperishable things [*z e*, communicants], how much more must you be sharers [communists] in those things that are perishable", "therefore thou shalt not turn away from him that hath need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that anything is thine own" § This is just what so shocked people when Mr. Stewart Headlam said that those who come to Holy Communion must be holy communists.

By her very existence the Church declares the solidarity of the human race, and its essential unity, free from all distinction of class, sex, or race, "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus," as St. Paul insists in three separate epistles (*Gal.* iii, 28, *Col.* iii, 11; 1 Cor. xii, 13)

Much of all this has been forgotten, since Christians have devoted all their energies to breaking up the Church into competitive sects, and fighting with each other, and have made an apotheosis of selfish individualism by the Calvinistic heresies of justification by faith without works, the impossibility of falling from grace, and the still more hideous doctrine of predestination. I simply ask Christians of all kinds to be true to their common mother, the historic Church,

* Two economic doctrines were not only preached, but enforced by the Church courts and accepted by all business men down to the age of the Reformation. One of these was the prohibition of interest. The other was the doctrine of the 'just price,' which said that a man was not to ask what he could get for a thing, but was to demand only the just price, viz., what it ought to fetch in order to enable the maker of it to lead a decent life according to a recognized standard. These were not mere pious opinions, but were principles universally practised, and thus for 1,500 years the "selfish machine" of modern economics was not allowed to exist. See Professor Ashley's *Economic History*, vol. 1, chap. 3, and ii, 6

† Many of the sayings of modern Socialists are indeed but echoes of what is to be found in the Fathers. For instance, Proudhon's famous saying that "Property is Robbery" was anticipated 1,600 years ago by St. Ambrose. "Nature therefore created common right, Usurpation made private right" (*De Off.* i, 28). See note on page 16

‡ "For in one Spirit were we all baptised into one body, whether Jews or Greeks, whether bond or free" (1 Cor. xii, 13, R.V.)

§ *Didache*, or, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," iv, 8. This very important work (which was not discovered till 1833) belongs probably to the 2nd or 3rd Century, but the sentence here quoted was taken from the Epistle of Barnabas (cix, 8), which is earlier.

and not be misled by those who have overlaid her teaching with their own selfishness. And to those who are not conscious Socialists I say, Why not? Have you any reason except a selfish one? Why hold back and be half-hearted? You and we are at one. For Christianity is not Individualism. Neither is it Socialism and water. It is Socialism and fire—the practical religion of those whose inspiration is “comfort, life, and fire of love.”*

And to those Socialists who are not consciously Christian, I also say, Why not? You are serving Christ. You and we are at one. We are fighting against the same evils. Look at our devotional books, and you will find at the beginning the ancient tabulated lists of virtues and vices. You will see that we love the same things that you love, Justice, Love, Hope, Fortitude; that we are commanded to do the same “Corporal Works,” to feed, give drink, and clothe. Nay, that we have to fight the same things. There are four “Sins crying to Heaven for Vengeance”; only four, but two of these are Murder and the Sin of Sodom, and the other two are Oppression of the poor and Defrauding the laborers of their wages. You will find, moreover, “Seven Deadly Sins” which you will see at once are just the anti-social sins which you are fighting—Pride, Covetousness, Lust, Anger, Gluttony, Envy, Sloth; and you will observe that, with one exception, none of these seven shock the respectable public, though Socialism does. You will further observe that four of these sins—Pride, Covetousness, Envy and Sloth, and often Gluttony as well—are popularly regarded as very gentleman-like qualities.

Will you, then, realize—and it is time you did!—that what you and every good man are fighting, is nothing else than wickedness, and none the less wickedness because it is embodied in statute-books and economic formulæ? Beneath all your political work you have to convert the heart of man. And it is a tough job. You won't convert him by pointing to his interests. He is singularly blind about them, and always has been. You will only convert him by giving him a moral ideal. Is there a better one than Christ? If so, how is it that Socialism can only be spread in those countries where the people have professed the Christian faith for many hundreds of years? The Church has made plenty of mistakes, and its members have committed ruinous sins like other people, and always there have been many Judases within the camp selling the Christ for pieces of silver; but its united voice, its official documents, its pattern saints have never faltered; and at least it has driven into men's hard hearts some touch of brotherly love, and has made Socialism already almost possible in Christian countries.

This Socialism is its own old teaching revived. It is getting to understand that; and the age of social lethargy and religious competition is passing away. Every Socialist who understands how deeply religion has been concerned in every movement that has ever won the enthusiasm of men, every Socialist who realizes how

* The *Veni Creator* in the Prayer Book translation.

enormous is the work before him, must welcome the assistance of this ancient and imperishable organ of love and justice. And every Christian who rejoices in the singular growth of religious zeal in recent years must long to see all that huge force given to the service of the Humanity which Jesus Christ has taken up into the Godhead.

For the man that loves much is a Socialist, and the man that loves most is a Saint, and every man that truly loves the brotherhood is in a state of salvation.

*We know that we have passed from death unto life,
Because we love the brethren.*

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SMALL HOLDINGS, ALLOTMENTS, AND COMMON PASTURES:

And How to Get Them by the Act of 1907.

WHAT is the use of an allotment to a working man? It has many uses. In the first place, if he puts good labor into it, and if he keeps a pig to eat some of the produce and to supply manure, an acre allotment is worth three or four shillings a week to him, and often more.

Secondly, he is always sure of having a good supply of vegetables and potatoes for his family.

When he is out of work, too, he can spend some of the time that would otherwise be wasted, in improving his own piece of land.

Allotments make the laborers more independent when they have to deal with the farmers and landlords. Undoubtedly one of the chief things needed at the present time is an independent and sturdy spirit amongst the farm laborers. In our midland and southern villages they suffer constantly from low wages and harsh treatment, but the majority of them dare not say a single outspoken word to help to make things better. They take whatever wages are offered them and they put up with every tyranny without protest. Why is this? Chiefly because they depend on others for work and food, and seldom have any Trade Union to look after their interests. But if a laborer has a sack or two of flour in his cottage, and a couple of good sides of bacon, and a stock of potatoes to tide him over the winter, he does not feel nearly so helpless and humble. And an allotment can provide him with these things.

How to make an Allotment Profitable.

But allotments are not found to succeed everywhere and always. Certain things are necessary before they are likely to be of real use. The allotment must be

NEAR THE LABORER'S OWN HOME.

It is absurd to expect a man to walk out a mile or so and walk back again, after he has done a heavy day's work, in order to spend an hour on his allotment. And as an allotment always requires constant care and attention if it is to give the best results, it is ^{un-} necessary that it should be near the worker's home. ^{yearly}

A FAIR RENT.

Often the laborers grow such good crops on their ^{all-} small ^{apply} make them pay so well that the landlord takes the ^{of} allotments) charge them a much higher rent than he asks the ^{neighboring} land of the same quality. Why should ^{exceed}

pay a penalty for cultivating their land well? And why should they work hard and constantly in order that the landlord may get an extra rent? The rent must certainly be a fair one.

Small Holdings.

It is not only the laborer who finds it profitable to work a plot of land if he can get it at a fair rent and on reasonable conditions. Working as he does chiefly in his spare time, the allotment is large enough for his needs. But there is an increasing demand for land for another class of agriculturists, the men who wish to devote their whole time to a farm, the men who want a small holding up to fifty acres. Here, again, it is not always possible to bargain with the landlords for suitable farms at a fair price or on fair terms that will protect the tenant against loss of his improvements at the end of the tenancy.

Common Pasture.

There is another kind of land which is urgently needed by both laborers and small holders. In the olden days, before Englishmen allowed their land to be seized by a few landlords under the Enclosure Acts, there were many large commons, whereon the villagers had the right to feed their cattle and pigs. Many a cottager or small farmer would more easily be able to keep his cows, or his horse, or pigs, if he had a right to use ample common pasture. It is the loss of the old rights of grazing animals and gathering fuel on the common lands of the village which has done so much to put the people at the mercy of the landlords.

How to Get Allotments, Small Holdings, and Common Pasture.

Now the law of England says that it is the duty of local government councils to provide all these things—allotments, small holdings, and common pastures—if the people desire them, and cannot otherwise obtain them from the landlords on reasonable terms.

ALLOTMENTS.

In the case of allotments it is the business of the Borough Council, the Urban District Council, or the Parish Council (or the Parish Meeting in parishes where there is no Parish Council) to find the land for those who wish to work it. These Councils may purchase or hire land either by a voluntary agreement with the landlord or, if he refuses to come to reasonable terms, the Council can ask the Board of Agriculture to make an order compelling the landlord to accept the terms, which are to be settled by an arbitrator appointed by the Board; and this arbitrator must not add to the price because of the compulsion. However, if the land is only to be leased, then the lease must be for not less than fourteen or for not more than thirty-five years; but this term can be renewed at the will of the tenant. In the case of a Parish, the Council or the Board of Agriculture, instead of proceeding itself, must ask the County Council to make a compulsory order; it hands over the land, when the Parish, which must pay all expenses. If the County Council does not move, the Parish can appeal to the Board direct.

John Stua
Socialism

Having acquired the land, the Council can adapt it for use (by draining, fencing, road making, erecting buildings, including a dwelling house if accompanied by one acre), and let it out in allotments not exceeding five acres to any one of the laboring population, or to a group of persons working as a co-operative colony, or to an association for the promotion of allotments. The rent must be sufficient to repay all the money that the Council has spent on the land, so that no charge shall ultimately fall on the rates; but a Council may levy a rate or raise a loan to meet the expenses in the first instance. So long as it repays the expenses, the Council can let as cheaply and on as favorable terms as it pleases. And the tenant in every case can remove any fruit trees or bushes to which he has no claim for compensation on giving up the tenancy.

If a Council neglect to consider these matters, any six registered parliamentary electors or resident ratepayers can request (in writing) the Council to discuss the need of the neighborhood. Although these petitioners cannot force the Council to return a favorable answer to a request for land, this petition is a useful step to take, as it forces the Council to state its intentions.

If the Councils mentioned above refuse to take action in providing allotments, then it becomes the duty of the County Council to consider the situation (except in the case of a borough), and if it resolves that there is really need for allotments, then it (the County Council) at once takes over all the allotment powers of the Council which has neglected to take action. The County Council can acquire the allotments, and charge all the expenses on the defaulting Council.

If the County Council also neglects its duty, the Board of Agriculture can transfer all the above powers of a County Council to the Small Holdings Commissioners, who can then take all the steps which the County Council might have taken.

SMALL HOLDINGS.

It is the business of the County Council to find out whether there is a demand for small holdings; and it can acquire land for the purpose in practically the same manner as land can be acquired by hiring, by compulsion if necessary, and can adapt the same as small holdings. The chief difference is that it can be divided into plots of any size between one and fifty acres, and the annual value is not more than £50 as assessed for the purposes of the tax. Further, the Council must not charge the county rates in any year with more than one penny in the pound on account of any expenses incurred for small holdings, including the annual repayments of any loans raised for such a purpose. If the holder desires to purchase his holding he can do so by half-yearly instalments over a period, agreed on by the Council, not exceeding fifty years.

And if the County Council will not proceed to supply small holdings then the Board of Agriculture (as in the case of allotments) can instruct the Small Holdings Commissioners to acquire the land and charge all expenses on the County Council.

working men
 opportunity to
 rent a holding
 for the purpose

COMMON PASTURE.

This can be acquired by any Council which is empowered to acquire allotments and small holdings, and can be rented out to tenants or any laborers in the form of grazing rights. But it is necessary to get the sanction of the County Council before any other Council can take action in this way.

Co-operation.

But the County Council can do much more than provide the land necessary for allotments and small holdings and common pasture. The experience of successful farming shows most clearly that one of the great secrets of success is the co-operation of farmers for the purposes of buying their implements and manure, etc., of turning their milk into butter, and of sending their produce to market in the cheapest way. English farmers are very far behind the rest of the world in this respect; nevertheless they have begun to move slowly, and co-operative societies are growing in number. A County Council or the Board of Agriculture can make grants or loans of money for the promotion of co-operation between small holders or allotment workers.

What all these Powers Mean.

Simply this: that if the people elect the right men to the local Councils they can get allotments and small holdings on the best terms and ready for immediate use. The Councils can, further, by forming co-operative societies, help the tenants to buy and sell to much greater advantage than if each worker of land had to buy what he wants and to sell his produce on his own account. If the people of England want allotments and small holdings they can have them at once if they use their voting power on polling days.

And remember, if the local Councils refuse to find the land that is wanted, then the Government can force the Councils to act, or can buy the land itself. The Government has already appointed two Commissioners to inquire into the demand for land throughout England and Wales. The truth is the people can force the Government to do whatever they wish if they send the right men to Parliament, and the easiest way to get the Government to attend is to write to your Member of Parliament. But if the voters put men on the Parish, Urban and County Councils, or in Parliament, simply because of their wealth and position and without their having shown genuine good-will towards the people, they are certain not to get what they want. The working men can elect anyone they choose, for they are in the majority. Let them, therefore, make up their minds firmly beforehand whom they wish to have as Councillors, and, when the election comes, let them support their candidates loyally through thick and thin.

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THE
VILLAGE and the LANDLORD

By **EDWARD CARPENTER.**

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THE VILLAGE AND THE LANDLORD.

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My object in this paper is simply to describe the economic conditions of a single country parish, here in England, and from the consideration of these conditions to draw some inferences towards our future policy with regard to the land. In modern life—in every department of it, one may say—bedrock facts are so veiled over by complex and adventitious growths that it is difficult to see the proper and original outline of any problem with which we are dealing; and so it certainly is in this matter of the land question. Anyone glancing at a country village, say in the neighborhood of London, probably sees a mass of villas, people hurrying to a railway station, motor cars, and so forth; but as to where the agricultural workers are, what they are doing, how they live, what their relations may be to the land and the land owners—these things are obscure, not easily seen, and difficult to get information about. And yet these are the things, one may say, which are most vital, most important.

The parish which I have in mind to describe is a rather large and straggling parish in a rural district, with a small population, some 500 souls, almost entirely agricultural in character, consisting of farmers, farm laborers, woodmen, and so forth, with a few miners and small artisans—on the whole a pretty hard-working, industrious lot. Fortunately, one may say, there is hardly anything resembling a villa in the whole parish; there is no resident squire, and the business man is conspicuous by his absence. The place therefore forms a good example for the study of the agricultural land question. The farms are not over large, being mostly between fifty and one hundred acres in extent. There is just the land, and the population living mainly by the cultivation of it. This population, as I have hinted, is not lacking in industry; it is fairly healthy and well grown; there is no severe poverty; and (probably owing to the absence of the parasite classes) it is better off than most of our agricultural populations. Yet it is poor, one may almost say very poor. Probably, of the hundred families in the parish, the average income is not much over £60 a year; and many, of course, can by no means reach even that standard.

Financial Conditions of the Village.

Let us consider some of the financial and other conditions which lead to this state of affairs. In the first place, I find that the inhabitants have to pay in actual rent to their landlords about £2,500 a year. In fact, the gross estimated rental of the parish is about £3,250, but as there are quite a few small freeholders the amount actually paid in rent is reduced to £2,500. Nearly the whole of this goes off out of the parish and never comes back again. The duke and most of the other landlords are absentees. This forms at once, as is obvious, a severe tax on the inhabitants. One way or another the hundred families out of what they produce from the land have to pay £2,500 a year into alien hands—or, averaging it, £25 per family! and this, if their average income is now only £60, is certainly a heavy burden; since, if they had not to pay this sum, their income might be £85. No doubt it will be said, "Here we see the advantage of having resident squires. The money would then return to the parish." But would it? Would it return to those who produced it? No; it would not. The spoliation of the toilers would only be disguised, not remedied. In fact, let us suppose (a quite ordinary case) that the parish in question were owned by a single resident squire, and that the £2,500 were paid to him in rent. That rent would only go to support a small extra population of servants and dependents in the place. One or two small shops might be opened; but to the farmer and farm worker no advantage would accrue. There might be a slightly increased sale of milk and eggs; but this again would be counterbalanced by many disadvantages. "Sport" over all the farm lands would become a chronic nuisance; the standard and cost of living, dress, etc., would be raised; and the feeble and idiotic life of the "gentry," combined with their efforts to patronize and intimidate, would go far to corrupt the population generally. In this parish then, of which I am speaking, the people may be truly thankful that they have not any resident squires. All the same, the tax of £25 per family is levied upon them to support such squires in some place or other, and is a permanent burden upon their lives.

Enclosure of the Commons.

Less than a hundred years ago there were in this parish extensive common lands. In fact, of the 4,600 acres of which the parish consists, 2,650, or considerably more than half, were commons. They were chiefly moors and woods; but were, needless to say, very valuable to cottagers and small farmers. Here was pasture for horses, cows, sheep, pigs, geese; here in the woods was firewood to be got, and bracken for bedding; on the moors, rabbits, bilberries, turf for fuel, etc. In 1820 these commons were enclosed; and this is another thing that has helped to cripple the lives of the inhabitants. As is well known, during all that period systematic enclosure of the common lands of Great Britain was going on. In a landlord House of Parliament it was easy enough to get bills passed. Any stick will do to beat a dog with; and it was easy to say that

these lands, being common lands, were not so well cultivated as they might be, and that *therefore* the existing landlords ought to share them up. The logic might not be very convincing, but it served its purpose. The landlords appropriated the common lands; and during the 120 years from 1760 to 1880, *ten millions of acres in Great Britain* were thus enclosed.*

In 1820 the turn of this particular parish came, and its 2,650 acres of commons "went in." I used to know an old man of the locality who remembered when they "went in." He used to speak of the occurrence as one might speak of a sinister and fatal event of nature—a landslide or an earthquake. There was no idea that it could have been prevented. The commons simply went in! The country folk witnessed the proceeding with dismay; but, terrorized by their landlords, and with no voice in Parliament, they were helpless.

It may be interesting to see some of the details of the operation. In the Enclosure Award Book, still kept in the parish, there remains a full account. The Duke of Rutland, as lord of the manor, as impropiator for tithes, as proprietor, and so forth, got the lion's share, nearly 2,000 acres. The remaining 650 acres went to the other landlords. Certain manorial and tithe rights were remitted as a kind of compensation, and the thing was done. In the Award Book the duke's share is given as follows:—

	Acres.	Roods.
1. "As Impropiator for tithes of corn, grain, and hay; and in lieu of and full compensation for all manner of tithes, both great and small"	1381	3
2. "As Lord of the Manor," and in compensation for certain manorial rights, "and for his consent to the said enclosure" ...	108	2
3. "For chief rents," amounting in the whole to £14	28	2
4. "For enfranchisement of copyholds" ...	11	3
5. "As proprietor"	18	2
6. "By sale to defray the expenses of the Act"	449	1

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Thus we find, in exchange for the ducal tithes, nearly a third of the whole area of the parish handed over—most of it certainly not the best lands, but lands having considerable value as woods and moors. We find some acres adjudged to the duke in consideration of his kind "consent" to the transaction. And, most wonderful of all, nearly 450 acres surrendered by the parish to defray the expenses of getting the Act through Parliament! And now to-day in the said parish there is not a little field or corner left—absolutely not a solitary acre out of all the vast domain which was once for the people's use—on which the village boys can play their game of cricket! Indeed, most valuable tracts were enclosed quite in the

* See *Mutball's Dictionary of Statistics*, "Enclosures."

centre of the village itself—as, for instance, a piece which is still called “The Common,” though it is no longer common, and many bits on which little cottages had been erected by quite small folk. It would be a very desirable thing that the enclosure award books in other parishes should be investigated, and the corresponding facts with regard to the ancient commons brought to light generally over the country.*

Incidence of the Rates.

A third thing which cripples the agricultural interest very considerably is the incidence of the rates. The farmer's dread of a rise in rates has become almost proverbial. And it is by no means unnatural or unreasonable. For there is probably no class whose estimated rental is so large, compared with their actual net income, as the farmer class. A farmer whose farm, after deducting all expenses of rent, rates, manure, wages, etc., yields him a clear profit of no more than £100 a year for his household use is quite probably paying £70 a year in rent. But a superior artisan or small professional man who is making £150 a year will very likely be only paying £20 in rent. It is obvious that any slight increase in the rates will fall much more heavily on the first man than on the second. The rates, therefore, are a serious matter to the farmer; and something in the way of shifting their incidence, and distributing the burden more fairly, ought certainly to be done.†

As an instance of this latter point, let me again refer to the parish in question. We have seen that some 2,600 acres of common lands passed over to the landlords in 1820, ostensibly for the public advantage and benefit. Of these, more than 1,500 acres of moor land, held by the duke, are rated on an estimated rental of less than 2s. 6d. per acre. The general farm lands of the parish are rated on an estimated rental of 14s. or 15s. per acre on the average. Thus the moor lands are assessed at about one-sixth of the value of the farm lands. This is perhaps excessively low; but the matter might pass, if it were not for a somewhat strange fact—namely, that a few years ago when some twenty acres of these very moor lands were wanted for a matter of great public advantage and benefit, that is, for the formation of a reservoir, the ducal estate could not part with them under £50 an acre; and a little later, when an extension of acreage was required, the district council had to pay a much higher price, so that the total purchase, first and last, comes out at more than £150 per acre! Now here is something very seriously out of joint. Either the moor lands are worth a capital value of £150 an acre, in which case they ought to be assessed at, say £5, instead of at 2s. 6d.; or else, if the rating at 2s. 6d. is really just and fair,

* *Some Forgotten Facts in the History of Sheffield and District* (Independent Press, Sheffield, 1907, price 2s. 6d.) contains valuable information of this kind.

† I am not here discussing the question of how far a rise of rates falls upon the landlord; for, though this may ultimately and in the far distance be so, it is clear that the farmer primarily feels the pinch, and not till he is nearly ruined is there any chance of his getting a corresponding abatement of rent.

surely it is monstrous that the public, having to carry through a most important and necessary improvement, should be "held up" and made to pay a ruinous price, simply because the land cannot be obtained elsewhere. The conclusion is: Let such lands be rated in accordance with the capital value set upon them by their owners, and we shall have a much fairer and more equitable distribution of the public burden.

The Nuisance of "Sport."

And this matter of the moors leads to the consideration of a fourth cause which cripples the land cultivator terribly in this country. I mean Sport. The nuisance and detriment that this is to the farmer has become so great that, unless strict measures are soon taken, widespread ruin will ensue. In many subtle ways this acts. With the enormous growth of wealthy and luxurious classes during the last fifty years, the tendency has been to turn the country districts into a mere playground. The very meaning of the word sport has changed. The careful working of covers by the occasional sportsman has been replaced by clumsy battues, with wild shouts and shrieks of "drivers," and huge slaughter of birds, half tame, and specially bred for the purpose. Mobs of people, anxious to appear fashionable, and rigged out by their tailors in befitting costume, are formed into shooting parties. Rich men, wanting to get into society, hire moors and woods, regardless of expense, regardless of animal slaughter, regardless of agricultural interests, as long as they get an opportunity to invite their friends.* In Devonshire to-day the farms in many parts are simply eaten up by rabbits, because the landlords, in order to provide plenty of shooting, insist on spinneys and copses and hedgerows and waste bits being retained in their wild state for purposes of cover! On the northern moors the rabbits similarly devastate the farms along the moor edges—not because the rabbits are preserved, for the shooting is mainly of grouse and pheasants, but because the moors, being uncared for except in this way, the rabbits are allowed to multiply without check. They are the gamekeeper's perquisite. Yet if the farmer who has a farm adjoining the moor carries a gun to protect himself against their invasions, it is conveyed to him (if a tenant of the same landlord) that he had better not do so, lest he should be suspected of shooting the grouse! Thus he is paralysed from his own defence. In the parish of which I am speaking there are lands along the moor edges which used to grow oats and other crops, but which now, on account of the rabbit nuisance, are quite uncultivable in that way, and only yield the barest pasture.

* The financing of these affairs is funny. A large moor will let for the grouse season for £3,000, say on the condition of grouse being bagged up to, but not beyond, 2,400 brace. Mid-week parties hurry in by rail and motor, stay for two or, perhaps, three nights, and hurry off again, to be succeeded by other parties the following weeks. The whole thing is conducted in the most mechanical way, with "drivers," "batteries," and so forth. And when the expenses are added up, including men employed, guests entertained, and rent paid, they certainly do not fall far short of the proverbial guinea a bird!

Fifty Years of Agricultural Decay.

In and about 1850, when wheat more than once reached £5 a quarter, the farmers and landlords were doing a roaring trade. Rents were high, but the land could afford it. Farmers were anxious to increase the size of their holdings, and landlords were not averse to this, as it saved them trouble. And so set in that tendency to roll small holdings into big ones which continued, with baneful effect, during all the second half of the century. Sport at the same time came in to increase the action. It was easier to pacify the few than the many over that matter. It was simpler to hunt a pack of hounds over two or three large farms than across a network of small holdings. Besides, the New Rich, as well as the elder gentry, wanted widespread parks, and not a democratic rabble of cottagers at their very doors. And so the game went on. Soon prices of farmstuff fell heavily. But it is easier to get rents up than to get them down again. The alleviations of rent which *have* taken place since 1854 have been only painfully gained and grudgingly yielded. Wheat which was at 100 shillings a quarter then has been the last few years at about 30 shillings! And though other farmstuffs have not fallen in like degree, yet during all that period of declining prices, the British farmer has been pinched and pined all over the country. The landlord has been on top of him; and with holdings often much too large for his need, and a yearly balance too small, he has employed far less labor and tillage than he ought to have done; his land has lost heart; and he has lost heart—till he has become to-day probably the least enterprising and least up-to-date of all the agriculturists of Western Europe.*

Such are some at least of the causes which have contributed to the decay of agriculture in this country; and their consideration may indicate the directions in which to seek for a cure.

Security of Tenure Needed.

What is needed, first and foremost, is very obviously security of tenure, under such conditions as shall give both farmer and cottager a powerful interest in the land and its improvement. It is often said, and supposed, that the countryman now-a-days does not care about the land and the rural life, and is longing to exchange it for town life. I do not find this so. I find that he is compelled into town life by the hard conditions which prevail in the country—but not that he *wants* to leave the latter. Indeed, I am amazed at the tenacity with which he clings to the land, despite the long hours and the heavy toil; nor can one witness without wonder and admiration the really genuine interest which he feels in its proper treatment, quite apart from any advantage or disadvantage to himself. It is common to find a farm laborer expressing satisfaction or disgust at the good or bad tillage of a field with which he is in no way connected; or to see a small farmer's son working early and late, perhaps up to the age of thirty, with no wages but a mere pittance

* There are many farms of 500 or 600 acres in Gloucestershire only employing five or six hands—or one man to a hundred acres!

in the way of pocket-money, and only a remote prospect of inheriting at some future date his share of the farm-stock and savings, and yet taking a whole-hearted interest in the work not really different from that which an artist may feel. There is some splendid material here—in these classes neglected by the nation, and overlaid by a tawdry and cheap-jack civilization.

I say it is clear that they must be given a secure and liberal tenure of the land and be free once for all from the caprice of the private landlord with his insolences of political intimidation and sport, and his overbearance in parochial affairs. The absolute speechlessness of our rural workers to-day on all matters of public interest is clearly, to any one who knows them, due to their mortal dread lest their words should reach the powers above. It has become an ingrained habit. And it has led of course to a real paralysis of their thinking capacity and their enterprise. But place these men in a position where the fruits of their toil will be secure, where improvements can be made, in cottage or farm, with a sense of ownership, and where their vote and voice in the councils of the parish will not be dependent on squire or parson; and the world will be astonished at the result.

Public Ownership.

There are two main directions in which to go in the matter of secure tenure. One is the creation of more small freeholds; the other is the throwing of lands into the hands of public authorities, and the creation of permanent tenures under them. Though the latter embodies the best general principle, I do not think that forms a reason for ruling out freeholds *altogether*. In all these matters variety is better than uniformity; and a certain number of freeholds would probably be desirable. In the same way with regard to public ownership, if anything like nationalization of the land is effected, I think it should decidedly be on the same principle of variety—creating not only State and municipal ownership, but ownership by county councils, district councils, parish councils, etc.—with a leaning perhaps towards the more *local* authorities, because the needs of particular lands and the folk occupying them are likely on the whole to be better understood and allowed for in the locality than from a distance.

Let us suppose, in the parish which I have taken for my text, that by some kind of political miracle, all the lands on which rents are now being paid to absent landlords were transferred to the ownership of the Parish Council. Then at once the latter body would come into an income of £2,500 a year. At one blow the whole burden of the rates would fall off, and still a large balance be left for public works and improvements of all kinds. It might be allowable, for a moment, to draw a picture of the utopian conditions which would ensue—the rates all paid, the rents milder and more equal than before, the wages of parish workers raised, free meals for school-children provided, capital available for public buildings, free libraries, agricultural engines and machinery, also for improving or administer-

ing common lands and woods, and so forth. There is no danger of course of so deplorable an embarrassment actually occurring! for any scheme of nationalization would take a long time, and would only gradually culminate; and no scheme would place the whole lands of a parish at the disposal of a single body like the parish council. But the example helps us to realize the situation. Every farmer and cottager whose holding was under a public body would know and feel that whatever rent he might have to pay, it would come back to him in public advantages, in the ordaining of which he would have a voice; he would know that he would be in no danger of disturbance as long as he paid his rent; and in the matter of capital improvements in land or building he might either make them himself (with the council's consent), in which case if he should decide later on to quit the holding, the council would compensate him, knowing that the rental paid by the new tenant would be correspondingly increased; or he could get the council (if willing) to make the improvement, and himself pay a correspondingly increased rent for it. In either case he would have as good a bargain, and almost as free a hand, as if he were on his own freehold.

Small Holdings.

Security of tenure, largely through public ownership, must certainly be one of the first items of a land-reform program. Another item, the importance of which is now being widely felt, is the making provision for the effective supply of small holdings. Whether the present Small Holdings and Allotments Act. (of 1907) will prove effective or not remains to be seen. But something effective in that direction must clearly be done. By small holdings I mean holdings, freehold or leasehold, from twenty-five acres down to one or two acres in extent, each with cottage and buildings attached.* Of this class of holding (largely owing to the "rolling up" policy of last century) there is an absolute famine in the land. The demand, the outcry, for them is great, but the supply is most scanty. Yet this class covers some of the most important work of modern agriculture, and a great variety of such work. It includes, in its smaller sizes, market gardens, with intensive culture of all kinds, and glass, besides the kind of holding occupied by the professional man or other worker who supplements his income by some small cultivation; and in its larger sizes it includes nurseries, as well as small arable and pasture farms. The starvation that exists to-day in Britain of all these classes of industry is a serious matter.†

* The Act of 1907 defines a "small holding" as exceeding one acre and not exceeding fifty acres.

† It will be said that if there is such a demand for small holdings, the supply will soon by natural law be forthcoming. But as a matter of fact under our present system this is not so—and for three reasons: (1) The slowness of the landed classes to perceive the needs of the day—even though to their own interest; (2) The want of capital among a great number of them, which makes them unwilling to face the breaking up of large farms and the building of extra cottages; (3) The fact that those who have money are careless about public needs, and do not seem to see a sturdy population of small holders about their doors.

In the parish with which we are dealing, owing partly to its distance from a market, the demand for such holdings takes chiefly the form of a demand for small arable and pasture farms. But the need of these is great, as indeed it is nearly all over the country. A holding of this kind, of any size from five to twenty acres, forms an excellent stepping-stone for a farm laborer or farmer's son towards a position of independence. A second or third son of a farmer, not likely to follow his father in the occupation of the farm, has to-day only a poor prospect. Unable to command enough capital to stock a large farm himself, and unable to find a small one, he has but two alternatives—to drift down into the fruitless life of the farm laborer, or else to go off and try his luck in town. If, as is most often the case, he is twenty-five or so before the need of making a decision comes upon him, his chances of learning a town trade are closed, and the first alternative is all that is left. Yet the small holder of this kind is often one of the most effective and useful types of agricultural worker. On a holding, say of fifteen acres, while he cannot get an adequate living for himself and family by ordinary farm methods, yet he can gain a considerable amount, which he supplements by working as a useful hand for neighbors at harvest and other times. Being thrown on his resources, and not having *too* much land, he gains more than the average out of it, and his own ingenuities and capacities are developed; so that, as a rule, he is the most resourceful and capable type of man in the district. It is of the most vital importance to the country that this type of man, and his class of holding, should be encouraged.

Agricultural Co-operation.

There is one method which I have so far neglected to mention by which both security of tenure and small holdings can be obtained—I mean Co-operation. The formation of co-operative societies for the purchase of large farms, for the division of them, the building of cottages, and the leasing of small holdings so obtained, is one of the most hopeful directions for the future. It ought to be easy for the public authorities to lend money on perfectly safe terms for this purpose. What co-operation has done and is doing for agriculture in other countries—in the way of establishing banks, land-holding societies, societies for butter-making, egg-collecting, buying of feeding stuffs and manures, sale of produce, etc., is now perfectly well known. Ireland even has left England behind in this matter; but England and Scotland will have to level up. It is a sign, at least of good intentions, that the late Act gives power to the County Councils to promote and assist the formation and working of co-operative agricultural societies of all kinds.

Re-transfer of Old Common Lands and Declaration of Land Values.

One of the very first things, I think, which ought to be taken up is this question of the commons. If ten million acres between 1760 and 1880 passed so easily from the public use into the exclusive

hands of the land owners, surely there ought not to be much difficulty in passing them back again. As I have said, they were appropriated mainly on the plea that, being commons, they were inadequately cultivated. The main cultivation they have received from the landlords has been of rabbits, grouse, and other game ! The public has been simply played with in the matter ; and agricultural interests, instead of being extended and improved, have been severely damaged. When we realize, in addition to this, that, owing to the increase of the general population and its needs, these tracts which passed into private hands with such slender compensation to the public, are now held up at ruinous prices, we realize that it is high time that the game should cease ; and that the lands which Parliament voted away from the public in those days should now be voted back again—and with “compensation” on a similar scale. These lands are still largely in the hands of the families to whom they were awarded ; and the transfer could perhaps be most fairly and reasonably effected by their simple reversion to the public on the expiration of existing life interests in them. But of course there would have to be land courts to deal with and compensate special cases, as where the land had changed hands, and so forth.

The value of such ancient common lands to the public would now be very great. Large portions of them would be suitable for cultivation and for allocation in small holdings ; the villages would again have a chance of public playgrounds and cricket grounds ; the Parish councils would have lands (so much needed and so difficult to obtain) for allotment gardens ; the District councils might turn many an old woodland into a public park ; while the wider moors and mountains could be held under County councils or the State, either for afforestation, or as reserves for the enjoyment of the public, and the preservation of certain classes of wild animals and birds, now in danger of extinction.

Let a large measure of this kind be passed retransferring the main portion of the common lands into public hands ; and at the same time a measure compelling owners in the future to declare their land values, and giving power to the public bodies to purchase on the basis of the values so declared ; and already we should have made two important steps towards bringing the land of the nation into the possession of its rightful owners.

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VI.
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BOOK B
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PARISH COUNCILS AND VILLAGE LIFE.

SINCE 1894 every rural parish containing more than 300 inhabitants has had a parish council to manage its local affairs. These councils are elected once every three years. There will be elections in March or April, 1910, 1913, 1916, etc. If there is not a good parish council in any parish, the electors should take care to get a good one at the next election.*

What use is the Parish Council?

Many people are saying that the parish councils are of no use to the parishes, and that they have done nothing for the poor man. It is quite true that in most places the parish councils have not done much. In many villages they have done nothing at all. But where they have done nothing at all, it is largely because the wrong men have been elected. In most parishes the farmers and shopkeepers and innkeepers do not like the parish council, because they are afraid of having to pay higher rates, and very few of the squires and parsons believe in it or care much about it.†

These people go about saying that parish councils are of no use at all to anybody. Unfortunately, many laborers and other simple folk believe this. They hoped much from the parish councils, and they have got little or nothing. But it is not true that parish councils are of no use to the poor man. They have taken the power over the village affairs out of the hands of individuals or cliques, and taught the laborer that his vote is as good as that of anyone else. In hundreds of different parishes up and down England and Wales the parish councils have done a great deal of good. They have got allotments and small holdings of grazing or gardening land for men who wanted them; they have protected the poor man's common or village green, and often obtained additional land for common pasture; they have appointed their own men to manage the village charities, and have sometimes restored to the poor charity money which had formerly been misapplied; they have seen to it that the charities should go to those who really needed them, whatever political or religious opinions they might hold; they have got better drinking water for the cottages, digging new wells and putting up new pumps where required; they have

* For a plain statement of the law about parish councils, exact particulars as to who can vote and who can be elected, and full explanation about the method of election, see Fabian Tract No. 62, "Parish and District Councils: what they are and what they can do." 1d. It will be posted to any person sending 1d. in stamps to the Secretary, Fabian Society, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

† For this reason no proper report has been published by the Government, as was its plain duty, showing what the parish councils have done. The facts in this Tract have been gathered from more than a hundred separate reports obtained by the Fabian Society from parishes all over the country; from the printed reports and proceedings of county and rural district councils; and from various Parliamentary papers.

cleaned out filthy ponds and ditches, and done away with nuisances which were injuring the health of the village; they have maintained and repaired the footpaths, and prevented the stopping up of public rights of way; they have looked after the rates and taxes and sometimes saved the parish large sums of money by preventing dishonest officers stealing the cash or dealing unfairly with the assessments; they have put up lamps to light the village streets at night; they have procured fire engines to put out fires; they have provided open bathing places and sometimes regular baths for men and women; they have laid out playgrounds for the children, cricket fields for the young men, and pleasant walks among trees, with seats for the weary; they have erected parish halls where needed; and they have sometimes set going libraries and reading rooms for the free use of the parish. All this, and much more, has been done by the parish councils in those parishes in which the right men have been elected. This Tract is written to tell of their success. What these parishes have done, others can do.

Allotments and Small Holdings.

The Act of 1907 having at the time of writing (February, 1908), only been in force for a few weeks it is impossible to record any results from it, but it has already created a great movement in many parts of the country and thousands of acres of land have been applied for. Associations of intending small holders have been formed in many districts, such as the Land Clubs of East Surrey and West Kent, federated in the Land Club Union, particulars of which can be obtained of Montague Fordham, Honorary Organizing Secretary, Pains Hill, Limpsfield, Surrey. The Co-operative Small Holdings Association, of 10 Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C., can supply lecturers and other information as to what is being done and how to get small holdings and allotments.*

A considerable proportion of the 7,000 parish councils in existence have got land for allotments, amounting altogether to something like 17,000 acres. Most of this was acquired in the first three years after the passing of the Act of 1894; but since 1897 there has been a steady, though slower, progress in this direction. In the five years from 1897 to 1902, 219 parish councils acquired 2,580 acres for allotments, accommodating nearly 6,000 tenants; whilst five parish meetings acquired 45 acres for 77 tenants.†

In Norfolk more than 100 parishes, in Devon and in Lincolnshire more than 80, have now their own allotments under the parish council. What no one laborer could do for himself, the parish council was able to do for them all. Usually the parish council succeeded in getting enough land by agreement with the landlord, which is much the best way for all parties. Sometimes the landowners or parsons have shown themselves willing to help the parish

* See Fabian Tract No. 134, "Small Holdings, Allotments, and Common Pastures: and how to get them", six for 1d.

† It is not yet possible to give any summarized figures for the years since 1902 because the official return, which is the only possible source of such figures, appears at somewhat rare intervals.

council, as, for example, at Shepton Beauchamp (Somerset) and at Eaglescliffe (Durham), where the good offices of the rector smoothed the way to the acquisition of some 28 acres of excellent grass land for the laborers of the village. An admirable instance of energy is afforded by the Parish Council of Belbroughton (Worcestershire). This is a village inhabited mainly by nailmakers, who, in consequence of the rapid increase of machinery, found their old industry of nailmaking by hand could no longer provide them with even the bare living wage that they had been used to make. In 1895 the parish council took a field of 18 acres and accommodated 30 nailers. The next year 16 acres were added; the year after, 109 acres; and, in 1903, a further 34 acres. These 177 acres enable 112 men to obtain a livelihood as market gardeners. No less than 26 horses are employed in ploughing, carting, and carrying the produce to Birmingham and bringing back manure for the land. All this, it is worthy of remark, has been done despite the lethargy of the rural district council and the continued opposition of the chief landowner. In many cases where a landlord's obstinacy has produced a deadlock, the law has been set in motion, and he has been forced to part with some of his land to the parish.*

Here are the names of some parishes where an order has been obtained compelling the landlords to let the laborers have land :—

	Pop.
Asfordby (Leicestershire)	1,062
Ashby (Lincolnshire)	1,845
Beaghall (Yorkshire)	396
Dunsford (Devon)	633
East Rusten (Norfolk)	603
Fosdyke (Lincolnshire)	436
Gamlingay (Cams.)	1,722
Garthorpe (Lincolnshire)	481
Goxhill (Lincolnshire)	1,174
Holt (Dorset)	820
Kexby (Lincolnshire)	300
Llandyfriog (Cardiganshire)	748
Potter Heigham (Norfolk)	426
Preston (Dorset)	664
Tarvin (Cheshire)	1,093
Tydd St. Mary (Lincolnshire)	821
West Shutford (Oxfordshire)	271

* If a parish council cannot get suitable land by agreement and on reasonable terms, it should lay the case before the county council, who will then draft an order authorizing the compulsory hiring for a period of not less than 14, and not more than 35, years of such land in or near the parish as is specified in the order. This order will have to be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture. (The Board of Agriculture is now substituted for the Local Government Board, which was formerly the authority for carrying out this business.) If there is any opposition on behalf of the landowners concerned, or of any person interested, a local inquiry will be held, so that the Board of Agriculture may be satisfied before it confirms the order. If there is no opposition, the confirmation must be made as a matter of course. The Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, Whitehall, London, will answer any inquiries on the subject and give all necessary information.

Nearly all the land has been hired by the parish council at as low a rent as it could arrange, and let out to the allotment holders at a rent per pole or per rood just covering all the expenses.

Several parishes have had allotment land purchased for them either by the county council or the rural district council, the parish council in each case having the management. Thus Wigloft, in Lincolnshire, now has six acres, bought for it by the Holland County Council for £900, and paid for by a loan spread over 50 years. The parish council lets the land to 12 tenants, whose rent pays the interest and sinking fund. At the end of 50 years, the parish council will own the land free of any charge. The Parish Council of Keresley got the Warwickshire County Council to purchase 11½ acres in the parish, which the parish council now hires from the county council, and sublets to 18 tenants.

Most of this land is used for allotment gardens, varying in size from a few square yards up to an acre. But in many cases pasture land is let in larger holdings. Thus the Parish Council of Longcott, in Berkshire, has hired 10 acres of meadow which it sublets to four tenants; Shrivenham, in Berkshire, 20½ acres of pasture to three tenants; Weedon, in Buckinghamshire, 16 acres of pasture to one tenant; Clifford, in Herefordshire, four and three quarter acres to one tenant; Glen Magna, in Leicestershire, six acres of pasture to one tenant; Colyton, in Devonshire, 19 acres to three tenants; Witton Gilbert, in Durham, 32 acres to six tenants; Rothbury, in Northumberland, 46 acres to five tenants; and the Trefdraeth Parish Council, in Anglesey (pop. 682) has hired no less than 172 acres, which it has let to eleven tenants, one having about 100 acres.

Although only a portion of the total number of parishes has yet put the law as to allotments in force, more than 30,000 working men now hold land directly from their parish councils.

In many other parishes the parish council has been able, without itself hiring or purchasing land, to induce the landlords to set aside land for allotments. Thus in the parishes of Axmouth, Clawton, and Pyworthy, in Devonshire, the parish councils received applications for allotments, and successfully appealed to the landowners on behalf of the applicants. This happened also at Dunston, in Lincolnshire, Harthill-with-Woodall (Yorkshire), and many other places. The Sluimbridge Parish Council (Gloucestershire) got two acres of charity land divided into allotments. Twyford Parish Council (Hampshire) owns two acres of land under an Enclosure Award, and lets this out in allotments. The Cold Ash Parish Council (Berkshire), which similarly owns eight acres let in allotments, reduced the rents to the lowest possible point, and improved the plots by providing new gates and fences. At Nayland-with-Wissington (Suffolk) the parish council got the rents of the existing allotments reduced. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorganshire, pop. 686) borrowed £400, on a 15 years term, in order to provide fences for its allotments on Ogmores Down.

When a parish council has obtained land for allotments, it is very useful to have definite regulations to prevent any abuse. Several

hundreds of parish councils have made such "Regulations for Allotments," and got them confirmed by the Local Government Board,* in London, so that each allotment holder may be protected from annoyance and the parish property from misuse.†

Common Pasture and Grazing Grounds.

A few parish councils have provided common pasture and grazing grounds for their villages. Thus at Soulbury (Bucks.), the parish council rents 21 acres for this purpose; at Hasland (Derbyshire), seven acres. In Yorkshire, the Ashton-cum-Anghton Parish Council rents eight acres; that of Kilham, 21 acres; and that of Beeford, 48 acres—all for the poor man's cow, the cottager's goose, and the horse or donkey of the small dealer or craftsman. And now, by the new Small Holdings Act, wherever allotments are provided and it is thought desirable to attach grazing ground to them, land may be acquired for that purpose.

Cottages.

A parish council cannot build cottages apart from allotments; but it can, without permission from anyone, appoint a committee of inquiry to report on the state of the housing in the parish, and print its report. If this committee reports that the cottages are ill-drained, unwholesome, and unfit to live in, and that new cottages ought to be built to supply the needs of the villagers, then the parish council should pass a resolution calling on the rural district council to build new cottages. If the rural district council neglects or refuses to comply with this request, the parish council can appeal to the county council, which, when satisfied that the need for new cottages exists, can order the cottages to be erected.

[A Rural Housing Bill is promised by the Government, which may alter all this, but at the time of writing (February, 1908) its provisions are unknown.]

Some parish councils have got cottages repaired by complaining to the district or county council. The Parish Council of Suffield (Norfolk, pop. 207) found that the parish contained some cottages which were in very bad repair. It borrowed £100 on a 12 years term, put them in good order, and let them at satisfactory rentals.

The parish of Ixworth (Suffolk, population 856) was the first to get cottages actually built for it by the rural sanitary authority. After many complaints and repeated inquiries, the Thingoe Rural District Council bought four acres of land for £160, and built eight cottages for £1,370, borrowing the money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners at three and a quarter per cent., repayable by instalments extending over 30 years. The cottages are let at £5 10s. each a year, and the surplus land at twopence per rod. This, however, was done in 1890-1893, before parish councils existed. The first case of a parish council building cottages was that of Pens-

* These regulations will now be confirmed by the Board of Agriculture, the Secretary to which will furnish inquirers with all necessary information.

† See also below (p. 9) as to power of parish council to build cottages on allotments.

hurst (Kent, pop. 1,678), and this was due to the energy of a lady councillor (Miss Jane Escombe). Beginning in 1895, it was not until 1897 that she managed to get a county council inquiry; and it took over two years more to get over all the official and other difficulties. But in November, 1899, a site of three-quarters of an acre was purchased from the clergyman for £130; and twelve months later the cottages, six in number (with six rooms each), were completed at a cost of £501 for each pair, covered by a loan of £1,800 at three and a half per cent., repayable in 40 years. At five shillings per week the receipts amount to £78, and the annual charge for interest and repayment is £74 9s. 6d.

Eight more cottages have since been built on leasehold land at a cost of £1,850, and are let at rents from four shillings to 4s. 9d. per week. The loan is repayable in 40 years, and the rate of interest is three and a half per cent.

Bradwell (Maldon R. D. C., Essex). Six cottages have been built, at a total cost of £1,450 inclusive, on an acre of land costing £45. There are on the ground floor parlor, living room, and kitchen eight feet high; and on the first floor three bedrooms eight feet six inches high. They are let at 3s. 6d. each per week. The loans were £1,250 at three and three quarters per cent., and £200 at four and a quarter per cent.

Bratton (Westbury, Wilts). Four houses have been built, at a cost of £887, on land costing £30 for 32 perches (at the rate of £150 per acre), or a whole cost, with architect's fees, etc., of £970. Each house has two rooms and scullery on the ground floor, and three bedrooms on the first floor, and is let at 3s. 6d. per week, tenant paying rates.

Linton (Cambridgeshire). Application was made by this council to the county council on behalf of five parishes in the district, but the others are standing over until Linton has gone through. It is hoped to build for £130 per cottage, then let at 2s. 6d. per week. Land cost £125 for two acres. A loan of £1,500, repayable in 61 years, has been sanctioned by the Local Government Board.

Malpas (Cheshire). A loan of £2,500 was obtained for sixty years, and twelve cottages provided at an estimated annual cost to the rates of £11 per annum on an assessable value of £4,891. Only part of the land has been used, and a rent of four pounds per annum is being derived from the unbuilt portion.

Limpsfield (Surrey, pop. 1,911) is another place which has been very active. In 1901 the parish council found the cottage accommodation in the village to be insufficient and, after very careful inquiry, representations were made to the principal landowner in the matter, with the result that he promised to build immediately twelve additional cottages as an experiment. In 1906 it was found that there was still a scarcity of cottages, and it was proposed that a special report on the matter should be laid before the rural district council. Eventually the parish meeting decided that the work had better be done by voluntary effort, and a building company was formed for the purpose. No difficulty was found in raising the

money, and cottages, which are already begun, will be let at a low rental, paying a small fixed charge by way of interest on the capital outlay.

In Ireland much more has been done than in England. There are now over 15,000 cottages in Irish rural districts, built, owned and let out to tenants by the local public authority.

Lastly, it is important to remember how the Small Holdings Act, 1907, has changed the law as regards building in connection with allotments. Formerly the rural district council could improve and adapt land acquired by it for allotments. Now these powers have not only been transferred to the parish council, but they have been considerably increased by the fact that the parish council is allowed to erect buildings on the allotments which it holds. A parish council may, if it think fit, put up a cottage on any of its allotments which is not less than one acre in extent.

Recreation Grounds.

Many parish councils have secured useful recreation grounds for their villages. Sometimes these have been given free. At Titchfield (Hampshire) five acres have been given; at Nacton (Suffolk) one acre; at Westbury (Wilts.) half an acre. The parish council of Aldenham (Herts., pop. 2,487) had given it half an acre with gymnastic appliances; and has been offered another four acres for a public park. At Mayfield (Staffs.) the inhabitants themselves presented the parish council with one acre for this purpose. In other villages, land has been let to the parish council at a nominal rent, such as a shilling a year. At Roade (Northamptonshire, pop. 691) the parish council has thus secured a recreation ground of half an acre; at Calverton (Notts.) one of two acres; at Bramcote, in the same county, one of four acres; at Harrow Weald (Middlesex) as much as five-and-three-quarter acres; whilst on the other hand the parish council of St. Margaret-at-Cliffe (Kent), having been given a zigzag footpath up the cliff, has got the use for sixpence a year of sufficient land to put seats on. Less fortunate villages have had to rent land for recreation grounds. The parish council of Aston Tirrold (Berks., pop. 289) hires two acres, whilst that of Twyford (pop. 1,106) in the same county, hires ten acres; Wymondham (Norfolk) is content with half an acre, and Clifton (Lancs.) with three-quarters of an acre, whilst Naseby (Northamptonshire) hires 11 acres. Many parish councils (for instance, that of Great and Little Hampton, Worcestershire) have improved the village greens, so as to make them fit places for the children to play on. The parish council of Barrowden (Rutland) has hired seven acres specifically for a cricket ground; that of Norton-under-Hamdon (Somerset) one-and-a-half acres for a children's playground, whilst Barford Parish Council (Warwickshire) went in for five-and-a-half acres for this purpose. Northolt Parish Council (Middlesex) has got one-and-a-quarter acres of land for a village green at a nominal rent of five shillings a year. Sometimes much larger areas are hired by parish councils for the combined purpose of recreation grounds and common grazing. Thus Aberffraw, in Anglesey, rents by its parish council

16 acres; Whittington, in Worcestershire, 20 acres; Chigwell, in Essex, 49 acres; Pelsall, in Staffordshire, as much as 55 acres.

A few parish councils have purchased land for recreation grounds; thus Chulmleigh (Devon) has bought a little ornamental garden of four poles extent; Horndon-on-the-Hill (Essex) has bought one-and-a-half acres; Forest Row (East Sussex) four acres; Horsepath (Oxfordshire) four acres; Wattisfield (West Suffolk) four-and-three-quarter acres; and Kopley (Hants.) as much as seven acres, part of which it devotes to allotments. In such cases the parish council borrows the money to pay for the land. Thus Burwell (Cambridgeshire) borrowed £346 to buy some recreation ground; Willingham, in the same county, £500; Cuddesdon, in Oxfordshire, £160; Winterslow (Wilts) £250; and Caterham, in Surrey, as much as £2,700—all for recreation grounds. Here again the parish council may make bye-laws, which will be confirmed by the Local Government Board, for the regulation of its recreation ground. In 1905-6 and 1906-7 the Board has confirmed such bye-laws made by various councils—Potten (Bedfordshire), Tiverton (Somerset), Willingham (Cambridgeshire), South Normanton (Derbyshire), Combe Martin (Devon), Aldenham (Herts.), Frensham (Surrey), etc.

Public Wharf.

At Acle (Norfolk) a small piece of land by the river, forming a sort of wharf, is rented from the lord of the manor, in order that the inhabitants may have the free right to load and unload boats, independently of the riparian owners and occupiers.

Drying Ground.

At Cummersdale (Cumberland, pop. 615) the inhabitants felt the want of a drying ground, and the parish council rented half an acre of land for common use.

Burial Grounds.

When the parish churchyard gets full, or is too far off from part of the parish, it is a great convenience for the parish to be able to get a new burial ground. This has been done by nearly 700 parish councils. Occasionally the parish council has been able to get the land for nothing, on proving that it was really needed, as at Steeton-with-Eastburn (West Riding of Yorkshire), where the chairman of the parish council presented the council with one-and-a-half acres. In some cases the land has to be hired on a long lease; the parish council of Brisley (Norfolk) has thus rented half an acre. But nearly always the parish council has bought the freehold, obtaining a loan for the purpose. Sometimes, as at Isleham (Cambridge), all that is obtained is an additional half-acre beside the churchyard. At other times much more is bought; the parish council of Dolwyddelan (pop. 1,117) report on Powysshire, has purchased nearly eight acres. In a few cases the eventual owner could not be induced to sell the necessary land better to be done by near the churchyard, the parish council prevailed upon the owner to let the parish council to take it compulsorily.

These purchases are made by means of loans. Thus the Curston Parish Council (Norfolk, pop. 986) borrowed £340 to buy land for a new burial place; the Hauxley Parish Council (Northumberland, pop. 1,627) borrowed £381; and the Rainham Parish Council (Essex, pop. 1,725) borrowed £400. In 1905-6 the Local Government Board sanctioned loans amounting altogether to £7,478, and in 1906-7 £6,765 to parish councils for burial grounds.

Mortuary.

The Parish Council of Clifton, a mining village in Lancashire (pop. 3,000), by setting aside a stable at the back of the council offices, has provided a mortuary for common use.

Parish Land Recovered.

Many small pieces of land belonging to the public at large have been "lost" in years gone by for want of anyone to stand up for the public rights. Parish councils have been examining the Enclosure Awards, Tithe Awards, and Lists of Charities for their parishes, and some of this "lost" land has been recovered. For instance, the Askera Parish Council (West Riding of Yorkshire) is now in possession of half an acre of land, including a useful quarry, which had been duly awarded to the parish years ago, but had been quietly usurped by the neighboring landowner. When the village got a parish council to assert the public rights, the present landowner consented to restore the half-acre in question. At Shirland (Derbyshire) the parish council compelled a landowner to disgorge a small strip of land by the high road which he had annexed. The parish council now receives a small annual rent for its use. The Hurley Parish Council (Berkshire) found that the lord of the manor had for years been allowing people, now and then, to enclose bits of the common land, on condition that they paid him a small quit rent. The council complained, and this filching of the public rights has been stopped. At St. Budeaux (Devonshire) the Government had appropriated the village green under some plea or another, but the parish council has now obtained possession of this half-acre, hiring it from the War Office at the nominal rent of a shilling a year. At Pilton (Somerset) the parish council got the lord of the manor to transfer to them free of cost the site of the old parish pound, to be planted with trees and shrubs. At Long Preston (West Riding of Yorkshire) the lord of the manor has transferred the village greens to the parish council free of charge; and at Thundersley (Essex) the same is being done with regard to a large common. Many other village greens, the legal ownership of which has become vested in the lord of the manor, have been let to parish councils at a shilling, or some other nominal rent, so that the people might have a legal right to the use and management of them. By the activity of parish councils many commons and greens have been protected against encroachments and appropriation. Thus at Cellan, in Cardiganshire, the parish council had the common accurately measured, and the public ownership put on record. The Parish Council of Send and Ripley (Surrey, pop.

2,301) has made byelaws regulating the use of its village green and other open spaces. This should be done by every parish council which can prove its title to the green.

The green strips by the side of the high roads are public property, and ought never to be enclosed. In the past many thousands of these pieces of land have been quietly stolen by the neighboring landowners. Now it is the duty of the parish council to watch them, and the duty of the county council to protect them. Many encroachments have been thus stopped. The Parish Council of St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan., pop. 686) successfully fought the Earl of Dunraven, who had tried to make a big encroachment.

Parish Halls or Rooms.

Many parish councils have acquired or built convenient public rooms for the village to meet in, and offices for the parish business. At Charing (Kent) the parish council bought 10 poles of freehold land and built a hall, getting a loan of £286 for the purpose. The Boarhunt Parish Council (Hampshire) did the same thing. Compton (Hants.) bought three-quarters of an acre and built a hall; Hesse, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, half an acre for the same purpose. Dysarth (Flintshire) borrowed £88, and West End (Southampton) £450. The Parish Council of Hawkehurst (Kent) borrowed £625 to build its parish hall, which includes offices for the parish business. But a suitable room can be put up for much less. The Parish Council of Trefriw (Carnarvonshire) only had to borrow £114 to pay for its parish room; and the Parish Council of Underskiddaw (Cumberland) only required £150 for the same purpose. The Parish Council of Bovey Tracey (Devonshire) borrowed £400 to provide themselves with a "town hall," but South Stoke (Oxfordshire) was contented with spending £50, and Gunthorpe (Nottinghamshire) with spending £120 on their "parish rooms." At Cheddar (Somerset) the parish council bought a house with a quarter of an acre of garden, and converted it into a public hall and parish offices. This cost about £300, which the parish borrowed for a term of 30 years, during which it will pay interest and sinking fund, and after that will have the house and building free of charge. The Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs., pop. 3,000) bought two cottages for £500, and uses one for the parish offices, while the other is let to a tenant.

Schools.

Parish councils have no direct authority over the schools, but by means of the school manager whom they elect, or by making representations of their needs to the proper authority, they may add materially to the welfare of the scholars. A school manager appointed by the parish council should be required to give a report to the parish council of what has passed at the education committee. The report would, of course, be confined to such matters as are of public interest and not confidential. Another matter in which a parish council might usefully bestir itself would be to urge the county council to provide facilities for technical education in the

village. The Parish Council of Yarm (Yorkshire) secured for their village the services of an excellent horticultural lecturer from the North Riding County Council as a result of which a very promising horticultural society has been established there.

The Preston-on-Tees Parish Council (Durham, pop. 800) finding that the distance from the homes of many scholars to the existing school was too great to allow of their attending regularly, made representations to the Durham County Council, and a new school was started for the children in the outlying parts of the parish. At Limpsfield (Surrey) the school manager appointed by the parish council personally started a canteen, which fed 60 children who came from a distance at a charge of one penny each per day. The plan has been continued for a second season.

Charities.

In many parishes the parish council has reformed the charities by appointing some of its own members as trustees. Sometimes, as at Burley-in-Wharfedale (Yorkshire), the rents of parish land or cottages have simply been taken by the overseers in aid of the poor rate (and so helped to pay the rates of the squire, the parson, the innkeeper, etc.!). This was promptly stopped, and the money given to the deserving poor. Then the poor were no longer compelled to come up publicly to claim their doles, but arrangements were made for paying them quietly in their own cottages.

Sanitation.

It is, properly speaking, the business of the rural district council and the county council to see that every parish is in a proper sanitary condition; that every cottage has a good supply of pure water; that no stinking ponds, foul ditches, or other nuisances pollute the air or water; and that every cottage has decent sanitary conveniences. The parish council can, however, itself attend to small matters. At Marske-by-the-Sea (Yorkshire) the sanitation left much to be desired. An expert, who was called in, prepared an elaborate scheme; but the parish council found it too expensive, and so set themselves to remedy matters by giving a thorough attention to the sewers and sewage outlets, disconnecting of all rain-pipes from the drains, and so on. But, generally speaking, where the parish council comes in is in the power of making complaints to the rural district council, without any man running the risk of displeasing his landlord or his employer. Many parish councils have successfully used this power. They have pestered the rural district council with complaint after complaint, until the nuisances have been done away with. In Hurlley (Berks.) the parish council found some of the cottages without any proper water supply, and using an infected source. It complained to the district council, got this source analysed and condemned, and compelled the cottage owners to provide a better supply. Sometimes the parish council has had to appeal to the county council, which has stirred up the district council and made it move. Where the county council has a medical officer (as every county council ought to have), the parish

councils have found it very useful to send him their complaints, and to get him to inspect the parish. If neither the district council nor the county council will help the parish, then the parish council can appeal to the Local Government Board in London. The Parish Councils of Threapwood (Cheshire, pop. 305) and Hildenborough (Kent, pop. 1,407) complained to their district councils time after time about the unhealthy state of their parishes, owing to the bad arrangements for drainage. Finally they appealed to the Local Government Board in London, and the district councils have been told that they must provide proper drainage for these villages. The village of Holcot (Northamptonshire, pop. 343) was always suffering from bad illnesses because there was no drainage. When the parish council complained to the Local Government Board, the district council was ordered to put the village into a sanitary state at once.

In 1905 there was a complaint against the rural district council of Dunmow that the want of a proper water supply in the village of Felstead was injuriously affecting the health of the inhabitants. The Local Government Board directed a local inquiry to be held, and eventually issued an order requiring the district council to carry out their duty within six months. The district council, however, did not comply with the order, and so in August, 1907, a mandamus was obtained from the High Court of Justice to compel them to do so.

In many parishes the parish council has itself dealt with small nuisances, and got them stopped. At Clifton (Beds.) the village suffered from a filthy pond, illegally polluted by drains and itself polluting an open ditch. To put this right meant an expense of £50 or more, and no one could tackle it. When the parish council was established it took up the job, cleaned out the pond, stopped the drainage into it, and scoured the ditches. It cost for one year a special rate of 4½d. in the £, but it improved the health of the village. The Mundesley Parish Council (Norfolk) has hired half an acre of land as a dumping ground for parish refuse. The parish council of Chesterton (Staffordshire) has done well in getting a sewage farm of its own of 140 acres.

Water Supply.

Although the provision of a new water supply on a large scale is a matter, not for the parish, but for the rural district council, the parish council has power to improve any existing supply within the parish. This power has been exercised in many hundreds of parishes, to the extent of making small but extremely useful improvements. Thus the parish council of Great Stambidge (Essex) found that the village badly needed better water. It obtained as a free gift from the landowner a few square yards of land, on which a well was sunk, a pump and horse-trough erected, and the whole covered by a neat roof. Kilmington (Wilts.) wanted a new parish pump; one pole of freehold land was given free of charge by the owner to the parish council, and a pump erected for the use of the public for ever. At St. Tudy (Cornwall) the parish council had the drinking water

analysed, and, finding it unsatisfactory, got the supply improved and increased. At Gaydon (Warwickshire) the parish council was given a good supply of water, so that it should be for ever maintained in good order for the village. The parish council of Humshaugh (Northumberland) has bought the freehold of a small piece of land, one pole in area, so as to secure for ever a public watering place. The Churchstanton Parish Council (Devon) successfully asserted the public right to certain springs of pure water, and laid down pipes to supply the neighbors. At Thundersley (Essex) there is a good water supply, but the owners of some cottages neglected to lay it on to them. The parish council took the matter up and compelled them to do their duty. But the best work of that parish council was its standing up to a village tyrant. A local landowner filled up and destroyed an ancient spring, which the public had used from time immemorial, and put up barbed wire and tar to prevent the cottagers approaching it, whilst the county policeman was sent round to frighten them. The parish council raised a subscription to fight the case, and by an action in the Court of Queen's Bench (*Reynolds v. Lincoln*) in May, 1899, compelled the landowner to clear out and re-brick the spring, and remove all obstructions to the public use of it. The Ashton Parish Council (Northamptonshire) had an instructive experience. When the churchyard was enlarged, it became necessary to divert an old line of pipes supplying water from a spring to the village well, and the clergyman took upon himself to run the supply to his own house, allowing the village only the overflow from his tank. The parish council (which consisted of a grocer, a gardener, a platelayer, a signalman and a carpenter) then took steps to protect the village, and commenced to put down pipes connecting directly the well with the spring. Thereupon the steward to the local landowner (Duke of Grafton) came down on the parish council, and declared that the pipes, and even the water, belonged to the duke, because it ran under the public high road. At first he tried to stop the work; then he claimed the ownership of the new pipes which the parish council was paying for; at last he offered that the duke should pay the expense, but said he must own the pipes. The parish council stood firm, and said that the parish was determined to possess its own water supply, which they and their forefathers had enjoyed from time immemorial. Finally, the duke, by his steward, made an awful threat. He would appeal to the Government Auditor, and get the amount "surcharged," upon which, as his agent explained, those parish councillors who had ordered the expenditure would have to pay it out of their own pockets. He actually tried to carry out this threat, but his agent fortunately mistook the day, and appeared twenty-four hours too late. So the parish council triumphed, and now enjoys its own good and abundant water supply. This happy result was largely due to the wisdom of the parish council in engaging a good man as clerk. Instead of getting their work done for nothing, and having it done badly, the council pays a salary of £6 a year, and shares with two other parish councils the services of a competent officer.

Public Lamps and Lighting.

Upwards of a thousand parishes have adopted the Lighting and Watching Acts, which enable the parish council to put up lamps and light the village streets and roads at night. The Parish Council of Elmswell (West Suffolk) is one of those that have done this; that of Menstone (West Riding of Yorkshire) is another (it borrowed £200 to pay for the lamps, and did the thing hand somely). The Parish Council of Treeton (also in the West Riding of Yorkshire) spent £140 on public lighting at starting; and Brampton (Cumberland) borrowed £100 for this purpose, and Seaton Delaval (Northumberland) £138. But usually much smaller sums suffice. The annual expense of lighting is paid for by a separate lighting rate on the parish, which is usually only a half penny or a penny in the pound. The Lighting and Watching Act involves a separate rate and a somewhat cumbersome procedure. Other parishes have asked the Local Government Board to confer on the rural district council the power to light the village; and then got the rural district council to delegate this power to a parochial committee.

Assessments and the Parish Finances.

Some parish councils, like that of Bradfield St. George (Suffolk, pop. 417) have formally adopted section 3 of the Poor Rate Assessment and Collection Act, 1869, and so made the owners of all cottage property themselves pay the rates. This is found a boon to the poor.

Before the parish council came into existence there was very often no one to see that the churchwardens and overseers did their work fairly as to the assessment of property and the collection of rates. When the parish of Penalt (Monmouthshire) got a parish council, it was discovered that some houses had for years been left out of the assessment, so that the owners of them escaped their share of the rates; and that a large balance was owing to the parish by a former overseer. The parish council insisted on this being made right, and so saved the parish in one year more than the whole amount of its expenditure since that time. At Barford (Warwickshire, pop. 689) the parish council found that the three great houses of the parish were scandalously under-assessed, and got them put up by £200. This at once reduced the rates by a penny in the pound.

At Blackshaw (West Riding of Yorkshire) the parish council thought that the parish was unfairly treated by the county council in being assessed at too high a sum towards the county rate. The parish council twice appealed against the county rate basis, and was successful in getting it considerably reduced, saving the ratepayers of the parish a large sum annually. Similarly, when the neighboring town of Todmorden became a municipal borough, it strove to put upon Blackshaw parish the maintenance of some roads which were in a bad state of repair. The parish council stood up for its rights and got compensation for the parish.

Markets.

Some parish councils manage little markets or annual fairs, and take the profits in aid of the rates. At Bawtry, in Yorkshire, the parish council rents the market place from the lord of the manor, and receives the market tolls. At Bardney, in Lincolnshire, the parish council maintains the village green and, with the consent of the lord of the manor, lets it out on the occasion of the annual fair, and uses the rents for parish purposes.

Roads, Paths, and Bridges.

Many parishes have, through their parish councils, got their footpaths and little bridges put in order, and sometimes new ones made. Thus, quite small parishes, such as Welford (Berkshire, pop. 791) have gravelled their footpaths and repaired their footbridges, so that the children can go to school without getting their feet wet. The Parish Council of Snape (Suffolk, pop. 529) finds it convenient to have its own gravel-pit for footpath repair, and so rents a quarter of an acre of land and digs its own gravel instead of buying it. The Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) is properly proud of having "name-plated all the roads, finger-posted all the footpaths, and twice cleaned out the boundary brook." The Parish Council of St. Tudy (Cornwall, pop. 495) agitated for and got built a new footbridge over the river; and the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancs.) has put several footbridges over streams and over the railway. The Parish Council of Weston Turville (Bucks.) took in hand a dangerous corner of a road, and bought a strip of garden to widen the highway. The West Mill Parish Council (Herts.) fenced the road off from a bog with white-painted posts. At Timperley, in Cheshire, there was a footpath leading to a level crossing over the railway. This was a cause of serious danger and occasional accidents. As it proved to be impossible to get a railway bridge, the parish council made an exchange of land and diverted the footpath so as to obviate the dangerous crossing. At Newstead (Nottinghamshire) a new road was needed, and the parish council has rented altogether five acres of land in order to lay this out. Lower Dylais (Glamorgan-shire) wanted a new footpath and made it, formally hiring the narrow strip of land on a long lease. Whitwell (Derbyshire) was in the same case, but was able to hire the strip at a nominal sum. The Parish Council of Blaenpenal (Cardiganshire) made a new cart-way, but was able to buy the freehold of the little bit of land required. At Ockbrook (Derbyshire) the parish council devoted its attention to improving the streets and highways. It adopted the Lighting Act and erected lamps (rate threepence in pound for this), gave names to the roads and streets and put up name-boards, made up and repaired the footways and approaches, and removed nuisances.

Motor Cars.

Many villages suffer very serious inconvenience and danger from careless and "scorching" motorists. Every parish council should petition the county council, as the Limpsfield Parish Council (Surrey)

has done, through the district council to get the Local Government Board to enforce the limit of ten miles an hour in dangerous parts of the roads. And the county council itself, without the intervention of the Local Government Board, ought to put up sign-posts at all dangerous corners, cross-roads and steep hills.

Fire Protection.

More than 500 parish councils have taken steps to protect their villages against serious fires. Sometimes, as in the cases of half-a-dozen parishes near Bedford, the councils subscribe towards an efficient fire brigade maintained by a neighboring town. More usually, the parish council organizes a volunteer fire brigade of its own, and provides appliances. At Tempsford (Beds., pop. 434) the parish council pays the engineer's salary; at Burnham (Bucks., pop. 3,245) the men are paid for drills; elsewhere, as at Malpas (Cheshire, pop. 1,139), the men are paid for attendance at fires. At Flimby (Cumberland, pop. 2,482) the members of the parish council themselves act as a fire brigade. Other parishes have borrowed money for fire brigade purposes. Thus Walgrave (Northampton) borrowed £60, Easton (Northampton) £100, and Bishopstone (Wilts) £70 for fire engines, etc.; Dagenham (Essex) £378 for fire extinguishing appliances; and Hornchurch (Essex) £368 for engine house and appliances.

Railway, Post, and Telegraph Facilities.

Many parish councils have succeeded in getting better service from the Post Office. Thus the Parish Council of Broadhempston (Devon, pop. 445) got a second, or evening, postal delivery; that of Hadley (Salop) got several additional pillar boxes and an afternoon postal delivery; that of Churchstanton (Somerset, pop. 581) obtained a money order office; those of East Claydon (Bucks.) and Elwick (Durham) have given a guarantee against loss and so secured a telegraph office. Newick (Sussex, pop. 953) and Eaglescliffe and Preston-on-Tees (Durham) got better train services from the railway companies; St. Bride's Major (Glamorgan, pop. 686) made the company put up bridges and stiles; while the Parish Council of Clifton (Lancashire) got the railway company to replace a level crossing by a footbridge.

Libraries and Reading Rooms.

In many villages a reading room is now maintained by the generosity of the clergyman or the squire. Often these are just what the village desires, but sometimes they are not. In one parish reading room in Surrey no Liberal or Radical newspaper is allowed. In one Sussex parish the clergyman gave his copy of the *Times*, but refused to let the *Daily News* be presented, on the ground that it was a "party organ"! But in a few parishes the parish council now maintains a free public library and reading room, where the inhabitants can read just what books and newspapers they please, without being beholden to anyone. At Corwen (Merionethshire, pop. 2,723) the library was opened in 1896; it has a newsroom open 78 hours a

week, and 250 books; it pays its librarian nine pounds a year; costs altogether £80 a year; and is managed by a committee of six parish councillors and six others, whom the parish council co-opts. Halkyn (Flint, pop. 1,389) opened its library in 1898; already has 700 books and a newsroom open 72 hours a week; pays its librarian £25 a year; and co-opts four persons to serve with five parish councillors as its library committee, which has an income of £63. Sometimes, as at Colwall (Hereford, pop. 1,892), the parish council gets a library building provided by private endowment. What can be done by a tiny village is shown at East and Botolph Claydon (Bucks., pop. 336) where a library was opened by the parish council in 1897, which now contains over 600 books. The squire has built and placed at the disposal of the council, at a nominal rent, a parish hall, reading room, library, and caretaker's rooms. The library work is done gratuitously by a lady, who attends every Saturday afternoon. In the neighboring parishes of Middle Claydon, Grandborough, and Water Eaton (Bucks., pop. of each between 200 and 300), a joint library is maintained by the three parish councils, largely through the help of Sir Edmund Verney, whose daughter gives her services as librarian. It is open 18 hours a week, and contains over 2,300 volumes, with a printed catalogue. The management is by a committee of five parish councillors; and the total cost is about £18 a year, of which only £10 comes from the rates. In all these cases the parish council levies the full library rate of one penny in the pound, and ekes this out with such receipts as sales of old newspapers, fines, and subscriptions.

Bathing Places.

A score of parishes have adopted the Baths and Washhouses Acts, and now provide swimming baths. Sometimes, as at Betchworth (Surrey, pop. 1,789) and Alveston (Warwick) the parish council has merely put up sheds, screens and platforms, so as to enable the river to be used in comfort, and made regulations, confirmed by the Local Government Board, as to the times for women and men respectively. At Ibstock (Leicester, pop. 3,922) the parish council built a bathing tank 6ft. deep, with corrugated iron fences; costing £90; supplied with water from the brook; and looked after by an old man at 7/6 a week. A penny is charged for admission, or two shillings for a season ticket. But the most successful bath seems to be that at Snitterfield (Warwick, pop. 727). Here an old brick tank, 70ft. by 30ft., that had been long unused, was obtained by the parish council on lease from Lady Trevelyan at a nominal rental. The council spent £40 in putting it in order, fencing it round with tarred matchboarding, and providing a comfortable dressing-room and diving-pier. The water is supplied by a spring and is constantly changed. The bath is open free five days a week, certain hours being set apart for women and girls. One hour a week may be reserved on the sixth day by season ticket holders paying a small subscription. The nearest cottager and his wife act as caretakers for 30s. a year, and the total annual cost is only about £5. The vicar has gratuitously taught the boys to swim. He offered to teach the girls if the

parish council would provide bathing dresses for them, but the council (consisting of a "gentleman," a doctor, a farmer, and two hurdlers) declined to do so (though bathing dresses are provided out of the rates in London baths). During the summer 30 or 40 persons use the tank daily. Many children bathe regularly every noon; and the bath is highly appreciated by the parish. Swimming baths have also been established by the parish councils of Snodland (Kent, pop. 4,136), Shere (Surrey, pop. 2,184); and Blaby parish council (Leicestershire, pop. 1,842) hires a few square yards of land for a bathing station.

It is to be regretted that so few parishes have yet followed these examples. The whole capital cost of a good open-air bath need not be incurred at once. The bath may be made one year, cemented the next, enclosed the next, and so on. The annual cost of maintenance need only be trifling.

No parish council seems yet to have provided hot-water baths for individual use, though these would be a great boon to every mining village. Nor has any parish council had the enterprise to provide a laundry for public use, in spite of the great success in London and elsewhere of this convenience to small households.

Some Typical Parishes.

The following account of the work of the parish council in four separate parishes in different parts of England, shows what has actually been done.

KINGSTEIGNTON (DEVONSHIRE).

Population in 1901, 1,942. Area, 3,975 acres Number of parochial electors, 370.
Rateable value, £14,280.

This parish has throughout taken considerable interest in its parish council elections. The council has had from the first a Liberal majority, about evenly divided between Church and Dissent; but the elections have turned more on "village politics" and personal preferences, than on Imperial politics or religion. The council (13) now consists of one clergyman, three farmers, two schoolmasters, two builders, one mine-owner, one shopkeeper, and three wage-earners. The council has appointed trustees of the charities, and set on foot inquiries about them which have done good; it has regularized the assessments; it has preserved one footpath from a threatened encroachment; it obtained the tithe-map from the vicar and transferred it to its own custody; it hired two fields, comprising five-and-a-quarter acres, and let them out in 33 allotments; it moved the district council to provide a new water supply for the parish at a cost of £2,000, and built a new reservoir capable of holding 85,000 gallons and costing £1,800, which (though hotly opposed) is now appreciated and used by nearly all the parish; it has organized a parish fire brigade, providing £50 worth of fire-hose and other appliances; it has obtained from the district council its own appointment as a parochial committee for sanitary purposes, and has got nuisances stopped; it has cleaned out the village leet (or water course) which was in a dangerous state; it has repeatedly moved the district council

to improve the drainage, obtaining more frequent flushing of sewers and good ventilating shafts, and causing steps to be taken to prevent floodings and storm damage. It owns three houses, bringing in a small sum towards the expenses, which are rigorously kept down. It has a division under the Newton Abbot Corps of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade, with full uniform and equipment for dealing with accidents and removal to hospital. It has taken gas from Newton Abbot for street lighting purposes, and is without doubt the best fit village in the country.

AYLESFORD (KENT).

Population in 1901, 2,678. Area, 4,057 acres. Number of parochial electors, about 550. Rateable value, about £15,981.

In this parish (which includes two villages, one old and proprietary, the other modern and manufacturing) there has never been any active fighting in the elections; and though the meetings have been well attended, they have lately not been seriously contested. The parish council has always been elected by show of hands without a poll, and only once has any old member been rejected. The council (12) now consists of a sand merchant, a manager and assistant manager of a cement works, two doctors, two grocers, the cashier and secretary of a brickworks, a lime merchant, a farmer, and an engineer; mostly Conservative in politics; partly Church, partly Dissent. The council has done useful work with regard to the charities, putting representatives on the board of some important almshouses. It has stopped at least one job, by which it was proposed to reduce to a nominal sum the rent paid for a way-leave. The council appealed to the Charity Commissioners against it, and got a substantial rent fixed. It has encouraged revision of the assessments, and got raised those (especially of licensed houses) that were too low. It has prevented unwarranted diversions of public footpaths, even when desired by the dominant landowner. It has increased an already considerable supply of allotments by hiring three and a half acres, let to 40 tenants. It has obtained two recreation grounds, one of three and one of nine acres. It negotiated with a neighboring water company, and got considerably better terms of supply. It has provided fire hydrants. It has greatly improved and extended the lighting of the village by gas lamps. It helps the county council to provide the parish with technical classes every winter. It has an excellent sewage arrangement, which cost nearly £20,000. The expenditure (other than that for lighting) is covered every year by a penny rate, except in the year that the recreation grounds were laid out, when it amounted to threepence in the pound.

HOESFORD (NORFOLK), ST. FAITH'S UNION.

Population in 1901, 691. Area, 4,249 acres. Number of parochial electors, 151. Rateable value £2,560.

This is a good sample of a purely rural parish, where the parish council, though not brilliantly successful, has been of real advantage. The first election (1894) excited great interest, and there was a fierce

contest and a poll. An active Radical majority was elected, which got some things done, but found more difficulties than it expected. The next three elections were decided by show of hands, and Conservative majorities were elected. Later on, in the same way, eight Liberals and one Conservative were elected, and these have gone steadily to work in a quieter way than the first council. The councillors long included four tenant farmers, three farm laborers, one brickfield laborer, and one agent (a townsman). The council, since 1894, has secured a useful footpath against possible diversion; hired eight acres of land for allotments; got the county council to hold a public inquiry into the overcrowded state of the village and need for more cottages—the inquiry attracted so much attention that the worst evils got remedied—obtained a letter-box where needed from the Post Office, and got a savings bank branch opened in the parish, by guaranteeing the cost; stirred up the district council about a wet and dirty lane which had never been repaired within living memory—this caused the landowners to remedy their neglect. Perhaps the most striking result has been the care of the parish land. These 208 acres of heath had been neglected for years, and the neighboring landowners and occupiers were quietly establishing a right of way across it. The parish council elected trustees to manage this charity, and these fenced in its land from the road, enclosed and drained eight acres, which are now let for grazing; and, after a hot discussion with the squire, maintained its fence against his claim to a right of way. The district council now owns and lets the shooting on the watering pits, gravel pits, and other odds and ends of land belonging to the parish under an Enclosure Award of 1810; and the rent is credited to the parish for the maintenance of roads. When land is wanted for allotments, the landowners are quite willing to let it to the parish council. But the real value of the parish council here is much more its intangible results on the village life and character. All classes are brought together to discuss their common business, and the laborers have been taught to look the squire and the parson in the face, and to realize that the best men of their own class make as good and trustworthy councillors as landlords and farmers. "Everyone," it is now said, "has become independent." They know that any real grievance in the village can now be remedied, and the council serves as a vent-hole for complaints and suspicions that would otherwise have smouldered dangerously for years.

NEWICK (SUSSEX).

Population in 1901, 953. Area, 1,977 acres. Number of parochial electors, 200.
Rateable value, £4,876.

One grave defect of the parish council, as it is usually administered, is its failure to attract any public interest. It is not enough to put up a notice on the church door. It is better to do as the Parish Council of Orrell-with-Ford (Lancs., pop. 2,104) has done, viz., to meet regularly every six weeks on fixed dates. The lack of public interest is partly due to the neglect of the councils to let the parish know what they are doing. An admirable example to the

contrary is seen at Newick (Sussex), where the parish council presents an annual report, which is printed in the local newspaper. As the report for 1899-1900 gives a vision of the work of an active parish council, it is here printed in full.

ALLOTMENTS.—The committee have now a prospect of securing land and having nearly completed their proposals, the council hope shortly to have before them a definite and complete scheme.

BOOKS OF REFERENCE.—Copies of further Acts of Parliament have been added.

BUILDING BYE-LAWS.—In view of the continued construction of insanitary dwellings in the parish, the council have urged on the authorities the necessity of enacting building bye-laws for this district. The response has not been favorable, but, looking at the importance of this question, the council will probably feel it their duty to press it further.

CHARITIES.—The council having inquired as to the existence of any parochial charities, have received from the Commissioners an opinion that there are none, but further inquiries remain to be made.

DISTRICT ROADS.—The council, having persevered in their former course, find that there has been some improvement. They have also obtained from the highway authority an undertaking to repair the Rough, which has, however, not yet been acted on. The council have resolved not to apply for powers over the district roads under section 15 Local Government Act, 1894, but unless such roads are better managed in future to seek to obtain the transference of such management to the county council under section 16 of the above Act, or otherwise.

EDUCATION.—Two classes for women and girls under the county council have been carried out by Mrs. Gravely with satisfactory results. It remains to arrange technical or other classes for men and boys, and the organizing secretary (Mr. Young) has consented to address a public meeting shortly to that end.

FINANCE.—Considerable progress has been made. All payments under the authority of the council, whether of accounts or of extra remuneration to officials, have been systematically examined by the finance committee, who have also ascertained the causes of the rise in the poor rate in May, 1898. They have also established the right of ratepayers to examine the district council minute book. The drainage committee have partly explained the heavy special drainage rate and will further report thereon.

FIRE BRIGADE.—An ineffectual communication was made to the Bonfire Boys' Society. It remains to decide whether to repeat that communication next year or what other attempt to make, if any. Inquiries should be made of those parishes who have already successfully completed their arrangements.

FOOTPATHS.—The committee have collected much information as to the history of the more important footpaths with a view to determining the liability for their repair. They are waiting legal advice as to preserving the testimony they have collected. Meanwhile no further expense has been incurred.

ISOLATION HOSPITAL.—The council have supported an application to the authorities for an isolation hospital for the district, which is likely to be acted on.

PARISH DOCUMENTS.—The committee was re-appointed but have been unable to proceed for want of the required directions from the county council, whose attention will probably have to be recalled to the subject.

POSTAL FACILITIES.—The council have secured from the General Post Office the promise of a new pillar-box at Cornewell's Bank for outgoing letters. An application for the despatch on Sundays of letters posted at the railway station was not granted.

REPRESENTATION ON DISTRICT COUNCIL AND BOARD OF GUARDIANS.—The memorial presented by the council in 1898 has resulted, not in an increased representation for Newick, but in a proportionate increase in rural representation on the board of guardians at the expense of urban.

SEWAGE.—The committee appointed by the council have devoted much attention to this subject, and have furnished the council with considerable information. There has been some alteration in the methods of the sanitary authority in providing super-

vision and in cultivating the irrigation area. It remains to ascertain how far the present methods are adequate for the improvement of the drains or the relief of the ratepayers.

STEAM ENGINES ON HIGHWAYS.—The county council have acted on the suggestion of the parish council for the publication of the conditions under which steam traffic on highways is permitted. The issue of the new regulations of the county council is now awaited.

TRAIN SERVICE.—Among other railway business transacted the council, having been informed by the railway company that the late train run the previous winter between Lewes and Newick had been worked at a loss, requested the company to extend the train to East Grinstead, a request in which they were supported by the councils of East Grinstead, West Hoathley, Horsted Keynes and Danehill. The company, however, preferred to run the same train as before, but on Saturdays, an experiment which seems to have paid better. The council also obtained through the Brighton United Football Club a reduction of fares in connection with the Saturday train. Further information is likely to be furnished by the company shortly.

VOLUNTEER EQUIPMENT FUND.—At the instance of the Lord Lieutenant the parish council undertook to support and collect for this fund, and have arranged for the sum of £14 9s 6d. to be sent to the treasurer.

VILLAGE GREEN.—Some progress has been made in pursuing the necessary inquiries, but some time must elapse before the council assume effective control, because the legal difficulties are exceptionally technical and intricate.

WATER SUPPLY.—The last-named consideration applies to the water supply, so far as it is connected with the Green.—*East Sussex News*, 13th April, 1900.

The Parish Meeting.

In those parishes which are too small to have a parish council, there is always a parish meeting, which has nearly the same powers as a parish council. It was intended that all the house or cottage occupiers and other electors in these small parishes should meet now and then in the evening to discuss the parish affairs and decide what ought to be done. They could appoint committees for special purposes, and get new powers conferred on them by the county council. This seems to have been a failure in most places. The parish meeting has been held as a matter of form, to elect a chairman and two or more overseers. But in very few villages have the laborers, or the other electors, had any real discussion on the parish affairs. Very few parish meetings have obtained allotments or grazing land, recreation or burial grounds; hardly any have done anything about the charities, or looked after the footpaths, or improved the water supply. In over 5,000 parishes in England and Wales, where no parish council exists, nothing at all has been done by the people themselves. During the year 1906-7, out of 5,724 parishes without parish councils, only in 385 did the parish meeting spend anything at all.

But a few of these little parishes have done something. Some of them have applied to the county council and obtained the privilege of having a parish council. This should be done by every one of them. A few have asked the county council to group them with neighboring parishes, and so share in their councils.

In a few cases the parish meeting has itself managed the parish affairs, as it was intended to do. Thus the parish meeting of Kempsey (Gloucestershire, pop. 210) has hired five and a half acres of land for allotments, which it lets out to seven tenants. At

Barney (Norfolk) the parish meeting managed to get four and a quarter acres for this purpose, which is now let to 15 tenants. So in East Worldham (Hampshire, pop. 272) the parish meeting hires and manages four and a quarter acres, let to 13 tenants; and at Walberswick (East Suffolk, pop. 304) the parish meeting has five acres, let to 12 tenants. In one case, that of Clapton (Gloucestershire, pop. 103), the parish meeting, finding itself unable to get allotments in any other way, applied to its county council and got an order compelling the landowner to let it some land.

Some of these tiny parishes have improved their burial grounds. The parish meeting of Little Hale (Lincolnshire, pop. 270) laid out £92 in providing additional burial accommodation, and borrowed the money on a thirty years term. The parish meeting of South Newbald (East Riding of Yorkshire, pop. 166) borrowed and spent £150 in this way; and those of Wilshop (West Riding of Yorkshire), Gauthrop (North Riding of Yorkshire), North Redditch (Worcester), £68, £40, and £70 respectively.

How Parishes can get Greater Freedom and More Powers.

Nearly everywhere we find the complaint that the parish council has not got enough power. Many things it cannot do at all, such as manage the village school, though it appoints one of the six managers. Many other things it can do only by getting the consent of the rural district council, a body usually made up of farmers, who often object to do anything, however useful it may be, that costs money. But parish councils have actually got many abuses remedied by writing to the rural district council, and this should always be tried. Sometimes (as, for instance, getting compulsory power to hire or purchase land) the parish council has to go to the county council, which is a long way off, and not very willing to listen to a small parish. The law ought to be changed.

But even under the present law there are ways and means by which a parish can get more power and freedom to manage its own affairs. Many parishes have done so in the following ways:—

I.—THE PAROCHIAL COMMITTEE.

The parish council may ask the rural district council to appoint a "parochial committee," and to make the parish council that committee, with, perhaps, the addition of the district councillor for that district. Then the parish council (besides all its own powers) may exercise within its own parish nearly all the powers that the rural district council possesses, if they are delegated to the parish committee. The expenses for sewage and water supply will be kept separate, and will be charged on the parish in the poor rate; but for other matters they will be shared over the whole district, just as if there had been no parochial committee, unless the Local Government Board confers powers specially for one parish. Thus the Croydon Rural District Council (Surrey) every year appoints parochial committees for five of its parishes, consisting in each case of the members of the parish council, together with the rural district

councillors elected by the parish. These parochial committees, meeting in the parishes themselves, practically carry on the government, giving their orders direct to the rural district officials, and making formal reports to the rural district council, which are usually confirmed. The Liskeard Rural District Council (Cornwall) has followed the same plan with regard to all the parishes within its district. Another example is seen in Derbyshire, where the Parish Council of Ockbrook (pop. 2,567) got itself appointed the parochial committee for the parish. Some of the best governed parishes in the Bromley Rural District (Kent) are managed by parish councils acting as parochial committees.

II.—THE URBAN DISTRICT COUNCIL.

The parish council may apply to the county council to have the parish declared an urban district. The county council will send one or two of its members to hold a public inquiry in the parish, and if it is clear that the bulk of the people wish it, and if the parish is not too small, the county council will probably do what is desired. Then the parish elects an urban district council instead of a parish council, and gets quite free from any control by the rural district council. It can then build cottages, provide sewers and water supply, and manage the roads. It can go in for improving the parish in almost any way it chooses; but, of course, the parish will have to pay the cost in rates. An urban district council has practically the same powers as the town council of a small municipal borough. There are no aldermen, and the chairman is not called a mayor. But he is, during his year of office, a justice of the peace for the county; he can sit as a magistrate at petty sessions, and attend the general quarter sessions. There are many of these so called "urban districts" with fewer than 2,000 population, and quite rural in character. On the other hand, there are a score or two of parishes with between 5,000 and 15,000 population, which are apparently still contented to be under parish councils, and thus subject to the rural district council. There are some hundreds of parishes having more than 2,000 inhabitants in the same case. Every parish with a population of 2,000 or upwards ought to apply to the county council to be made into an "urban district," and so set free from the control of the rural district council. During the last 10 years a great many parishes, some of them quite small, have thus obtained self-government.

Conclusion.

The lesson of all this is that "where there's a will there's a way." If there is anything wrong in a parish, the parish council can do a great deal towards putting it right, *if only the right men are chosen.* If anyone wishes for further information on the subject, he should write to the Secretary of the FABIAN SOCIETY, 3 Clement's Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

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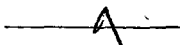
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MUNICIPAL TRADING.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT aims at improving the conditions of life in towns. Such improvement has already been effected to some extent and it may and ought to be carried much further. The undertakings by which it is accomplished may be divided roughly into two kinds: non-revenue producing and revenue producing. To the first category belong all those services for which no charge is made to the consumers as such, the cost being paid by the citizens by means of the rates. These are "unprofitable" in the ordinary commercial sense of the term. For instance, it costs money to destroy or disinfect a centre from which fever spreads; and though the ratepayer saves many pounds a year in doctors' bills in his own family and gains in the increased working power of his employees, he seldom thinks of crediting these gains and savings to the account to which he debits his rates. The municipalities themselves cannot estimate the savings and profits that result from people being alive instead of dead, or well instead of ill, and these items can never be brought into any statement of accounts which would satisfy the requirements of a "commercial audit." Much the largest part of all municipal expenditure is of this nature: paving, lighting and cleansing streets, maintaining order, collecting household dirt and refuse, housing and feeding destitute persons, educating children, making sewers and drains and keeping them in order, providing and maintaining parks and open spaces, roads and bridges—are all a general charge upon the community, it having been realized that the most satisfactory and often the only possible way of getting these things systematically done is by municipal action, and that the most convenient method of collecting the cost is not by fees but by rates. Expenditure on this work is liable to increase rapidly as soon as people realize that it really does not impoverish but enriches the community.

The Growth of Expenditure.

In the year 1884-5 the local expenditure in England and Wales for highways, education, poor relief, police, sewerage, lunacy and harbors (all non-revenue producing except the last two items, and those only repaying a part of the cost), amounted to about £29,300,000; and eighteen years later, in 1902-3, it had increased to about £44,000,000: that is to say, by about 50 per cent.; and these amounts include neither sinking funds and interest nor miscellaneous expenditure, which had gone up in yet greater proportion. The expenditure continues to grow year by year, but is not at all too great; for (apart from humanitarian considerations) the existence of infirmaries, workhouses and asylums makes life and

property safer ; and streets, roads, sewerage and harbors, as well as the industrial advantage of having a population able to read, write and cipher, are worth more than all we spend on them. But what is really unsatisfactory is that those who pay the rates are often not those who get the greatest benefit from them. A shopkeeper may be ruined and his family may have to go short of milk or boots because the rates on his shop are higher than his profits will bear ; and it does not console him to learn that the longevity of the community and the value of his landlord's property have greatly increased as a result of this municipal expenditure. It has to be admitted, therefore, that the present incidence of the rates is grossly unfair, and is rapidly becoming intolerable. The ground landlords in London, the value of whose land has been manifolded without effort on their own part, furnish an obvious instance of people who get too much from, and pay too little toward, municipal expenditure. No public advantage is secured by retaining a system which taxes some people unfairly to enrich others unjustly.

Revenue Producing Undertakings.

The second category of municipal undertakings, those which produce a revenue in fees or charges made for commodities supplied, constitute what is known as "municipal trading." For these undertakings a charge is made to the consumers who directly benefit by them, instead of upon the ratepayers at large. They generally yield a cash profit besides affording improved social services. It is customary to confine the term "municipal trading" to these undertakings ; but mention has first been made of the non-revenue producing work because it is the latter which causes the "high" rates and also a great part of those municipal "debts" often referred to as proofs that municipal trading is undesirable. The increase of rates, taking England and Wales as a whole, is due solely to expenditure on non-trading undertakings, of a kind indispensable to the very existence of healthy towns. Indeed, as will be seen later, municipal trading throughout the country, far from throwing any charge on the ratepayers, has resulted in a contribution being made towards the reduction of rates. As a matter of fact, the municipal "debt" of England and Wales, which in March 1905, already amounted to over £466,000,000, is to the extent of nearly £211,000,000 due to non-trading undertakings. The balance of over £255,000,000 is really capital in the commercial sense, being invested in enterprises which as a whole produce a cash profit or dividend.

Municipal trading easily pays its way, and could, indeed, be made to yield high cash profits were it desirable to do so. By charging as much for water, gas, electricity and tram-fares as private companies do, cash profits could be made out of municipal trading much larger than are usually made by private enterprises of a similar nature. The reason for not doing this is that the municipalities' aim should be not to make cash profits but to serve the public. In fact, it is not fair for a municipality to make large profits by charging high prices, because, as the profits go to the relief of the rates, those people who

ten by municipal trams or use much municipal gas, & they indirectly pay more in that case than their share of governing the town. That is why all municipal services are to be run at, or nearly at, cost price. This is more or less the case in many towns; and thus the opponents of municipal trading are able to declare that certain private companies earn larger profits than are earned by municipal undertakings. The latter charge little more than enough to cover their actual expenses, including the cost of renewal of plant, buildings, etc., plus interest on borrowed capital, and a sinking fund sufficient to repay that capital in a certain term of years; and people who do not ask what quality of service the public receives, nor at what price, nor how the employees are paid and treated, nor what hours they work, are consequently sometimes induced to believe that municipal trading brings no profit to the community: an opinion which will not stand examination.

As already suggested, many undertakings yielding great advantage to the community are of such a nature that private capitalists managing them are unable to secure any considerable profit in the form of dividends. In such cases, unless the work is done by a municipality, it is generally not done at all. For instance, the ultimate advantage to the community of destroying unhealthy dwellings in a congested slum, and arranging a fine open space where children can play and men and women who have been indoors all day can sit or stroll and breathe fresh air in the evening, may (by affecting the health and vigor of the population) be very great. The improvement may also so alter the aspect of the whole neighborhood that rents may go up and landlords may grow rich. But a man making the open space as a private speculation and trusting to the pennies he could charge for admission, or to the conscience-money that grateful landlords might send him, would find that he had made a very bad investment.

So strongly has experience shown that private companies cannot be trusted to supply the necessities of life in good quality, sufficient quantity, and at a fair price, that even under a Tory Government the powerful vested interests of the water companies of London were unable to maintain their independence and were compelled in 1904 to hand over their long-established businesses to the management of the community. This example is being, and will be, followed in other places and with reference to other commodities. In fact, already in 1902, out of the 317 municipal corporations in England and Wales, no less than 299 were carrying on revenue producing undertakings of one kind or another. These undertakings included waterworks, gasworks, electricity, tramways and markets, as well as baths and washhouses, burial grounds, working-class dwellings, harbors, piers, and a variety of other businesses.

It would be easy to select examples of extremely successful municipal enterprises; but it will be fairer and more convincing to take the most complete results that have been as yet published for several large classes of undertakings.

Public and Private Enterprise Compared.

properly the Board of Trade publishes annually returns of every gas and undertaking and every tramway undertaking in the United Kingdom. is re following summaries are prepared from these official figures by the *Municipal Year Book* (see pp. 461 and 472 of the 1908 issue).

b

GAS UNDERTAKINGS.

	All Local Authorities in U. K. 1905-6.	All Companies in U. K. 1905-6.
Average price charged per 1,000 ft.	2s. 5½d.	2s. 8¼d.
Expenditure (ratio to income) ...	73·53	76·12
Return on capital	6¼%	5%

TRAMWAYS.

	All Local Authorities in U. K. Year ending March 31, 1906.	All Companies in U. K. 1905.
Cost per mile of lines <i>laid</i> by L. A. and Companies respectively ...	£ 24,916	£ 28,072
Return on capital <i>worked</i> by L. A. and Companies	8%	4½%
Working expenses (ratio to income)	63·08%	66·28%
Average fare per passenger ...	1·08d.	1·20d.

ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER.

Unfortunately the Board of Trade does not at present issue returns relating to electric supply undertakings, and no absolutely complete statistics are obtainable. However, the *Electrical Times* publishes excellent tables relating to all undertakings of which it can obtain official statistics. With regard to local authorities its list seems fairly complete, the omissions being of no great importance. Its list of companies is unfortunately very incomplete. Still, the figures are not *selected* in any way, and probably are a fair sample of the whole. The following summaries are taken from the *Electrical Times* of May 2nd, 1908, p. 347.

London Undertakings.

	12 London Local Authorities 1905-6.	13 London Companies 1905.
Average price per unit	2·63d.	3·08d.
Working expenses per unit... ..	1·28d.	1·55d.
Gross profit per cent. of capital ...	5·69	6·53

Provincial Undertakings.

	196 Provincial Local Authorities 1905-6.	70 Provincial Companies 1905.
Average price per unit	2·08d.	2·71d.
Working expenses per unit... ..	0·99d.	1·47d.
Gross profit per cent. of capital ...	7·15	4·79

PRICES CHARGED TO THE PUBLIC.

It will be noticed that in each one of these public services the prices charged to the public by local authorities are lower than those charged by companies.

COSTS OF PRODUCTION.

It will also be seen that in each service, without exception, the working expenses of the public authorities are lower than those of the companies. In the case of gas and tramways, the figures in the *Municipal Year Book* do not reveal the full extent of the difference in favor of the former. Thus in the case of gas, the average price charged by the local authorities is 2s. 5½d. per 1,000 cubic feet, and their average expenditure 73·53 per cent. of their income. Now it is clear that if they charged the same price as the companies (*i.e.*, 2s. 8½d.) their income would be much higher, and their expenditure would therefore be very much less than 73·53 per cent. of that income. The same applies to tramways.

AVERAGE PROFITS.

It will be noticed also that in each service the average rate of profit of the public authorities is higher than that of the companies, except in the case of the London electricity undertakings. This exception is explained by the fact that in London the companies have the best districts and the largest undertakings, and have been much longer established.

It should be remembered that in addition to the large sums which are every year transferred from the profits of public undertakings to the relief of the rates, the public makes a large indirect profit in consequence of the lower prices charged. This indirect profit amounts to several million pounds per annum.

These figures conclusively disprove the statement so often made that municipal trading does not pay, and that it is extravagantly and wastefully conducted. They prove beyond doubt that at the present time public enterprise can and does give a cheaper service than private enterprise; that it is more economically and efficiently conducted; and that it is more profitable.

If private electrical enterprise were to be judged as a whole, debiting it with interest and sinking fund on all its wound-up unsuccessful companies as well as its successful ones, it would come out of the test far worse than in the tables given above. The private company, with its limited liability, may simply spend its shareholders' money and stop payment when it fails. It may "cut its losses," and ruin its investors. Whereas every sum borrowed for municipal enterprise must be paid back to the uttermost farthing; and until it is paid back the interest on it must be paid punctually, whether the enterprise pays its way or not.

Workmen's Dwellings.

Some charge on the rates has been incurred over the construction of working-class dwellings. According to the Parliamentary Return

to March 31st, 1902 (the latest authoritative statement available), capital to the amount of over £1,253,000 had been expended on these, of which about £207,000 had been paid off or balanced by sinking fund. The average yearly income, after paying working expenses, was £16,500; while the amount required for interest and repayment of capital was £43,500, so that the contribution from the rates was nearly £27,000 a year.

It must, however, be borne in mind that in the matter of supplying workmen's dwellings private enterprise has also failed. The overcrowding of the people, both in towns and villages, is the greatest scandal of our time. The census Returns show that nearly one-third of our total population, and in London alone nearly 1,000,000 people, live in an overcrowded condition. Over two hundred thousand Londoners are packed in horrible block dwellings, nearly half a million live three persons to a room, and thousands live in still more crowded conditions. The state of things in many rural districts is quite as bad.

The action of the municipality in this matter is almost confined by law to insanitary areas and to workmen's dwellings. A private builder is under no such restriction. He can take an order for a cathedral and for a potting shed, for a millionaire's house in Park Lane and for the cottage of the millionaire's gamekeeper. In the intervals between large contracts he can keep his staff and plant employed on small ones. If he decides to go into the business of housing the working classes, he can proceed much more cheaply than the municipality. Instead of erecting huge blocks of dwellings with fireproof floors and all the solidities and sanitary appliances of what may be called parliamentary building, he may "run up" rows of small private houses, which will presently become lodging houses; or he may adapt the family mansions of a neighborhood deserted by fashion, for occupation by working class families.* Under these conditions there can be no question of a commercial or any other test: comparison is impossible. The municipality is compelled to take the refuse of a trade and to carry it on in the most expensive way: the private builder has the pick of the trade, and can adapt his expenditure to the pecuniary resources of the tenant. Moreover the Local Government Board, when it grants a local authority a loan with which to erect houses, always insists on much more stringent conditions as to building than are contained in the ordinary bye-laws.

Other Undertakings.

We come finally to a group of undertakings which, though they are revenue producing in the sense that the public pays *something* for the use of the facilities provided, are still not generally expected to earn as much as they cost. To this group belong baths, washhouses, burial grounds, harbors, piers, docks and quays. It can hardly be necessary to demonstrate that it is better to give the poorest part of

* By law a municipality can build shops on building estates, and adapt existing houses for working class occupation. In practice these powers are rarely made use of.

the population opportunities to wash themselves and their clothes, even though they cannot afford to pay the full cost of the baths and laundries. With reference to dead bodies also, it is obviously more important to get these disposed of quickly and safely (though our cemeteries often fail to do this) than it is to try to make every municipal cemetery pay as well as some do. Similarly with harbors, piers, docks and quays. The Town Council of Penzance, for instance, may very reasonably decide to promote the trade and prosperity of the town by dredging and by repairing the dock gates, even though this for a time involves a contribution from the rates of some hundreds of pounds a year. The gain they look for is an indirect gain, or a gain only realizable in the future.

The total figures for this last group of reproductive undertakings—baths, cemeteries, harbors, etc., according to the same Parliamentary Return, are: Total capital expended, £9,792,000, of which over £2,815,000 had in 1902 been repaid or balanced by sinking funds. The yearly income—after deducting working expenses—was about £105,000. The amount required for interest and repayment of capital was over £371,000, and the consequent annual charge on the rates was about £266,500.

Such undertakings as the London municipal steamboats should not be judged merely by their financial results. Whether such boats should be run at a financial loss is a matter of opinion which ought to be decided by comparing the cost, on the one hand, with the gain to the population in health or pleasure, and the advantage accruing from relief to the street traffic, on the other. There are many services a municipality might provide, the advisability of which depends partly on what the city can afford, and partly on considerations only remotely connected with wealth.

The scope of municipal trading is not limited to the undertakings about which figures have been quoted in the foregoing. The Parliamentary Return already alluded to mentions "other reproductive undertakings" on which a capital of £714,000 has been expended, of which more than £150,000 had been paid off or provided for by sinking funds. The yearly surplus for these, after deducting working expenses, was about £48,500. The amount used for interest, repayment of capital, and set apart for depreciation, was about £33,200 a year, and the average annual net profit for four years was over £15,300.

The Manchester Ship Canal was accomplished thanks to the financial support of the Manchester Corporation. Liverpool and Glasgow provide municipal lectures, Battersea has a municipal young men's club, many towns provide municipal concerts, others have pleasure piers, Torquay owns a rabbit warren and makes a profit on it, Colchester owns an oyster fishery, St. Helens and several other towns have sterilized milk depôts, Hull manages a crematorium, the Gloucestershire County Council even runs a canal, Doncaster owns a racecourse, Bournemouth provides golf links for visitors, Harrogate fireworks, West Ham runs a paving stone factory, Bradford owns an hotel, scores of municipalities own property

of various kinds, while some of them execute their own works and directly employ thousands of workers.

In reckoning the advantages of municipal trading it must be remembered that the charges to the public for the service of water, gas, electricity, trams, and other public services, are usually lower than those of private companies; the people employed are usually better paid, better treated, and work shorter hours; those who lend money for the undertakings receive their interest regularly; there are no bankruptcies; and an incalculable amount of anxiety, uncertainty and friction is thus saved to the people concerned, and indirectly to those who depend on them or work for them.

These municipal undertakings are, year by year, repaying the capital invested in them, so that in time the plant will belong to the towns free of debt. They will then, if they have been kept in good condition out of revenue, as is generally being done, either produce a larger income in relief of rates or be able to supply services still more cheaply. It will be as though limited liability companies accumulated reserves sufficient to pay off their capital, and thereafter reduced the price of their goods or presented the public with all the profits they earned.

What then are the objections we hear so much of to the principle of municipal trading?

Those usually put forward are.—

1. That town councillors are not competent to manage them; and sometimes, on private grounds, appoint men to public posts for which they are quite unsuited;
2. That such undertakings increase municipal debt and add to the burden of the rates;
3. That it is "unfair" of municipalities to compete with private companies;
4. That new inventions may some day render the undertakings worthless;
5. That there is a risk of the municipal employees so using their vote as to obtain unfair advantages for themselves; and
6. That municipal accounts may be cooked to deceive the public.

Let us see what these objections are really worth.

Objection I.—The Competence of Councillors.

First, the importance of management as a factor in industrial success cannot easily be exaggerated; but management is nowadays as completely dissociated from ownership as machinery, and almost as easy to buy in the market. Nobody now suggests that a railway company is an impossibility because railways cannot be managed by a mob of shareholders, even when they act through committees of directors who do not know a piston rod from a trunnion. The directors simply prescribe the result they wish to obtain, and engage a staff of experts to tell them how to obtain it. Thus the London and North Western Railway Company manufactures everything it wants, from locomotives to wooden legs, without the inter-

vention of a contractor. A mob of ratepayers acting through a municipal authority is in precisely the same position. The ratepayers are just as stupid and short-sighted as ordinary joint stock shareholders, and the worst of their representatives on the municipalities are as incapable as the worst ordinary guinea-pig directors. But the ratepayers and councillors light their towns with electricity, run tramway services, build dwellings, dredge harbors, erect dust destructors and crematoria, construct roads, and manage cemeteries, as easily as a body of clergymen's widows can lay an Atlantic cable if they have money enough, or an illiterate millionaire start a newspaper. The labor market now includes an ability market in which a manager worth £10,000 a year can be hired as certainly as a navvy.

In spite of the fact that municipalities as yet move but slowly, and that an energetic man sometimes chafes in their employ and prefers to enter a private firm, it may yet be truly said that, on the whole, in the ability market the municipalities have a decisive advantage in the fact that prudent and capable organizers and administrators prefer public appointments. A municipality can always get an official more cheaply than a company can. A municipality never becomes bankrupt, is never superseded by a new discovery, and never dismisses an official without giving his case prolonged consideration in committee, from which he has practically an appeal to the whole body. A man who behaves himself and does his work has nothing to fear in public employment: his income and position are permanently assured. Besides, he enjoys his salary to the full; he has no appearances to keep up beyond the ordinary decencies of life; he need not entertain, need not keep equipages or servants for purposes of ostentation, may travel third class if he likes, and belong to what sect he pleases or to no sect; and this is why the ratepayers, in spite of their stinginess in the matter of salaries on the professional scale, get so much better served than they deserve.

If this answer does not satisfy you, turn to the actual results attained. The fact is, that town councils are generally managing their undertakings better, from the point of view of the public, than private capitalists have done. London's municipal trams compare favorably with the private companies' trams. The Manchester municipal gas supply compares favorably with Liverpool's private gas supply. The profits of a private gas company go, however, into the shareholders' pockets, with the result that in Liverpool a few people have a strong interest in upholding "private enterprise" (that is to say, their own profit), while in Manchester many people reap an advantage from municipal ownership. But as a few people making large profits can combine more effectively than many people reaping small advantages, the money and energy spent in attacking municipal trading is much greater than the money spent in showing the evils of private enterprise. As to the admitted fact that the public welfare is sometimes sacrificed to private considerations by elected persons of a certain type when they are not restrained by publicity and their dread of the electors, this is clearly not a

sufficient reason for substituting the unrestrained and irresponsible private "boodler" for the restrained and responsible public one, though it is a strong reason for arousing a deeper and more general appreciation of the extreme importance of choosing reliable men at local elections.

Objection II.—The Burden of the Rates.

The second objection, that such undertakings increase municipal debt and add to the burden of the rates, is absurd. The latter part of the statement is untrue; for, as already stated, municipal trading has reduced the rates by earning a net profit. The increase of municipal debt for revenue producing undertakings is merely the increase of capital usefully and productively employed; and the country would be worse instead of better off had this capital been raised by private companies instead of by municipalities. One of the weakest pleas employed by advocates of private profit-making is to call the money raised to start a private gas company "capital" and to speak of it as an indication of wealth, while calling the money raised to start a municipal gas works "debt," and regarding it as a sign of impending ruin. A real difference between the two is that the municipality arranges to pay off the money it borrows within a fixed term of years, whereas the private company wants to charge the public to the end of all time with interest and profits on the capital invested.

Objection III.—Unfair Competition.

As for the third objection there is, in one sense, a good deal to be said for the contention that private enterprises have not a fair chance in competition with municipal enterprise; for we have already seen that a municipality can get its skilled managers more cheaply than a private company can, and it is equally true that it can borrow its capital on better terms. Any of our large corporations can raise as much money as they need at less than 4 per cent; and no private companies can get money at so low a rate. This is the central commercial fact of the whole question. The shopkeeper, by municipal trading, can get his light for little more than the current cost of production plus the rate of interest paid by gilt-edged securities, because municipal loans are accepted by the investing public, and the municipal stock of towns with over 50,000 inhabitants is regarded as a legitimate security by the law of trusteeship. Any profit that may arise through accidental overcharge returns to the ratepayer in relief of rates or in public service of some kind. Moreover, when a private company starts, it may be ruined by an accident or a miscalculation which prevents it from completing its undertaking with the capital at its command, whereas a municipality is in no such danger.

It is therefore true enough that private enterprise can only compete with municipal enterprise if it happens to have some unusual advantage in the special ability of its organizer, or if it controls valuable patents or other rights. It is also true that a small shop-

keeper cannot compete with a universal provider, or a horse-cab company with a taxicab company, or a ferryman with a bridge-builder, or the Belgian army with the German army. That may be "unfair"; but does any sane person propose to suppress universal providers or taxicabs or bridges or the German army for the sake of the small shopkeepers and horse-cabdrivers and ferrymen and Belgian soldiers? There is no other sense in which municipal trading is unfair. It is *better*. Yet the very people who complain of this superiority try to persuade the public at the same time that private enterprise is superior to it. It would, in fact, be unfair to the community if the municipality failed to make use of its advantages.

In the demand for handing over to private firms the work that the municipality can do more economically itself, we reach the root of the controversy about municipal trading. A large part of that section of English society which is capable of expressing itself intelligibly aims at arranging matters so that some people (whom we will call A) shall work for others (whom we will call B) under conditions which ensure a flow of money into the pockets of class B; and any attempt to get the work of the community so organized that there shall be no "profit," but that class A shall be fairly paid, and the services shall be supplied to the consumers at about cost price, appears to class B to be a foolish waste of opportunities Providence has supplied for the exploitation of the public.

As soon as one has grasped this, the controversy becomes intelligible. One sees why some people talk nonsense and others listen to it greedily; and one understands why the newspapers, controlled by the capitalist class, are so bitterly opposed to municipal trading.

Objection IV.—New Inventions.

As to the fourth objection, relating to new inventions, it is a penalty attaching to man's fallibility that when he has done the best that the science of his day indicates, the results of his efforts may have to be thrown upon the scrap-heap because his successors may know how to get better results by quite other means—as stage-coaches and semaphores were scrapped by railways and telegraphs. But this is no reason for avoiding municipal action. In few branches of industry has invention been busier and scrapping more frequent than in electric lighting. Yet our municipal electric plants are as much up to date as the private ones. And the advantage of the municipality is that though it can be benefited by a new invention, it cannot be ruined by it. The path of progress by private enterprise is strewn with bankruptcy, lunacy, and suicide. The ruin which overtakes certain sections of the population when inventions are left to the wild scramble of speculators, company promoters, and ignorant investors, would stagger our anti-municipalizers if it could be estimated in figures. Municipal enterprise need ruin nobody. It simply adopts the new method at the point at which its plant for the old method is worn out or costs less to scrap than to maintain. It has no prejudice against new methods: on the contrary, municipal engineers have to spend more time than

they like in making reports in answer to members enquiring about such methods. And when a municipality effects an improvement in method, it has no motive to keep it a secret. It at once gives the whole community the benefit of its ability and experience without charge. Secrecy and monopoly are of no use to it. To reduce the rates or the charges to the public by improvements in machinery or organization is the feather in its cap which it most covets; it is the surest way of gaining votes at the next election. The position of private ventures is very different. Some fresh application of electricity may ruin the gas companies; petrol-motors may ruin horse-bus companies; steam-motors may in turn ruin petrol-car companies, only to be themselves ruined a year later by electric-motors, and so on, till flying-machine companies ruin all the rest, and are in their turn wrecked by improvements as yet undreamed of, spreading dismay and ruin among thousands of innocent victims.

Objection V.—Employees' Influence.

As to the fifth point, the risk of municipal employees using their votes to obtain unfair advantages, it is conceivable that an active organization of municipal employees may some day play as selfish a part in municipal elections as that now openly played by those interested in commercial companies, though it is impossible for them to play an equally harmful one. But at the present time those who do much of the most necessary work, under the hardest conditions and for the poorest pay, have hardly any voice in settling the conditions under which that work shall be done. Surely it is the latter fact, and not the former possibility, that is the greater evil. The municipal employee is also a ratepayer: he is, in fact, his own employer, and, if he cheats his employer, cheats himself. It is true that if he is, say, a mason or bricklayer, he may try to push the municipality into excessive building. But he would have the same motive if the building work was given out to private contractors. Besides, all municipal employees do not belong to the same trade. As more and more members of the community become municipal or governmental employees, the problem will more and more be, how is the community to utilize the resources of the country and divide the work so as to obtain the best results with the least injury to the workers?

Objection VI.—Cooked Accounts.

With reference to the sixth point, the danger of the public being deceived by the way in which accounts are presented, it should be obvious that work professedly done for the benefit of the community, and properly exposed to continual criticism in the town councils and in the public press, is less likely to be accounted for in a way calculated to deceive the public than work admittedly undertaken primarily to enable certain shareholders and capitalists to make as much profit as possible for themselves. As a matter of fact, many authorities have done more than is demanded by the law, and have appointed professional auditors to check their accounts.

The six objections to municipal trading have now been considered; but certain points calling for further comment arise from what has been said.

The Question of Character.

Municipal trading is one of the chief means whereby the social and economic evils of our day can be met; but it is not a self-acting method. It depends always for its success on those who work it and on the community among whom it works. When all is said and done, municipal trading remains a machine by which men of capacity and goodwill can co-operate; but the motive power to drive the machine must be generated in the hearts and minds of human beings.

It is obvious that very much depends on the selection of municipal councillors, and it has already been pointed out that it is an urgent duty of citizenship to support and encourage those who are both able and willing to give good service to the public. The men best qualified for the work are often those who are reluctant to undertake it, for a man really qualified for the post knows how difficult and responsible public work is.

It would, therefore, probably be wiser for the community to pay its municipal councillors, for it would then have a larger choice of candidates, and could be more stringent in its demands upon them. We have in this respect much to learn from Germany, where men of ability who make the work of municipal government their profession are elected mayors of towns, and are well rewarded both in money and honor.

Other Considerations.

Very important matters in comparing municipal trading with private trading are the question of the minimum wage, and the disadvantage (unless everyone employed by the contractor receives a full living wage) of contracting out work the municipality could reasonably do themselves.

This, and the important and not generally understood allied question of parasitic industries, is dealt with in Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb's "Industrial Democracy"; and an admirable summary of their argument is given in Bernard Shaw's "Common Sense of Municipal Trading," to which (as well as to Tract No. 128, on the Legal Minimum Wage) the reader is here referred, lack of space preventing us from dealing adequately with the subject.

Desirable Extensions.

Among the services municipalities might in the near future undertake or greatly extend much to the advantage of the public are Electric Power (Tract No. 119), the Milk Supply (see Fabian Tracts Nos. 90 and 122), Slaughterhouses (Tract No. 92), the Drink Traffic (Tract No. 86), Hospitals (Tract No. 95), and Pawnshops (Tract No. 91), not to mention many other things.

It needs no long argument to prove that the community has a stronger reason for wishing to obtain its supply of milk pure and as

near cost price as possible than any private trader can have for wishing to supply it in that condition and at such a price. It is equally evident that the milk supply of a whole town can be more economically organized if it be centralized than if it be left to the haphazard competition of a dozen or a hundred private dealers, several of whom may be sending their carts every day in competition with one another along the same streets. Similarly it is more to the interest of a community to slaughter only healthy animals for human consumption, and to do this as far as possible under cleanly conditions, than it can be to the interest of private slaughterers. Again, with the supply of coal, it is to the interest of mine owners and coal dealers that the difference between the cost of obtaining the coal and the price paid by the retail consumer should be large; but it is to the interest of the community to have coal supplied as nearly as possible at the price it costs, which could be done by nationalizing the mines and municipalizing the local distribution.

The Limits of Municipalization.

It must, however, on no account be supposed that it is desirable for our town councils to municipalize everything.

If the medical officer of health wants a microscope or the county surveyor a theodolite, it will not pay the municipality to set up a scientific instrument factory to produce that single article, possibly of a kind which can be produced by half a dozen firms in sufficient quantity to supply the whole of Europe. Even the London County Council, with all its bands, has never proposed to manufacture its own trombones. The demand for the commodity must be sufficiently extensive and constant to keep the necessary plant fully employed. The moment this limitation is grasped, the current vague terrors of a Socialism that will destroy all private enterprise laugh themselves into air. The more work the municipality does, the more custom it will bring to private enterprise; for every extension of its activity involves the purchase of innumerable articles which can, in the fullest social sense, be produced much more economically by private enterprise, provided it is genuinely self-supporting, and does not spunge on the poor rates for part of the subsistence of its employees; in short, provided it works under a "fair wages" clause.

A very serious and quite artificial obstacle to municipal trading, as has been already indicated, is presented by the limits within which the activity of each separate borough is confined. In the country, municipal enterprise is reduced to absurdity by the smallness of the areas and their openly nonsensical boundaries. Mr. H. G. Wells's description (in "Mankind in the Making") of his residence on the boundary between Sandgate and Folkestone (two places as continuous as Mayfair and St. James's), a boundary which no municipal tramcar can cross, shows the hopelessness of substituting public for private Collectivism there. A shipping firm whose vessels were forbidden to cross any degree of latitude or longitude might as easily

compete with the Peninsular and Oriental as the Folkestone municipality with a trust which could (and would) operate over a whole province.

In towns the nuisance of antiquated boundaries is equally flagrant and often financially much more serious. But evidently this is a difficulty which can be dealt with as soon as public opinion is educated up to the point of wishing to have it altered, a process which will probably be assisted by the success of various large trusts in crushing small competitors and monopolizing large industries for private profit. In America the Standard Oil Company and other large combines have done more than any Socialist arguments to open people's eyes to the evils resulting from industrial competition, or rather from that stage of economic progress which is rapidly replacing competition by combination, and which, while it does away with the inefficiency and wastefulness of the small, old-fashioned and incompetent trader, introduces its economies and improvements not for the benefit of the public (though incidentally they may get some crumbs of advantage) but for the gain of the capitalist.

The Evils of Private Trading.

It will also be assisted by a growing appreciation of the evils which accompany private trading. The wastefulness of private competition is so obvious that the average town councils would have to be worse than Tammany Hall ever was before a community could reasonably prefer to entrust its public services to the private trader. For though Tammany bosses made fortunes at the public expense by corrupt means they were at least capable and efficient business men; nor did they upset the industrial and economic life of the community as it is upset by speculators of the type of Whitaker Wright or the Directors of the City of Glasgow Bank.

In comparing private with municipal trading one has to bear in mind the indictment of ordinary commercial trades made by Sir Edward Fry, late Lord Justice of Appeal, who said: "If one enquires whether the morality exercised in the conduct of business in this country is satisfactory or not . . . I fear the answer must be in the negative. Let me enumerate some well known facts:—

" 1. Over-insurance of vessels . . . when one considers how nearly this sin approaches to the crime of murder this consideration is startling.

" 2. The bad and lazy work too often done by those in receipt of wages.

" 3. The adulteration of articles of consumption.

" 4. The ingenuity exercised in the infringement of trade-marks, and the perpetual strain exhibited by rival traders by some device or other to get the benefit of the reputation and name of some other maker.

" 5. A whole class of frauds exists in the manufacture of goods, by which a thing is made to appear heavier or thicker or better in some way or other than it really is. The deceit is designed to operate on the ignorant ultimate purchaser,

"6. Lastly, but not least, bribery in one form or the other riddles and makes hollow and unsound a great deal of business."

Add to this that a Special Committee of Enquiry of the London Chamber of Commerce reported :—

"Your committee conclude from the evidence before them that secret commissions in various forms are prevalent in all trades and professions to a great extent, and that in some trades the practice has increased and is increasing ; and they are of opinion that the practice is producing great evil, alike to the morals of the community and to the profits of honest traders."

One has also to bear in mind that the late Lord Chief Justice Russell, addressing the Lord Mayor in 1898, described company fraud as "a class of fraud which is rampant in this community—fraud of a most dangerous kind, widespread in operation, touching all classes, involving great pecuniary loss to the community, a loss largely borne by those least able to bear it ; and, even more important than this, fraud which is working insidiously to undermine and corrupt that high sense of public morality which it ought to be the common object of all interested in the good of the country to maintain—fraud blunting the sharp edge of honor and besmearing honorable names."

It would be easy to continue this indictment of present day methods by reference to the condition of many of the workers and the elaborate deception of consumers by enormously expensive advertisements, on the production of which a not inconsiderable portion of the energy of our population is wasted. Many of these advertisements are mischievous and dangerous as well as wasteful, leading people to depend on drugged or innutritious foods, on tyres falsely alleged to be non-skidding, on quack medicines, etc., etc., etc.

Experience shows that it is difficult to insist on a high standard of morality in war time ; but to take the case of the South African scandals as a typical instance, we find that the twelve ounces to the pound jam came from private, and not from government, factories.

The Incidence of Rates.

Something still remains to be said about a matter referred to at the commencement of this Tract, namely, the incidence of the rates. The progressive mayor of one of our large towns felt tempted to declare not long ago that municipal improvements should be stopped until the right to rate ground values had been obtained ; for, said he, what is happening here and in other places ? We are heavily rating our people in order to make roads and pave streets, and supply gas, water, and trams. The effect is to send up the price of the land we reach. Now a few years hence we shall have to buy parts of that land at a much higher value for schools, parks, open spaces, post offices, etc., etc. Then the very people who have paid the high rates expended on giving the increased value to what was agricultural land, will have to pay higher rates to buy it back at its enhanced price.

In reply to this it will be said that what happens is that the increase of rates really comes instead of an increase of rent, and that in this way ground landlords are already contributing largely to the rates; that, in fact, the present system is a rough way of taxing rent. And it really does so when the tenant is rackrented to the last farthing; but then very few ratepaying tenants are so rackrented. If the tenant would at a pinch pay another two pounds a year, say, sooner than move (a pretty common case, one guesses), he is, from the economist's point of view, enjoying two pounds a year of the rent; and if his rates go up by two pounds he will not be able to shift the increase on to his landlord. All that will happen is that his rent will become a rack-rent instead of falling two pounds short of it. The rate collector takes what the landlord spared.

The remedy is to tax all whose incomes are unearned; not the ground landlords exclusively, though, as a class, they gain most by municipal expenditure, and it is they who should pay the greater part of the local rates. When it comes to a question of national taxation, on the other hand, there is no reason why those who have large incomes from Consols or shares in industrial enterprises, should not also bear a large part of the burden; for they benefit from the maintenance of army and navy, police, etc., quite as much as the owners of the land.

The Last and the Next Generation.

The efforts of our forefathers during the last 150 years have solved one half of the economic problem. Man has obtained such a mastery over matter that it would be easy to-day to organize the labor of the inhabitants of this country so that all might be well fed, clad, housed and trained. It remains for us to accomplish the other half of the problem by arranging the production and distribution of wealth so as to minimize waste, and by making it difficult for the crafty to exploit the simple, to make it easy for all to obtain a fair share of the produce of their own labor and of the fruits of the organized efforts of the community.

In the gradual accomplishment of that task municipal trading can perform a large and useful part when once the question is properly understood and elections so conducted that public spirit and business capacity meet on our municipal councils.

Municipal trading has its limits. Some services, such as the railways, should not be municipalized but nationalized; and, as already indicated, there is no reason why ample scope should not be left for individual enterprise. But the reasonable limits of municipal trading have not yet been approached, even in our most progressive cities.

[Free use has been made of Bernard Shaw's "Common Sense of Municipal Trading" and R. B. Suthers' "Mind Your Own Business" in preparing this Tract, and many passages have been borrowed from those works.]

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SOCIALISM AND THE CHURCHES.

AN ADDRESS GIVEN AT THE BAPTIST CHAPEL, FOREST HILL, LONDON, TO THE LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION ON JUNE 30TH, 1908, BY JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D., AND REPRINTED BY PERMISSION FROM THE "WESTBOURNE PARK RECORD."

THE word "Socialism," it will be remembered, came into use about the year 1835—a little more than seventy years ago—as descriptive of the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of Robert Owen for the improvement of the social and domestic conditions of the workers of this country. It was descriptive of an endeavor to displace the fierce and disastrous competitive methods and conditions of industrial life by the introduction of co-operative and organized action based on justice and intended to promote the general welfare.

Socialism is a movement, and not merely a theory or a set of theories. It is of the first importance that we should regard it in that light, so that we may not be entangled in the various speculations which have sought shelter under the Socialistic label, or be misled by the sophisms and vagaries of some of its advocates, or blinded by the prejudices and falsehoods of some of its antagonists.

Primarily, it is a movement in the Social State, as "Modernism" is a movement in the Roman Catholic Church, or as Puseyism was an ecclesiastic movement, originating about the same time as Socialism, within the Anglican Church, or as the Evangelical Revival was a religious movement in the eighteenth century. Essentially Socialism was, and is to be judged as, *a movement, a tendency, a pushing forward of the inner soul of humanity towards its predestined goal.*

Now, as a movement it has a governing idea and a practical method, but the vital element is its *spirit*. Socialism is a spirit of justice and charity, of broad sympathies and general goodwill, of universal amity and benevolence, of service to others and not of getting for self. H. G. Wells, in that most illuminating and enriching book, "New Worlds for Old," says: "Socialism, as he understands it, is a great intellectual process, a development of desires and ideas that takes the form of a project—a project for the re-shaping of human society upon new and better lines." It is that; but it is more. It is an ethical and religious effort, proceeding from within the soul of the human race, for pulling down principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, and bringing every thought of man into captivity to the obedience of the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ, the Savior and Leader of men.

But whereas there is no doubt as to the spirit of Socialism, its working idea is not so easily caught or readily expressed. It is too early in the history of the movement, and its development as an idea is too infantile, for us to define it with accuracy and adequacy. Moreover, the idea takes the form of the political mould in which it is cast, and therefore we have one expression of it in Germany, another in France, and another in England. "The Encyclopædia of Social Reform" just published, after giving a long string of definitions from different authors, sums up the result in which they agree, thus: "Socialism may be said to be *the collective ownership of the means of production by the community* democratically organized, and their operation co-operatively for the equitable good of all" (p. 1,129).

But it is a more English way of thinking to look at an idea as it is embodied in a familiar fact, such as that department of the State called the General Post Office. Englishmen are not theorists, and are rarely captured by theoretical reasoning. We are practical men, and can more clearly understand Socialism as we see it at work at our own doors and in our own streets, than from any lengthened statement.

The Postal Service.

Here we see the Socialistic idea in operation. And first, we note a large number of our fellow-citizens enrolled as servants of the whole community. As children, most of them have been trained in State schools, and at the expense of the State. Then they have passed their examinations and been assigned their posts according to their qualifications. They do their appointed work without seeking to amass great riches. They are fairly content with their wages. They have a moderate measure of comfort. They are not anxious about old age. They have a sense of security; nor do they dread the workhouse, for pensions are secured to them. In London they have their Sundays free for mental and spiritual culture, and if they desire it, for work for the world. Clearly they are animated, not by the spirit of greed but by the Socialistic spirit of service. They own nothing. The buildings in which they labor are not their own; the red pillar-boxes which they empty do not belong to them. There is no private ownership, and yet they do not "dawdle;" they do not waste their time. They are honest and industrious. Our letters come with regularity, and on the stroke of the clock all through the day; and they find their reward in the moderate wage they receive, and the sense that they discharge their duty.

Their home-life is their own. The relations between husband and wife and children are sweetened by the removal of all uncertainty and anxiety as to income; and in all other respects the postman is as much master of his home and of his life as any citizen of the land. At present he pays rent to a private person for his home. In a fuller Socialism that rent will go to the whole community; and in all probability his hours of toil will be fewer, his freedom wider, and his life richer in the things of the mind and spirit.

There you have as in a mirror the idea and spirit of the Socialistic movement. That is what it does. That is what it means. That is what it seeks to do for the individual citizen and for the whole commonwealth. That is what it seeks to achieve of liberty, of contentment, and of widespread serviceableness. The illustration does not tell all that is to be told ; but it answers objections, corrects mistakes, and affords a surer guide to the idea of Socialism as a movement than a whole sheaf of definitions.

Socialism Constructive.

Now the Post Office is a constructed State effort. It is a creation of intellect. It springs from the brain of Rowland Hill, and it advances by the State-building efforts of successive Post-masters and others to its present world-wide proportions and immeasurable usefulness. In that respect it is typical of Socialism as a movement. Socialism is intrinsically constructive. It displaces the haphazard labors of an individual by the organized efforts of all. I know it is often said that "England has blundered into greatness." I do not believe it. I know she has "blundered" into misery and cruelty, into perilous wealth for the few, and chains and curses for the million ; into debasement and defilement for her daughters, and ruin for her children ; and therefore no sign of the times is brighter than that which assures us that the hour has struck in which this "blundering" must stop, and the most direct route be taken from the Tartarus in which so many of our fellows suffer to the Elysian fields of mutual service and general wellbeing.

Hence, Socialism seeks to create a State which shall exist for all and be served by all ; a State which shall provide work for all, and reward that work according to the quality and quantity of the work done ; a State which shall give liberty and justice, security and comfort to all men, women, and children ; a State which shall "fix a definite minimum of welfare below which no one shall be allowed to fall," and yet shall not permit anyone to be defrauded of that to which he is justly entitled ; a State in which service and honor, and not mere greed and vain show shall be the chief motives of action ; a State in which every faculty that the combined action of the whole of the intellect and goodwill of the community can invent or create, shall be offered for the training of the young, the protection of the imperilled, the succour of the weak, the comfort of the aged, the diffusion of happiness, and the increase of moral worth. Socialism will not leave everything to chance or to "good fortune," or to inheritance, or to superior might. It expects thought. It asks for intelligence. It invites science. It combines citizens together, and seeks to bring into a system the whole of the tendencies now working in the heart of the civilized world for the common good.

The Sanity of Socialism.

This movement, as I have said, is still very young : but it is becoming increasingly sane, balanced, statesmanlike, scientific, and

trustworthy. I admit that the "swollen floods of sophism, fallacy, cant, and rant," let loose by the agitation for the "Rights of Man" have not entirely disappeared; but I hold that the impracticable and implacable theorist is no longer representative. Every man who calls himself a Christian cannot be accepted as a sample of the Christian spirit or the Christian method; nor can everyone who wears a Socialist badge and carries a Socialist banner be justly regarded as speaking for the movement. Still less ought the assertions of the man whose one object is to bespatter and destroy Socialism to be allowed any place in the scales of judgment; assertions, for example, made by a man I will not name, that "Socialism is atheism," or that "the very essence of Socialism is that all the ten commandments should be swept away"; assertions based either on the misquotations of opponents or on the wild speech of non-representative men. For it is undeniable that the doctrinaire and cantankerous Ishmaelite is disappearing from the movement. The doctrinaire is far to seek. The mere theorist is at a discount. Few now expect a sudden revolution; most work to hasten a natural and orderly evolution of the Socialistic State. The historic sense is begetting the feeling that to-morrow must grow out of to-day, just as whatever elements we have of order and of progress, of liberty and good legislation, have grown out of yesterday.

Its Catholicity.

Socialism is not a class movement. Labor is in it; but so is science. The democrats of the streets proclaim its ideals, but so do students of the universities. Agnostics confess its obligations, and orthodox Christians are eager to forward its aims. In fact, the feature of the world's life that is the most prophetic of the future is the subsidence of the exclusive dominance of individuality, and the emergence of the social consciousness, of the sense of intimate, I may even say fraternal, relations—relations not only to the denizens of the home, the members of our "set," or of our "church" or profession; but to the municipality, to the nation, and to humanity. The whole sweep and trend of the age is Socialistic. No one is satisfied with the present condition. Everybody admits it has anti-human elements, and the anti-human is felt to be anti-social, irreligious, ungodly, the modern Antichrist. The men of wealth feel its presence, and some of them clutch their gold with a fiercer passion, as though they feared its departure. The men of avarice are aware of it, and publish their "lies" broadcast to keep up their dividends, increase their trusts, and convey the gains of our common life into the pockets of the few. The civilized world is gradually but surely travelling towards Socialism. The good seed sown with weeping and tears by Carlyle and Ruskin, Lord Shaftesbury and Saint Simon, Proudhon and Fourier, Ebenezer Elliot and Ernest Jones, and others, is yielding its harvest in some thirty, in some sixty, and in some a hundred fold. We have socialized transit and illumination, and we are socializing hygiene and medicine. Officers for the care of the health of the public, and district nurses for

ministry to the sick, are becoming part of our civic and political administration. Just as we organize for the defence of our citizenship by the army and navy, so we are constructing a department for the defeat of disease and the maintenance of health. As we have socialized the teaching forces of Great Britain, so we are travelling towards the organization by the State of a body of highly educated men to watch over the physical health and strength of the nation.

Nor are we limiting the functions of the State to the body. The training of the young citizen for citizenship has definitely passed out of the hands of blind chance. It cannot be left to individual caprice or bigoted and crippling churchmanship. It is the first duty of the commonwealth to its young. The provision of libraries and museums, of reading rooms and picture galleries, of the recreative ministries of art and of the discipline and order of science, are following. Technical training for industrial life is becoming part of the daily bread offered to the citizen, not on the grounds of individual hunger, but from the necessities of communal growth and progress. Then it is increasingly felt that we cannot leave the worker ignorant of the trade of the world. He must have access to a national bureau of information concerning the changing conditions of labor—the reverses in this department, and the demands in that—so that he may be able to take opportunity when it is at the flood, and may arm himself against a sea of misfortunes. Already we have gone far in these directions. Recently our Board of Trade has taken up the responsibility of mediating in the conflicts of large industries; and now we have the declaration that a certain amount of the funds of the State is to be set aside for the promotion of international peace and goodwill, in order to provide hospitality and fraternity for bodies of visitors to our shores from other lands.

The civilized world is gradually making room for the Socialist movement. The heathen rage and "Municipal Reformers" say vain things against the march of this Socialist spirit, but it is in vain. Bit by bit, inch by inch, the social conscience grows. The moral and social implications of the fundamental human fact that "we are members one of another," demand legislative adoption. Quietly and slowly, but inevitably, the sway of the sense of social duty rises and rules so that this twentieth century is sure to be the century of a conquering and beneficent Socialism. Professor Dicey, in his "Law and Opinion of the Nineteenth Century," traces the gradual escape of the English people from the fierce antagonism to political and social government which darkened the first four decades of that period, through the hard and selfish individualism of the fifties and sixties and seventies, on to the dawning, in the latter part of the century, of that Socialism which is destined to be the distinction and glory of this.

The Divinity of Socialism.

The fact is, and this is what I want to show, this is the plan of God. Socialism, in the soul of it, is divine. It is of God. He is

behind all, and in all, and through all, working out His great redemption of mankind. God has His plan in every generation, and I cannot hesitate to believe that "the plan of God in this generation connects itself with that irresistible social tide which rises higher and higher against the dry strands of our time, seemingly making ready to inundate all the old moorings of the world, and to give the race entirely new levels of departure forth upon its immense mission. We are weary of endless sociological wranglings, and often deeply incensed with the intolerant Socialisms of our day. And yet, weary or incensed, the tide of a realized common life, a tide which bears on its heaving breast the neglected truth of the world, keeps on rolling in, like that superb Hangchow bore of which Professor Edmunds has been writing so interestingly in *The Popular Science Monthly*—a something invincible to any barriers erected against it, continually destructive of false individualism, and yet a something which bears up with it into the pent places of humanity a mighty saving freshness from the deep oceans of divine purpose. Indeed, the Socialism which makes for fulness and unity of the common life 'spreads undiminished, operates unspent,' and has already covered, and covered to its permanent sway, whole regions of human experience."

It is political, in the sense that it has to get its work done through Parliament; it is civic, because it acts through the municipal and urban councils; it is international, for it seeks to displace the enmity of nations to one another by amity; it is literary and artistic, for it uses all forces that heal and help our suffering races; but in all and over all it is fundamentally spiritual and religious. In the language of John Shorthouse, "The world spirit is often the Christ spirit, and . . . when we begin to see that His footsteps may be traced in paths where we little expect to find them, we shall no longer dare to talk of the secular life," but shall rejoice to recognize that these, too, are the ways by which the kingdoms of this world are becoming the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ.

Still, I do not say that this movement is the *final* form of human society. We do not know, we cannot tell. Finality is a word we cannot place on anything. It does not belong to our vocabulary. But Socialism is the next, the necessary, the vital, the saving movement. Yet, just as the wage-earning period, with its colossal capitalists; its giant plunderers, usurers, and sweaters; its princes of philanthropies; and its myriads of miseries and cruelties, was confessedly an advance in the conditions of slavery; so Socialism may only be a stage in the wonderful evolution of the manifold life of the children of God.

The Churches Awake.

Now since that picture of the spirit, idea, method, and goal of constructive Socialism is demonstrably accurate, is it not a thing incredible that any of the churches of Jesus Christ should be fiercely antagonistic to it, or coldly critical, or haughtily sceptical, or superciliously indifferent?

Indeed, already those moods, are passed or passing. The churches are awake to the golden opportunity at their doors. They are beginning to see that this is the hour of their visitation; that they must rise and interpret the revelation given by God in the social Bible of the world's life, and take the fullest advantage of this widening and unifying of the life of men for the establishment of the gracious and redeeming rule of God over the earth. As the Reformers seized the hour of the awakening of the intellect and conscience of Europe for the proclamation of the original Gospel of God, and the assertion of the rights of man against the tyrannies of priests and popes; as Wesley, Carey, and Howard, breathing the new social spirit created by the light which had been cast on the incalculable values of every human soul, made the epoch of the Evangelical Revival, of redeeming philanthropy, and of missionary enterprise: so the churches have already found in the presence of this vast change of social ideas and feeling, that

"New occasions teach new duties; time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of truth.
Lo, before us gleam her camp fires! We ourselves must pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the future's portal with the past's blood-rusted key."

It must be confessed that the churches have been slow of heart to perceive all that God has been teaching. They should have been the first to learn; they have been the last. They ought to have led; they have to follow. Their place was in the van; they are still in the rear; but they are in the rear, and in time will march on to their true place. They have had their vision. To them, as to Peter, sleeping and hungry on the housetop of Simon the tanner, the divine revelation has come. The sky has opened to their view, and what seemed to be an enormous sail has descended from heaven, and in it are seen all kinds of questions and problems, domestic and social, civic and national, questions of strikes and lock-outs, property and rent, sweating and intemperance; and a voice has been heard saying, "Rise, disciples of Christ, face these questions, and help to find the right answer." "On no account, Lord," has been the answer. "We have never yet touched these unspiritual things; they are outside our boundaries, and belong to the secular life of men." Again a second and a third time the voice has been heard saying, "What God has created you must not regard as unholy. His creative acts cleanse all the products of His power. The life of the State is His care. Labor is sacred. It is not for you to call His work unclean, or to restrict the outflow or overflow of His impartial love."

And while the churches have been greatly perplexed as to the meaning of the vision they have seen, men arrive from the Caesars of industry and literature asking for an interview, and reporting that they, too, have had a vision of the aid the churches may and ought to render in the present stress: for God, by His own gracious Spirit, has been preparing men, outside the bounds of the churches, to listen to the message they have to deliver concerning the relations of these economic and social questions to the spiritual life of man, and God

says, "Rise, and go without any misgivings, for it is I who sent them unto you."

So the churches are going to Cornelius. Our Free Churches have been sending their Simon Peters for a long time. What changes we have seen in our attitude during the last forty years! How the horizons have been lifted! What new sympathies throb in our hearts! How the compassions of Christ for the multitude move within us!

But the most welcome sign of change is in the Pan-Anglican Congress, for it has devoted, apparently, about three-fourths of its time, and more of its interest, to these vital problems of the world—gambling and intemperance, opium and alcohol, sweating and housing, low wages and unemployment—tracing them through their wide ramifications in the social organism, their destructive effects on young and old, and indicating the means by which these evils may be abolished.

The fact is, Christian men are ceasing to see any incompatibility between a rich and full spiritual life and the effort to reconstruct society on a Christian basis; and nearly all churches agree that in order to save men from sin and sinning they must face the whole life of man, the physical and industrial and social, not less than the life of the conscience and the will, of faith, and of love. They *must* enter into the Socialist movement. Admitted that it leaps up from unexpected quarters, and that our Rabbis have been heard saying with mordant contempt, "Search and look, out of Lanark and Paris arseth no prophet"; admitted that the bold and adventurous apostles, according to the standard of the "schools," are unlearned and ignorant men, and threaten to overthrow the temples of orthodoxy, and to cast out the priests from the synagogues; yet it has to be confessed that they are inspired and sustained by the Christian conviction of the upward and onward progress of the destinies of mankind, are gripped by the vital truths and quickening fundamentals of the Kingdom of God, and are urged forward in their zealous crusade by genuine good will. Admitted, moreover, that the difficulties in the way of this social reconstruction are enormous; that to substitute a new economic system for the old, however brutal and destructive of human life the old system may be, is a task demanding the concentrated energy of an age, or perhaps of ages; that the institution of private property in land, houses and the like, is mixed up, seemingly inextricably, with the passions and habits and interests of men, and has been for centuries; that rent and interest are apparently as necessary to us as our breathing; admit all, still the churches feel and know they cannot hold aloof from this movement. It is of God, part of His plan, and they must accept it; fall in with it; and face it with courage, and hope, and do their best.

But what is their best?

What the Churches must not do.

That I will attempt to show; and first, let me say with the utmost emphasis, the churches must not imagine for one moment that they have to cease from their simple and unflinching testimony

to their own truths and ideals as fellowships of Christians organized expressly for the preaching of the gospel and the cultivation of the spiritual life. There must be no slackening of devotion to our *primary* work, no lowering of our aims; no submission to the dominion of the flesh and of sense. Soul is supreme in the life of man and will remain supreme. Soul is all, and all in all. Men may deny it. They do, they will, and not altogether without reason considering what poor Christians we are; but in the long run they are confronted and convinced by the irresistible logic of facts. History and present experience alike declare that no other name than that of Christ is given whereby we can have social salvation. Apart from His idea and spirit and work we can do nothing effectively; not even take the accurate measure of man's real need, or the height of his possibility. This work of preaching and living the Christ is primary and fundamental to the actions of the churches in the constructive social movement; and it requires vast reserves of courage and perpetual alertness. The world is always with us, and its maxims and customs and spirit always gravitate towards "compromise." At each stage the question rises how much of this wrong can we tolerate: and we are frequently ensnared by the evil we tolerate into treating it as though our toleration of it has made it good and just in itself. Our duty as churches is to keep the ideal at its highest, *v. e.*, as high as the standard set us by Jesus Christ, to say that the Kingdom of God is within men or it cannot be without; that all national progress depends on character; that the springs of social well-being are in the hearts and wills of men; to insist that a tolerated evil is still evil; that a wrong that is hoary with the weight of years and crowned with the approval of the great, is still a wrong. The churches are to witness against "compromise" even when it endures it, to resist the invasion of the realm of conscience by the magistrate, to assert the moral limits of accumulation, to war against trusting in uncertain riches, to insist that though a "time limit" for an evil system may be extorted, it does not cleanse the evil during the time of its existence, or excuse men from doing battle to end it altogether.

The Churches must care for the Spiritual Element of Socialism.

Nor is this all. The churches must take care that this social movement is not narrowed down to the economic side of life, as though a man had but one side to his nature, and was not a mysterious being with immeasurable possibilities both in time and eternity. It is for the Church to insist upon and secure the *spiritual* quality of Socialism. Owen and Marx have affirmed the economic element. The Fabian Society has illuminated and enforced the historical, and made clear that we cannot bury the old order and start as from creation's dawn. H. G. Wells and others have contended for the rational and ethical element; the churches must add the most important of all, the spiritual. It is this we can give. It is this we must give. Not apart from the economists, but with them; not apart from the evolutionary Socialists of the Sidney Webb school,

but with them and through them; not apart from the professors and teachers of the science of sociology, but with them; informing and quickening the collective mind, and supplying that spiritual momentum which is absolutely requisite so that the constructive Socialism of the State may attain to the fulness of the stature of the perfect manhood of Christ.

This is our place in God's plan. The movement will not advance on sure and solid lines unless it is fed with the intelligence and faith, the patience and love, the hopes and high ideals, the sense and the enthusiasm of *spiritual* brotherhood. Without that aid it will sink into a dull, dead mechanism, or a more or less skilfully constructed machine, and become a mere matter of ballot boxes and suffragists, as if man were only created to "mind" a machine, and women were added only to give pleasure to him when the "minding" was done, and children followed so that the "minding" of the machine might not come to an end.

Let not the churches fear. If they are alive they will be wanted. If they are not alive they had better be carted away and buried. If they are faithful to Christ and His teaching and spirit, they will supply one of the most influential forces for forwarding the great social change. Socialism demands a far higher level of intelligence, of knowledge, of drilled capacity, of freedom and of moral worth than individualism. You cannot re-mould society out of illiteracy, indiscipline, intemperance, and selfishness. The full co-operative commonwealth is only possible where you have the best all-round type of man and woman—educated, drilled, self-reverent, self-controlled, self-sacrificing, free, and brotherly: capable of suppressing greed of gain and finding satisfaction in service. Efforts for the construction of Socialistic conditions break down for lack of character. Men are not yet "moralized" up to the point where a co-operative community is possible. Therefore the churches, made up of disciples of Christ, must give themselves to the work of what Paul calls "edification" or "man building"; they must stir and illumine the conscience, create good and healthy opinion, turn opinion into conviction, and conviction into action, elevate ideals, stiffen will, and fire with enthusiasm, and so supply the character, freedom, and force on which the order and progress of mankind ultimately rests.

The Emancipation of the Churches from Anti-Social Conditions.

Again, the churches should free themselves from every anti-social alliance and anti-social condition. They ought not to have any complicity as churches with politics and practices based on social inequalities, social monopolies, and anti-Christian social distinctions. The Christian society should realize in all its arrangements the ideal of the social commonwealth, and breathe in all its actions the bracing air of liberty and equality and fraternity. It ought not to accept any special favors from the State. It must render to Cæsar the things that belong to Cæsar. It is of right the foremost trustee

and chief guardian of the liberties of man ; because it has to render to God the things that are God's ; to care for liberty of conscience ; that liberty which includes and guards the liberty of speech, and of the press, and all the great freedoms of the soul of man. It must not be content with evil conditions because they are inherited, and yield large advantages to itself as a society at the expense of the freedom and rights of other members of the community. It must not hold itself aloof from or averse to change, because it may suffer thereby ; but be willing and even eager for the changes that lead to the greater good of all.

Indeed, in the Church of the New Testament we see existent, in principle and in germ, what we expect to enjoy in a perfectly constructed social state. The Church of God in the Acts and Epistles knows nothing of class distinctions—has neither laymen nor clerics. "Ye are an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation," is the description Peter gives of the group of saints to which he belongs. The apostle and the prophet, the teacher, the evangelist and helper are one ; all distinctions within the body disappear in the one sacred distinction of being within the circle of the people of God. It knows no separating class arrangements. It is the foe of caste. Mammon worship is swept utterly away by the flowing waters of the Church's generosity. Race antipathy is alien to its spirit, and love is poured out in steady and limitless floods. There, in the ardors and achievements of the first churches, we have set before us what we ought to seek with full purpose of heart for all men.

Study.

Further, the churches must encourage and systematize the study of social facts by their own members. It is fitting that we should know the main current of the whole Socialistic movement, and follow the story of the organization of the masses of workmen into a solidarity of interests ; why it is here ; why it has come now ; what it means and towards what it is driving. Ignorance is the prolific mother of misery. Our young people do not know, and therefore they do not consider, how the bodies of their fellows are stunted, their minds crippled and fettered, and their souls lost by the hardness of economic conditions. The young Socialists outside the churches enquire, and enquiry leads to sympathy and action. The Fabian Society instructs by its literature and discussions. Professors of sociology teach in the schools of economics and political science connected with the University of London ; but the churches need to organize and direct classes for this study, so that our young people may be able to analyze and classify the social conditions of the workers ; know the civic institutions that affect their life ; the legislation as to insurance and pensions, factories and mines ; the laws of taxation, and so on ; and be led to see these facts in their relation to the deeper realities of the spirit, and from these high considerations seek the abolition of unjust land laws, make war on the causes and sources of poverty and vice ; and qualify for high-minded and self-denying service to the State.

Electoral Action.

Nor should the churches fail, at the times when they can control the constructive efforts of the commonwealth, to put men into office who are, by conviction and sympathy, in favor of using the wealth that accrues from our communal life for the good of all; and eager to prevent its being appropriated for the selfish enrichment of the few. They ought to exclude from civic and political work those who juggle with the words "liberty" and "reform," in order that they may the more easily filch from the public purse the riches that belong to all, and return to power only those representatives of the people who will either largely modify or else get rid of laws and institutions that stand right across the path of the social reform—such as the House of Lords, the rule of the land by the few, the swollen tyranny of the drunk trade, and the like—and who will be prepared to introduce that better era in which the community shall be administered for the good of all. The churches ought, whilst not, as churches, identifying themselves with Socialist organizations, to take their full share in the gradual reformation and rebuilding of society; to welcome every practicable extension of the Socialistic principle; and inspire their members to give themselves in all humility and lowliness of mind, with much patience and love, to organize our common life on the principles of brotherhood, of social helpfulness, and of the laws of the kingdom of God.

And assuredly the churches can and ought to keep the minds of men alert to note every existing wrong in the framework of society, to feed the courage and patience that battles with that wrong and tries to rid the world of it, and to inspire that passion of the Cross by which men will be ready to toil and fight and suffer for that full redemption and regeneration of the individual and of the world which Jesus Christ came to effect.

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BY MRS. HYLTON DALE.

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CHILD LABOR UNDER CAPITALISM.

The Industrial Revolution and Child Labor.

At the end of the eighteenth century England ceased to be predominantly agricultural and became the most important manufacturing country in the world.* Child Labor being regarded by the manufacturers as absolutely essential to the speedy piling up of fortunes, the morality of which no one questioned, it was universally employed in the cotton mills and factories which suddenly sprang up in the land. Manchester, specially the seat of the cotton trade from its earliest days, was the greatest employer of Child Labor, and became wealthy and populous. In ten years—from 1780-1790—the population almost doubled, owing to the inrush from the country of people, who were tempted by high family earnings to barter their infinitely healthier existence on the land for life in crowded slum cities. A positive majority of the workers in the cotton mills were young children.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century spinning and weaving had been done in cottage homes with the simple hand looms which had altered but little from primitive times. But with the introduction of elaborate and costly machinery into factories the work changed its character. New methods, new buildings, new modes of life superseded those of the rural life of the English peasantry. The latter at first refused to allow their children to work in the factories and mills which had been built by their streams and rivers from which was derived the water-power which worked the machinery. The parents at first considered it derogatory and degrading work for young people. But to procure the cheapest form of labor was considered not only justifiable but almost a mandate from heaven. The wealth that poured into the country, notably into the pockets of the manufacturers, was regarded as a reward from God for industry and self-help. Unfortunately in the workhouses of London and other large towns manufacturers easily found the cheap material they required. Shoals of unwanted children of all ages, even as young as five and six, were transported from workhouses and sent as parish apprentices to remote districts wherever their labor was wanted. The parish authorities, whose callousness was equalled by the manufacturers, were only too anxious to be rid of the burden of rate-supported children, and they actually stipulated—so little did humanity and pity rule their hearts—that a due proportion of feeble-minded children must be taken as part of the contract. As far as is known no further interest by the overseers was shown in the fate of these hordes of victims of unregulated industrialism.

* *The Industrial Revolution*, by Arnold Toynbee; *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, by W. Cunningham; *Capital*, by Karl Marx.

No one can tell how many thousands died unknown and untended over a long series of years. No records were kept. It was no one's business to see after such children. Employers for the most part regarded their apprentices as of less value than their machines, which at any rate were kept clean and carefully preserved. The masters themselves were frequently men of low type, with little or no education, who had often come from the ranks of manual labor themselves, and who were intoxicated with their own sudden wealth. They had little sympathy for the class from which they had sprung. Children worked side by side with adults and for the same length of time. They worked all day and sometimes all night; they were cruelly beaten if fatigue overcame them at their work; they worked in bad air without ventilation or sanitation, and with no regard to cleanliness or decency (the two sexes being herded together at night in huts); they received no personal care morally or physically, no education, no love. Many were living skeletons, some almost gibbering idiots. They died off like flies from various diseases, especially pneumonia, fostered by the sudden changes of temperature from damp heat in the mills to cold outside. Malignant fevers decimated them from time to time, and of those who survived many were in poor health, ignorant of the commonest things, and destitute of all education, secular, religious or moral.*

The work in the mills was, perhaps, not in itself hard. It consisted of piecing together the broken threads of cotton, of removing obstructions from the machinery, and of cleaning its parts. But accidents were not infrequent. And the children of all ages stood at their work the whole day through (often from twelve to fifteen hours at a stretch, with one and a half hours' interval for meal times), under pitiless taskmasters.

The conscience of society gradually became aroused to the evils of the system when the sins committed upon the hapless children reacted upon itself. When infectious fevers, originating in the dens where the little apprentices festered, were caught by children and adults outside, it was brought home to people that some foul wrong existed somewhere.

In 1784 the Manchester magistrates requested a committee of medical men, led by Drs. Percival and Ferriar, to investigate an outbreak of fever in the Radcliffe cotton factories. Dr. Percival, F.R.S., President of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, had had his attention specially called as a medical man to the evils and ravages of disease among the Poor Law apprentices in the town.

The first report, from which all subsequent factory legislation sprang, was that presented in 1796 to the Manchester Board of Health by Dr. Percival on the abuses and cruel conditions of life under which all the operatives, and especially the children, lived and died. It was resolved by the Board to invoke the aid of Parliament to establish laws "for the wise, humane, and equal government of all such works."

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore; *History of Factory Legislation*, by B. L. Hinchins and A. Easton.

Robert Owen.

On the Board sat Robert Owen, cotton spinner, embryo philanthropist, and pioneer of factory legislation. He and his two partners subsequently purchased the cotton mills of New Lanark belonging to David Dale (whose daughter Owen married), and who was one of the few instances of a humane and enlightened master of that period. Owen carried on the work at New Lanark in the same humane spirit as his predecessor, and instituted a series of reforms in Child Labor. He raised the minimum age of the workers to ten, and refused to take any more Poor Law apprentices, preferring to gather in as employes children who lived at home with their parents. He established infant schools where children from one year old were kept in a very superior crèche and kindergarten combined. In his schools for older children he established co-education, and had dancing, military drill, natural science, botany, arithmetic, geography, history, singing and music taught. He allowed no punishments of any kind. The whole atmosphere of his schools was one of love. He, more than any educationist before or since, recognized that children are like plants, in that they want more than care and attention ; they want love.

The First Factory Act.

In 1802, Sir Robert Peel the elder, himself an owner of cotton factories, inspired by what he knew of his own mills at Radcliffe and the report of the Manchester Board of Health, introduced and got passed the first Factory Act known as "The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act." By this Act the hours of labor were limited to twelve a day, and the children were forbidden to work at night. They were to go to church once a month, and were to be taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Girls and boys were not to sleep in the same apartment. The factories were to be ventilated and periodically whitewashed. All this seems little enough to the modern sense, but it called the attention of right-minded people to the subject, and raised a standard of humanity which has never been lowered, and from it came, slowly it must be confessed and after fierce struggle, all subsequent factory legislation.

Employment of "Home" Children.

One result of this Act, which dealt solely with Poor Law apprentices, was the substitution for them of children who lived at home, on whose behalf the law had not interfered. The evils of excessive work were now transferred to the "home" children, and continued to be borne by them for many long and weary years. Steam power, after 1802, having replaced water power, factories were built in towns, and, as the children lived with their parents, many of the ghastly and horrible outrages on health and decency disappeared. But the hours of work were just as terrible. Seven was the age at which children began to work in the mill, but cases of even six and five were not uncommon, and they worked twelve hours a day—thirteen hours at a stretch with an interval for dinner

only, breakfast and tea being snatched while at work. No seats were provided, and the children stood the whole day through. Many had to clean the machinery on Sundays.

The Cotton Mills Act of 1819.

In 1819, through Robert Owen's influence and ceaseless endeavor, Sir Robert Peel the elder got passed the Act known as the "Cotton Mills Act" of 1819. Although shorn of all the chief provisions dear to Owen's heart, for which Sir Robert Peel himself had striven, "The Act of 1819," as Mr. Podmore says in his life of Robert Owen, "marks the first and the most important step in the long procession of Factory Acts. Under it for the first time the State assumed the rights of parent and guardian to the children of the free, and took upon itself to prescribe the hours of work and the general condition of their labor."* This Act referred solely to cotton mills. The minimum age of employment was fixed at nine. The hours of labor were to be twelve per day. No provision was made for education, although this had been most strenuously urged by Owen.

The Acts of 1833-44.

It was not until 1833 that provision was made by the Act of that year for the appointment of paid Government inspectors. The hours of children's work were restricted to nine per day. But this Act failed to work satisfactorily, and the Act of 1844 was passed, enacting (1) that children from eight to sixteen must not work without a medical certificate; (2) that factories were to be inspected and registered; (3) that children under thirteen might only work half time. Extensions and amendments of this Act were made in 1867, 1874, 1878, 1883, 1891 and 1895.

The Coal Mines Regulation Act.

In 1887 the "Coal Mines Regulation Act," amending the statute of 1873 (which had replaced that of 1842), forbade girls and women and boys under twelve to work in any mine below ground and forbade it for boys from twelve to sixteen for more than ten hours a day or fifty-four hours a week.

The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901.

But the twentieth century has seen the most vital changes of all, the most important respecting Child Labor since Robert Owen pleaded nearly a century ago, viz., the consolidation and amendment of all the previous Acts into "The Factory and Workshops Act of 1901."

Child Labor To-day.

It comes as a surprise to the majority of present day people to learn that Child Labor still exists all over Great Britain, and for the most part to a highly injurious extent. This is more flagrantly the case in Yorkshire and Lancashire, where the "half time system" is

* *Life of Robert Owen*, by F. Podmore, p. 208.

in full play. According to the Report of the Board of Education for the year 1906-7 there were no fewer than 82,328 of these half timers or "partial exemption scholars"—to give them their official name. In 1904-5 the number was 80,368, and in 1903-4 it was 78,876. So the numbers are increasing.*

The three areas in which the largest number of "partial exemption scholars" are found are the Administrative County of Lancashire, with over 11,900, and the West Riding of Yorkshire and the County Borough of Bradford, each with over 8,000. All three areas show an increase in the number of these scholars in 1905-6 as compared with 1904-5. The County Boroughs of Oldham, Sheffield and Burnley also show noticeable additions to the number of "partial exemption scholars."

These half timers are children over twelve years of age who have obtained a labor certificate, and who are then allowed by the law to be sent to work half a day in mills or factories, provided that they are sent to school the other half of the day. Employment in the mill has to be either in morning or afternoon shifts, or on the alternate day system. One set of children begin work at 6 a.m. or 6.30 a.m. and go to school in the afternoon; the afternoon set go to work in the mill at 1 p.m. and end at 5 p.m. or 6 p.m., and attend school in the morning. A child may not be employed in the same shift either morning or afternoon for two consecutive weeks. No child may be employed on two successive Saturdays, nor on any Saturday if he has worked for five and a half hours on any day in the previous week. The maximum time for work for half timers is twenty-seven and a half hours a week.

Many of the children on the first shift rise at 5 a.m. (Mr. J. C. Clynes, M.P., states that he rose about 4.30 a.m. as a half timer); and sometimes they have to walk a mile to the mill in all weathers and be there by six o'clock. They have half an hour for such breakfast as they can afford. At mid-day they walk home to their dinners. At 2 p.m. they are in school.

Is it any wonder these children are worn out and that they fall asleep over their desks; or that the merciful teacher lets them sleep? The education that they receive is of very little use, whilst the injury done to their health by their double work is often irreparable.

Miss Clementina Black, President of the Women's Industrial Council, states: "I shall never forget the impression made on my mind by the peculiar mixture of pallor and eagerness on the faces of the little half timers the first time that I ever went over a weaving mill. The place was light and airy and the work was not hard, and the management considerate; but as to the children, any London doctor or any woman accustomed to the care of children, would have thought their appearance unhealthy and their expression of face abnormal."† Miss Black adds: "Labor in childhood inevitably

* See also the *Report on the Employment of Children in the United Kingdom*, by Constance Smith (British Association for Labor Legislation).

† *Swedish Industry*, by Miss Clementina Black, p. 122.

means, in nine cases out of ten, decadence in early manhood or womanhood; and the prevalence of it among ourselves is perhaps the most serious of national dangers. It is an example of that most cruel form of improvidence described by the French proverb as 'eating our wheat as grass.'

Bradford, a pioneer town as regards its admirable arrangements for the scientific feeding of the necessitous children at school, is one of the principal offenders in the sin of the half time system.

Miss Adler, a member of the Education Committee of the L.C.C. and Hon. Sec. of the Committee on Wage-earning Children, recently made personal enquiries at two manufacturing centres in the north of England, one having over 5,000 half timers, the other 800. She said the appearance of the children was sickly and pallid owing to the fact that the processes of cotton and wool spinning have to be carried on in a humid and warm temperature. All authorities whom Miss Adler interviewed stated that the children lost 50 per cent. of their education; and she added that "teachers consider their whole moral tone is lowered, and that there is a visible deterioration which is most heart-breaking."*

Is there any plea that can be urged for the continuation of such a system? Yes, there is. This is what the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster (late Secretary of State for War), writes by way of opposing Socialist reform: "The great cotton industry of Lancashire, the wool and worsted industry of Yorkshire, and many other industries in a less degree, are at the present time dependent on Child Labor"; and he gives, as a plea for its justification and absolute necessity—exactly as Nassau Senior did three-quarters of a century ago: "The minute margins of profit and loss" owing to competition; adding: "The fierce competition of the world, especially in those countries in which Child Labor and long hours are prevalent, has to be met." † No statement could be more condemnatory of our present social system based on competition.

Inspectors, managers, teachers, members of education committees are agreed as to the evils resulting from children working during the years that they attend school. Nor do the parents' necessities compel such child-slavery. All who have studied this question testify that, as a rule, it is the children of men earning good wages who are sent to the mills as early as the law allows, in order to gain a mere pittance of 2s. 6d. for twenty-six or twenty-seven hours work a week. One penny an hour is the usual rate of wages for a half time child working at the textile trade in Yorkshire. It is not the very poorest parents who are the greatest exploiters of their children. It is to be noted that all these children and their work come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act; and that, accordingly, their lives for the most part are deliberately regulated and controlled by the State.

* *Child Workers and Wage Earners*, by Miss Adler.

† *English Socialism of To-day*, by the Right Hon. H. O. Arnold-Foster, pp. 99, 100.

Children not under the Factory and Workshops Act.

* As regards children whose work does not come under the jurisdiction of the Factory and Workshops Act, and therefore escapes Government inspection, they may be classed as those employed (1) in shops, or by shopkeepers as errand boys and girls, and carriers; (2) in domestic work; (3) in street trading; (4) in agriculture; and (5) in various miscellaneous industrial employments at home or abroad.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1903 came to the conclusion that there were in England alone (apart from the half timers) 200,000 children thus employed as wage earners. It can easily be seen how such uninspected Child Labor may be exploited, and how extremely difficult, and, in many cases, how impossible it is to supervise and prevent its abuse.*

In London the half time system has been abolished, but there is very little else upon which the Metropolis can be congratulated as regards Child Labor.

Child Labor in Domestic Work.

The abuse of Child Labor in ordinary domestic work is the most difficult of all to control. Miss Bannatyne, a school manager and Acting Warden of the Women's Settlement at Southwark, stated before the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1903 that children are often absent from school one or two days a week on account of domestic employment. The casual labor is bad for the boys' character, and the long hours unfit them for school work. The girls suffer from drudgery in their own homes, which she saw no way of preventing. But if the half days could be prevented and the attendance at school more regularly enforced, she believed that whilst much Child Labor would be prevented it would not affect the family income to any appreciable extent. Thus, a stricter attendance must be enforced at school.

"Ay! There's the rub." If regular attendance at school were really enforced, the parents, knowing the law could not be evaded, would accept the situation. It would be an enormous gain all round; first, to the children, who are now overworked, and whose education is spoilt by irregular attendance; secondly, to the managers and teachers, many of whom are unceasingly worried over this question; and thirdly, it would be a great saving of expense, as a large staff of attendance officers has to be kept under our present system to compel the parents to send their children regularly to school.

Even in the special schools for mentally defective children in Bermondsey, the writer has found cases of girl children who are such pitiful little drudges at home that the officer of the N.S.P.C.C. has had to be sent to "warn" the parents, with the result that the children are worked less hard, but only, it is feared, when closely super-

* The Government has appointed an Inter-Departmental Committee to enquire into the working and result of the half time system. The Trades Union Congress at Nottingham in September, 1908, passed a resolution urging its abolition.

vized by the officer. Another little girl in a special school gets 1d. a week and her tea for going after school to help a neighbor in domestic work and nurse the baby (This penny she deposits regularly every week with the teacher for her own boot fund).

Of play, so absolutely essential to the proper physical and mental development of childhood, many of these children have next to none. They are old before their time and incapable of joy, and are weighed down by the responsibility of life.

Child Wage-Earners in London and the Provinces.

Miss Adler gave evidence before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in March, 1901.* In the summary of evidence it is stated that: "For the purposes of the present enquiry Miss Adler had caused about 4,000 London cases and 3,000 cases in the provinces to be investigated. Those employed are about 10 per cent. of the total number of children. Miss Adler put in very voluminous tables, from which it appeared that out of 107 London schools containing 42,097 children, 3,897 were employed—633 in domestic work, 136 as barbers, 723 errand boys or girls, 1,227 in shops, 341 milk carriers, 386 street hawkers, 451 in other miscellaneous employments. Out of 3,527 cases in which the hours were clearly specified, 2,652 worked less than thirty hours a week, fifty-three worked over fifty hours in addition to school. The figures show that it is not the most needy parents who employ the children excessively. Some cases are very extreme; as, for instance, a girl employed sixty hours a week at trouser-making. Saturday work is often excessive. In the provinces returns were collected from some schools in twelve towns, showing out of 67,865 children that 3,049 were employed. The nature of employment and hours worked were much the same as in London, and many cases of excessive hours were to be found. In London the street traders were about one-tenth of those employed. In the provincial towns they amounted to nearly one-fourth of the total employed. Of the employments, domestic work, that is, going in to clean knives and boots, is the least harmful. Street selling is always bad."

Wage-Earning Children in Hoxton and Bermondsey.

In March (1908) the writer accompanied Miss Adler in her inspection of wage-earning children at a boys' school in Hoxton and at a girls' school in Bermondsey. They found 15 per cent. of the boys in the Hoxton school were wage earners. They were employed as errand boys to take out bottles, parcels and papers; at a tea shop, at a coal shop, at an upholsterer's, at a barber's. As street sellers they sold laces, salt, pot-herbs, vegetables, blacking. One "picked over green stuff" for a greengrocer; one ran errands for a maker of doll's arms; one looked after a crippled boy; one helped at a wheel and mussel stall; one made capsules, one cardboard boxes, one sticks; whilst one covered stalls.

* Minutes of Evidence taken before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Employment of School Children in 1901, pp viii. and 70-73.

At the girls' school in Bermondsey some ran errands, some minded neighbor's babies, some sold vegetables in the streets, or helped at coster stalls, some played with neighbors' children, some sold alone in the streets, which is illegal. The boys' occupations are the most varied and interesting. Those of the girls' are often very heavy, tiring and dreary. "Bright girls," Miss Clementina Black truly says, "are put to work far too soon, and they become apathetic, listless women at thirty-five who might be fifty."

Mrs. Hogg's Report.

Nine years have passed since the evils of Child Labor were brought officially to the notice of our rulers, and that by a woman. Mrs. F. G. Hogg (Secretary of the Education Committee of the Women's Industrial Council), made a special study of the subject and organized a deputation to Sir John Gorst, then Vice-President of Committee on Education, respecting it. A Parliamentary enquiry was instituted, and the facts brought to light were so terrible and unexpected that Sir John Gorst in the House of Commons called it "a perfectly sickening document which threw a lurid light upon the social conditions of a large part of the population." One manager stated: "Without exaggeration I can truthfully assert that there are to-day in our National and Board schools thousands of little white slaves."

This Parliamentary report stated that 144,000 boys and 34,000 girls worked regularly for money out of school hours, but nothing was said of casual or seasonal work. Of the children regularly at work, 131 were under six years of age, 1,120 between six and seven, 4,211 between seven and eight, 11,027 between eight and nine, and 22,131 between nine and ten. One little boy peeled onions twenty hours a week for 8d. a week. A milk boy received 2s. a week for twenty-eight hours labor a week—less than 1d. an hour. One boy received 6d. for twenty hours work a week. A little boy engaged in pea-picking received 3d. a week. A little girl under six carried milk for thirty-five hours a week for her parents, and earned no wages. Another under six was a nurse girl who worked for twenty-nine hours a week for 2d. and her food. A boy of ten worked seventy-two hours a week for a farmer for 3s. A newspaper boy worked 100 hours a week, including Sundays (over fourteen hours a day), and received 3s. 6d. a week and his meals. One girl of twelve was employed before, between and after school for six and a half hours a day for 3d. a week. Another girl of twelve got 9d. a week and her food for carrying out parcels for six and a half hours daily during the intervals when she was not at school. A greengrocer's boy of twelve started for the London market every day at 2.30 a.m. He returned at 9.30 a.m. and then went to school!

One would have thought that after such revelations as these were officially made known to Parliament it would have bestirred itself to remedy the evil. But the usual delays occurred.

The Inter-Departmental Committee on the Employment of School Children, formed in 1901, represented three of the great

Departments of State—the Home Office, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trade. As a result of this, in 1902, a Bill to deal with Child Employment was introduced, but, as Sir John Gorst says,* “was not proceeded with, the time of Parliaments being occupied with subjects more interesting to the governing classes. It was introduced again in 1903, and, by great good luck, became law on January 1st, 1904; but in 1906, in most places, in spite of the Act of January 1st, 1904, the deliverance of over-worked children is still a long way off. The local authorities belong, to a very great extent, to the governing class, and are not much under the influence of working-class opinion.”

The Need for a Socialist Party.

Sir John Gorst winds up his chapter on “Overworked Children” thus: “The story of this attempt at reform illustrates the impotence which threatens our social system, and the incapacity of the governing classes to carry out the simplest measure of social reform, even one which does not affect their interests, and on the necessity for which they themselves are agreed. It seems to justify the people in revolting against the parties into which the governing classes have divided themselves, in forming independent labor parties and in endeavouring to take the regulation of Society into their own hands. The present holders of power, according to the view of the rising party of the people, have had their opportunity; they have failed to avail themselves of it, and the carrying out of necessary reforms must now pass into other hands.” Moreover, as Sir John Gorst adds: “Had the counsels of women been more sought after and attended to, many of the lamentable blunders that men have made in the treatment of children would have been avoided.”

Bye-Laws to be Framed by Local Bodies under Act of 1903.

After all these delays, the Employment of Children Act of 1903 conferred powers on the London County Council and the councils of other counties and boroughs to frame bye-laws to regulate Child Labor. Mrs. Alden, M.D., states:† “The Act contains regulations which, if they were enforced, would have great value. The failure to enforce the regulations is due largely to the laxity of local authorities, who have neglected to frame bye-laws, and who have failed in some cases to put into operation even the statutory provision of the Act.”

Bye-laws were framed by the London County Council in 1905, but only now, in 1908, are they at length to be enforced. The employment of children under eleven is forbidden. If attending school, children are only to be employed in industrial work at home between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on other days between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, and between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., or on Sundays. Three and a half hours are to be the maximum of work if attending school, and eight hours a day when the school is not open. If attending

* *The Children of the Nation*, by Sir John Gorst.

† *Child Life and Labor*, by Mrs. Alden, M.D., p. 110.

school they are not to be employed outside the home between 8 a.m. and 5 p.m., or before 6 a.m. or after 8.30 p.m. Street trading is regulated for all children under sixteen. Girls under that age are to trade only when accompanied by a parent or guardian. Boys under sixteen are to wear on the right arm a badge provided by the Council. On Sundays children are not to be employed for more than three hours and between the hours of 7 a.m. and 1 p.m.

But the enforcement needs more officers than are at present employed. A school attendance officer recently told the writer that in addition to his ordinary visiting (he has 3,200 children to look after), owing to these bye-laws, he has to be out in the streets until midnight on Saturdays in order to prevent children being employed beyond the legal hour—8 p.m. in the winter and 9 p.m. in the summer months.

In a return to the House of Commons dated June 25th, 1907, it is stated only sixty-six local authorities in England and Wales (out of more than 300), twenty-six in Scotland and five in Ireland had framed bye-laws.

The Prevention of Cruelty Acts.

The Act of 1894, among other useful provisions for the protection of children, made their employment in theatres or other places of entertainment conditional on the obtaining of a magistrate's licence, to be granted only when the magistrate is satisfied that the child is physically fit for the work and that proper provision has been made for its health and kind treatment. This Act has been amended and extended in the Act of 1904 and the Children's Act, 1908. The dangerous training of acrobats is subject to regulation.

The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906-7.

This Act authorizes the levying of a halfpenny rate, if necessary, for the feeding of necessitous children, by any county, borough, or urban district council in England and Wales which is an education authority under the Education Acts of 1902-3. The Act, being permissive, has, in London, lamentably missed fire so far. Although members of the London County Council were moved to tears in the autumn of 1907 by Mr. Crooks' eloquent speech on behalf of the feeding of poor children, a majority of them voted against the levying of the halfpenny rate to buy food, for fear of placing additional burdens on the ratepayers. The London County Council, so far as concerns the feeding of necessitous children, contents itself with co-operating with private agencies and charitable societies, which are, in many cases, far from satisfactory. In Bermondsey the children have often to be given a penny by the head teacher and sent to the cook shops, as no provision can be made for them at the schools. The food provided by the caterers is often most unsuitable for children, especially for those who have delicate stomachs. Even if parents are able to provide food for their children in the slum districts, it is often of the most unwholesome kind, such as fried fish (bought cold), eels, meat pies, coarse parts of meat (especially pork), bloaters, cheap jam

and bread, vinegar and pickles, whilst tea is a universal drink. (The tea being more of the nature of a "stew" can hardly be called tea at all.) Milk porridge, bread and milk, and milk puddings are almost unheard of, whilst macaroni is unknown. The children's taste is vitiated by the strong flavored viands which they are given; and at first it is often difficult to get them to eat food suitable for their age and delicacy. Children fed at home are not infrequently sick over their desks in school. It is, of course, far easier for many parents to buy cooked food than to cook in their own poor rooms, with an impossible firegrate, no oven, no water supply, no sink, and no dustbin for vegetable refuse. To cater properly for the children, a system such as that prevailing in Bradford must be organized. In the matter of feeding the children England expects every city to do its duty at least as well as Bradford.

In the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904, Dr. Eichholz, one of H.M. Inspectors of Schools, estimated the number of underfed children in London at 122,000, or 16 per cent. of the whole.

Up and down the United Kingdom there are at least as many children at school hungry as in London. Dr. W. L. Mackenzie, Medical Member of the Local Government Board for Scotland, said that in the slums of Edinburgh a large proportion of children were half starved. Dr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross, stated in 1904 that in the South of Ireland it was commonly the case that children came to school underfed.

Medical Inspection under Section 13 of Act of 1906-7.

This Act provides for the medical inspection of all school children. But though medical inspection is of the utmost importance, it is of little use without medical treatment and proper feeding. It is believed that half the children in the mentally defective schools are thus defective, or backward, owing to improper feeding or semi-starvation. Their brains are anæmic, their eyes are often sore, their ears deaf, their teeth ache, their heads and bodies are verminous. Such children, when grown up, swell the ranks of the unemployed and unfit, and will continue to do so until the scientific feeding of school children is undertaken.

There is no more instructive reading respecting the physique of children than the *Report by Dr. W. Leslie Mackenzie and Captain A. Foster on a Collection of Statistics as to Physical Condition of Children attending the Public Schools of the School Board of Glasgow*, which was issued by the Scotch Education Department.

This Report gives the results of the most extensive investigation ever undertaken in Great Britain as regards the physique of the children. The heights and weights of children in seventy-three schools in Glasgow were dealt with. Returns were obtained for 72,857 children in seventy-three schools, which were divided into four social groups, representing, among other things, the distribution of one, two and three or more roomed homes.

At each age from five to eighteen the weight of the children was found to be uniformly below the standard of the average of the

population as ascertained by the Anthropometrical Committee of the British Association. Up to the age of fourteen the children were distinctly below the standard.

Boys and girls in Group A, the poorest districts, fell very much below the anthropometric standard. At the age of ten the boys' average weight was 10·8 pounds below the standard, and the average height 2·9 inches below. At thirteen the average weight was 11·1 pounds below the standard, the average height 3·1 inches below. The facts were practically parallel with regard to the girls.

As surely as boys or girls came from Group A, the one-roomed group, the children were always on an average distinctly smaller and lighter than the children from the two-roomed group; and those from the two-roomed group were smaller and lighter than children from the three-roomed group; and those from the three-roomed group than the children from the four-roomed group. The Report says: "The numbers examined are so large, and the results are so uniform, that only one conclusion is possible, viz., that the poorest child suffers most in nutrition and growth. It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11·7 pounds lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses and 4·7 inches smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are, on an average, 14 pounds lighter and 5·3 inches shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses."

Now, many of these undersized children are employed as wage-earning children. It is fair to assume that if as comprehensive a report were made of children in London as in Glasgow, the results would be equally startling.

Pernicious Effects of Street Trading.

As regards street trading, all the witnesses before the Inter-Departmental Committee and all inspectors, managers, members of education committees, and clergymen, are agreed that its influence on children is entirely pernicious. Mr. Chilton Thomas, who was for ten years Hon. Manager of Father Berry's Roman Catholic Homes at Liverpool, stated: "The more we have to do with street trading, the more baneful we find it. Would that it could be abolished. I do think the street trader is such a social leper that he ought to be kept quite apart from the errand boy who has some sort of trade for his after life." In 1892, Mr. Chilton Thomas said they had a home for these street trading boys. He had 3,000 of them pass through his hands; but they had to shut up the home, as they found it did not do the boys a bit of good without regulations by the City Council (now in force in a measure), and without the care of parents or guardians. He also said the hours' labor on Saturday were terrible.

As regards street trading for girls, Miss Florence Melly, formerly a member of the Liverpool School Board, stated: "Our day industrial evidence would go to this, that no girl remains good after fourteen years of age who has had street trading. 'Chip girls' and 'step girls' should be included, as they go from house to house and come in contact with anyone who opens the door."

Mr. Alderman Watts, Chairman of the Sub-Committee of the Watch Committee of Liverpool, said: "To have a pleasant looking child in the streets is flying in the face of the greatest possible danger. I have a strong opinion that if girls are kept out of the way of temptation during the earlier period of their lives, they will grow up respectable women; but if the temptation is thrown in their way, as it must be in the street, the danger is very great indeed. Liverpool a few years ago was, perhaps, one of the worst cities in this respect—as bad as London, in fact—but you will not find it here now. The death rate," Alderman Watts continued, "amongst children is abnormal and awful. Children cannot be exposed in the streets or elsewhere without very serious danger to their lives. Nine out of ten of little girls are of delicate frame."

Mr. Alderman Rawson, Chairman of the Watch Committee of Manchester City Council, said: "We are quite certain that the trading by girls in the streets leads to loose life. We have illustrations to that effect of a very painful character. The selling of newspapers and matches by girls in the streets is often a mere cloak for solicitation. There are girls that come from homes so bad, from parents so dissolute, that we believe the selling is simply a pretence, and that parents send them out knowing it is a pretence."

So much for the efficacy of parental control, guidance, and care under certain conditions of life. All the Councils of Liverpool, Nottingham, Birmingham, and Manchester were in favor of the total prohibition of street trading for girls.

But why only for girls? Sir Lambert Ormsby, President of the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin, bore witness before the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 to the miserable physique of the little street traders in Dublin and the frequent cases of pneumonia among them in the children's hospital, the death rate being quite abnormal.* And there is a consensus of opinion that it is from street trading boys that spring most of the unemployed, the casuals, the loafers, the gamblers, and many others who form the most difficult problems of modern society.

As a matter of fact, it is found that child labor and unskilled labor go hand in hand. For, in the first place, child labor is itself unskilled labor, and unskilled labor of a kind very attractive to certain employers. It is cheap; fresh supplies are always ready to hand; and, most important of all, it is intelligent unskilled labor, at any rate until the training of the school has lost its effect. Secondly, it leads to a supply of unintelligent unskilled labor. The child who is working cannot be learning, and the child whose mental development is checked is the child who becomes in later years the laborer too stupid to employ except at the lowest wages. Finally, even if he could escape from this dreary fate, he has no desire to do so. The bent has been given to his tastes; he has been taught to regard earnings, and not prospects, as his sole goal in life, and to sacrifice the last for the sake of the first. †

* *Juvenile Wage Earners and their Work*, by Miss Adler, p. 4.

† See *The Town Child*, by Reginald Bray, L.C.C.

As regards the general employment of children, the Head Master of the Anglesea Place Board School of Bristol declared that the evils of employment have shown themselves over and over again in the following ways:—

1. The boys are often late for school, some habitually so.
2. They come to school utterly worn out.
3. There is a grave moral deterioration.
4. Their mental power is diminished. It is very rarely a wage-earning boy does his school work well. The injury done to children is very great.*

In the Michael Faraday School in Walworth, Mr. Marshall Jackman said that, out of 227 wage-earning boys in his school, only 61 were in really good health. Dr. Thomas, the Medical Officer of the L.C.C., examined 2,000 children in schools, and he found that, out of 384 wage-earning boys, 233 showed signs of fatigue, 140 were anæmic, 131 had nerve signs, 63 per cent. showed nerve strain, 64 were suffering from deformities from the carrying of heavy weights, 51 had severe heart signs, 27 had severe heart affection, and 72 per cent. of barbers' boys were anæmic. †

Mrs. Pankhurst, at one time a member of the Manchester School Board and member of the Board of Guardians, stated that wage-earning by children was "demoralizing," and that "it would be distinctly an advantage to the parents in the long run that the children should be withdrawn from these employments. The more intelligent artisan does not believe in sending out his children to work for wages. . . . It competes with adult labor."

Child Labor in Agriculture.

In the agricultural districts the attendance at school is constantly evaded. It frequently happens that the local magistrates and county councillors are landlords or farmers, who must have cheap labor, even at the expense of the children's well-being. The children are employed in milking and tending cattle, in picking up stones off the land, in weeding, in picking strawberries (often at 3 a.m. in the season in all weathers), in hop picking, and in minding and leading horses. The work is extremely fatiguing. There is still in this twentieth century a wearing struggle between the educationist and the child exploiters, although it is not as bad as it used to be. In certain country districts 75 per cent. of attendances—instead of 95 per cent.—is still considered high.

The Childrens' Act of 1908.

But there are signs everywhere now of the awakening of the public conscience to the infamy of Child Labor. Although this Act does not deal directly with the labor question, there are, under it, to be established Juvenile Courts, in which all charges concerning the welfare of children will be heard, including applications for committal to industrial schools and reformatories.

* Report of Inter-Departmental Committee, Appendix No. 32.

† Barbers' shops in London are now, by bye-law, barred to boy workers.

The Immediate Reforms to Work for.

The evils disclosed are grave. Leaving aside for the moment all schemes of social reconstruction, what immediately practicable reforms will bring prompt, if only partial, remedies? There is a vast amount to be done by mere administration of the existing law. It may safely be said that no local authority yet makes anything like full use of its powers under the Education Acts, the Shop Hours Acts, the Children's Act, etc. An enormous amount of good would result if members of education committees and of town or county councils could be induced merely to put the existing laws fully in operation. But amendments of the law are urgently required. In agreement with practically all those who have studied the question, we recommend:—

1. That for children under five for whom adequate home care is not available, there should be a sufficient provision of small day nurseries, under the administration of the local health authority, where these infants can remain all day, either gratuitously or at fees representing only the cost of the food supplied.
2. That attendance at school of all children between five and fourteen be rigorously enforced (the poorest parents being adequately assisted to enable them to let their children attend), an adequate supply of suitable efficient schools being everywhere provided under due public control, including special schools for sub-normal children of various kinds, "open-air" schools and vacation schools.
3. That children in attendance at school be not permitted to be employed for hire under any pretence whatever.
4. That in order to ensure the welfare of the coming generation of citizens the responsibility for the care and maintenance of children of school age, being destitute, be transferred from the Poor Law to the local education authorities.
5. That it be made obligatory upon the local education authorities to organize throughout the whole year a system of providing, at the expense of the rates and under direct public control, suitable meals of a simple kind for all children found at school in an underfed condition; such meals to be provided under skilled and salaried supervision with the amenities of civilization.
6. That it should be made obligatory for every public elementary school to have attached to it a "Children's Care Committee" of members whose duty it should be to take cognizance of every child attending school in a neglected or necessitous condition; to visit his home and discover what is amiss; to afford such friendly help as may be required; and to bring to light any cases of ill-treatment which call for criminal prosecution.

7. That in all cases in which a child is provided for by what is now Poor Law relief, reports should be obtained upon its adequacy and the character of the home; and that where it is not considered expedient to grant to the parent enough for the full maintenance of the child, or where the child is found, in fact, to be suffering from lack of nourishment or lack of care, the child be sent to a day industrial school, where it will receive meals and care during the whole day.
8. That where it is found that the parents are of such vicious life and character as to be wholly unfit to have the care of children, the guilty parents should be criminally prosecuted for their neglect, and the children sent to residential schools, so as to secure their proper upbringing.
9. That the minimum age at which children may leave school to be employed in industry at all be raised at once to fourteen, and as soon as possible to fifteen (as in Switzerland).
10. That in view of the need of securing effective technical and domestic training for all boys and girls, the "half time" provisions of the Factory and Workshops Acts be extended for all industries up to the age of eighteen, no boy or girl under eighteen being allowed to be employed in industry for more than thirty hours per week.
11. That provision be made for the compulsory attendance of boys and girls between fourteen and eighteen at technical institutes for a combined course of physical training, technical education and continuation classes, absorbing the thirty hours per week which they will no longer give to their employers.

LIST OF BOOKS, Etc., RECOMMENDED.

- ADLER, MISS NETTIE.—Child Workers and Wage Earners. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, June 12, 1908. Bell. 6d.
- ALDEN, MARGARET, M D.—Child Life and Labor. Headley Bros.; 1908. 1s n
- BRAY, REGINALD.—The Town Child. Unwin; 1907. 7s 6d. n
- GORST, SIR J. E.—The Children of the Nation: how their health and vigor should be promoted by the State. Methuen, 1906. 7s 6d. n.
- SMITH, MISS CONSTANCE.—The Employment of Children in the United Kingdom. Twentieth Century Press, 1908. 6d.
- Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children, held in London, July 1902. King. 2s. 6d. n.
- Employment of School Children. Report of Interdep Committee. Cd. 849, 1902. 3d.
- Street Trading. Report of Interdepartmental Committee. Cd. 1144, 1902. 1s. 8d.
- Royal Commission on Physical Training, Scotland. Vol. I. Cd. 1507, 1903. 1s 1d.
- Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Vol. I., Report. Cd. 2175, 1904. 1s 2d.

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II.—Applications of Socialism to Particular Problems.

TRACTS.—140. Child Labor under Capitalism. By Mrs. HYLTON DALE. 136. The Village and the Landlord. By EDWARD CARPENTER. 135. Payers and Old Age Pensions. By SIDNEY WEBB. 131. The Decline in the Birth-Rate. By SIDNEY WEBB. 130. Home Work and Sweating. By Miss B. L. HUTCHINS. 123. The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage. 126. The Abolition of Poor Law Guardians. 122. Municipal Milk and Public Health. By Dr F. LAWSON DODD. 120. "After Bread, Education." 125. Municipalization by Provinces. 119. Public Control of Electrical Power and Transit. 123. The Revival of Agriculture. 118. The Secret of Rural Depopulation. 115. State Aid to Agriculture: an Example. 112. Life in the Laundry. 98. State Railways for Ireland. 124. State Control of Trusts. 86. Municipal Drink Traffic. 85. Liquor Licensing at Home and Abroad. 84. Economics of Direct Employment. 83. State Arbitration and the Living Wage. 48. Eight Hours by Law. 23. Case for an Eight Hours Bill. **LEAFLET.**—104. How Trade Unions benefit Workmen.

III.—Local Government Powers: How to use them.

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PARCH. JOHN CLIFFORD, M.A., D.D.

[THIS TRACT IS A WELSH TRANSLATION OF TRACT No 139,
AND IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE SETS.]

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· I'W GAEL ODDIWRTH Y FABIAN SOCIETY, 3 CLEMENT'S INN, W.C.
JANUARY, 1909.

the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether, and what is left of the supply is valueless." We also found that, by the Law of Indifference, "the exchange value of the least useful part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest." What will be the result of the action of these laws upon the human commodity we have called a proletarian? The commodity he deals in is one over the supply of which he himself has practically no control. True, at first there is only one of him in our colony, but others pour in, population increases by leaps and bounds, soon there are twenty, one hundred, one thousand, five thousand, and men continue so to multiply that their exchange value falls slowly and surely until it disappears altogether. This is the condition of our English laborers to-day: they are no longer even dirt cheap; they are valueless. The proof of this is the existence of the unemployed, who can be had for nothing.

You will immediately say "no labor can be had for nothing." You will very likely add that you "wish it could," and instance the high wages given to "hands" and "servants." The answer is gloriously simple. Suppose horses multiplied in England in such quantities that they were to be had for the asking, like kettens con- sidered to the bucket. You would still have to feed your horse—him well if you used him as a smart hunter—feed him and him wretchedly if you used him only as a drudge. But the his keep would not mean that the horse had an exchange. If you got him for nothing in the first instance, if no one ve you anything for him when you had done with him, he worth nothing, in spite of the cost of his keep. That is se of every member of the proletariat who could be re- one of the unemployed to-day. Their wage is not the emselves, for they are worth nothing, it is only their ave to give your footman a better allowance than ewer of wood, it is for the same reason that you our hunter oats and a clean stall instead of chopped

The Capitalist System Guilty.

he economic analysis which convicts private prop- erty from the beginning, and utterly impossible as he problem of the distribution of wealth. All to construct true societies upon it have failed: societies so achieved have been civilizations to centuries of vice and luxury, and eventually uncivilized races. It is sometimes said that he hideous march of civilization from bad to ig side by side with misery. Such a thing wealth is steadily decreasing with the riches are increasing, which is quite of the exchange values produced in this es, by leaps and bounds. But the accu- quently of excessive purchasing power

in the hands of one class, soon satiates that class with socially useful wealth, and sets it offering a price for luxuries. Luxuries are not social wealth, the machinery for producing them is not social wealth, labor skilled only to manufacture them is not socially useful labor—the men, women, and children who make a living by producing them are no more self-supporting than the idle rich for whose amusement they are kept at work. It is the habit of counting as wealth the exchange values involved in these transactions that makes us fancy that the poor are starving in the midst of plenty. They are starving in the midst of plenty of jewels, velvets, laces, equipages, and racehorses; but not in the midst of plenty of food. In the things that are wanted for the welfare of the people England is abjectly poor. Yet private property, by its nature, must still heap the purchasing power upon the few rich and withhold it from the many poor.

Conclusion.

Now Socialism claims to have discovered in this private appropriation of land the source of those unjust privileges which the Socialists seek to abolish. They assert that *public property in land and the means of production is the basic economic condition of Socialism*. How the economic change from private to public ownership can be brought about with the least suffering to individuals does not come within the scope of this paper, but if we have got as far as an intellectual conviction that the source of our social misery is no eternal wellspring of confusion and evil, not the depravity of human nature or the hardness of human hearts, but only an artificial system susceptible of almost infinite modification and readjustment—nay, of practical demolition and rearrangement at the will of man, then a terrible weight will be lifted from the minds of all except those who are clinging to the present state of things from base motives. It is to economic science—once the dismal, now the hopeful—that we are indebted for the discovery that though the evil is enormously worse than we knew, yet it is not eternal—not even very long lived, if we only bestir ourselves make an end of it.

Fabian Tract No. 142.

RENT AND VALUE.

ADAPTED BY MRS. BERNARD SHAW FROM
"THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF SOCIALISM"
IN "FABIAN ESSAYS."

"There is nothing *specific* in Socialism except its economics. . . . There is absolutely nothing peculiar to it except its economic demonstration that private property produces the phenomenon of privately appropriated economic rent and all the consequences of it."—G. B. S.

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RENT AND VALUE.

ADAPTED FROM THE FIRST OF THE "FABIAN ESSAYS IN SOCIALISM"

PART I.—RENT.

SOCIALISTS, protesting against the present state of society, have lately been often met by two somewhat contradictory assertions. We are told that too much stress has been laid upon figures, statistics, and "dry" things such as political economy: that what is wanted is a "great wave of emotion," "genuine religious feeling," a "change of heart"; that these and these only will rectify the cruelties and injustices of the present state of society. And in the same breath it will often be illogically maintained that "you can't change human nature"; and that as human nature has brought about the present state of things it is no use trying to make any radical alteration.

Now I propose to shew that human nature, whether it can be changed or not, did not bring about the present state of things; but that it was rather the present state of things which brought about human nature; that the existing conditions of society are the result of economic laws which work inexorably, indifferent to the weal or woe of the human race, and unconscious of its existence. I also propose to shew that should the human race become conscious of the existence of such economic forces, and capable of directing them, these laws can be made to subserve man's welfare as powerfully as, left to themselves, they have been working for his destruction. A change of heart, if it be in the right direction, seems incidentally desirable; but by itself, and unaccompanied by the requisite knowledge of economic laws, it will be as useless as would be a wireless telegraphy station sending messages into space were there not somewhere a receiver to collect those messages.

The Origin of Rent.

Picture then to yourself a vast green plain of country, virgin to the spade, awaiting the advent of man. Imagine the arrival of the first colonist, the original Adam. He drives his spade into, and sets up his stockade around, the most fertile and favorably situated patch he can find. Metaphorically Adam's little patch is a pool that will yet rise and submerge the whole land. Other Adams come all sure to pre-empt patches as near as may be to the first Adam's, partly because he has chosen the best situation, partly for the pleasure of his society and conversation, and partly because where two men are assembled together there is a two man power that is far more than double one man power. And so the pool rises, and the margin spreads more and more remote from the centre, until the pool becomes a lake, and the lake an inland sea.

But in the course of this inundation that specially fertile region upon which Adam pitched is sooner or later all pre-empted and there is nothing for the newcomer to pre-empt save soil of the second quality. Also, division of labor sets in among Adam's neighbors; and with it, of course, comes the establishment of a market for the exchange of the products of their divided labor. Now it is not well to be far afield from that market because distance from it involves extra cost for roads, beasts of burden, and time consumed in travelling thither and back again. All this will be saved to Adam at the centre of cultivation, and incurred by the newcomer at the margin of cultivation.

The Establishment of Rent.

Let us estimate the annual value of Adam's produce at £1,000 and the annual produce of the newcomer's land on the margin of cultivation at £500, assuming that Adam and the newcomer are equally industrious. Here is a clear advantage of £500 a year to Adam. This £500 is economic rent. For why should not Adam let his patch to the newcomer at a rent of £500 a year? Since the produce will be £1,000, the newcomer will have £500 left for himself; that is, as much as he could obtain by cultivating a patch of his own at the margin; and it is pleasanter to be in the centre of society than on the outskirts of it. The newcomer will himself propose the arrangement, and Adam may retire (not in consequence of any special merit of his own, any extra industry or brain power, but simply because he was fortunate enough to get the best place at the right moment) as an idle landlord with a perpetual pension of £500 of rent. The excess of fertility of Adam's land is thenceforth recognized as rent and paid, as it is to-day, regularly by a worker to a drone.

The Origin of the County Family.

So Adam is retiring from productive industry on £500 a year; and his neighbors are hastening to imitate him as fresh tenants present themselves. The first result is the beginning of a tradition that the oldest families in the country enjoy a superior position to the rest, and that the main advantage of their superior position is that they enjoy incomes without working. Nevertheless, since they still depend upon their tenants' labor for their subsistence, they continue to pay Labor, with a capital L, a certain meed of mouth honor; and the resultant association of prosperity with idleness, and praise with industry, practically destroys morality by setting up that incompatibility between conduct and principle which is the secret of the ingrained cynicism of our own time.

According to our hypothesis, the area of cultivation has now spread into the wilderness so far that at its margin the return for a man's labor for a year is only £500. But it will not stop there; it will at last encroach upon every acre of cultivable land, rising to the snow line on the mountains and falling to the coast of the actual salt water sea, but always reaching the barrenest places last of all, because the cultivators will not break bad land when better is to be

had. But suppose that now, at last, the uttermost belt of free land is reached, and that upon it the yield to a man's year's labor is only £100. Clearly now the rent of Adam's primeval patch has risen to £900, since that is the excess of its produce over what is by this time all that is to be had rent free.

Dual Ownership.

Adam has yielded up his land for £500 a year to a tenant. It is this tenant accordingly who now lets Adam's patch for £900 a year to the newcomer, who of course loses nothing by the bargain, since it leaves him the £100 a year, with which he must be content any way. It has, in fact, come to this, that the private property in Adam's land is divided between three men, the first doing none of the work and getting half the produce; the second doing none of the work and getting two-fifths of the produce; and the third doing all the work and getting only one-tenth of the produce. Here is private property in full swing, produced (let us emphasize the fact) not in the least by "human nature," but by the natural working of economic laws of which the settlers were unconscious. Probably if the first colonists when they were still on their original patches had been asked "would you tolerate a state of things in which there should be not only loafers, but in which the loafers should be the richest people in the country," they would have repudiated the idea with profound and genuine indignation.*

All this, however, is a mere trifle compared with the sequel. When the total cultivable area has reached its confines; when there is nothing but a strip of sand round the coast between the furrow and the wave; when the very waves themselves are cultivated by fisherfolk; when the pastures and timber forests have touched the snow line; when, in short, the land is all private property, there appears a man in a strange plight: one who wanders from snow line to sea coast in search of land, and finds none that is not the property of someone else. On the roads he is a vagrant: off them he is a trespasser: he is the first proletarian.

Rent of Ability.

Now it may be that this second Adam, the first father of the great proletariat, has one of those scarce brains which are not the least of nature's gifts. If the fertile field yields rent, why not the fertile brain? Here is the first Adam's patch still yielding its £1,000 to the labor of the tenant who, as we have seen, has to pay

* The reader will observe that, to avoid complications, no mention has been made of capital as such. The monopoly of land produces the monopoly of capital. All capital begins as spare money, no matter what it may finally be turned into: mines, railways, canals, houses. In the first instance the possession of capital always means that some individual has received more rent than he desires or chooses to spend. Colloquially, one property with a farm on it is said to be land yielding rent; whilst another, with a railway on it, is called capital yielding interest. But economically there is no distinction between them when they once become sources of revenue. Shareholder and landlord live alike on the produce extracted from their property by the labor of the proletariat.

£900 away in rent. How if the proletarian were boldly to bid £1,000 a year to that man for that property and contrive—invent—anticipate a new want—turn the land to some hitherto undreamed of use—wrest £1,500 a year from the soil and site that only yielded £1,000 before? If he can do this, he can pay the full £1,000 rent, and have an income of £500 left for himself. This is his profit—the rent of his ability—the excess of its produce over that which it would yield to ordinary stupidity.

Origin of the Proletariat.

But in due replenishment of the earth there follows upon the footsteps of this first proletarian another who is no cleverer than other men, and can do as much, but not more, than they. For him there is no rent of ability. What is to be his fate? It is certain that by this time not only will the new devices of the renter of ability have been copied by people incapable of inventing them, but division of labor, the use of tools and money, and the economies of civilization will have greatly increased man's power of extracting wealth from nature. So that it may well be that the produce of land on the margin of cultivation, which, as we have seen, fixes the produce left to the cultivators throughout the whole area, may rise considerably.

Scarcity Value.

This rise has nothing to do with the margin of cultivation. It is not the difference between the best and worst land. It is not, to put it technically, "economic rent." It is a payment for the privilege of using land at all—for access to that which is now a close monopoly; and its amount is regulated, not by what the purchaser could do for himself on land of his own at the margin, but simply by the landowner's eagerness to be idle on the one hand, and the proletarian's need of subsistence on the other. In current economic terms the price is regulated by supply and demand. As the demand for land intensifies by the advent of fresh proletarians, the price goes up and the bargains are made more stringent. Sooner or later the price of tenant right will rise so high that the actual cultivator will get no more of the produce than suffices him for subsistence. At that point there is an end of sub-letting tenant rights. The land's absorption of the proletarians as tenants paying more than the economic rent stops.

Advent of the Proletarian.

And now what is the next proletarian to do? For all his fore-runners we have found a way of escape; for him there seems none, for where is his subsistence to come from, if he cannot get at the land? Food he must have, and clothing; and both promptly. There is food in the market, and clothing also; but not for nothing. Hard money must be paid for them, and money can only be procured by selling commodities. This presents no difficulty to the cultivators of the land, who can raise commodities by their labor; but the proletarian, being landless, has neither commodities nor the

means of producing them. Sell something he must: yet he has nothing to sell—*except himself*.

The first "Hand": "Laborer": "Mechanic":
"Servant": "Wage-Slave."

The idea seems a desperate one; but it proves quite easy to carry out. The tenant cultivators of the land have not strength enough or time enough to exhaust the productive capacity of their holdings. If they could buy men in the market for less than the sum that these men's labor would add to the produce, then their purchase would be sheer gain. Never in the history of buying and selling was there so splendid a bargain for buyers as this. Accordingly the proletarian no sooner offers himself for sale in "a new country" than he finds a rush of bidders for him, each striving to get the better of the others by offering to give him more and more of the produce of his labor, and to content themselves with less and less of the surplus. But even the highest bidder must have some surplus or he will not buy. The proletarian, in accepting the highest bid, sells himself openly into bondage. He is not the first man who has done so; for it is evident that his forerunners, the purchasers of tenant right, had been enslaved by the proprietors who lived on the rents paid by them. But now all the disguise falls off: the proletarian renounces not only the fruit of his labor, but also the right to think for himself and to direct his industry as he pleases. The economic change is merely formal: the moral change is enormous. We shall see presently what happens in "an old country" when the rush of buyers of labor becomes a rush of sellers.

PART II.—VALUE.

It is evident that in our imaginary colony labor power is now in the market on the same footing as any other ware exposed for sale: it can be purchased as men purchase a horse or a steam engine, a bottle of wine or a pair of boots.

Exchange Value of Human Beings.

Since human labor therefore turns out to be a commodity, marketable just as a basket of eggs or a woollen shirt is marketable, if we want to know what is going to happen to our proletarian in a state owned by private individuals, as our colony is owned, we must proceed to find out what fixes the price of commodities in general (since his price will be fixed in the same way); and what causes the series of arrangements between buyers and sellers which have been named "supply and demand," for our proletarian *himself* in a such. To a demand.

Contrast as spare and difficulties soon show themselves in the selling of a house, a railway or a useless thing. It would appear that the selling of a railway or a useless thing to be quite a distinction between the proletarian and landlord have no money value; while the selling of a house, a railway or a useless thing, which are indispensable.

meteoric stone, shot free of charge from the firmament into your back garden, the curator of a museum will give you a considerable sum. A little reflection will show that this depends upon the fact that fresh air is plentiful and meteoric stones scarce.

Scarcity Value.

If by any means the supply of fresh air could be steadily diminished, and the supply of meteoric stones, by celestial cannonade or otherwise, steadily increased, the fresh air would presently acquire an exchange value which would gradually rise; whilst the exchange value of meteoric stones would gradually fall, until at last fresh air would be supplied through a meter and charged for like gas, and meteoric stones would become as unsaleable as ordinary pebbles. The money (or exchange) value, in fact, decreases as the supply increases; or, in other words, as the supply pours in the demand falls off, until finally, if the supply continues to pour in, the demand ceases altogether and what is left of the supply is valueless.

How Exchange Value is Fixed.

But besides this fact of the exchange value of any commodity being dependent upon the amount there is of it in any market at any one time, another equally important fact must be carefully mastered, viz., that the value of our commodity is fixed not by the rarest and most useful part of the stock of it, but by the least costly and least useful. This can be explained quite simply by an illustration. If the stock of umbrellas in the market were all alike and sufficiently large to provide two for each umbrella carrier in the community, then, since a second umbrella is not so necessary as the first, the instinctive course would be to ticket half the umbrellas at, say 15s., and the other half at 8s. 6d. But no man will give 15s. for an article which he can get for 8s. 6d.; and when people came to buy, they would buy up all the 8s. 6d. umbrellas. Each person being thus supplied with an umbrella, the remainder of the stock, though marked 15s., would be in the position of second umbrellas, only worth 8s. 6d. It may very likely occur to the reader that if he was the seller of umbrellas, he would charge 15s. all round and put away half his stock until the number of umbrellas actually and immediately necessary to his fellow townsmen was sold. But a moment's reflection will remind him that there will be other tradesmen in the town who sell umbrellas. In the next street will be a shop where umbrellas can be purchased for 10s. 6d., and near by another where they can be had for 7s. 6d.; so that, granted all the umbrellas are of the same quality, the customers will go to the shop where they are to be had for 7s. 6d., and my reader's 15s. ones will remain on his hands unsold.* The only limit to this "competition" is obviously the actual cost of the manufacture of the umbrella. One more illustration of a different kind. You want to get and sell

* There is indeed another way. The reader might buy up all the umbrellas in the town and arrange that none should be brought in from anywhere else. This is to "corner" the market—but that is another story.

coal. You begin by going to the point where coal is on the surface—where you can shovel it up with ease. But when that supply is exhausted, you must sink a shaft; you must burrow under ground, eviscerate mountains, tunnel beneath the sea, at an enormous cost in machinery and labor. Yet when you have made your greatest effort, another man may still be in possession of a mine near the surface where he gets his coal for half, a quarter, a tithe of the labor you expend upon yours. In spite of this, when you both bring your coal to market and offer your supplies for sale, you cannot say "I have been at great expense to get mine and I will charge 20s. a ton." Your rival is offering his for 15s. a ton, and you must sell at the same price or you will get no customers. Let us suppose that it has cost you 18s. per ton to get your coal, and that it has cost him 5s. per ton to get his, the whole difference between the 5s. and the 18s. is economic rent gained by him, not by superior industry or ability (for it is you who have had these), but by the fact of his privately owned coal mine being in a more advantageous situation than yours. In this manner the exchange value of the least useful and least costly part of the supply fixes the exchange value of all the rest.

The Law of Indifference.—Final Utility (Marginal Utility).

Technically this is called the Law of Indifference. And since the least useful unit of the supply is generally that which is last produced, its utility is called the *final utility* of the commodity.

Total Utility.

The utility of the first and most useful unit is called the *total utility* of the commodity.* The main point to be grasped is, that however useful any commodity may be, its exchange value can be run down to nothing by increasing the supply until there is more of it than is wanted. The excess, being useless and valueless, is to be had for nothing; and nobody will pay anything for a commodity so long as plenty of it is to be had for nothing. This is why air and other indispensable things have no exchange value, whilst scarce gewgaws fetch immense prices.

These, then, are the conditions which confront man as a producer and exchanger. If he produces a useless thing, his labor will be wholly in vain: he will get nothing for it. If he produces a useful thing, the price he will get for it will depend on how much of it there is for sale already. This holds good of the whole mass of manufactured commodities. Those which are scarce, and therefore relatively high in value, tempt men to produce them until the increase of the supply reduces their value to a point at which there is no more profit to be made out of them than out of other commodities. And this process, unless deliberately interfered with, goes on until the price of all commodities is brought down to their cost of production.

* Some economists, transferring from cultivation to utility our old metaphor of the spreading pool, call final utility "marginal" utility.

Cost of Production.

But here is a new question. What does the *cost of production* mean?

We have seen that, owing to the differences in fertility and advantage of situation between one piece of land and another, cost of production varies from district to district, being highest at the margin of cultivation. But we have also seen how the landlord skims off as (economic) rent all the advantage gained by the cultivators of superior sites and soils. Consequently, the addition of the landlord's rent to the expenses of production brings those expenses up even on the best land to the level of those incurred on the worst. Cost of production, then, means cost of production at the margin of cultivation, and is equalized to all producers, since what they may save in labor in favorable situations is counterbalanced by the greater amount of rent they have to pay in those situations. So far from commodities exchanging, or tending to exchange (as some economists allege that they do), according to the labor expended in their production, commodities produced in the most favorable situations, well inside the margin of cultivation, with the minimum of labor, will fetch as high a price as commodities produced at the margin with the maximum of labor. *And all the difference betwixt the two goes to the landlord.* So man's control over the value of commodities consists solely in his power of regulating their supply. Individuals are constantly trying to decrease supply for their own advantage. Gigantic conspiracies have been entered into to control the world's wheat and cotton harvests, in order to bring the value to the highest possible point. Cargoes of East India goods, but have been destroyed by the Dutch as cargoes of fish are now destroyed in the Thames, to maintain prices by limiting supply. Trusts, cartels, combinations, monopolies, and trade agreements—all tend to the same object.

The Vital Point.

Now we have come to the most important part of the part which will explain why we Socialists are stirring ourselves to the private monopoly system—this capitalist system—system—with all our strength and ingenuity. Get letarian. We found that he had come to our land, from the sea to the snow line was occupied the utmost rent of ability had been screwed out of scarcity value had been exploited to the last before impossible for him to produce any of the sale (or exchange) of which men live. But one commodity the sale of which he could eat of himself. We found that men ("laborers" "working men," "servants"—how expressive the market, and traffic in them could be in the same terms as traffic in any other commodity.

Now reflect for a moment upon the law which regulate the exchange of commodities

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BY

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MACHINERY: ITS MASTERS AND ITS SERVANTS.

"It was through machinery," wrote Toynbee in his "Industrial Revolution," "that the population was drawn out of cottages in distant valleys by secluded streams and driven together into factories and cities."

The "Industrial Revolution" was published as far back as 1884, and since then economists and historians have constantly borne witness to the immense and far-reaching results of the introduction of machinery; but society has, as yet, come to no conclusion on the question, how far machinery as a means of stimulating and satisfying the material and moral needs of a progressive community is really valuable. Unfortunately, there is little hope that society will be able to make up its mind on the point; for even its more progressive members, its statesmen and reformers, have, so far, failed to realize the importance of machinery as a factor in what is optimistically called "modern civilization."

Society is becoming to an increasing extent a machine created and machine supported organism. While moralists and politicians are discussing the social welfare, mechanical appliances are continually producing fresh social problems and are offering new remedies.

It is not surprising that the Victorians, astounded by the great revelations of power which machinery held out to them, could see few blemishes in that great force. Nineteenth century optimism and laissez faire, like twentieth century Collectivism, was largely a machine made product. It was an age of machine worship; now we have become more sceptical.

For it is coming to be recognized that great as are the gifts of machinery in endowing man with new liberties, in amplifying his senses and thoughts, they have been, for the greater part, the endowments of the wealthy alone. The man without means is a machineless man, he is a primitive, he can travel on his feet alone, he can hear only with his ears. The railway and the telephone are the monopolies of the more wealthy.

As men increase in wealth, so is their power over nature augmented, while those very persons who spend their lives in minding machinery, who are often killed, maimed, or poisoned by it, are the very ones least able to avail themselves of its services.

But if the introduction of machinery has been the cause of great and unnecessary human suffering, it has also conferred great benefits upon the working classes through facilities for travel, the provision of cheap books, the material means of education, and generally by

their now wider outlook upon life. As all these are largely due to machinery, the modern social reformer, while repudiating the shallow optimism of the Manchester School, knows that he cannot put back the clock and revive the Middle Ages.

In any case we must realize that machinery has come to stay. The very fact that the enormous increase of population in the last 150 years dates definitely from the beginning of the "industrial revolution," and is, for the most part, due to the development of machine production, shows that any return to less copious methods in the manufacture of the prime necessities of life is out of the question.*

Again, foreign trade, the necessity to obtain by exchange commodities which cannot conveniently be produced at home, demands an ever increasing efficiency and economy in competitive international export production; a necessity which further commits us to the use of highly specialized appliances.

But great as have been the changes effected by machinery in the past, its influence upon the social organism is by no means exhausted, and even greater changes may be looked for in the future.

In endowing man with increased powers over the material world, machinery has only hastened his evolution. Its advent was a necessary and inevitable step of human development, for it is, to a great extent, through the reaction of material progress upon man that spiritual progress will be attained.

Already the fast ocean-going freight steamer, the railway train, and industrial machinery in general, have made possible the growth of world markets, the inter-dependence of nations, and the inter-communication of one country with another, with the result that workers all over the world are beginning to recognize the singleness of their aims, and to feel a disinclination for war.

Thus machinery, which, in the hands of irresponsible people, has proved so potent a factor in creating modern industrial life, with its hideous factories, barrack-like buildings called workmen's homes, and dreary congested manufacturing towns, and which has caused the depopulation of the countryside through the urbanizing of the agricultural laborer, must, by demanding ever greater organization, higher capacity and wider education for its successful exploitation, eventually bring about a change of outlook in the minds of the industrial workers.

They will come to see that machinery, to the manipulation of which they devote so large a portion of their lives, far from being their servant, has, in the hands of the capitalist, limited liability company and trust, been used mainly for the enrichment and satisfaction of a small privileged class and for their more complete subjection.

* Before 1751 (though prior to 1801 we have to depend on estimates only) the largest decennial increase was 3 per cent. For each of the next three decennial periods the increase was 6 per cent. Then between 1781 and 1791 it was 9 per cent.; 1791 to 1801, 11 per cent.; 1801 to 1811, 14 per cent.; 1811 to 1821, 28 per cent. After this the normal rate of increase, owing to emigration, fell to 12 per cent.; 1821 to 1831, 15.8 per cent.; 1831 to 1841, 14.4 per cent.; 1841 to 1851, 12.89 per cent.; 1851 to 1861, 11.9 per cent.; 1861 to 1871, 13.21 per cent.; 1871 to 1881, 14.36 per cent.; 1881 to 1891, 11.65 per cent.; 1891 to 1901, 12.17 per cent. (Census Returns for England and Wales.)

I.—MACHINERY UNDER THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION FOR PRIVATE PROFIT.

So greatly indeed has machinery increased the capacity of man to utilize the forces of nature for his own purposes, that were no further advances to be expected in mechanical discovery, our present power and knowledge, if rightly used, would be more than sufficient to guarantee a minimum of decent comfort to every member of the community.

Nevertheless it is unfortunately only too evident that although machinery has given us the means of satisfying all reasonable material needs, and this with an economy of labor which gives us ample time to satisfy and develop our more spiritual desires, although we have the means, the end seems very far from attainment.

To realize not only why this is so, but, further, why, far from being a blessing, machinery very often proves a curse and causes much needless human suffering, it is necessary to examine those conditions which more immediately determine why, when, and where machinery shall be employed, how it shall be used, and to what purposes it is put.

Why Machinery is Produced.

Its existence is, in the last resort, dependent upon the inventor. Few large employers of labor, although they may know very well what they want, have either the time or ability to think out or perfect machines which will meet those wants.

But, like any other commodity, machinery obeys the laws of supply and demand; and since the demand for labor saving machinery comes from the capitalist with a view to cheaper production, its appearance primarily depends upon its prospects as a profit maker.

Thus the tendency is for inventors (who, like any other producers wishing to sell in the open market, must produce saleable goods or starve) to devote their inventive faculties to the evolution of labor saving machinery.

It follows then that, with the exception of such small demands as are made for appliances for scientific and other non-commercial purposes, the inventive brains of the world are in great part confined to the production of such machinery as will expeditiously supplant the dearer and less dependable manual labor.

Though great epoch-making discoveries have, in response to no capitalist demand, from time to time revolutionized the industrial world, by far the greater part of invention has not been done by the actual "discoverers," who are but few and far between, but by the ordinary run of engineers, who, one inventor developing this, another modifying that, improve upon the original conception until a highly efficient machine, the product not of one man, but of many, is evolved.*

* See "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," J. A. Hobson, ch. iv. § 6.

This is the process of evolution of most industrial machinery. The highly specialized machines of to-day are but the result of many inventors working upon the original discoveries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.*

But even the original discoverer, although he may not be directly affected by the unsocial profit seeking demand of the manufacturer, falls a victim to the system of society created by private capitalism. For since in many cases he must obtain the aid of the financier before he can even perfect his invention or produce it as a saleable commodity, it invariably happens that the financier exploits him and his invention for his own individual profit, with no idea of social service. Even when the inventor is in a position to be his own capitalist, living in a world of profit seeking, he does as he sees others doing, and puts his invention on the market in such a way as will ensure his realizing the highest returns. Although the immediate general use of the invention might be of the greatest advantage to society, its sale is regulated by one consideration only, that of making as much money as possible. The method being first to place it on the market in small quantities at a high price, this price is maintained until it has drawn its full toll from the comparatively few members of society who can afford to buy at that price. It is then sold at a lower figure in larger quantities till that wider grade of demand shows signs of being satisfied. Then, if the cost of production will allow of it, the process of lowering the sale price and increasing the output is again repeated; and so on till it is discovered at what price and in what quantities it will return the highest profits to its exploiters.

Thus we see, firstly, that the inventor himself cannot rightly lay claim to be solely responsible for the invention of his machine, and demand the full economic advantage afforded to society by its use, but is himself a social product whose power to invent is due to the fact that others have invented before him, and thus given him something upon which he may improve; secondly, that unless he is one of those few rich inventors who are independent of the capitalist, he cannot, even if he would, extort what has been called his "rent of ability" from the sale of his machine, but is compelled to ask the financier's help to enable him to put it on the market. In which case he often finds that, after paying the cost of production and such profit as the manufacturer, the middleman, and the financier claim as their respective shares of the booty, there is very little left for himself.

In fact many an inventor would be pleased to get anything at all. The intelligent workman in the factory who devises some small improvement in the method of production often sees his invention put into use without himself being a penny the richer.

And, lastly, we see that since it is generally left to the tender mercies of the capitalist to shape the direction in which inventive genius shall be expended, and to determine when and how an

* Even in 1857 cotton spinning machinery was supposed to be a compound of about eight hundred inventions, and the carding machinery a compound of sixty patents. (Hodge's evidence before House of Lords Committee, 1857).

invention shall be given to the world, society as a whole is in a very weak position, and must often wait his pleasure for some invention the immediate adoption and development of which would be of the greatest social service; and that when it is eventually placed upon the market, it is engineered in such a way as to ensure that society shall pay the full price.

This, then, is how the system of production for private profit reacts harmfully upon both the individual inventor and the whole community.

When and Where Machinery is Employed.

While there exist certain industries where work of great accuracy is essential and which consequently are almost entirely dependent upon machinery for their existence; while on the other hand there are many undertakings of a quasi-artistic nature in which the human equation effectively forbids the employment of mechanical methods, such as some metal trades and in pottery and glass-making, where personal skill is still needful, it will be found that the great mass of machinery has been devoted to supplanting routine manual labor.

A most striking proof of the connection between cheap labor and handwork is furnished by the case of a large printing works, visited by an investigator appointed by the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, 1904, where women were employed in folding one of the illustrated weekly papers. Folding machines which required men to tend them were standing idle in the department and were used only when folding had to be done at the times when the Factory Law prohibited the cheaper labor of the women.

"The general economies of machinery," says Mr. J. A. Hobson, "are found to be two. (1) The increased quantity of motive force it can apply to industry. (2) Greater exactitude in the regular application of motive force (a) in time—the exact repetition of the same acts at regulated intervals; (b) in place—exact repetition of the same movements in space. All the advantages imputed to machinery in the economy of human time, the utilization of waste material, the display of concentrated force, or the delicacy of manipulation, are derivable from these two general economies." ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, ch. iv., p. 66.)

Hence, wherever the efficiency of labor depends chiefly upon the output of muscular force in motive power, or precision in the regulation of such force, human labor will, sooner or later, give way to machines.

But there are other factors which determine whether machinery shall supersede hand labor. There is the effect of the Factory Acts. These have had influence in two ways:—

Directly, by hastening the introduction of labor-saving processes in small firms, when it might otherwise be delayed. Here machinery is often only employed when restrictions as to hours of labor began to be felt. The restrictions placed upon child labor by limiting the legal working day in tobacco trades caused the introduction of steam power to turn the spinning wheels. The same result followed from the Act of 1864 in lucifer match factories; and at the present day the most complicated American machinery is used in some lucifer

match works, hand labor merely feeding the machines and placing the match boxes in their outer covers. This machinery has evidently been introduced owing to trade competition, but there is no doubt that besides the effect of the restrictions on child labor, the special rules in force in regard to lucifer match factories have stimulated the introduction of machinery which reduces the danger of phosphorus poisoning to a minimum.

In letterpress printing works and in paper and envelope-making works machinery has been introduced to obviate the inconvenience arising from the restriction on overtime employment.

These are but single instances of a tendency which must be at work wherever employers are precluded from competing with one another by means of long hours and low wages. The only resource then left to them is to compete by means of improved industrial methods; and thus:

Indirectly, by giving competition an upward tendency, the Factory Acts have produced a demand for more and continual improvements in machinery.

Again, machinery is expensive; the return on outlay if great, is slow, and to some extent doubtful. In order that the factory may be run profitably, it is imperative that the demand for its products shall be continuous. Much expensive machinery will only save labor when it is used to assist in producing a large output which can find a steady market.

During the last fifty years a larger and larger proportion of machinery has been devoted to the construction of further machinery for industrial purposes. That is in itself a highly speculative undertaking, and therefore it has become increasingly necessary in the interests of profitable production that sporadic competition should be suppressed and demand regularized and we see in the trust and combine a final effort on the part of the capitalist to achieve that artificial regularity of production, which the expenses and maintenance of enormous machine plants have rendered inevitable.

Finally, then, machinery has come to be devoted almost solely to labor saving; which function it can only perform successfully when both the quality and quantity of its product are steady and constant and not open to sudden, unforeseen fluctuations.

The Conditions under which Machinists Labor.

Machinery, if its use be not carefully regulated and supervised, is often highly dangerous. At present mechanical production in this country results in the sacrifice of no less than over a thousand lives and over ninety thousand reported accidents in each year: 4,221 persons were killed and 116,439 injured in one year (1903) in all industrial accidents. ("Riches and Poverty," Money, p. 124.)

Although agitation has already produced some regulations for the fencing of dangerous machinery, and done something to protect the worker from the ruthlessness of competitive individualism, each year brings forth its long list of casualties and deaths.

In 1908, the total number of accidents occurring in factories and workshops in England and Wales amounted to 122,154, of which 1,042 were fatal. In 1898 the total reported was 57,562, of which

727 were fatal. 727 cases of poisoning are reported for 1908 as against 653 for 1907.

The Board of Trade Report on Railway Accidents during the year 1908 shows that 384 railway servants were killed and 5,140 injured by accidents on the lines. In 1904, ten were killed and 542 injured whilst coupling or uncoupling vehicles. In 1907, one shunter in every thirteen was killed or injured at his work on the railway; and yet the automatic coupling and some improved and uniform brake for goods wagons still remain to be adopted by the railway companies of England. It is because it would put the companies to *too great expense* that nothing is done in the matter.

In the Factory Report for 1908 it is pointed out, in connection with the steady increase in the number of reported accidents that, besides the constant tendency in factories to substitute power machines for manual work, and to increase the speed of machines generally, there is a further tendency noticeable in many factories, which also affects the accident rates. Very many new milling machines have recently been installed to do work that was formerly done by the safer and slower shaping, planing, and slotting machines, and by certain types of lathes. The use of power presses is also increasing. These dangerous machines are now used for much work that was previously done by forging and casting processes and by hand.

The actual number of accidents is far greater than the official returns would lead us to suppose; for many slight accidents are not reported, though such casualties may often develop later into a permanent partial disablement. The published returns of the fatal accidents to railway servants fall far short of the truth, because only those accidents which cause rapid death are reported as fatal.

The Deputy Chief Inspector of Factories for 1908 states that higher speed, increased use of machinery, and better reporting have all had a tendency of recent years to keep up the number of recorded accidents, and to obscure to a certain extent the fact that working conditions as regards machinery are relatively safer now than they were some years ago. The changes in the law introduced by the Notice of Accidents Act, 1906, are not yet properly understood, and, comparatively speaking, very few "dangerous occurrences," *i.e.*, certain accidents without injury to persons, have been notified. A number of accidents due to cuts and scratches, which are of daily occurrence in large works, and so slight as not to interfere with work for more than an hour or so at the time, now become reportable under the Act, because, owing to want of care or proper dressing, inflammation or blood poisoning is often set up, and causes prolonged absence from work at a later period. Several inspectors attribute accidents to recklessness and disobedience on the part of workers, though the lady inspectors do not agree with this opinion as regards laundries. It is no doubt true, however, that serious accidents are sometimes brought about by the workers' own recklessness; but this is contributed to in some industries by the system of piecework now so prevalent.

The "economies" resorted to by the individual employer in his desire to reduce the costs of production to a minimum are respon-

sible for a large proportion of accidents. In the Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1904, a table is given showing that the greatest number of accidents in laundries occur when the operative is most fatigued, in the hour before dinner and in the later period of the afternoon spell. The long hours of arduous work result in carelessness, and so in accidents.

In the same report for 1906 it is pointed out that whereas the total number of accidents affecting men and boys stands in 1906 at the mean figure for five years, the number affecting women and girls has risen by nine above the mean figure. This is due to the growing use of ironing machinery and the increasing employment of young unskilled girls in working and cleaning it. The report of the Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the dangers attendant on building operations, 1907, shows that a large number of accidents are preventable, and are due to the lack of competent foremen and skilled supervision and the putting of unskilled men to skilled work for the sake of cheapness.

Further, in 1908 there were only 200 inspectors to supervise 260,000 factories, an average of 1,300 for each inspector, and it is notorious that when factories have been immune from inspection for a considerable time even the statutory accidents fail to get reported.*

Moreover, apart from casualties, the optimistic conclusions of Professor Marshall as to the beneficial effects of machinery in lessening the strain upon the worker engaged in monotonous occupation † is open to the objection that though machinery undoubtedly diminishes the purely muscular strain, there is evidence to show that it taxes the nervous vigor of the operative quite as severely as the old manual work, for the intensity of modern competition forces the organizers of labor to extract as much out of their employes as they possibly can. Even where there has been a reduction in the hours of the working day, it does not follow that the amount of energy required of the workers is any less. ggg

But many workers still toil for excessive hours. The prosperous artizans who have nominally won the nine hours day form but a small minority. The men who work on the tramcars in our

* According to a return published by the Board of Trade the total number of deaths from industrial accidents reported in 1908 was 4,224, a decrease of 253 on 1907, but an increase of 29 on the mean of the five years 1904-8. A decrease is recorded in every group of occupations except mining and quarrying. The results show the mean annual death-rate from accidents per 10,000 employed in each group of trades, and are given in the following table:—

Seamen	...	...	...	...	...	...	504
Miners	...	...	...	...	...	...	132
Quarrymen	...	...	...	...	...	...	106
Railway Servants	...	...	...	...	...	...	75
Non Textile Factory and Workshop Operatives	...	...	...	...	...	...	22
Textile Factory Operatives	...	...	...	...	...	...	08
For all Occupations enumerated above	...	...	...	...	...	...	63

The industries included in this table employed over six millions of workpeople.

During 1908, 35,000 workmen were killed and 2,000,000 injured in the United States of America. One person in every eight families sustained injuries. The Labor Bureau Report suggests that America is behind Europe in safeguarding the lives of operatives, and declares that one-half to one-third of these casualties could have been avoided by rational factory legislation, inspection, and control.

† "Principles of Economics," pp 314, 322, Professor Marshall. Second edition.

cities are often on duty for at least fourteen hours a day, without including meal times. Nearly all the great railway companies have thousands of men at work for twelve hours at a stretch, with a great deal of Sunday labor. Until the coming into force of the Miners Eight Hours Act, 1908, many even of the coal hewers were underground for more than nine hours a day; and there are other classes of machine workers, such as blastfurnace men and steel workers, whose day's labor normally is at least twelve hours. Even when, as in the case of the engineer, the normal hours of labor have in some places been reduced from sixty to fifty per week, this reduction has been largely neutralized by overtime.

The Effect of Labor Saving Machinery upon Employment.

It is not only with the loss of life and limb and the exhausted bodies of the overtaxed factory hand that the penalty of modern industrialism is paid.

Such existence even as the workman is able to maintain when in employment is always affected by the uncertainty of his occupation, an uncertainty dependent upon external causes, over which he has no control whatever. Subject, perhaps, merely to the whim of his employer, to a change of fashion, to the very advance of those methods of machine power and process which should rightly bring him shorter hours and lighter labor—his living is in the highest degree precarious.

Under the stress of competition, and, perhaps, in some way due to such Acts as the Workmen's Compensation Act, there is a growing tendency among employers to scrutinize very carefully the men whom they take into their service, in order that, in return for the standard rates of wages they have to pay, they may get the most efficient workmen. Thus it becomes increasingly difficult for the worker in any way below the average to obtain employment at all.

Though it is true that the supplanting of hand labor by machinery has not lessened the demand for labor as a whole, yet it is undeniable that the individual worker often suffers under the change. The floating of new inventions results in dislocation of employment and in unemployment, with all the suffering they entail.*

The displacement of the hand weaver by the power loom, the slow but sure death of the chain and nail trade in the "Black Country," the substitution of cheap female labor in the Leicester boot factories to attend power driven machinery in the place of the former male hand work, the rise of the motor driven cab, are but instances of this inevitable tendency.†

* See "Unemployment: a Problem of Industry," by W. H. Beveridge, 1909, p. 111, under "Employment of Declining Trades"; Minority Report, Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 114,7; "Final Report on Industrial and Sanitary Conditions in Prussia," by Steel Maitland and Squire.

† In 1908 as many as 2,925 taxicabs were licensed to ply for hire in the streets of London, an increase of 2,303 upon 1907. In the same twelve months the number of hansom cabs licensed decreased by 1,305; since 1903 the number of hansom cabs declined by 2,752. Besides the actual cabdrivers, the motor car is displacing grooms, harness makers, stablemen, and others.

Except through Trade Union action the worker has derived little or no benefit in wages from improvements in machinery, from cheaper output; the surplus profit produced by greater efficiency of production and transit goes inevitably into the pockets of the capitalist and landlord. Hours of labor grow no shorter, toil becomes no less degrading and onerous, that compensation which at times flows so generously into the coffers of the monopolist, benefits in no way the employee, when the industry in which he is engaged is discontinued through no fault of his own. His wages are beaten down, his labor often supplanted by that of his wife and children, with the consequent injury to their health and physical deterioration in following generations.

For it is evident that the married woman who all day long has to work hard in a mill or factory can have but little energy left at the end of the day for housework, for looking after the needs of her children, or even for fitting herself for the rearing of a family.

The children accordingly are given unsuitable food and but scanty attention. They are not brought up at all; they are dragged up, or left to get along as best they can. It is a common thing for mothers while away at work to lock their children in; sometimes they are left to run about as they like without anyone to look after them.

Although the continuous physical strain of work in a factory is injurious to child-bearing, the mother in her desire to go on earning to the last possible moment does not leave work a sufficient time before her confinement. This often results in premature births and the stunted growth of the offspring, and more fatal even than this is her early return to the factory, which means that the infant, at the most critical time of its life, does not get that attention which is absolutely necessary to its wellbeing.

How women's labor may supplant that of men is seen "in an aggravated form at Leicester, and, perhaps, at its worst at Dundee. In the boot and shoe factories in the former town successive changes in the processes of manufacture have thrown men out of employment because their places are taken by women and young persons, and this also drives a number of married women to seek work in the factories, since they have to try and earn wages instead of their husbands." (Evidence before Poor Law Commission, 1909, Q. 96,610, par. 4 [iii].) At Dundee there is "plenty of female employment, which results either in loafers living upon their wives or decent men being kept there who had far better go elsewhere." (Report on Effects of Employment, etc., in Scotland, by Rev. J. Pringle, pp. 27, 106.)*

Even in some branches of the engineering trade women are now finding employment. In the Westinghouse and other large works round Manchester, women, both married and single, have been introduced in large numbers to tend the light drilling machines at which the Trade Unions used to find employment for men getting on in years and unable to take heavy work. In Stoke-upon-Trent women and girls are very largely employed in the pottery industry. "In some branches of this trade they are being employed to an increasing extent upon work which, a few years ago, was performed almost

* See generally "The Wife and Mother as Breadwinner," Minority Report of Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 1164.

exclusively by men; they are now actively in competition with male labor, and, as they are able to do similar work for lower wages, they are gradually driving men from certain sections of the trade."

But there are some instances in which women's labor has been superseded by complicated machines tended by men. The folding of newspapers, which used to be all handwork done by women, is now done by machines managed by men.

It would seem that when routine manual labor is displaced by simple machines the tendency is for women to be employed to mind them; but where complicated machinery is installed it is necessary to engage men to look after it.

Besides this sapping of the nation's life through the impaired vitality and efficiency of the mother, the evolution of highly specialized machinery has produced another very grave evil, the misuse of boy labor. Boy labor being cheaper than adult, work has been sub-divided and arranged, with the increasing aid of machinery, so that it can be done by boys; and "there is a constant tendency for certain industrial functions to be transferred from men to boys, especially when changes in the processes of manufacture or in the organization of industry are taking place rapidly. The result is the over employment of boys and the under employment of men. (Evidence before Poor Law Commission, 1909, Q. 96,921, pars. 1 and 2.) This kind of labor is uneducative (in the sense of producing no increase of efficiency or of intelligence) and unpromising (inasmuch as it leads to no permanent occupation during adult life), and at the age of seventeen or eighteen the boys are turned adrift. A few of them become skilled workmen or laborers in other trades, a few enter the army, but the majority are destined to swell the ranks of the under employed or unemployable.*

An enquiry was made in 1908 by the staff of lady inspectors into the main features of employment of children in carding of hooks, eyes, and buttons in Birmingham. It could not be completed owing to the transference of the inspectors to the north-western division. Enough was done in the way of investigation to show that children of from seven to thirteen years of age are employed to a very considerable extent, often at late hours by artificial and insufficient light straining to the eyes, in this monotonous and tiring work in their own homes; that the work is largely dependent on child labor, and is so poorly paid that "with the assistance of several persons it is scarcely possible to earn a penny an hour," being a last resource of poverty where there are children to help. The employment cannot at present be regulated, as it is excluded from the scope of the Factory Act by Section 114 and from the Children's Employment Act, the parent being the employer. Sometimes the work was found to be supplementary to Poor Law relief. Further enquiry seems to be needed, and can be undertaken when the staff is completed for the Birmingham division. In connection with the enquiry mentioned above, Miss Squire (one of the lady inspectors) visited a considerable number of houses in Birmingham in which the work was carried on.

* See generally "The Misuses of Boy Labor," Minority Report of Poor Law Commission, 1909, p. 1165; "Report on the Subject of Boy Labor," by Cyril Jackson, 1908.

She found these outworkers grouped in the neighborhood of the factories, and remarks that the hooks and eyes are found in the poorest streets and the buttons in streets of a less miserable type. The sanitary condition of many of the courts and streets of the worst was "lamentable, and the conditions as to floors, walls, and furniture of many of the homes appalling" (Annual Report of Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops, 1908.)

It is thus clear that machinery in the hands of the capitalist, by the very fact that it gives him a greater power of production, results, under our chaotic system, or rather want of system, in over production and dislocation of industry and employment; a state of things which, with ever greater powers of production, is increasingly likely to occur, for although improvements in machinery may not lessen the total aggregate of labor, the haphazard irregularity of its introduction and use is undoubtedly one of the chief factors in producing unemployment.*

Most, if not all, of the evils which have followed on the introduction of machinery can be traced to its exploitation by irresponsible persons for their private ends.

The recognition of this fact, shown by the passing of the Factory Acts in the teeth of individualistic opposition, needs but to be extended to its conclusion to make machinery the servant and not the master of society.

II.—MACHINERY AS A SOCIAL SERVANT.

Since, generally, machinery is only introduced into industry when it is cheaper than hand labor, it follows that successful agitation for higher wages must often result merely in the place of the agitator being taken by a relatively unskilled machine tender at a lower wage.

The employer finds no great difficulty in obtaining such machinery and cheap labor. "The number of known or discoverable inventions for saving labor which is waiting for a rise in the wages of the labor they might supersede, in order to become economically available, may be considered infinite."

Though considerable skill may be required to supervise some complicated machinery, so numerous are the intermediate types that a mere boy, who begins by minding the simplest drill or automatic lathe, may progress through practice into a qualified fitter.

Thus even such benefits as do accrue to the worker in organized factory trades through co-operation and maintenance of a standard rate, are in danger of being frustrated by agitations for still higher wages.

* No doubt, as a matter of theory, it is possible that the introduction of machinery or the equivalent industrial change might result in the production, not of more commodities, but of the same amount of commodities for much less labor; but, as a matter of fact, in almost all cases it has been found that there has been a larger volume of trade by reducing the cost of production.

See the evidence of Mr. Sidney Webb before the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, 1909, Vol. I.X. 93,251, 93,325-93,328, et seq.

The possibilities of machinery are almost limitless. In the making of steel rails, for example, from the moment the ore is pitched into the furnace until the rail is finished, everything is done by machinery. The ingots are gripped from furnaces, laid on rollers, carried along to be pressed, and rolled out with steel fingers automatically putting them into position, entirely without human intervention.

It is in such highly elaborated industries that many of the strongest trusts spring up.

The average employee of great skill in some narrow routine of machine tending is, on the whole, less competent than any other worker to transfer his labor power to an entirely different occupation. The Steel Trust, writes Mr. J. A. Hobson, "is the owner of its employees nearly to the same extent as it is the owner of its mills and plant, so subservient has modern labor become to the machinery under which it works. Once the trust has fairly established itself, it begins to regulate production, and may suddenly close half the mills, works, or elevators. The owners of those closed plants get their interest from the trust just as if they were working, but the labor of those works suddenly, and without any compensation for disturbance, is "saved," that is to say, the employees are deprived of the services of the only kind of plant and material to which their skilled efforts are applicable" ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, p. 222.) In all this the growing inadequacy of tentative regulation and sectional trades unionism to cope with the increasing power of gigantic monopolist corporations is becoming more and more evident.

The only practical solution lies in increasing collective action. Society must own and control machinery, or machinery (and the plutocrat) will own and control society.

For what Purposes Machinery should be Invented.

There is little difficulty in determining what are the basic needs of society to-day. Adequate housing, good clothes, sufficient heating and wholesome food are alike lacking to the majority. To explain that all these minimum necessities of a decent existence are withheld from the masses of the community through want of purchasing power is beyond the scope of this Tract; these matters have been dealt with very fully in Fabian Tracts of a more immediately economic character.

The vesting of large capital resources in the hands of the State and municipalities will endow them with the power to obtain the services of those inventors whose talents are now prostituted in devising mere labor saving appliances. The inventor must become a national servant and the devising and satisfaction of national needs a recognized branch of State activity.

For example, the application of electricity to communal needs, to power and transit, is but in its infancy. Such a new motive force, if distributed to factories and railways on a large scale through the medium of great power stations, with a view to furthering industrial development and not to dividend making, would do more to dispel trade depression than any mere tinkering at tariffs. And this is only

possible to the State which, with its command of capital, can afford to wait for that far greater return which would result eventually from the general re-stimulation of industry.*

The consumer also benefits immensely from large supplies of power for heating, lighting and cooking provided by his municipality at a reasonable price. And the experience of many boroughs who have furthered electrical development within their area has proved so greatly are the benefits of electricity appreciated, that even under the existing restrictions of area and regulation, the municipal service can be efficiently conducted with positive advantage to the ratepayers.

All this, however, calls for new devices and new invention. The inevitable growth of collective industrial activity will probably necessitate the institution of a College of Invention, to be established, perhaps, in connection with the existing Patent Office, where skilled experts will be engaged to assist inventors in their researches, and laboratories and plant for experimental purposes will be provided.

This suggestion is not as chimerical as might at first appear. Already many large trusts, and nations in their naval and military capacities, employ permanent staffs of research workers, and it only needs that this principle should be extended to guarantee an efficient satisfaction of communal needs and to produce a considerable advance in the material condition of the people.†

When and Where Machinery ought to be Employed.

The effect of the general introduction of electric motive force in strengthening the economic position of this country in competitive international trade can hardly be exaggerated.

History shows us how the iron industry, which in 1740 was "dwindling into insignificance and contempt," was increased a hundredfold by the introduction of steam power. In all metal manufacture it was the new motor which rendered necessary improved machinery. "The immediate result of this requirement was the bringing to the front a number of remarkable men, from Brindley to Nasmyth, to supply mechanism of a proportionate capacity and nicety for the new motive power to act upon." ("Evolution of Modern Capitalism," Hobson, p. 88) And, therefore, it may safely be concluded that any great development of electric power will also have its effect in enormously extending that routine work which can suitably be performed by machinery.

There is another class of machinery which, since its exploitation would be of no pecuniary advantage to the capitalist but merely of great social value, is so far almost entirely undeveloped, and that is all the various kinds which might be utilized to take the place of

* See "Public Control of Electric Power and Transit," Fabian Tract No 119.

† The institution of State experimental and testing stations for agriculture is fully dealt with in Fabian Tract No 115. The National Physical Laboratory at Bushey is another instance; in particular the new special department of aeronautics there, to which problems of aërial navigation are to be submitted by the army and navy for investigation and assistance, is an example of the principle in operation.

human labor employed upon the necessary but more degrading work of society.*

This is an almost entirely unexplored avenue of invention, and will remain so while the inventor has no inducement to turn his attention to the solution of such problems.

To find out what can be done in this direction one has but to explore a modern battleship and see how most of the more physical and unintelligent labor in serving the guns is now done mechanically, leaving to the human agent the more "spiritual" work of training and firing.

Hydraulic or electric ammunition hoists are not employed with any idea of relieving the sailor of the less intellectual forms of labor, but merely for the sake of greater efficiency; but the very fact that they are used shows that other machines might be employed in the same way as substitutes for other forms of what is merely brute labor. And not only the ammunition hoist, but the evolution, from the three decker, of the battleship itself, is but an instance of what can be done to meet a social need, if society is only allowed to express and satisfy such needs.

On the other hand, with increased collective ownership and control, the restitution of leisure and opportunity to the workers must tend to enlarge that quasi-artistic field of production in which machinery cannot appropriately be employed. Such personal things as domestic crockery, fabrics of all kinds, ornaments, furniture, etc., which were formerly produced by craftsmen, will, as a better state of living leads to a more cultured demand, tend to pass once more into the hands of the art worker.

The necessity for regularizing production which has concentrated capital in the hands of the trust must find its logical consequence in collective ownership.

There exists in America to-day a system of regulating the introduction of invention by the simple expedient of buying up possible competitive devices; and as it is the unregulated, spasmodic introduction of new processes which convulses the labor market, it is reasonable to hope that the statesmen of the future may in a similar way find it possible to regulate the introduction of new machinery.

A greater regularity of employment, the performance of an increasing amount of onerous and degrading routine work by mechanical devices, the stimulation of international trade, are results which may be expected to follow on the collectivization of machinery.

The Conditions under which Machinists should Labor.

Under no conditions whatever should labor which produces preventable accident and death be tolerated. Factory inspection, at present utterly inadequate and inefficient, must be strengthened so as to bring every workshop under direct and continuous Government control. The Factory Acts demand wide extension, and all

* See Mr H. W. Macrosty in *Economic Journal*, March, 1909, p. 6. A manufacturer was asked why he did not introduce certain mechanical devices which would have replaced some very toilsome forms of hand labor. He replied, "Why should I? . . . it will not reduce my cost nor increase my output. . . . So long as I can get the same results with the cheap labor I now employ, why should I change?"

those industries which inevitably cause "occupation diseases" must be either carried on by mechanical or innocuous manual methods, or abandoned altogether.

The acquiescence in habitual lead poisoning, mercurial, phosphorus, and arsenic poisoning, and anthrax is neither more nor less than national murder.*

Among many other urgent problems awaiting the attention of our "National College of Invention" there is none more important than the devising of appliances to terminate this national iniquity, which sacrifices annually so many lives. Even now, with our existing Factory Acts, the internal condition of the workshop leaves much to be desired. To the thousands of deaths caused by accidents and diseases of occupation must be added hundreds of thousands of cases of direct injury to health arising from work in unhealthy factories and workshops.

For the first time since the "Industrial Revolution," machinery must be devised with some reference to the physical and nervous system of its operator.

With the better organization of labor and stimulation of enterprise, the objection to automatic stokers, feeders, carriers, and endless bands, all of which reduce the total amount of unskilled labor, will be removed.

The spectacle of an electric power station where coal is reduced to gas, passed into an engine, and its energy transferred through a dynamo into the mains, under the supervision of only three persons, will no longer be suggestive of unemployment; but every new invention for saving labor will be hailed with joy as a release from toil and a gift of more time in which to do individual work.

* The figures for 1903 are as follows: killed or died from industrial poisoning (lead, mercury, phosphorus, arsenic poisoning, or anthrax), 70; injured or suffered from industrial poisoning, 875.

For 1907: killed or died from industrial poisoning, 40; injured or suffered from disease, 653.

For 1908: killed or died from industrial poisoning, 40; injured or suffered from disease, 727.

See also Mr. Ward's Paper on Industrial Occupations, read to the Royal Statistical Society, May 16th, 1905.

Dr. Legge (Medical Factory Inspector) has supplied tables showing the number of reported cases of lead poisoning for the years 1899 to 1908 inclusive, particulars of fatal cases of plumbism for 1908, and a detailed analysis of the reports by certifying surgeons on cases in 18 groups of industries according to severity, frequency of attack, and main symptoms. The figures are somewhat higher than they were in 1907, the greatest increase being noted in connection with the smelting of metals, where the cases have risen from 28 to 70. Referring to the increase in the number of poisoning cases noted above, he thinks it is perhaps indirectly due to the inclusion of lead poisoning in the third schedule of the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, in two ways—(1) by causing the prevalence of pre-existing plumbism to come to light; (2) by the tendency this has fostered in these trades to replace men suspected of lead impregnation by new hands, amongst whom the incidence of lead poisoning is greater than amongst old workers. Miss Vines has investigated a large number of cases of poisoning amongst women workers in potteries. She describes the bad effects of this poisoning, quoting details of many of the cases met with, and showing how little compensation does to mitigate the sufferings caused by it. She draws attention also to the hard position of lead workers who, although not suffering from lead poisoning, are suspended from working in a lead process as a precautionary measure, and who therefore get no compensation and frequently cannot obtain other work.

So long ago as 1896 the Fabian Society presented the following resolutions on factory legislation to the International Socialist Workers and Trade Union Congress, most of which have still to be put into effect :

Considering—

That it is one of the chief duties of the State to secure the health and safety of the workers, but that this duty cannot be effectually fulfilled unless it is undertaken in a scientific manner.

The Congress demands—

1. That every Government shall institute committees of experts (including machine workers) to study the best means of preventing accidents from the different kinds of machinery

2. That every Government shall also establish laboratories for the investigation of the safest processes of manufacture.

3. That, supported by the opinion of his expert advisers, the Minister responsible for labor shall have power to issue departmental regulations in such matters as the fencing of machinery, precautions to be taken in manufacture, etc., and also, subject to revision of his orders by the Legislature, to prohibit processes as dangerous.

4. That the white lead industry and the making of matches from yellow phosphorus—dangerous occupations for which safe and effectual substitutes are acknowledged to exist—shall be at once prohibited.

The extent to which these resolutions have been acted upon is indicated by the following Home Office Orders.

Regulations were issued in 1898 concerning the manufacture of earthenware and china, the dusting of china for transfers, and the glazing of bricks with lead.

In 1899 concerning the sorting and carding of wool and goat hair.

In 1904 concerning the loading and moving of goods in docks, and, in 1907, the spinning of hemp and jute.

Besides these, the Alkali Works Act, 1906, imposes regulations on certain chemical works from which noxious gases may be emitted, and the White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act prevents the manufacture, sale, or importation of matches tipped with white phosphorus.

During 1908 new regulations were made for dealing with dangerous trades, in which brasscasting and vitreous enamelling are included. As to brass, the Midland Division is the one that will be most affected by the introduction of the new regulations in place of the old special rules, and steps are being taken to secure compliance when they come into force on January 1, 1910. Efficient means for the removal of fumes from the casting shop is one of the most important of the new requirements, and Mr. Redgrave reports that considerable structural alterations will be necessary. Very few works in the Walsall district will be able to comply with the standards required for the exemption allowed to casting shops with 2,500 cubic feet of space for each worker. Regret is expressed at the way the special rules are observed in the Staffordshire Potteries. The owners show too great a tendency to delegate responsibility to the foremen, while the workers themselves are indifferent. In the same period ten sample suspected materials were referred to the Government Laboratory for determination as dangerous or safe. Electricity and Indian wool were also regulated by order.

With regard to the prevention of accidents, the railway men succeeded in obtaining a Royal Commission which sat in 1899 to consider the question of accidents. The unanimous verdict of the Commission was "that lives are lost which might be saved and men are injured unnecessarily." As a result, the Railway Accidents Act of 1900 was passed *

CONCLUSION.

The path of immediate practical reform lies in the direction indicated by the above resolutions. The limitation of hours, the restriction of juvenile and dangerous labor, alike tend to protect the worker as producer; but the provision of steady employment and the interests of the worker as consumer have still to be considered.

If it is evident that the existence of a class of unemployed, willing, but unable to find work, is the necessary result of the present industrial system, in which every improvement in machinery throws people at any rate temporarily out of employment by rendering their labor superfluous, it follows that only by the State organization of labor, by regulating the introduction of machinery, by increasing the purchasing power of the people, and by absorbing a large portion of the surplus product for the general collective good, can employment be finally regularized.

This, too, will strengthen the worker's power as consumer

The concentration of enormous purchasing power in the hands of a few persons, most of whom have done nothing to justify their position, results in the workers wasting their brains and bodies to satisfy the whims of the idlers.

The motor car, if put to work where it was most wanted, might have meant the revival of agriculture in England, and been an incalculable stimulus to social intercourse and recreation. As controlled by the irresponsible demand of wealthy individuals, it began merely as one more luxury for the rich (its least important function); and it is still only the overflow of this supply which reaches the organic part of the nation.

Machinery is but a part, though an immensely important part, of our social life; and until the community realizes its responsibility to itself and takes steps to gain control over its own destiny by owning and controlling the materials which give it existence, it is unlikely that machinery or any other national asset will be employed otherwise than by the powerful few to extort profits out of the necessities of the many.

* For further information see "Dangerous Trades," edited by Sir Thomas Oliver. Murray, 1902 25s N^o

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL NURSERIES.

School Attendance of Children under Five.

THU quite recently it has been the practice in England and Wales for children between three and five to attend school if their parents so desired and for school authorities to make regular provision for such children. "During the fifteen years previous to 1907 at least a third of all such children were on the registers of public elementary schools."* Soon after the passing of the Education Act, 1902, however, the question as to whether school attendance for very young children was desirable began to be much discussed. It was pointed out that the compulsory age limit was lower in England than in any other country, and that the methods employed in most of our infant schools were unsuited to the needs of such very young children. Enquiries were set on foot by some of the new education authorities and by the Board of Education, with the result that in the Code for 1905 the following clause was inserted:—

"Where the Local Education Authority have so determined in the case of any school maintained by them, children who are under five years of age may be refused admission to that school."

Accordingly no obligation rests at present on local education authorities to provide for children under five. There are in England and Wales three hundred and twenty-seven such authorities, and of these thirty-two wholly exclude children under five from their schools, one hundred and fifty-four retain all children between three and five who are sent to school, while the remaining one hundred and thirty-six take a middle course, retaining some and excluding others.†

Reasons for Excluding Children under Five from Elementary Schools.

The reasons given for this exclusion are of two kinds; some have reference only to the ordinary infant school as it exists at present in England, others to any kind of public provision whatever. Among the former may be mentioned:—

1. THE VENTILATION DIFFICULTY.

It has been urged that under existing conditions of air space proper ventilation is almost impossible, and that the air has been actually found to be more impure in schools than in the dwellings of the poor.‡ It is argued that in the case of older children the risks

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five (Board of Education, July 2nd, 1908), p. 12.

† Ibid. Appendix I, and V.

‡ Ibid. Appendix III.

from bad air are less while the advantages of education are greater, that it is a heavy and needless risk to herd very young children together in bad air. Such objectors take for granted that the present unsatisfactory conditions as to ventilation are to be looked on as inevitable, but, "it certainly seems anomalous, to say the least, that elementary schools should be allowed to remain as the classical example of bad ventilation, and that children should thus be taught by practical example to tolerate foul air."† It must be remembered, too, that the bad smell and intolerable stuffiness of the ordinary schoolroom, which are the outward and sensible sign of injurious air conditions, are due rather to dirt than to actual deficiency of air. "Far more could be done by cleanliness than by ventilation. The floors and walls should be capable of being properly cleansed, and the children themselves and their clothes kept clean and tidy."* Now in the nursery school cleanliness would always be specially insisted on, would indeed take the very first place among subjects of instruction, so that it may be hoped that the air would in them be less laden with impurities than in the ordinary elementary school. It must be noticed, too, that the children in such schools ought to spend a large part of their school time out of doors, and that no day nursery or nursery school is complete without ample playgrounds, both roofed and open, with facilities for resting out of doors in good weather.

2. THE DANGER OF INFECTION.

"In proportion to the number of children, the spread of infectious diseases caused by school attendance is greater before five than after; but it must be remembered that if more escape *before* five, the greater will be the incidence of the disease *after* five."* It is also noteworthy that "with the better training of teachers on the hygienic side and the appointment of school medical officers, a state of things will arise, and, in fact, is arising, in which attendance at school will become a means of decreasing the diseases (more especially diphtheria and scarlet fever)."[†]

3. THE DANGER OF PREMATURE MENTAL STRAIN.

"The question of overpressure has been rather exaggerated. Practically it does not exist in infants' schools, except in the case of children with defects to start with, children highly nervous or badly nourished, for whom the work is too much. At the same time, much of the instruction now given is without doubt unsuitable. . . . Play is the best way of educating young children; let them follow their natural instincts as in the nursery. . . . Above all, avoid any idea of enforcing discipline. Fine muscular movements (as of the eye or fingers in reading, writing, or sewing, etc.) should be post-

* Ibid. Appendix III. Memorandum by Dr. Haldane on the air in schools.

† Ibid. Evidence of Dr. James Niven, Medical Officer of Health, Manchester, pp. 80 and 81. Dr. Niven has since furnished statistics showing that over a period of five years in Manchester the case mortality was substantially the same amongst children attending and those not attending school.

poned until the child has obtained a fuller control over its muscles. . . . Drill is very important, and should consist of 'coarse' movements as contrasted with the 'fine' movements mentioned above. Organized games can be made into a very severe lesson ; their value is much exaggerated."* This danger of overstrain through unsuitable treatment is of the utmost importance ; and it is the special claim of the nursery school to avoid it by providing just that atmosphere of freedom and kindly encouragement which a sensible mother gives to her child, avoiding alike over stimulation and needless restraint.

But, in addition to these special and more or less avoidable dangers, general objections are raised against making any public provision for little children which would facilitate their removal from home. There is, for instance :—

4. THE DANGER THAT PARENTAL RESPONSIBILITY MAY BE WEAKENED.

Experience has shown over and over again that the parental burden is too heavy. All observers agree that children attending school are better looked after by their parents, kept cleaner and tidier, than they would be if they stayed at home. A marked difference may be noticed in almost any poor district in the appearance of the children on Saturdays and during the holidays. It would be much nearer the truth to say that any arrangement which involves the child's being periodically submitted to outside inspection would raise the standard of parental responsibility, and that this influence would be greatly increased by teaching and illustrating what the needs of young children really are. The hollowness of this objection is apparent when one considers that the wealthy ladies who think it so dangerous to relieve the hardworked mother of any of her duties to her little ones find it necessary to depute all such duties in their own case to a nurse. This fact furnishes an answer also to another objection which is often urged, viz., that little children require such constant individual and loving attention that they are better looked after by their mothers than by anyone else. Let us look at the facts. How does the rich mother who has free choice in the matter act? Does she keep her three year old child constantly with her when she is reading, writing, talking to her friends, or eating her meals? No; she devotes, perhaps, a few hours in the day to it when she can give it a fair share of attention, and for the rest of the time she places it with a skilled attendant either out of doors or in an airy, sunny apartment, where it can play about freely under due supervision. What does the poor mother do? If she is able to remain at home, she will allow her three year old to crawl about the kitchen floor or play in the street, or, perhaps, if he be a venturesome child, will tie him to the leg of the table, so that he may not tumble into the fire, while she is busy with the dinner, the housework, or the family washing. If, on the

* Ibid. Evidence of Dr Ferr and Dr. Hogarth, Medical Officers of the Education Department of the London County Council, pp. 63 and 64.

other hand, she has to go out to work, she will leave him with a "minder," usually some old or feeble person who is not able to do more active work, or, if she can manage to hoodwink the attendance officer, with an elder brother or sister kept at home for the purpose. Can it be seriously alleged that it would be a disadvantage to the child to be removed from the minder, or even from the home kitchen and the tail of his mother's eye, to a nursery resembling that which the rich mother provides for her own child, but shared with a number of little neighbors of its own age? It is just because little children require constant and watchful attention that collectivist nurseries are so much needed. One capable, motherly, experienced woman, with a suitable number of trained assistants, can superintend the tending and training of a large number of infants; while one woman with a house to clean, a family to feed and clothe, and the washing to do, cannot properly care for one.

5. THE DANGER OF ENCOURAGING BOTTLE FEEDING.

But though this dread of lightening the responsibilities of motherhood may for the most part be dismissed as sentimental, yet there is one aspect of it, affecting our dealing with infants of only a few months old, the importance of which cannot possibly be exaggerated. The right place for a suckled infant is with its mother, and in a well ordered State no woman would be allowed to undertake work away from home until her child was nine months old; but any legal prohibition of this kind seems, unfortunately, a long way off, since it would necessarily imply State maintenance for nursing mothers. Meanwhile, as long as husbands are liable to be underpaid or unemployed, mothers who should be nursing their babies will accept laundry work or charring; and when this happens the unfortunate baby will fare better in a crèche, where it will receive pure milk, suitably diluted, out of a clean bottle, than with the casual minder. It does not necessarily follow, however, that the crèche baby should be hand fed. After the first few months, when the feeding has become less frequent, it is quite possible for nursing mothers to visit the crèches at suitable intervals. In French and Belgian crèches a room is usually set apart for this purpose.

The Need for Public Provision for Children under School Age.

It seems clear, notwithstanding all difficulties and objections, that public provision must be made for some children under school age. Even if we decide with the Consultative Committee* that the proper place for such children is at home with their mothers, yet we are bound to admit, as they do, that the home surroundings of large numbers of children are not satisfactory, and that children from these homes should be sent during the daytime to places specially intended for their training.* No responsible person in London, for instance, is prepared to recommend that the children under five now at school should be turned into the streets.

* *Ibid.* P. 57.

Kind of Provision Required.

We have already said that of actual teaching, in the ordinary sense of the word, children under five ought to receive very little. Information should be given very sparingly and only in response to awakened curiosity. Restraint, compulsion, and punishment should be almost unknown; but there is one kind of education which must take place in these early years if at all, and on which health and efficiency in after life largely depend, I mean the formation of physical habits.* People are apt to forget that breathing, walking, eating, speaking and sleeping have to be learnt, and that there are right and wrong ways of doing each. They are all difficult arts to the baby learner, and he may be much helped in acquiring them by an expert and watchful guardian. As soon as a child is born one may begin to teach him regularity and periodicity in sleeping, eating and the evacuations of the body, and by the time he is a year old he is ready for one or two new lessons. Every year a little more may be done in the way of checking injurious habits and encouraging useful ones; and it must be remembered that these nursery lessons are not less but far more important than the reading, writing, and counting that are taught in the ordinary infant schools. If we consider what are the differences that distinguish a well-bred person from an ill-bred one, we shall find that they depend for the most part on habits acquired in babyhood, modesty, refinement, consideration for others shown in such everyday matters as eating, drinking, and moving about, accurate and distinct utterance, and little points of personal cleanliness. Training of this kind should find a place in the crèche and the nursery school, while it is almost impossible that it should be given by the overworked mother in a workman's home.

Children must be Taught:

HOW TO WASH.

Cleanliness is, perhaps, the most important aspect of the question. The wish to be clean is not born with us. It has to be taught and trained. If a child can be induced to feel uncomfortable when he is dirty, a great step has been taken towards civilizing him and towards the establishment of a higher standard in living for the next generation. This is a point that needs emphasizing, for there is no doubt that we rank lower in regard to cleanliness of clothes and person than other European countries. One's nose testifies to this fact if, after travelling in crowded workmen's trains in England, one does the same thing in France or Germany.

* "Habits, whether they be born in us or are subsequently acquired, constitute man's whole nature, and they are the results of experience or education. Our education does not begin when we commence to learn to read or write, nor does it commence when we learn to breathe or suck. It has been steadily going on ever since our first formidations were laid in the innumerable past. The education of the infant consists in teaching it how to acquire good and useful habits which are not born in it, and which will enable it to live a complete life, and take full advantage of the opportunities of its surroundings or environment."—"Infant Education," by E. Pritchard, M.A., M.D. (Oxon.), M.R.C.P. (London).

In England the crusade for cleanliness in the schools is only just beginning. The first step was taken when nurses were appointed to examine the children's heads. Some teachers insist on clean hands and faces, but investigations have seldom proceeded further. Now that medical inspection is at length instituted, terrible disclosures are being made of verminous bodies and diseases engendered by dirt. Now cleanliness is a lesson that can be taught. Few lessons are easier to teach, provided that necessary appliances are at hand, and none bring to the pupil a more immediate and obvious blessing. None certainly are more important if the first aim of our schools is to extend to the children of the poor the opportunity of leading a decent life. But this important lesson is not one that can wait for the school age. The evil results of dirt affect the health of a young child even more than of an older one. A child of two or three years old preyed on by parasites is an object so deplorable that nothing could be more absurd than to permit children to remain in this condition till they are five years old and then expend large sums on teaching them the three R's, often without any cleansing process at all.

In any public nurseries which may be established in England the bathing apparatus would have to play a very important part, and clothing would have to be rigorously inspected and, when necessary, replaced. A time may come some day when English mothers, like French ones, may be required to provide clean underlinen twice a week for their children and a clean pocket handkerchief every day; but to anyone familiar with our schools in poor districts such a time seems remote.

HOW TO SLEEP.

The children of the poor suffer almost as much from want of sleep as from want of food.* The regular midday rest, which is such an important feature in the régime of the nursery, is a luxury of the rich, and in a two roomed household it is almost impossible to put the little ones to bed early enough at night. Undisturbed sleep at regular intervals is in itself invaluable, especially as the means of forming a periodic physical habit which will last a lifetime. Any schools for children under six should be provided with suitable and sufficient sleeping accommodation. "The babies must be allowed to sleep when they want to, and should all be trained to sleep during the day."*

HOW TO EAT.

Another very important nursery lesson is the right way to eat. Recent experience in organizing school feeding has amply proved the need for it. That we teach children to read and write before they know how to eat is an example of our topsy turvey methods. If we instructed them early in the use of their teeth, and were careful to provide suitable materials for that instruction, we should need to spend less later on in dentistry. The dinner table, too, with its code of manners, founded on consideration for others, pro-

* Report of the Consultative Committee upon the School Attendance of Children below the age of Five, pp. 90-96.

vides an admirable field for moral instruction and for laying the foundations of civilized life.

HOW TO TALK.

Second only to the importance of learning to wash, to sleep, and to eat, is that of learning to talk. Speech, the widest and most distinctively human of the arts, must begin in the nursery; and much depends on whether it begins there well or ill. Nothing is more noticeable and more distressing to the visitor in our schools than the inarticulateness of the children. One has to delve deep to reach a response. To receive an answer prompt, fearless, and distinct is so rare as to be absolutely startling. There are many reasons for this, but the most obvious is an actual difficulty in utterance. The children have never been taught to speak, and most of them make very clumsy attempts at it. Of course, they soon acquire a code of half articulate sounds, which serve to express their more urgent needs and emotions; but their ears are not trained to recognize nice distinctions of sound, and as they grow older the possibility of such discrimination is lost. The vocal organs, too, having no demands made on them, lose their flexibility and become unmanageable. Bad habits of breathing, too, pass unnoticed, which are difficult to cure and have very bad results.

To impart some familiarity with spoken language, the child should be taught to pronounce very simple words correctly and delicately; and his vocabulary should be extended gradually as his field of observation widens. This should be the chief educational aim of the nursery school. No child can think to much purpose till he can speak, or make any real use of information till he can frame his thoughts into sentences. The power of expression is absurdly neglected throughout our schools. We proceed to teach children to read while they are still, to all intents and purposes, dumb, which is like forcing food on a sick man who can't digest.

But though speech is the most important of the nursery arts, it is not the only one. Much can be done to assist that long, unwearyed, ingenious campaign which any healthy child will devise and carry on for himself, and which has for its unconscious aim the control of his own nerves and muscles.

Limit of the Nursery Period.

It is impossible to make hard and fast rules as to the dividing points in a child's life. One child will be more developed at four than another at six, and it is difficult to decide at what age the sort of training sketched above should give place to ordinary school methods. There is much to be said, however, for fixing the break at six or seven rather than at five; and in this we may, perhaps, be guided by the practice in well-to-do households, where children migrate from nursery to schoolroom at about that age. For it is well to bear in mind that what we are pleading for is, after all, a peculiarly English institution. Those very advantages, unfortunately, on which the English middle class specially pride them-

selves, they are the least eager to share with their poorer neighbors. We boast of the playing fields of Eton, and of the admirable training in self-control and esprit de corps to be gained in them, and leave our elementary schools with a wretched square of asphalt, where nothing can occur but a disorderly scramble. We are proud of our English cleanliness and our cult of the daily morning bath, and yet we are content to allow our school children to remain the most filthy and ragged in Europe. So though England is the home of the nursery (the word being untranslatable), and the wealthy mother in Russia or Italy makes a point of securing an English nurse for her children, yet a nursery for the children of labor is a notion of foreign growth, and we must turn to France, to Belgium, and to Hungary to see anything like an adequate realization of it.

In all these countries the school age is six, and provision is made for children below it in two separate institutions, the *crèche* and the *école maternelle* or *école gardienne*, as it is called in Belgium.

The following account of these institutions is compiled from reports published by the Board of Education :—

The *Crèche* in England and France.*

In Paris the first *crèche* was opened in 1844 by private enterprise and supported by charity. Mothers paid twopence a day per child, emphasis being laid on the intention of helping those who were obliged to earn their living, rather than merely of feeding and sheltering the children of the indigent. In 1847 the Society of *Crèches* was inaugurated at the Hotel de Ville, and in 1869 it was recognized as an institution of public utility. In 1904 Paris, with a population of two and three-quarter millions, had sixty-six *crèches* accommodating two thousand four hundred and ninety-one children under three years old. It is instructive to compare these figures with those for London, where, with a population of four and a half millions in 1904, there were fifty-five *crèches*, accommodating one thousand six hundred and ninety-three children under three. "In other words, London had *crèche* accommodation for one child in every two thousand five hundred, Paris had *crèche* accommodation for one child in every thousand. The *crèches* in London are private, with no aid from State or municipality, while those in Paris have received both since 1862. London has no registration or system of State inspection. Paris has both, the *crèches* being inspected daily by doctors. Lastly, the London *crèches* are distributed quite irregularly, some of the poorest boroughs having none at all, while Paris *crèches* are evenly distributed among twenty arrondissements. Even more startling are the differences outside the capitals. France, not including Paris or the Department of the Seine, has three hundred and twenty-two *crèches*. England, not including London, or greater London, has nineteen." †

* Report of Miss M. B. Synge, published by the Board of Education in July, 1908, together with the Report of the Consultative Committee previously quoted.

† The French statistics are taken from the Report of the Chief Officer of Public Control.

English crèches, or day nurseries, are, for the most part, organized by committees of ladies. They are mostly parochial and supported entirely by voluntary contributions. Few of them are in houses built for the purpose: most are in adapted premises.* Any private person may open a crèche in England without leave from any public body; crèches are unregistered and under no inspection.

The crèche in France, though not State supported, is generously subsidized. In the year 1904 Paris crèches received from the Minister of the Interior £1,468, from the Ville de Paris £67,045, and from the Conseil General des Départments £1,376.

No crèche may be opened in Paris without leave from the prefect of the department. In order to receive a grant it must be subject to inspection, conform to certain rules, and be administered by a council presided over by the mayor of the locality.

At the head of every crèche is a directress. Under her there is a berceuse to every six children and a gardienne to every twelve children under the age of one and a half years. In a large crèche there are also a cook and a laundry maid.

Each crèche has twenty or thirty "dames patronesses" or managers under a lady president. They are appointed by the mayor. Each lady has certain days or weeks in the year allotted to her and is definitely responsible for certain duties of management.

Children are admitted at the age of fifteen days and kept till the age of three. The mother is requested to bring the child clean. While she is feeding it herself she must come regularly to the crèche at least twice a day. She must pay her contribution, twopence for one child, threepence for two, every morning, and she must show that she is obliged to go to work or is incapable of attending to the child at home.

Illegitimate children are admitted after due investigation.

The cost per day per child at the Paris crèches averages about one shilling, so that the mother's payment covers only one-sixth of it.

The children are supplied with clothes. These are changed when they arrive and again at night.

There are usually seven or eight doctors attached to a crèche, one of whom visits it every day. In many cases these doctors, who give their services entirely free, form a committee to decide all questions connected with hygiene.

To some crèches is attached a "School for Mothers," to which infants not in the crèche are brought for weekly inspection, and tables are kept of the weight and progress of each child.†

The forty-five crèches in Paris receiving municipal grants are subject to inspection. In addition to the ordinary inspectors, a lady inspector of crèches has recently been appointed.

* A movement towards a better condition of things has been recently made by the National Society of Day Nurseries, founded in 1906 with the object of assisting local committees and affiliating existing nurseries.

† For further details consult "The Nursling" (see Bibliography, page 19) Lecture X., and translator's preface.

All the Paris crèches can be visited by anyone who is interested in them without introduction.

The Crèche in other Countries.

The chief characteristic of the Belgian crèche is that it is nearly always run in connection with an école gardienne or nursery school, which admits children up to the age of six.

The crèche system is not by any means so widely developed in Belgium as in France (outside the capital the only town at all adequately provided being Liège, which has six crèches), but in the poorer suburbs of Brussels there are one or two crèches admirably installed and managed which far surpass anything of the kind in England.

Crèches or Krippen exist in most German and Swiss towns,* and are usually separate from the kindergartens or nursery schools. The krippe admits children from six weeks to three years, and is intended only for the children of mothers who are out at work. It is open from 5.30 or 6 a.m. till the factories close in the evening, or sometimes till 8 p.m. The charge is usually about twopence a day; sometimes, to nursing mothers only, one penny a day. Illegitimate children are not excluded. Krippen are, as a rule, in the charge of Sisters (Catholic or Protestant), with voluntary helpers, who have nearly always been trained in the management of infants. The krippen are not municipally organized or supervised, but they receive in many towns municipal grants varying a good deal in amount. The cost varies from sixpence to tenpence a head.

Nursery Schools.

Between the crèche and the elementary school there is obvious need for a half-way house. This is already supplied, after a fashion, in some parts of the country by the baby class in the infant school, but nowhere in England is it sufficiently recognized that what is needed is not a school at all in the ordinary sense. Children under five (or, as I should prefer to say, under six or seven) should receive little or no definite instruction. They need plenty of freedom for spontaneous activity among wholesome surroundings under the guidance and supervision of attendants who have been trained in matters relating to health, to conduct, and to the growth of intelligence. Large rooms, well lighted, well aired, well warmed, and a pleasant open air playground where, if possible, plants and animals can be watched and tended, not too much interference, but the constant care of kind and watchful nurses; these are the requisites for a nursery school. In England, although a kindergarten here and there comes near to this ideal, no attempt has been made to supply the need for them all over the country. For anything of the kind on a national scale we must turn to France, Belgium, or Hungary.

* See Report by Miss May published with that of Consultative Committee.

THE ÉCOLE MATERNELLE (FRANCE).

Yet it is consoling to our national vanity when we look up the history of the French écoles maternelles, from which we have now so much to learn, to find that in their origin they owe a good deal to an Englishman and a Socialist.

For their first germ, indeed, we must go to Switzerland and to the year 1771, when Pastor Oberlin started his first école à tricoter in the Vosges. Mme. Pastoret transplanted the idea to Paris in 1801 when she opened a salle d'hospitalité, where the children of working mothers could be taken in and cared for; but it was not till 1826 that anything approaching the modern maternal school was opened, and by that time Mme. Pastoret had learned all she could about the infant schools which had been started by the English cotton manufacturer, Robert Owen, in 1812.

It was in the blackest hour of English child slavery that these schools appeared like a dawn of hope, an illusory dawn unfortunately. Robert Owen, roused by the pitiable condition of the poor children collected together from public charities and poor houses in order to work in the cotton mills, put a stop in his own mills to the practice of employing them from the age of six, and persuaded the parents to send them to school at two and keep them there till ten. Of these eight years the earlier were, in his opinion, even more important than the later. His reasons for thinking so are to be gathered from the very interesting evidence which he gave in 1816 before the Select Committee of the House of Commons to Enquire into the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis. In describing the treatment of the infants, he says:—

They were perpetually superintended, to prevent their acquiring bad habits, to give them good ones, and to form their dispositions to mutual kindness and a sincere desire to contribute all in their power to benefit each other. . . . *In fine weather the children are much out of doors that they may have the benefit of sufficient exercise in the open air. . . . The children were not to be annoyed with books, but were to be taught the uses and nature or qualities of the common things around them by familiar conversation, when the children's curiosity was excited so as to induce them to ask questions. . . . All rewards and punishments whatever, except such as nature herself has provided . . . are sedulously excluded. . . . A child who acts improperly is considered an object not of blame, but of pity. . . . No unnecessary restraint is imposed on the children. . . . The dress worn by both boys and girls is composed of strong white cotton cloth of the best quality that can be procured. It is formed in the shape of the Roman tunic, and reaches in the boys' dresses to the knees and in the girls to the ankle. These dresses are changed three times a week that they may be kept perfectly clean and neat. The parents of the older children pay threepence a month. Nothing is paid for the infant classes. . . . The infants, besides being instructed by sensible signs—the things themselves or models or paintings—and by familiar conversation, were from two years and upwards daily taught dancing and singing.**

Owen had some difficulty in finding teachers who would adopt his views and could carry them out.

I had therefore [he says] to seek among the population for two persons who had a great love for, and unlimited patience with, infants and who were thoroughly tractable and willing unreservedly to follow my instructions. The best to my mind in

* "An Outline of the System of Education in New Lanark," published, 1824, by Robert Dale Owen (Robert Owen's son); see "Life of Robert Owen," by F. Podmore (London: 1906).

these respects that I could find in the population of the village was a poor simple hearted weaver, named James Buchanan, who had been previously trained by his wife to perfect submission to her will, and who could gam but a scanty living by his now oppressed trade of weaving common plain cotton goods by hand. But he *loved* children strongly by nature, and his patience with them was inexhaustible.

This man was afterwards sent to London to superintend the first English infant school, which was opened in Westminster under the patronage of James Mill and other distinguished men. Owen gives an amusing account of his disappointment on the occasion of a surprise visit to this school :—

On entering the school, the first object that I saw was Mrs. Buchanan, whom I had never seen in the New Lanark school, brandishing a whip and terrifying the children with it. Buchanan I saw in another part of the room without authority or influence, and as much subject to his wife as the children.

Owen was full of ideas, and none of them were more original and valuable than those as to the education of infants ; but, as one may judge from the above extract, he does not seem to have had the knack of gathering round him the people who could satisfactorily carry out those ideas and render permanent the institutions which sprang from his warm heart and fertile brain. But England was deep in the trough of *laissez faire*, and one need not wonder that here Owen's preaching fell on deaf ears and produced no permanent results.

France, quickened by a stirring of revolt and intellectual awakening, offered more hopeful soil ; and there, as we have seen, the seed germinated when the first *salle d'asile* (or *salle d'essai*, as it was at first called) was opened in the Rue du Bac in 1826. Seven years later the *salles d'asiles* received their first recognition by the State, and in 1837 a commission was appointed to draw up rules for their conduct. These rules were revised from time to time, and a special training school for infant teachers was opened ; and at last, in 1881, the old name of *salles d'asiles* was changed to *écoles maternelles*, and the rules as to admission and the program were settled and codified.

At the head of every *école maternelle* is a directress, a certificated teacher, whose salary, paid in part by the State, in part by the commune, begins at one hundred and sixty-eight pounds a year, and rises gradually to a maximum of two hundred and eight pounds, with a right to a pension at the end of twenty-five years. She is helped by a number of assistants (one for every forty children), whose salaries begin at eighty-eight pounds, and rise to one hundred and twenty-eight pounds. There are, in addition, a number of nurses or servants chosen by the directrice and paid by the commune, whose wages vary from forty pounds to fifty pounds.

The directress has various registers to keep, which must be at the disposal of the inspectors.

On the arrival of the children in the morning, she must ascertain by personal inspection that each one is in good health and clean. She also inspects their baskets, and sees that each child has brought a pocket handkerchief. She receives the pence and keeps a list of those who are fed free of charge, and she supervizes the school canteen.

The assistants must be over seventeen and certificated. Each has a separate class, and a great deal depends on the ingenuity and child love of the teacher. They help with the midday meal if required. The school hours being very long, they take it in turns to stay overtime.

The nurses, or *femmes de service*, are a most important addition to the staff. There is one, at least, in every school; two, if the numbers justify it. Their duties are very various. They sweep out the school every day, and open it at eight in winter and seven in summer for any children whose mothers go early to work, taking charge of the children till the directress and assistants arrive at nine o'clock. The *femme de service* superintends the children at the water closets every morning and again at one o'clock. This, from a hygienic point of view, is most important and is much neglected in English infant schools. She also washes the children's hands and faces twice a day and, in some schools, gives them a weekly bath and helps to wait on them at the school dinner. As in the case of the *crèche*, the general superintendence of the school is in the hands of a committee of ladies presided over by the mayor. Members of this committee visit the homes of the children.

The *école maternelle* is optional and free. Children between the ages of two and six are admitted on producing a note of admission from the mayor of the commune. Mothers are specially asked to bring the children clean and to pack in their school bucket a spoon, a dinner napkin, some bread and wholesome drink.

The schools are entirely paid for out of public funds, the cost being divided between the State, the department, and the commune.

The "*Caisses des Ecoles*" is a benevolent society subsidized and controlled by the State. It originated in 1849 and has grown into an organization of great importance. It covers much the same ground as our newly established Care Committees, its object being to provide clothing, boots, and food to necessitous children. It also provides for country holidays and vacation schools.

About a third of the children in the *écoles maternelles* pay for their food and the rest have it free. The list of the latter is kept by the mayor. The food consists chiefly of milk, vegetable purées and other soups, macaroni, semolina, and tapioca, with very little or no meat.

Many of the large towns in France are spending great sums in feeding the children in the *écoles maternelles*. Marseilles has made all the feeding in them free. St. Etienne charges three halfpence, for which wine is given.

The *écoles maternelles*, like the other French schools, are inspected at least twice a month by the medical inspector; but besides these there is a large staff of special lady inspectors.

With regard to medical inspection of Paris schools, it must be remembered that in every district there is, under the *caisse des écoles*, a free dispensary for children subsidized by the municipality. Here children from the schools can have baths, hair cut and washed,

medical advice with regard to teeth, eyes, ears, etc.; while a free distribution of cod liver oil is made to necessitous children in the winter.

It is difficult to give any idea of the school program in a few words. It includes games, manual work, such as building with bricks or cards and making artificial flowers, the first principles of moral education, knowledge of everyday things, drawing, and lessons on language. Reading is taught to children over five, but not much insisted on. The little talks on familiar subjects are, perhaps, what strike one most. Take this, for instance: "The house, the kitchen. Let the child describe it. What can we see? Kitchen fire, table, etc. The use of each object. What does mother do? Each child? Cat? Children should help their parents without complaining." Or this: "The pocket handkerchief. What is it? What is its use? Blowing your nose, spitting. Each must have a handkerchief. How to use it. Unfold, refold."

Simple, familiar topics, such as these, afford the best opportunities for inducing children to talk; and nothing is more important in dealing with the little ones from neglected homes.

The Ecole Maternelle in Other Countries.

France does not stand alone with regard to nursery schools. In Belgium an *école gardienne*, as it is called, is attached to every crèche, and is managed on much the same lines as the *écoles maternelles*.

Germany, Switzerland, Portugal and Hungary all have their maternal schools or kindergartens.

In Hungary* they are excellent. Early in the nineteenth century, a Countess of Brunswick, having been much impressed by the infant schools of Owen's follower, Wilderspin, in England, came back to Hungary, and urged the claims of infant education just at the moment when reform was rife there.

A normal school for training infant teachers was founded so early as 1837, and in 1875 kindergartens were recognized by the State as a definite form of public instruction.

By an Act of Parliament, passed in 1891, attendance at a kindergarten is compulsory for all children between the third and sixth years. These schools were dominated at first by the German idea, but by 1899, when Miss Catherine Dodd visited the country, the language, songs, and games used in them were markedly national in character, showing the influence of Hungarian life and history. One game, for instance, represented the shepherds taking care of their herds on the plains, and guarding them from the wolves which came down from the mountains; while another showed traces of the Hungarian struggles with the Turks. Weary soldiers march to fight the Turks. The village rouses into activity; the baker, the winepresser, the housewife, the tailor, and the shoemaker, all set to work to feed, clothe, and house the soldiers.

* Report on Hungarian Education, Special Reports, Vol. 8, p. 498.

⁴ I visited a village kindergarten this year [she writes]. The village lay among vineyards in a celebrated wine district on the Danube. In front of the building was a large canvas tent covering a great patch of sand, and here, sheltered from the sun, were fifty bare-legged nuns playing. They played games which were characteristic of the district. There was a word game, and the children buzzed the word which blew the bees along the Danube. There was a game of making wine casks. Groups of children formed the oak, and the other children walked round hammering in imaginary nails; while other children cut down imaginary vines to make the casks. There were one hundred and fifty children in this kindergarten. They were all in charge of one qualified teacher and her female maid servant. Everybody admitted that the staff was small, but they agreed that it was a poor district. The wren teacher-governess was well-stocked and braced up with all necessary apparatus.

"I found a class of five-year-old children, sitting on benches out of doors under the acacia trees, holding with Gail Hill. They started at us and cried out, 'Then how?' ('God has brought you?'), and they showed the benches to cross the Danube, the wells to get water on the piazza, the *majs* to grind corn, which they had built.

"All kindergarten teachers play the violin. In the games and songs the teacher is leader. She marches first, playing her violin, and the children follow, singing. . . . I spent a day in a kindergarten training school during the examination. In the garden we found some twenty girls, with their mothers, practicing the national songs of Hungary. They marched round the garden, singing and playing on choron, until they were called in to meet the examiner.

"All kindergartens in Hungary must have open playing places shaded with trees. Christian workers there vary the standard, but, as the regulations generally stand, not in

Though Hungary is the only country where the attendance of children under five is compulsory, yet we have seen that in all, except England there is some recognition of State responsibility with regard to children below school age; and it is clear that something must be done in this direction before long. It is, therefore, most important that the question should be thoroughly re-considered.

The proposal made in the Memory Poor Law Report that the entire supervision of maternity and infancy, and the administration of whatever public provision is made for these services should be in the hands of the local health authority has, of course, a very important bearing on it. This proposal would, if fully carried out, remove entirely from the domain of the education authority any public day nurseries or nursery schools which may be decided on. The common sense view seems to be that throughout the life of the child its interests should be guarded both by the education authority and the health authority; but that the province of the latter, which would at first cover the whole field, would become gradually more restricted. At the stage when health considerations are predominant, the local health authority must undertake the administration, making use of the teachers of the education authority as required; at the stage when educational considerations are predominant, the administration must be in the hands of the education authority, making use of the doctors of the health authority as required. In the extreme should be, as in France, daily medical inspection, and the management should be chiefly in the hands of doctors; but even here questions for the educational expert will arise with reference to the qualification of the staff and the training of the older infants. In the nursery school, the medical inspection required will be almost as frequent, but the educational point of view will tend to be rather more adequately represented in the committee of management.

How this joint action of the local health authority and the local education authority can best be attained, at all stages of the child's life, is a question of administration with which we need not meddle here,* but it seems desirable that there should be no sudden break at any age. The establishment of public crèches, under the direct control of the local health authority, would be an invaluable supplement to the system of combining the work of health visitors, either paid or unpaid, with that of the medical officer of health and his staff. This system, already successfully established in many parts of London, aims at keeping under observation every infant from the time of its birth by means of friendly visits of advice. As things are at present, a health visitor is often harrowed by the hopeless conditions into which a baby is born, and feels that her advice is little better than a mockery. Mothers are often quite unable, either from poor health or from the dire necessity of bread winning, to nurse their babies or attend to their constant needs; but there are worse cases still where, from sheer lack of any alternative, a new born infant must be left to the tender mercies of a drunken or dissolute mother, whose one precaution is to insure its life.

In cases of this kind, a public crèche, to which the medical officer of health had power to order the removal of any neglected infant, would be a great resource. Such enforced removal would never happen, of course, in the case of any decent home or of any mother who was nursing her child; but as an alternative for the casual minder, the feeble grandmother, or the ten year old sister, it would be invaluable.

The question of payment would have to be settled as in the case of school feeding, after inquiry into the family resources, and need not in any way interfere with the decision of the medical officer. The cases that would come before him may be classified as:—

1. Temporary.

Home, even of the best type are liable to be disorganized from time to time by the disablement of the mother or father, or by some other unavoidable misfortune; and the temporary removal of young children to a safe refuge affords invaluable help towards tiding over such a period, while it saves them from the evil consequences of neglect.

2. Wage Earning Mothers.

During the first three or four months of an infant's life, the mother might well be restrained by law from going out to work, home alimient being provided in necessitous cases; but as the child grows older, some mothers will certainly desire to return to their work, and provided that they are not in receipt of public assistance for the children, conditional on their devoting themselves to the care of the children, there seems no adequate reason why they should not do so.

* Cf. Minority Poor Law Report (Official Edition), Note on p. 1224.

3. Homes that have been or ought to be Broken Up.

The widower or deserted husband has no choice at present but to pay a neighbor to look after his children, a service often most unsatisfactorily performed; but there are cases even more piteous. Bad health, bad habits, or merely unemployment on the part of the father, slatternly incompetence, or something worse, on the part of the mother, bring about a gradual and hopeless deterioration of the household which renders it unfit for little children to live in. Under such circumstances, it is essential that the medical authority should have power to order their removal to a public nursery, where they will be entirely under the parental control of the State.*

Reforms to Work for.

1. That the age for compulsory school attendance be raised to six, with a corresponding addition at the other end, making the compulsory period from six to at least fifteen or even older.

2. That the medical officer have power to enforce the attendance at a suitable nursery school of any child under six who is not suitably cared for at home.

3. That every local authority be required to provide adequately for children from three to six in free nursery schools, with sleeping accommodation and ample open air and covered playgrounds, and no teaching of the three R's.

4. That at such schools suitable meals be provided at the expense of the rates, table manners being an integral part of the curriculum.

5. That every local authority be also required to provide boarding schools in the country to serve as convalescent and holiday homes for the children attending nursery schools who are found by the medical officer to need country air, and also for the reception of children removed from their parents by the order of the medical authority.

6. That sufficient accommodation be provided in every district for infants under three in small day nurseries under the control of the local authority, such nurseries to be entirely free.

7. That the feeding of the children at these day nurseries be under direct medical supervision, mothers being encouraged to attend regularly for the purpose of suckling their infants.

8. That in connection with every such nursery there shall be a "school for mothers," or "consultation for nurslings," where babies may be brought by their mothers for free medical inspection and advice, and where pure and suitable milk will be provided free or at cost price.

* *Minority Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law, p. 825, par. 2.*

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SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

A REPLY TO MR. MALLOCK.

BY BERNARD SHAW.

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SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In January, 1909, Mr. Keir Hardie delivered an address in which he pointed out that the remarkable increase in our national income, of which so much was being said in the controversy then raging between Free Traders and Tariff Reformers, had not been shared by the working classes, who were no better off than before. Immediately Mr. W. H. Mallock wrote to *The Times* accusing Mr. Keir Hardie of ignorance of political economy, on the ground that an educated man would have known that as the increase had been produced by the exceptional ability of the employers and inventors, there was no reason to claim any share of it for the employee class. Thereupon I lost patience with Mr. Mallock and wrote the following letter to *The Times*.

MR. MALLOCK'S IDEALS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Mr. Mallock's controversy with Mr. Chozza-Money over the figures of Mr. Keir Hardie may very well be left to the embarrassed silence in which good-natured people sit when a person of some distinction volunteers an absurd blunder as a contribution to a subject which he has not mastered. The notion that the people who are now spending in week-end hotels, in motor cars, in Switzerland, the Riviera, and Algeria the remarkable increase in unearned incomes noted by Mr. Keir Hardie have ever invented anything, ever directed anything, ever even selected their own investments without the aid of a stockbroker or solicitor, ever as much as seen the industries from which their incomes are derived, betrays not only the most rustic ignorance of economic theory, but a practical ignorance of society so incredible in a writer of Mr. Mallock's position that I find it exceedingly difficult to persuade my fellow Socialists that he really believes what he teaches. They regard me as a cynic when I tell them that even the cleverest man will believe anything he wishes to believe, in spite of all the facts and all the text-books in the world.

However, that is not the point that moves me to utterance on this occasion. If Mr. Mallock does not know the difference between the rents of land and capital and the "rent of ability"—if he is so ignorant of ordinary business and patent law as not to know that the cleverest inventor cannot possibly extract a farthing more from his invention than his stupidest competitor when it has been communized 14 years after its registration—he must not expect the Socialists to educate him. My quarrel with him is deeper than the technics of distribution. Mr. Mallock is preaching an ideal; and I want every gentleman in England to repudiate that ideal, whether he be Socialist, Individualist, Liberal, Free Fooder, Tariff Reformer, or Home Ruler.

The ideal is, not that the greatest among you shall be servants of all the rest, but that whenever one of us discovers a means of increasing wealth and happiness, steps should be taken to restrict the increase to the discoverer alone, leaving the rest of the community as poor as if the discovery had never been made. If Mr. Mallock does not mean this, he means nothing. If he does mean it, what does his University say to him? What does the Church say to him? What does every officer in the Army and Navy say to him? What does every Civil servant say to him, every statesman, every member of the humblest local authority, every professional man, every country gentleman, every man of honor, gentle or simple, who asks no more than a sufficient and dignified subsistence in return for the best service he is capable of giving to his country and to the world? This is not a question of the difference between the Socialist and the anti-Socialist: it is a question of the difference between the gentleman and the cad. Lord Lansdowne is not a Socialist, and Lord Charles Beresford is not a Socialist; but Lord Lansdowne has not asked for the hundreds of

millions he saved Europe by making our treaty with Japan, and Lord Charles Bessford, if the German fleet attacked ours, would not refuse to conduct our naval defence unless the country were to be given to him as prize money when he had saved it. It is true that we have tradesmen—some of them in business on a very large scale both here and in America—impudent enough and base enough to demand for themselves every farthing that their business ability adds to the wealth of their country. If these *canaille* were surgeons with a monopoly of a capital operation, they would refuse to save a patient's life until they had extorted his entire fortune as a fee. If they were judges, they would sneer at a judge's modest £5,000 a year, and demand the total insurance value of the protection they afforded to society. If they were lifeboat coxswains or firemen, they would bargain for the kit of a drowning sailor or the nighty of a child in a burning house before they would throw a lifebuoy or mount a ladder. They are justly despised by men of Mr. Mallock's profession and education; and when Mr. Mallock challenges the right of our workmen to a share in the increased product of industry by asking whether their labor "has become more productive in respect of the laborer's own exclusive operations," he not only lays himself open to the obvious counter-question as to whether the "exclusive operations" of our employers could produce anything more than the exclusive operations of our laborers, but, what is far more serious, he seems to be lending the credit of his reputation, his education, and the high social and intellectual prestige of his class to the most abandoned sort of blackguardism that is still outside the criminal law.

It is fortunate for us that few of our tradesmen are so vile or so silly as the commercial theory by which theorists attempt to justify them. The man who has "made" £20,000 a year for himself knows very well that his success does not afford the smallest presumption that his services have been more important than those of a police-constable with 24s. a week. He does not dream of posing as the superior of the captain of a battleship with a modest income of three figures. Mr. Carnegie "divides up" his surplus millions, and makes wildly Socialistic proposals, never for a moment suggesting that he is 50 times as clever as Mr. Mallock because he is 50 times as rich. I am not supposed to be an exceptionally modest man; but I did not advance the fact that I have made more money by a single play than Shakespear did by all his plays put together as a simple proof that I am enormously superior to Shakespear as a playwright. Our millionaires unload—awkwardly and unwisely sometimes, it is true, but still they unload—and do not talk nonsense about being 650 times as clever or as sober or as industrious as a dock-laborer because they have 650 times his income. The man who pretends that the distribution of income in this country reflects the distribution of ability or character is an ignoramus. The man who says that it could by any possible political device be made to do so is an impractical visionary. But the man who says that it ought to do so is something worse than an ignoramus and more disastrous than a visionary: he is, in the profoundest Scriptural sense of the word, a fool.

In conclusion, may I confess that nothing is so terrifying to the Socialist to-day as the folly of his opponents? There is nothing to keep the inevitable advance steady, to force the rank and file to keep their best men forward. A paper called *The Anti-Socialist* is brought out with a flourish of trumpets. I open it, and find *vers de socialité* and a caricature of myself by a French artist, who depicts me in a French frock-coat, a Grand Old Man collar, and the countenance of Henri Rochefort. A Belgian navy is labelled "Ramsay Macdonald": an American knockabout from the *café chantant* is carefully marked "Keir Hardie." Is it worth while to spend so much money to provide our Socialist debaters with footballs? If the Socialists did not know the difficulties of Socialism better than their opponents, and were not therefore far sterner Tories than the tariff reformers and far sounder Liberals than the free-traders; if all decent men were not nine-tenths Socialists to begin with, whether they know it or not; if there were any possibility of controversy as to the fundamental proposition of Socialism that whoever does not by the work of his prime repay the debt of his nurture and education, support himself in his working days, and provide for his retirement, inflicts on society precisely the same injury as a thief, then indeed the prospect would be black for civilization. As it is, I will continue to back the red flag against the black one; and with that I leave the Anti-Socialist League to sweep up the fragments of Mr. Mallock and produce their next champion.

Yours truly,

G. BERNARD SHAW.

Feb. 2.

Mr. Mallock made two replies to this letter. The first was sent to *The Times*, the readers of which had had my letter before them. It is practically a surrender without a blow. The second was sent to the other daily papers, the readers of which had not seen my letter. It is an attempt to retreat in fighting order.

The *Times* letter is as follows.

MR. BERNARD SHAW ON MR. MALLOCK.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE *TIMES*.

Sir,—If Mr. Bernard Shaw cares to look into the pages of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find the opinion or "ideal" which he attributes to me stated with the most minute precision and emphatically repudiated. So far as I myself am concerned, his long letter is absolutely without relevance.

I am your obedient servant,
February 5. W. H. MALLOCK.

The letter to the other papers ran thus :

MR. MALLOCK AND G. B. SHAW.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE *MORNING ADVERTISER*.

Sir,—Mr Shaw, although in his letter to the press, published this morning, he diverges into a variety of details, says that his main object is to criticise an opinion, or an "ideal" which he imputes to myself. The ideal translates itself into the doctrine that whatever increment of wealth is produced by ability as distinct from labor ought to be entirely appropriated by the gifted individual producing it, and that nobody else should receive from it any benefit. I have no right to demand that Mr Shaw should read my writings, but it is reasonable to demand that he should read them before he attempts to criticise my opinions or "ideals." If he had taken the trouble to read my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he would have found that the particular ideal or opinion which he imputes to me is described in that book with the utmost precision, but is described only that it may be in precise terms repudiated.

On page 202 he will find the following passages:—"If, therefore, the claims of labor are based on, and limited to, the amount of wealth which is produced by labor itself . . . what labor would receive would be far less, not more, than what it receives to-day. . . . Is it, then, here contended, many readers will ask, that if matters are determined by ideal justice, or anything like practical wisdom, the remuneration of labor in general ought henceforth to be lessened, or, at all events, precluded from any possibility of increase? . . . If anyone thinks that such is the conclusion which is here suggested, let him suspend his opinion until we return to it, as we shall do, and deal with it in a more comprehensive way." This question is taken up again, page 283, as follows:—"Is it, then, the reader will ask, the object of the present volume to suggest that the true course of social reform in the future . . . would be to bind down the majority to the little maximum they could produce by their own unaided efforts? The object of this volume is the precise opposite. It is not to suggest that they should possess no more than they produce. It is to place their claim to a surplus not produced by themselves on a true instead of a fantastic basis." Mr. Shaw may be left to read what follows if he pleases.

With regard to two other definite points, he touches farther on what he calls my opinions, or my "rustic ignorance" of economics. One of these relates to the "rent of ability." If he turns to pages 191-193 of my "Critical Examination of Socialism," he will find this question discussed with great minuteness, the truth contained in the doctrine held by himself and other Socialists admitted and endorsed, and an element in the problem, which is yet more important, but to which they are entirely blind, specified. With regard to what Mr. Shaw says about configurations and "babes' nightmares," he will find this precise point anticipated and dealt with on page 122, "Critical Examination." I have, let me repeat, no right to claim that Mr. Shaw should read a line of anything I have written; but if in attempting to criticise the opinions and "ideals" of a writer, he imputes to him an ignorance or neglect of problems, e.g., the rent of ability, which he has discussed far more minutely than has

Mr. Shaw himself said sometimes to him opinions which he has elaborately reported. Mr. Shaw will have hardly added to his exposition as a critic either of economic theory or of anything else. Mr. Shaw writes about myself very much as a man would write who reviewed the *Book of Genesis* for the *Koran*.

February 5, 1909.

I am, Sir, yours, etc.,
W. H. MALLOCK

I am usually willing "to build a bridge of silver for a flying foe," but in this case I cannot let Mr. Mallock off without persuing him to utter examination. The book to which Mr. Mallock refers as showing that he has dealt with my argument does nothing of the kind: it reaffirms his error as strongly as he knows how to do it. Even if it contained a recantation, I should still have to deal with his unprovoked attack on Mr. Keir Hardie, and with his "Short Exposure of Eight Lectures on the Principal Fallacies of Socialism," in which he speaks of the Socialist "promise of distributing among the great mass of the population that portion of the annual income *which is at present in the hands of an exceptionally able minority*."

But the *Critical Examination of Socialism* contains no recantation. What it does contain is a statement that though everything that men enjoy over and above what a savage can bring from nature with his unaided hands is due to the exceptional ability of the few (represented, Mr. Mallock implies, by our rich class to-day) yet it is not expedient to strip them of everything they possess above that level, as otherwise they would have no interest in civilization, and would revolt. Therefore Mr. Mallock promises to show, in a future book, how society can be arranged so as to give us all just enough to bribe us to allow the rich to remain in undisturbed enjoyment of their present position. If anyone doubts the fairness of this description of Mr. Mallock's best chapter, the book is easily accessible in the excellent cheap edition published by John Murray in November, 1908. In spite of the extravagance of the fundamental proposition of the book, which is that a man produces in "that amount of wealth which would not have been produced at all had his efforts not been made" (pp. 206-7), thereby making every necessary laborer the producer of the entire wealth of the world, it is well worth reading, because it happens that any prejudice that may still linger against Socialism is almost wholly based on such childish ignorance of existing social conditions, and debunked by such absurd arguments, that Mr. Mallock is forced by his sense of intellectual honor to begin by making a clean sweep of the blunders of his own supporters. In doing so, he knocks the bottom out of the bottom out of the vulgar religious professions he has knocked the bottom out of the vulgar examination that passes for religion in this country. His object is to clear the ground for his own peculiar Individualism and Catholicism; but he has cleared it equally for the Fabian Society, which has the same interest as Mr. Mallock in dispelling ignorance and confusion of thought. Besides, it is as well that the world should know that just as it seems clear to many laborers that the men who walk about in frock coats and tall hats, talking and writing letters,

are not workers at all, and produce nothing, so these very frock-coated men believe, like Mr. Mallock, that the hired laborer is a brainless machine that owes the very fuel and grease that keep it working to the intelligence of the class that exploits it.

However, I need not argue the case with Mr. Mallock now. It happens that in 1894 a wave of discussion of Socialism was passing over the press. Mr. Mallock was then already ventilating his theory that the distribution of wealth in this country into big fortunes for the few and pitianges for the many, corresponds to the natural division of the British race into a handful of geniuses and many millions of mediocrities. His diagrams are still extant to shew the lengths to which he went. Mr. Frank Harris was then editing *The Fortnightly Review*. He asked me could I answer Mr. Mallock. I replied boyishly that any Socialist over the age of six could knock Mr. Mallock into a cocked hat. He invited me to try my hand ; and the result was the following essay, which appeared in the *Review* in April, 1894. I emphasize the date to shew that Mr. Mallock has had plenty of time to consider my case and answer it. When he put forth his *Critical Examination of Socialism* and accused Mr. Keir Hardie of illiterate ignorance, he forgot that his own *Unsocialism* had been critically examined, and that Mr. Keir Hardie had all the classic economists, from Adam Smith to Cairnes, at his back. Mr. Keir Hardie is, in fact, on this subject, demonstrably a better read and better informed authority than Mr. Mallock.

I reprint my arguments as they appeared in 1894. During the fifteen years since, Oblivion has made a few topical allusions unintelligible, and Death has changed some present tenses into past ones. I have dealt with these by a few inessential alterations, and omitted some chaff and some literary digressions ; but the case against Mr. Mallock stands as it did.

SOCIALISM AND SUPERIOR BRAINS.

MR. MALLOCK'S general proposition is, that exceptional personal ability is the main factor in the production of wealth, and that the Fabian essayists, by failing to grasp this, have greatly exaggerated the efficiency of mere labor in the production of wealth. Let me see whether the irrepressible smile which this accusation has produced upon the countenances of the essayists can be transferred to those of the public, and finally to that of Mr. Mallock himself.

First, it is clear that such huge populations as ours really do owe their very existence to what Mr. Mallock defines as Ability, and not to what he defines as Labor. The whole advantage of a Transatlantic steamship over a man paddling on a tree-trunk, of a Great Northern express over a pilgrim's staff, of a Nasmyth steam hammer over the lump of stone which St. Jerome uses to beat his breast in the pictures of the Old Masters, or of a power-loom over the plaiting power of the fingers: all this is the product, not of Labor, but of Ability. Give Labor its due, says Mr. Mallock; and it will receive only what it could produce if Ability had never existed. Now this would clearly be much less than enough to support even a fragment of our present population. Therefore, since Labor gets enough at present to keep it half alive or so, it must get more than its due (Mr. Mallock calculates forty per cent. more, though surely several thousand per cent. would be nearer the mark); and the excess is a clear tribute levied upon Ability for the benefit of Labor. I take it that this is an inexpugnable proposition. Far from repudiating it, as Mr. Mallock would seem to expect, I embrace it in the spirit in which Mrs. Gamp asked Mrs. Prig, "Who deniges of it, Betsy?" What on earth use would Ability be to us if it did not lighten our toil and increase our gain? We support and encourage Ability in order that we may get as much as possible out of it, not in order that it may get as much as possible out of us. Mr. Mallock seems to regard this as dishonest. Possibly it is; but it is the sole safeguard for the existence of men of Ability. Give them and their heirs the entire product of their ability, so that they shall be enormously rich whilst the rest of us remain just as poor as if they had never existed; and it will become a public duty to kill them, since nobody but themselves will be any the worse, and we shall be much the better for having no further provocation to the sin of envy.

The Able Inventor.

This does not seem to have struck Mr. Mallock until the first appearance of this article in 1894. He had been preoccupied by the danger of the opposite extreme—that of grabbing the entire product of exceptional ability, and thus depriving it of its commercial

incentive to action. Fortunately, society is not bound to go to either extreme: its business from the commercial point of view is to get the use of ability as cheaply as it can for the benefit of the community, giving the able man just enough advantage to keep his ability active and efficient, if it should really turn out that able men will act stupidly unless they are given extra pay. From the Unsocialist point of view this is simply saying that it is the business of society to find out exactly how far it can rob the able man of the product of his ability without injuring itself, which is precisely true (from that point of view), though whether it is a reduction of Socialism to dishonesty or of Unsocialism to absurdity may be left an open question. Happily we need not dwell on the moral question, since we have long ago adopted the Socialist point of view in every case in which the working of our industrial system admits of it. Take Mr. Mallock's pet example, the inventor. His ability produces untold millions. Machine after machine is invented of which we are told that it has multiplied the productivity of labor twice, ten times, two hundred times, fourteen thousand times, and so on beyond the bounds of belief; and processes are devised by which metals are so strengthened that the formerly impossible is now possible, the gain being consequently incalculable. What do we do with the public benefactors who shew us how to perform these marvels? Do we allow them and their remotest posterity to wallow in the full product of their ability, and so lose all incentive to further exertion? Not a bit of it. We announce to them our intention of making their invention public property in fourteen years time, during which, provided they pay us certain fees for the privilege, we allow them by patent such a power of veto on the use of the invention as enables them to secure during that period a share—and only a share—of its product. If at the end of the fourteen years they can prove to us that their invention has made its way so slowly that they have not been reasonably repaid for their actual expenditure in time and money, we may perhaps extend their privilege for a further short period. But after that comes naked Socialistic expropriation, making the use of the invention free to the stupid and the clever alike.

The Able Author.

To vary the illustration, let us take the case of Mr. Mallock himself. For aught we know, Mr. Mallock's novels may outlive Don Quixote and Tom Jones; and his economic essays may stand as long as Aristotle's. The difference in value between a page of one of his works and the advertisement sheet of a daily newspaper is wholly due to his ability, ability of an order which it is admittedly the highest duty of statesmanship to encourage to the utmost. Yet how socialistically we treat Mr. Mallock! We reward his exertions by an offer to lend him his own books for forty-two years, after which the dullest bookseller in the land will be free to send his works to the printer and sell them without paying a farthing to the author's heirs. And nobody suggests, as far as I know, that

if we were to extend the duration of patents and copyrights to a million years, we should get one book or one invention the more by it.

Now let us suppose that on the expiration of Mr. Mallock's copyrights the cheap bookseller of the period were to make £10,000 by getting out a cheap edition of *The New Republic*, and were to call his gains the product of literary genius. The statement would be quite accurate; but if he were to go on to claim any special sacredness (say from taxation) for his £10,000 on that account, he would be promptly met by the question, *Whose literary genius?* And when he replied, as he would have to, "Well, William Hurrell Mallock's genius," his fellow citizens would certainly *inform him* that they were not, if they could help it, going to privilege him because somebody else was a great writer. Now I will not say that any railway shareholder to-day is so absurd as to plume himself on the fact that his dividends are the product of inventive genius, leaving it to be inferred that the genius is his own and not George Stephenson's; but passage after passage in Mr. Mallock's anti-Socialist writings either means that a railway dividend is the reward of the ability which invented the locomotive steam-engine or else means nothing at all. The obvious fact that the interest on railway stock in this country is paid mostly to people who could not invent a wheelbarrow, much less a locomotive, he treats as an ingenious Fabian paradox. And a cool assumption that every child, every woman of fashion, every man about town, every commonplace lady or gentleman who holds shares in an electric lighting company, or a telephone company, or a Transatlantic steamship company, is a Wheatstone, a Bell, an Edison, a Bessemer, a Watt, or a Stephenson, he gravely reasons upon, and takes as a basis for elaborate statistical calculations and startling diagrams, as if it were sober sense instead of the most laughably extravagant bluff that has ever been attempted, even in a controversy on Socialism. I am convinced that Mr. Mallock himself, now that I have placed his argument naked before him, will throw himself on the mercy of the town, and ask whether it is likely that so clever a man as he could have meant anything so outrageous. But there are his figures, graphic and arithmetical, to shew that he meant that interest on capital is the price of exceptional ability, and that profits include payment for every human invention, from the potter's wheel to the marine steam-engine. Let me not here seem to disparage his common sense offensively. I cannot seriously believe that if some relative were to leave him a million of money, he would say to his stockbroker, "I am not satisfied with being a well-known author: I wish to be a great engineer too; so buy me some Manchester Ship Canal stock. I also yearn for fame as an aviator: get me instantly a few shares in the company which manufactured Monsieur Bleriot's aeroplane. As I wish to secure immortality as a great sculptor, I shall call a great statue into existence by my capital: no doubt Monsieur Rodin or some other professional person will put in the mere manual labor for a few thousand guineas. I have also, I must confess, a curious longing to be

remembered as a famous actress: I shall therefore build a theatre and engage Sarah Bernhardt, Eleonora Duse, and one or two other female proletarians, who, without the aid of capital, would be selling oranges like Nell Gwynne." I feel sure Mr. Mallock has far too much ability to go on in any such insane way; and I even believe that if a laborer were to write articles claiming that labor was so mighty that one workman could with a single stroke knead a mass of metal as if it were a lump of dough or slice a bar of steel like a cucumber, Mr. Mallock would smash such idiotic pretensions with the utmost brilliancy. Therefore, as I say, I am loth to trip him up for having advanced cognate pretensions on behalf of the shareholding class. I had rather by far hold my tongue; and I would have done so if only Mr. Mallock would leave the Fabians and Mr. Keir Hardie, who never injured him, unmolested. Why cannot a man write bad political economy without coupling it with an attack on the Fabian Society? The profit is naught; the retribution sudden, swift, and fearful.

Ability at Supply-and-Demand Prices.

The facts about "rent of ability" are not so simple as Mr. Mallock thinks. To begin with, the price of ability does not depend on merit, but on supply and demand. Plato was, on the whole, a greater author than Old Moore, the almanack maker; but if he were alive now he would not make so much money by his books. When Ibsen died he was unquestionably the greatest dramatist of the nineteenth century; but he was very far indeed from being the richest. Great philosophers and poets are apt to starve because, as their wares are above the heads of the public, there is no demand and therefore no price, although the commodity offered is very scarce and precious. But when the ability is of a sort everyone can appreciate, or, above all, that can make money or cure illness, there is no lack of demand. Sometimes there is no lack of supply either: for instance, in a modern city the policemen, the firemen, the sewer-men, are supposed to save property, life, and health wholesale: yet their ability is to be had without stint for twenty-four shillings a week or thereabouts, because the supply is large. Not so the supply of popular portrait-painters, novelists, dramatists, consultant physicians, special pleaders, and directors and organizers of industry. These popular persons get large sums, not because their talents are more useful to society than those of the policemen, but solely because they are scarcer.

Imaginary Ability.

I say popular persons rather than able persons; for the public is often a very bad judge of ability. For example, there died a short time ago a barrister who once acquired extraordinary celebrity as an Old Bailey advocate, especially in murder cases. When he was at his zenith I read all his most famous defences, and can certify that he always missed the strong point in his client's case and the weak one in the case for the prosecution, and was, in short,

the most homicidally incompetent impostor that ever bullied a witness or made a "moving" but useless appeal to a jury. Fortunately for him the murderers were too stupid to see this: besides, their imaginations were powerfully impressed by the number of clients of his who were hanged. So they always engaged him, and added to his fame by getting hanged themselves in due course. In the same way a surgeon will get a reputation as the only possible man to consult in cancer cases simply because he has cut off more breasts than anyone else. The fact that in all the professions there is one first favorite means no more than the fact that there is only one editor of *The Times*. It is not the man who is singular, but the position. The public imagination demands a best man everywhere; and if Nature does not supply him the public invents him. The art of humbug is the art of getting invented in this way. Every generation invents great men at whom posterity laughs when some accident makes it aware of them. Even in business, the greatest reputations are sometimes the result of the glamor of city superstition. I could point to railway chairmen reputed indispensable, whom the shareholders and the travelling public might with great profit and comfort to themselves send to St. Helena with a pension of £10,000 a year.

The Ability that Gives Value for Money.

But in business, as a rule, a man must make what he gets and something over into the bargain. I have known a man to be employed by a firm of underwriters to interview would-be insurers. His sole business was to talk to them and decide whether to insure or not. Salary, £4,000 a year. This meant that the loss of his judgment would have cost his employers more than £4,000 a year. Other men have an eye for contracts or what not, or are born captains of industry, in which cases they go into business on their own account, and make ten, twenty, or two hundred per cent. where you or I would lose five. Or, to turn back a moment from the giants to the minnows, take the case of a woman with a knack of cutting out a dress. She gets six guineas a week instead of eighteen shillings. Or she has perhaps a ladylike air and a figure on which a mantle looks well. For these she can get several guineas a week merely by standing in a show-room letting mantles be tried on her before customers. All these people are renters of ability; and their ability is inseparable from them and dies with them. The excess of their gains over those of an ordinary person with the same capital and education is the "rent" of their exceptional "fertility." But observe: if the able person makes £100,000, and leaves that to his son, who, being but an ordinary gentleman, can only get from two and a half to four per cent. on it, that revenue is pure interest on capital and in no sense whatever rent of ability. Its confiscation would set an idle man to work instead of depriving ability of its motive for exertion. When the late Lord Goschen was Chancellor of the Exchequer, he confiscated a half per cent. of the interest on Consols without checking the exercise of

ability in the least. Later on, when the value of even the reduced Consols was further reduced twenty-five per cent. by the South African War, and simultaneously the Income Tax (which is pure confiscation) jumped up to a shilling in the pound, the effect was not to dull our wits but to sharpen them. Raise a tradesman's rent (a very common form of private confiscation) and he works harder, not softer.

Waste of Ability and Inflation of its Price by The Idle Rich.

Let us consider now how far exceptional payments depend really on the ability of the earner, and how far on the social conditions under which they occur. To begin with a striking instance. A famous painter charges, and gets, 2,000 guineas for painting a portrait. Such a price is rendered possible solely by the existence of a class of patrons so rich that the payment of 2,000 guineas inflicts less privation on them than the payment of sixpence to an itinerant photographer on Hampstead Heath inflicts on a courting costermonger. These portraits are as often as not portraits of persons of average or inferior ability. If such persons had to earn the price of their portraits by their own labor, they would not pay two guineas, much less 2,000, for a portrait. On the other hand, the painter demands 2,000 guineas solely because he finds that he can get it, not in the least because his genius refuses to operate under a weaker stimulus. He will paint as good a portrait for £50 as for £2,000 if £50 is the top of his market: greater painting than any yet produced in Melbury Road or Fitzjohn's Avenue has been worse paid than that. The fashionable physician, the surgeon pre-eminently skilled in some dangerous operation, the Parliamentary barrister, all owe the excess of their incomes over that of, say, a cabinet minister, to the competition among enormously rich people or huge companies for their services. In order to state the case in the most foolish possible way, let me put it that modern Capitalism has created thousands of guineas' worth of professional ability where only tens and hundreds existed before. All that this means is that it has raised the price of certain sorts of ability twenty-fold without at all improving their quality. And in enabling idle rich people to buy up the best of this ability, it has greatly wasted and nullified it. The eminent painter paints unmemorable people; the fashionable physician preserves the lives of useless people; the Parliamentary barrister would be more useful to society as an upper division clerk in the legal branch of some public department. Generally speaking, it may be said that our capitalists pay men of ability very highly to devote their ability to the service of Capitalism; and the moment society begins to outgrow the capitalistic system, it is no longer permissible to assume that ability devoted to the service of Capitalism is serviceable to society, or, indeed, that ability which can only flourish in that way is, from the social point of view, ability at all.

Artificial Rent of Ability.

One result of that social inequality which Capitalism produces, and which Mr. Mallock admires as innocently as Pemmennis admired Miss Fotheringay, is to produce an enormous artificial rent of ability. Just as high farming increases the yield of an acre of land, so education may increase the yield of a man. But high farming cannot increase the natural rent of an acre, since all the other acres can be high-farmed too; so that the difference between the worst acre and the best (otherwise the "economic rent") can be reduced finally by equality of cultivation until it is no longer greater than the natural difference in fertility. Just so, by educating everybody, the social advantage which the educated man now has over the uneducated one can be destroyed, as it has been in the upper classes to-day. Again, enormous salaries are now paid to men because they add to ordinary business qualifications the habits and "manners and tone" of people who have unearned incomes of £10,000 a year and upward. By doing away with such incomes of idleness, society could make such habits impossible, and such manners and tone ridiculous. If Mr. Mallock will only consider that at present the mass of our population is so poor that any presentable sort of literateness or social amenity, down even to personal cleanliness and a reasonable reticence in the matter of expectoration, has a distinct scarcity value, he may gain some faint suspicion of how much of that £490,000,000 a year which we pay in profits and salaries represents rent, not of natural ability, but of social opportunity.

Artificial Ability.

There is another sort of artificial superiority which also returns an artificial rent: the superiority of pure status. What are called "superiors" are just as necessary in social organization as a keystone is in an arch; but the keystone is made of no better material than many other parts of a bridge: its importance is conferred on it by its position, not its position by its importance. If half-a-dozen men are cast adrift in a sailing boat, they will need a captain. It seems simple enough for them to choose the ablest man; but there may easily be no ablest man. The whole six, or four out of the six, or two out of the six, may be apparently equally fit for the post. In that case, the captain must be elected by lot; but the moment he assumes his authority, that authority makes him at once literally the ablest man in the boat. He has the powers which the other five have given him for their own good. Take another instance. Napoleon gained the command of the French army because he was the ablest general in France. But suppose every individual in the French army had been a Napoleon also! None the less a commander-in-chief, with his whole hierarchy of subalterns, would have had to be appointed by lot if you like—and here, again, from the moment the lot was cast, the particular Napoleon who drew the straw for commander-in-chief would have been the great, the all-powerful Napoleon, much more able than the Napoleons who were corporals and privates. After a year, the difference in ability

between the men who had been doing nothing but sentry duty, under no strain of responsibility, and the man who had been commanding the army would have been enormous. As "the defenders of the system of Conservatism" well know, we have for centuries made able men out of ordinary ones by allowing them to inherit exceptional power and status; and the success of the plan in the phase of social development to which it was proper was due to the fact that, provided only the favored man were really an ordinary man, and not a duffer, the extraordinary power conferred on him did effectually create extraordinary ability as compared with that of an agricultural laborer, for example, of equal natural endowments. The gentleman, the lord, the king, all discharging social functions of which the laborer is incapable, are products as artificial as queen bees. Their superiority is produced by giving them a superior status, just as the inferiority of the laborer is produced by giving him an inferior status. But the superior income which is the appanage of superior status is not rent of ability. It is a payment made to a man to exercise normal ability in an abnormal situation. Rent of ability is what a man gets by exercising abnormal ability in a normal situation.

How Little really goes to Ability.

If Mr. Mallock will now take his grand total of the earnings of Ability, and strike off from it, first, all rent of land and interest on capital; then all normal profits; then all non-competitive emoluments attached to a definite status in the public service, civil or military, from royalty downwards; then all payments for the advantages of secondary or technical education and social opportunities; then all fancy payments made to artists and other professional men by very rich commonplace people competing for their services; and then all exceptional payments made to men whose pre-eminence exists only in the imaginative ignorance of the public, the remainder may with some plausibility stand as genuine rent of natural ability. But in making these calculations, I would warn him against exaggerating the life incomes of the most envied professional men and skilled workers. It is not for nothing that highly educated and cultivated men go into that part of Socialism which already exists, the Civil Service, and leave the competitive prizes of the professions to be scrambled for by persons who, as a class, are by no means their superiors. In the Civil Service there is status; there is pay from the time you begin work; there are short hours and at least the possibility of good health; there is security; there is a pension; and there is early marriage without imprudence or misalliance. In the professions the beginners are forty; there is no security; health is impossible without the constitution of a thousand horses; work never ceases except during sleep and the holidays which follow the usual breaddown two or three times a year; shirking or taking things easily means ruin; the possibilities of failure are infinite; and the unsuccessful professional man is wretched, anxious, debt-crippled, and humbled beyond almost any

other unfortunate who has mistaken his vocation. If the income which a successful man makes between forty-five and sixty-five be spread over the preceding twenty years; if the severity of the brain-work as compared with that needed for any sort of routine be taken into account; and if a sufficient allowance be made for that part of the remuneration which may fairly be regarded as high interest on a frightfully risky investment, I think Mr. Mallock will begin to understand why the State can even now get into its service at moderate salaries men no less able than the professions attract, especially among those who have had a first-rate education, but who have to begin to support themselves immediately their education is finished.

The same care should be taken in estimating those high wages for manual labor which sometimes make the needy gentleman envy the boiler-maker or the steel-smelter. Such workmen, if their physique is extraordinary, can make £8 a week in the prime of life. But the prime of life does not last very long at work that fetches that price. It is as well worth a strong man's while to be a policeman with a sixth of such wages. Mr. Mallock was once greatly struck with the wages earned by the coal-hewers during the boom of 1872-3: he never tired of telling us stories of the dogs fed on beef-steaks, of the pipes with four bowls, and the rest of the evidence that the world is not going to be reformed off hand by giving £5 a week to men who have never had the chance of learning how to spend two. He might have added that mortality statistics bring out coal-mining as a healthy occupation, the truth being that when a miner is past his best working period, he has to fall back on some poorer occupation above ground, so that but few men die coal-miners. From one end to the other of the social scale nothing is more misleading than to assume, in the case of those who are paid competition wages, fees, or salaries, that they receive the top price paid in their profession or trade constantly throughout their whole working life. Further, in estimating the value of large salaries and high fees, it is necessary to take into account how much of it is mere payment of the expenses involved by the social position in which alone they can be earned. A young man building up a fashionable practice as a doctor in London cannot save a farthing out of £1,000 a year, though his personal tastes may be so inexpensive that in the Civil Service he would save £200 a year out of a salary of £400 without the least privation. As was pointed out, I think, in Fabian Essays, the servants in Dublin Castle are better paid than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, because they can live on their wages, whereas he cannot. Mr. Mallock expresses the greatest scepticism as to the Fabian estimate of £800 a year *real salary* as sufficient to attract men of first-rate ability and education at present. No doubt it seems a trifle when one fixes one's eyes on the men who are making from £10,000 to £20,000 a year at the professions, or on the millionaires of America. But you have only to look in other directions to find men of at least equal ability and character to whom an assured income of £800 a year would be

a fortune. At all events, the hard fact remains that neither in our civil nor military services do we find it necessary to pay salaries equal to the income of a leading financier, contractor, physician, or K.C. As to chemists, biologists, astronomers, mathematicians, economists, poets, and the higher brainworkers generally, no fairly prosperous publican would look at their professional incomes.

Socialism the Paradise of the Able.

It seems to me that Social-Democracy would, in comparison, be the paradise of the able man. Every step that we make towards it takes our industry more and more out of the hands of brutes and dullards. The fellow who in the first half of the nineteenth century (the wicked century, as posterity will call it) could make a fortune out of cotton spinning only on condition that he was allowed to use up nine generations of men mercilessly in one generation, has been driven out of the trade by that pioneer of Socialism, the factory inspector. When the working day in England is reduced to eight hours by law, and the employment of a human being at less than a living wage is made a felony, the incompetents who cannot make their trade self-supporting on these humane and reasonable conditions will simply have to see their business slip from them into the hands of those who can. The sweater will have to go the way of the flogging schoolmaster, or the captain who can only maintain discipline by making his ship a floating hell. Society will keep raising the standard of popular welfare to which industrial management must be adjusted, until an employer will no more be allowed to kill people by overwork or poisonous processes than he is now to kill them by sword or gun. And at every step of the process a fringe of the most selfish and stupid employers will be disqualified and beaten off into the ranks of the employed, their customers going to swell the business of men with ability enough to succeed under the new conditions. If there be any employer who will be "ruined" by having to reduce the hours of labor of his employees from ten, twelve, fourteen, or sixteen to eight, or to raise their wages from four, twelve, or sixteen shillings a week to twenty-four or thirty, then the sooner he is "ruined" the better for the country, which is not benefited by allowing its population to be degraded for the benefit of duffers. Mr. Mallock is right in supposing that Socialism, if it wants ability, will have to pay for it, but quite wrong in supposing that the price will be eight-thirteenthths of the national product.

The Highest Work also the Cheapest.

I am by no means sure that an occupation so exceedingly agreeable to the men able to do it well as the organization of industry may not at last come to be cheaper in the market than the manual labor involved by such disagreeable and dangerous tasks as sewerage, foundry work, stoking, certain kinds of mining, and so on. Clearly, if Mr. Mallock or myself had to choose between managing an iron-works for £250 a year and puddling for £500, we should

jump at the £250. In fact, it is already evident that numbers of the occupations now filled by the working classes will eventually have either to be replaced by new processes or else dropped altogether, through the impossibility of finding men or women willing to submit to them. Nobody anticipates any such difficulty with regard to the pursuits of the middle classes. Already, in many manufacturing towns, it is difficult to get even a half-witted domestic servant. The girls prefer the mill to the kitchen. But there is no difficulty in getting matrons for public institutions. How is it that Mr. Mallock, who has himself chosen a profession in which, unaided by clerks, he has to exercise ten times the ability of a stockbroker for perhaps a fifth of what the stockbroker would consider handsome remuneration, seems never to have considered the very first peculiarity of exceptional ability, namely, that unlike mere brute capacity for the drudgery of routine labor, it is exercised for its own sake, and makes its possessor the most miserable of men if it is condemned to inaction? Why, bless my heart, how did Fabian Essays, which Mr. Mallock admires so much, come to be written? Solely because the writers were able to write them, and, having the usual allowance of vanity, would not hide that ability under a bushel, though they knew beforehand that not one of them would ever touch a farthing of any pecuniary profit that might arise from the publication. If an ordinance were issued to-morrow that every man, from the highest to the lowest, should have exactly equal pay, then I could quite understand difficulties arising from every man insisting on being head of his department. Why Mr. Mallock should anticipate rather that all the heads would insist on becoming subordinates is more than I can reconcile with the intelligence for which he is famous. As a matter of fact there would be no novelty about the arrangement. Equal pay for persons of the most varied attainments exists at present within class limits. As to chiefs receiving less than subordinates, a naval captain's salary is smaller than that of many men in subordinate and relatively undignified commercial positions.

The Economics of Fine Art.

I might go on to make many amusing conjectures about the prodigious fortunes which great artists will perhaps make under Social-Democracy by simply putting a turnstile at the door of their studio or music-room, and charging five shillings a head for admission, which would presumably be freely paid by the cultured and prosperous millions of that period. But the economics of Art deserve an essay all to themselves. The difference between the baker, who produces something that is destroyed by the first consumer, and the artist, who produces something that is none the worse after generations of consumers have had their fill of it, is full of matter for the economist. And yet none of our professors have thought of writing a chapter on the Royal Academy turnstiles, which cost shillings in defiance of all the normal laws of production and consumption.

Profits and Earnings versus Rent and Interest.

Mr. Mallock has never got away from that unfortunate economic discovery of his about the hundreds of millions annually paid as rent and dividends being created by the ability of the recipients. During his lifetime he has seen several thousand millions of it produced by labor and ability, and then handed over gratuitously to "the man who has only to take a pair of scissors and to clip coupons, or to write a receipt for the tenant who pays him rent" (I borrow the phrase from that excellent Conservative, the late Prince Bismarck). Large shares of it pass daily under Mr. Mallock's very nose from adults to infants, from able men to imbeciles, from thrifty men to wasters, from all sorts of persons who might conceivably be producing something voluntarily and without compulsion for the community in return for what it unconditionally gives them, as Ruskin did; to ladies and gentlemen who make no pretence of producing anything. Must I again quote that well-worn passage from the late Professor Cairnes's *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy*, which formulated the conclusions of the orthodox economy on this subject, and which has never been challenged or contradicted by any economist until to-day, when Mr. Mallock dashes his head against it under the impression that it is a novel and dangerous heresy launched by a few sophistical Fabians? Here is the passage, which I quote with the more satisfaction, as nobody would tolerate such strong language from me :—

That useful function, therefore, which some profound writers fancy they discover in the abundant expenditure of the idle rich, turns out to be a sheer illusion. Political economy furnishes no such palliation of unmingled selfishness. Not that I would breathe a word against the sacredness of contracts. But I think it important, on moral no less than on economic grounds, to insist upon this, that no public benefit of any kind arises from the existence of an idle rich class. The wealth accumulated by their ancestors and others on their behalf, where it is employed as capital, no doubt helps to sustain industry; but what they consume in luxury and idleness is not capital, and helps to sustain nothing but their own unprofitable lives. By all means they must have their rents and interest, as it is written in the bond; but let them take their proper places as drones in the hive, gorging at a feast to which they have contributed nothing.

What is the secret of the difference between the views of Cairnes and those of Mr. Mallock? Simply that Cairnes knew the difference between profits and general earnings on the one hand, and rent and interest on the other; whereas Mr. Mallock has jumped at the conclusion that because ability can produce wealth, and is rare, and men who are rich are also rare, these rich and rare ones must also be the able ones? How else can you account for them? How, indeed, if you happen to be still at the wrong side of that *pons asinorum* of political economy, the law of rent, with all its very unexpected social reactions! The Fabian essayists have done their best to convince Mr. Mallock that if the Duke of Westminster makes 500 times as much as a landlord as Mr. Mallock does as an author, it is not because the Duke is 500 times as clever as Mr. Mallock. But Mr. Mallock is modest, and will have it so; and I will worry him no further about it.

Government of the Many by the Few.

Mr. Mallock is much impressed by the fact that throughout history, from the shepherd kings to the nitrate kings and beef barons, we find the few governing the many. If by this he means that the few have ever been able to raise the many to their own level, then he is blind to the historical tragedy of greatness. But it is true that such organization as the many have been capable of has always been directed for them, and in some cases imposed on them, by the few. And I have no doubt that under Social-Democracy the few will still organize, and that, too, without having to consider at every step the vested interests of moneyed noodledom in "the system of Conservatism." Well has Mr. Mallock pointed out that the evolution of society produces, not anarchy, but new types of ruler, and, I would ask him to add, new forms of government. Once it was the first William with his sword and his barons. Then it was the first Edward, with his commission of *quo warranto*, bending the necks of those barons. But yesterday it was the cotton king with his capital and his ogreish factory: to-day it is the Factory Code bending the necks of the ogre cotton kings. To-morrow it may be—who knows?—an able Labor Ministry, backed up by a bureaucracy nursed on Fabian Essays. But Mr. Mallock's historic generalization will hold good: the few will still organize the many. That great joint-stock company of the future, the Social-Democratic State, will have its chairman and directors as surely as its ships will have captains. I have already pointed out that ships must have captains, even when there is an absolute level of ability on board, just as an arch must have a keystone. I cast back to that now only for the sake of reminding Mr. Mallock that this fact of the direction by the few of the many which he finds involved in all forms of social organization, has no necessary connection with any natural superiority on the part of the few. Indeed, Mr. Mallock will find it impossible to prove that the governing few have ever, in any generally valid sense, been the ablest men of their time. James I. governed Shakespeare: was he an abler man? Louis XV. and his mistresses governed Turgot: was it by their superiority in ability or character? Was Mr. Balfour an abler man than Mr. Asquith until the last general election? and has Mr. Asquith been the abler since? Have all the men who have governed Mr. Mallock been abler than he is?

These questions are nonsensical because, as Mr. Mallock himself has remarked, ability is not an abstract thing: it always means ability for some definite feat or function. There is no such thing as the ablest man in England, though there is such a thing as the ablest high jumper, the ablest hammer thrower, the ablest weight lifter, etc. When we come to more composite questions, such as the ablest financier, or strategist, or organizer of some particular industry, we call that man the ablest who has most of the qualities which happen to be supremely important, under existing conditions, in finance, strategy, or the particular industry in question. Change the conditions, and quite another set of men will be the ablest. Every year

gives us a fresh example of the fact that a man who has succeeded conspicuously in some enterprise in America may fail ignominiously in it in England, the reason being that he is an able man for the purpose under American conditions, and an incompetent one under English conditions. The Owenite Socialists who had made fortunes in business, failed to make good their reputation even for common sense in their attempts to organize Owenism. Or, to take one of Mr. Mallock's own illustrations, the able man of feudal England was quite a different man from the able man of commercial England. At least, let us hope so. As to Mr. Mallock's exceedingly unhistoric apprehensions that the said able men will refuse to exercise their ability for good pay and pension from Social-Democracy, unless they are also provided with opportunities of investing their savings in order to make idlers of their children, I doubt whether the public will take the alarm. He may depend on it that Social-Democracy, like all other Ocracies, will have a great deal more trouble with its idle and worthless members than with its able ones.

The Incentive to Production.

"Men" says Mr. Mallock, "will not exert themselves to produce income when they know that the State is an organized conspiracy to rob them of it." My impression hitherto has been that the whole history of civilization is the history of millions of men toiling to produce wealth for the express purpose of paying the tax-collector and meeting the State-enforced demands of landlords, capitalists, and other masters of the sources of production. Mr. Mallock might as well deny the existence of the Pyramids on the general ground that men will not build pyramids when they know that Pharoah is at the head of an organized conspiracy to take away the Pyramids from them as soon as they are made. Are not those very rents and dividends over which Mr. Mallock has so ingeniously gone astray, produced to-day by workers of all grades, who are compelled by the State to hand over every farthing of it to "drones," as Professor Cairnes called them? But the Attorney-General does not retire from the Bar because he has to hand over part of his fees to the lord of the plot of English soil on which his private house is built; nor did the factory girl refuse to toil, amid poisonous fumes of whitelead and phosphorus, because from ten to thirty per cent. of what she and the rest of the factory staff produced was taken from them and handed over to shareholders who never saw the factory, and whose original contributions to the cost of its erection had been replaced out of its own produce long before. When the State said, to Attorney-General and factory girl alike, "Submit, starve, or go to prison; which you please," they submitted, that being the most comfortable of the three alternatives. A Social-Democratic State could "rob" (the word is Mr. Mallock's, not mine) in the same fashion if its constituents, against their own interests, gave it a mandate to do so. If "the idle rich" (Professor Cairnes again) were taxed so heavily as to leave them nothing but bare agents' fees for the collection of their incomes and their transfer to the Inland Revenue Department, there is no

reason to suppose that the production of income would be decreased by a single farthing through any sulking of the despoiled spoilers. If a man is producing nothing, nobody can be the worse for a reduction of his incentive to produce. The real difficulty in the way of taxing unearned incomes to extinction, is the impossibility of a seizure of £800,000,000 every year by a Government which, as at present organized, has no means of immediately restoring that sum to general circulation in wages and salaries to employees of its own. This difficulty has been explicitly dealt with in *Fabian Essays* (page 189, etc.), in a passage which Mr. Mallock's criticisms do not affect.

The Long and Short of the Matter.

The long and short of the matter is that Mr. Mallock has confused the proprietary classes with the productive classes, the holders of ability with the holders of land and capital, the man about town with the man of affairs. In 1894 I advised him to take up the works of the Individualist American economist, General F. A. Walker, who, before the Fabian Society was born, expounded the economics of ability in a manner to which neither Fabians nor Conservatives have raised, or need raise, any objection. He did not take my advice until he went to America and was accused of borrowing from the General by somebody who must surely have understood neither of the twain. But now that he has read him, he can appreciate the following passage from the same author's *Money in its Relation to Trades and Industry* (London, 1880, pp. 90-91):—

The attitude of both laborers and capitalists [during a period of five years industrial depression in the United States] has given the strongest testimony that the employing classes are completely the masters of the industrial situation. To them capital and labor are obliged alike to resort for the opportunity to perform their several functions; and whenever this class, in view of their own interests, refuse that opportunity, capital and labor remain unemployed, incapable of the slightest initiative in production.

There you have your skilled economist. He does not romance about capitalists inventing Atlantic steamers: he shews you the capitalist and the laborer running helplessly, the one with his money, the other with his muscle, to the able man, the actual organizer and employer, who alone is able to find a use for mere manual dexterity, or for that brute strength or heavy bank balance which any fool may possess. And the landlord must put his acres into the same cunning hands. The landlord, capitalist, and laborer can none of them do without the employer: neither can he do without land, capital, and labor. He, as the only party in the transaction capable "of the slightest initiative in production," buys his three indispensables as cheaply as he can; pays the price out of what he makes out of them; and keeps the balance as his profit. If a joint-stock company offers him as much by way of salary as managing director as he can make on his own account, he has no interest in refusing the post. If the Government, or a municipality, offers him equivalent advantages as a State or municipal officer, he will not scorn their offer from a sentimental attachment to "the

system of Conservatism." The Fabians have shewn that the situation is changing in such a way as to set our governing bodies, local and central, outbidding the private employer for the services of the laborer, and competing with the private capitalist and landlord for the services of the employer, whilst concurrently confiscating, by familiar constitutional processes, larger and larger portions of the land and capital that has fallen into idle hands. Mr. Mallock, in reply, bids the Conservatives be of good cheer, since he can prove that nearly all wealth is the product of ability and not of labor—no great consolation to those Conservatives who deal in neither, but only in land and capital. And to set at rest any lingering misgivings which his economic demonstrations may have left, he adds that the gobbling up of proprietary incomes by Social-Democracy, on Fabian lines, is not "fundamental Socialism," but only "incidental and supplementary Socialism," which, rightly considered, are "really examples and results of a developing Individualism." This explanation has been of great comfort to the Fabians. Whether it will be equally relished by the Conservatives is a question upon which I am too modest to offer an opinion.

NOTE.—The authorities for the figures given on pages 14 and 22, with many other particulars as to the distribution of income in this country which should be in the hands of every citizen, will be found in Fabian Tract No. 5, Facts for Socialists. Fabian Tract No. 7, Capital and Land, should also be read in this connexion.

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CAPITAL AND COMPENSATION.

SOCIALISM as a modern political force was born of a book, and that book was called "Das Capital" because its author rightly conceived that Socialism is far more closely concerned with capital than with anything else.

The reorganization of society on Socialist lines is necessary because capital has reduced the majority of the people to workers dependent on others for their livelihood, and the chief demand of Socialism is that the powers now exercised by the owners of capital over the lives and liberties of others should be transferred to the community.

Socialism and Capital.

Socialists have opinions on all sorts of subjects, and sometimes sections of them make those opinions parts of their creeds. Socialist societies have taken upon themselves to formulate dogmas on war and peace, religion and materialism, monarchy and republicanism, marriage and the family, the citizenship of women, and the education of children. But on many of these subjects there is hardly more agreement amongst Socialists than there is among Liberals or Tories, or Nonconformists, or any other group of people. On one matter alone are all Socialists all the world over in complete accord, and that subject is what ought to be done with capital.

The chief purpose of all Socialists is to transfer the capital of each nation from the hands of private owners to the community organized as the State.

What "Capital" means.

But what is this capital which we desire to transfer to the community? How many of the Socialists who so often talk about it have a clear idea of what it means?

Unfortunately, the word capital has an endless variety of necessary and yet incompatible meanings, all good and useful and appropriate to particular purposes, but so numerous and contradictory that the wise man will never use the word capital without explaining at the same time exactly what he intends to denote or connote by it.

Here we are concerned with the capital which Socialists desire to nationalize, the capital which yields interest and profits, and enables its possessors, if they choose, to earn salaries out of proportion to the value of the work they do. It is unnecessary, therefore, to consider

whether the skill of a doctor or of a professional billiard player is or is not capital, because clearly it cannot be nationalized by an Act of Parliament. Nor need we discuss the capital value of the English climate, which some economists rate highly, nor of our natural harbors and navigable rivers, nor of the alleged moral and industrial superiority of our race, to which some writers, English and not foreign, attach much value.

Nor need we consider the claims of goodwill to rank as capital, since the goodwill, say, of a soapmaking company, consists for the most part in the advantages, acquired as a rule by lavish expenditure in advertisements, which one concern possesses over other makers of soap; and its existence is bound up in the continuance of a number of competing manufacturers. Under a complete monopoly, whether of a trust or of the State, goodwill ceases to exist.

Capital is Things.

Capital for our present purpose is all sorts of *things* in a certain aspect. Things have different aspects for different people or the same people in different moods. A steamer to the artist may be a color contrast on the horizon; to the engineer it is a means of livelihood; to the passenger a conveyance; to the investor it is so much capital. But although capital is all sorts of things in a certain aspect, its characteristics are chiefly determined by one sort of thing, and that is machinery.

This is a proposition to which Socialists should give ready assent. The capitalist system is recognized by them as an equivalent phrase to the *régime* of machine industry. The industrial revolution, the growth of the factory system, are their constant subjects of study. Machinery is not only the typical form of capital, but it is that which determines its chief characteristics. Subsistence, the food of the laborer, may be the seed; abstinence on the part of the owner may be a prerequisite; but the thing itself is neither abstinence nor food, but machinery.

Now the first thing to remember is that an aspect of a thing or a quality of a thing cannot exist apart from the thing itself. For instance, weight is a quality of things, and everybody at once realizes that if you want weight as ballast for your boat or your balloon, you have to get *things* that are heavy.

What is true of weight is equally true of capital. All capital, at any rate all that Socialists are concerned with, is *things* that are valuable.

Perhaps this statement may appear obvious and commonplace. Nobody supposed that capital was anything else. But is this so? Does everybody realize that when the London Joint Stock Bank takes up a block of £1,000,000 London County Council Stock, that transaction, represented by a few entries in a ledger, is in fact the transfer from the Directors of the Bank to the London County Council, not of so much gold, or of so much of an abstraction called capital, or of a still more elusive abstraction called credit, but of a claim upon a weirdly miscellaneous assortment of all sorts and kinds

of things—lands and houses, goods in warehouses and on the high seas, locomotives in Australia and elephants in India, in all of which the County Council proceeds to exercise certain possessory rights?

The Parable of a Plough.

Let me explain by a parable. Once upon a time in the Mid-Victorian Age there lived a farmer whom I will call A, an exceptional farmer because he was prosperous and kept accounts, who possessed a steam plough as good as new, which had cost him £100 and was worth to him, as he discovered from his accounts, £20 a year in increased yield from his land after providing for all repairs and expenses. He was so prosperous that he decided to retire, and rather than let his plough lie idle, he lent it to Farmer B for a payment of £10 a year. Farmer B also found that he got £20 a year profit out of the plough, and so he was £10 to the good by the transaction. Next year B thought he could do better still by buying the plough. A was willing to sell. So B borrowed £100 from the Banker C on the security of the plough at five per cent. per annum, bought the plough of A, and paid for it by a cheque on the Banker C. A paid the cheque also into the bank of C, and put it on deposit at three per cent.

Now this simple transaction in fact contains in a nutshell the essence of all finance.

In the first year there was one man owning a plough which yielded £20 of profit, a machine, that is, which produced so much wealth, all going to the owner, A.

In the second year two men were concerned, A, the owner, who still owned the plough, and got £10 a year for lending it to B. B had the use of the plough and netted £10 a year clear profit. Still there was only one plough, yielding one profit of £20.

In the third year things were still more complicated. A had £100 on deposit at the bank, and was drawing £3 a year interest. B had a steam plough, yielding £20 a year, out of which he paid £5 as interest to the Banker C. C, the Banker, had an increase of his deposits of £100 on one side, and on the other a new loan of £100 secured on the plough. He received £5 from the borrower and paid £3 to the lender, so that he had £2 clear profit on the operation. All these men felt rich and prosperous: all were making interest or profits; all could talk of their capital and their loans; and yet all the time there was but one steam plough, yielding as before a profit of £20.

What is true of this steam plough is true of all financial and commercial transactions. In the last analysis loans and bank deposits, stocks and shares, cheques and bills, mortgages and debentures, all are founded on things—real, tangible things like ploughs. Their capital value depends on the value of these things, and the interest that they yield is produced by the things they represent, or, in other words, is due to the fact that the man with a machine, of whatever sort, can produce more wealth than the man without the machine.

Capital: Land: Wealth.

Capital, then, is things and nothing else whatsoever: of course it includes land. For the purposes of this argument no distinction between land and capital is possible. The wealth or the capital of the country (and there is no clear distinction between the form of wealth usually called capital and any other forms of wealth) consists in houses and lands, in machinery and goods, in stone and iron and coal, in cattle and corn and cotton; in gold and a little silver and bronze, all *tangible things*, and in nothing else at all. This is the capital with which finance is concerned; and this is the capital which we Socialists desire to nationalize.

It is perhaps difficult to realize that the 50 millions of deposits in some London bank, apparently a series of figures in ledgers, all expressed in terms of money, and convertible at longer or shorter notice into gold sovereigns, are in reality *not money*, or some abstraction called capital, but nothing else than such things as ploughs and the land they plough.

One great reason for this confusion of thought, this idea that capital is something apart from tangible things, is the fact that there is in commercial and general language another and quite different significance of the word capital.

The Capital of a Company.

The capital of a company is not things, and bears no necessary relation to things. When a mining company is started, a number of people who have capital, that is things, contribute (or lend) their things, say fifty each lending £1,000 worth of things to the promoters; and they are allotted shares in the mine in proportion to their contributions. But the promoters allot to themselves for their services, real or imaginary, for their concession, for the mine, and so on, such other shares as they think fit, say another £50,000.

The whole "capital" of the mine then stands at £100,000, and this means that the ownership of the mine and the profits, if any, are divided amongst the shareholders in proportion to their holding of the "capital." Every holder of £1 in shares is to get one one-hundred-thousandth of the profits.

This capital therefore does *not* represent things. And of course the commercial world instantly recognizes this. Once the mine is started the value for buying and selling bears no relation to the capital. The £1 share may sell at £30 or at 6d. Its market price depends on the actual earnings and the valuation attached to the right to these earnings; it depends, that is, on the things which the company possesses.

The value of these things is not in any way affected by the capitalization of the mine. If its net earnings are £10,000, it will pay ten per cent. on a capital of £100,000 or twenty per cent. on a capital of £50,000 or one hundred per cent. on a capital of £10,000.

Railway Stocks.

It is particularly important for Socialists to realize that the "capital" of such concerns as railways is now nothing else than a means for determining how the profits and control of the company shall be divided. A £100 North Eastern Railway Stock is not so called because the original subscriber paid £100 into the company. The capital of a company was often issued at a discount; that is, £100 of stock was given by the company for £70 or £80 or £90 in cash. On the other hand it is sometimes issued at a premium. The North Eastern Railway some years ago sold to the public a quantity of stock at £120 for each nominal £100 of "North Eastern Consols" issued. It does not mean that that part of the property of the railway is now worth £100. Only by a rare and mere chance is £100 railway stock bought or sold for £100. It may be worth anything from £10 to £200.

The capital of a company can be written down or watered up, just as the owners please, and it makes no direct difference to anybody else.

It is not necessary to discuss here various other sorts of company capital, guaranteed, preference and debenture, and so on. Such stocks represent other claims in addition to shares in the property. But these are details not affecting the main argument, which is that the share capital of a company is altogether a different sort of capital from the capital which is the main theme of this paper.

Consols and Municipal Stocks.

There is another sort of capital of which a few words must be said. What relation, it may be asked, have Consols, or Turkish Bonds, or London County Stock to things? The relation is this. The loan of a State or municipality consists originally of things—currency representing things—lent by private citizens to the State. In exchange they receive a charge on the property of the State, which is, for this purpose, the property of all the citizens. In fact, an owner of private property only holds it subject to any claims of the State against it. This is a truth of which passive resisters, whether Free Churchmen or Tax-refusing Suffragettes, are made acutely conscious. The State, central or local, has a claim on, that is in fact owns, a part of the possessions of each citizen. It demands its rates and its income-tax. If the citizen pays its demand, all is well. If he neglects or refuses to pay, the State promptly seizes his silver spoons or any other property it can lay hands on, and sells them at auction. Consols or London County Council Stock represents those things which private persons hold, subject to the claim of the State. The owner of land has to pay one part of its produce to the local authority and another part as land and income taxes to the revenue; and if, on the average, landlords pay twenty-five per cent. of the value of their land to the State, we may properly say that the State owns a quarter share of the land, and that it has transferred this ownership to the holders of Consols and municipal

loans, who are the real recipients of the income-tax and the rates. It is the case of the plough over again. As A, in reality, had not £100, but a plough valued at £100 in his bank, so the holder of Consols possesses in reality the essence, as it were, of the land and the many other things on which his right is secured, and out of the profits of which his interest is paid.

Interest on Capital.

What is true of capital is equally true of interest and profit on capital. That also consists of the things which capital—machinery—adds to the product of labor. The steam plough in the parable, by enabling the soil to be cultivated more thoroughly, produced more grains of wheat, heavier turnips, a greater growth of clover. The value to the farmer of this extra product, after all extra expenses had been met, was £20. The interest, then, even that ultimately paid through the bank to the depositor, was in essence wheat and turnips and clover. The depositor could draw interest because the plough produced larger crops.

All commercial interest is of this character, and all capital can command interest because some capital can always produce things which without it would not exist at all.

It is a common idea amongst some Socialists that there is something rather wicked in interest. Indeed they often say that interest under Socialism would be forbidden. Sometimes they seem to fancy that interest is the same as repayment of capital, and argue that payment of five per cent. for twenty years should be held to pay off the loan. Again, our Anglican brethren quote with much gusto the strong language which the Fathers of the Church used about a very different matter—*usury*, that is, the taking of interest for the loan, not of capital, but of means of subsistence. The Shylocks of old and the modern money lender are quite proper subjects of denunciation by bishops and judges and other superior persons. But that sort of borrowing and lending of money, the pandering to the vices of the dissolute, or the battenning on the necessities of the unfortunate, is a quite different thing from the loan transactions of Lombard Street and the great commercial system of borrowing and lending for the purposes of business.

Interest as the yield of industrial capital is an ultimate fact. The man with the plough can raise more wheat than the man with the spade. The woman with a sewing machine can make more shirts than the woman who sews by hand. So long as more machinery is required, until the world has all the machines that anybody wants, the man or the department with a machine will be more efficient than the man or the department without it; and that efficiency, that larger product, is interest. Interest is no more anti-social than rent, and is practically as eternal. What Socialists properly denounce is the *private ownership* of capital and of the interest it yields, just as they denounce the private ownership of land and of the rent that accrues from it.

Capital isolated from Things.

I have said that capital is things and nothing else than things, and that it cannot be separated from things. That is a proposition, like so many in economics, which you have first to get thoroughly into your head and then to get out again.

It is true that Farmer A's £100 deposit in the bank was entirely dependent on the plough. In fact, it was the plough. Obviously there was nothing else but some orders written on paper.

But, none the less, those orders altogether changed the situation. In fact, A possessed not a claim on that particular plough, but equally on countless other things, all temporarily pledged to the bank. Moreover the transaction had, so to speak, extracted and isolated the capital out of the plough, so that A owned the qualities of the plough which are capital, and B owned and administered all the rest.

The whole secret of the financial system of the present day is this divorce between ownership and administration of capital. The banks are great pawnshops, where one set of people deposit as pledges cargoes of cotton and wool and wheat, lands and houses, ships and factories, the profits of which go in part to those who administer them, in part to the banker for his services and risks, and the rest to the depositors in the bank, who in the last resort have a right to them.

Everywhere this system prevails in name or in fact. Nominally the shareholders in a railway or a great joint stock "industrial" control their company through their elected board of directors. In fact, they do nothing at all but cash their dividend warrants.

In the case of bank deposits, municipal and Government loans, mortgages on land and houses, and many other things, the owner of the capital has no control whatever over the use which is made of it. He finds the money, but he does *not* call the tune. All he can claim is his pound of flesh, his half-yearly interest warrant.

Control divided from Ownership.

The importance of this distinction between the administration of capital and the ownership of capital has not, I think, been adequately recognized.

In the gradual transfer of capital from individual to communal ownership and control, it plays a principal part, because the ownership and the control of capital are transferred at different times and by different methods.

When, as recently happened in London, a waterworks company is taken over by the community, and water stock is given to the shareholders in exchange for their shares, the administration of industrial capital is transferred to the community, but the ownership may fairly be said to remain in private hands. London in 1908 was not only no richer, but even poorer than before the change was made. All the profits of the waterworks were needed to pay the interest on the water stock.

The position is exactly that described in the third year of the parable. London has the use of the water plant as Farmer B had the use of the plough, but London has to pay the real owner, the old shareholders, just as Farmer A still drew his share of the profits of the plough after he had sold it to B.

Transfer in Two Stages.

In practice, the transfer of capital to the community is always taken in two stages. At the first stage the State takes over the administration, as of gasworks, tramways, telephones, waterworks, and so on; and at this stage the State always compensates the dispossessed owner by giving him a charge on the profits of the thing transferred or, what is equivalent, by giving him cash.

In these cases compensation is always given because it accords with the sense of justice of the community to pay it; in other words, both parties to the transaction expect this course and are satisfied to take it. The city or community gets its waterworks and the shareholders get, what in reality is all they cared for before, an annual payment of interest and a saleable "stock," that is, saleable documents giving the right to receive this annual interest and an ultimate right to a lump sum.

We "compensate" then when we take over the administration of capital by dividing it into two parts; the State takes the control of the actual things, and leaves to the original owners their wealth producing qualities, that is, their capital value.

But how about the next stage?

We can give water stock in exchange for the plant of water companies, but when we want to take the water stock, what exchange can we give? To buy it is of no avail. The purchase by the State of £100 of stock at the market price does not affect the distribution of property. The private owner formerly possessed one sort of capital and later possessed another sort; but the amount he possesses is not altered. Capital in the form of stocks or Consols or cash is interchangeable because it is sublimated and refined till it may be said to be absolutely pure. It has no specific powers; it involves no duties; it requires no abilities. It is simply and purely the right to levy a tax on the labor of the community. It may be beneficial to that community if it is expended in scientific research or the endowment of education, or in the proper support of the old and the sick. But usually it is the means of livelihood of the idle rich.

This distinction* between ownership and administration of capital is the key to the compensation difficulty. It is found convenient to compensate when the administration of capital is transferred; but when the turn comes for the ownership also to be transferred, it will prove not only inconvenient, but impossible, to compensate, except on some such lines as a "time limit," which is not really compensation, but confiscation with notice.

* It is expressed in French by the contrast between "*l'usufruit*" and "*la nue propriété*."

Analysis of Ownership.

Ownership of capital, therefore, is by no means so simple a matter as is often supposed. It may be classified into four categories:—

The first is complete and undivided ownership. Such was Robinson Crusoe's ownership of his hut and his canoe, and even of his man Friday. No law or State Government controlled his power to do what he liked with his own: no landlord or mortgagee, no debenture holder or shareholder or stockholder had any claim on his wealth.

Outside fiction, the British factory owner a century ago, the Southern States factory owner of to-day, and, in practice, it is said, the American millionaire trust owner, is nearly in that position. These men can or could use their capital to achieve their ends as they think fit, and no power on earth or elsewhere holds them in check.

The second form of ownership is when a capitalist may only do with his own as far as the community thinks fit. The owner of a cotton factory in Lancashire or in Germany is subject to a quite stupendous code of laws, which tell him what he may do and what he may not do with his capital. One set of rules lays down how he shall build his factory; another set provides for the sort of machinery he must put in. The hour of opening and of closing is fixed by law, the place where he must pay his hands, and the form in which he is to pay them. Other laws regulate whom he may employ, and how many hours a week he may work children, young persons, and women. A quite other set of regulations is imposed on him by his employers' association and the trade union.

The second pair of categories which divide ownership of capital on a different plane has already been described. Farmer A at first owned his plough right out. All its profits went into his pocket. Except for the claims of the community for taxes, etc., he was full owner. At a later stage Farmer B also owned the plough, but it was charged with a loan from the bank, and part of the profits ultimately came to Farmer A as before. The possession was, in fact, divided; A owned, B administered.

The Politics of Capital.

The task of Socialism in relation to capital is therefore threefold. It has to meet and overthrow the ideal of *laissez faire*, that of the capitalist who can do what he likes with his own. It clips and curtails his power to harm by Factory Acts, Sanitary Acts, Truck Acts, Minimum Wage Acts, Eight Hour Acts, and every other device that can be discovered for restraining his vicious propensities. It encourages trade unions, which regulate what the law cannot yet touch, and co-operative societies, which oust him from his most profitable preserves.

The next step is to seize on the administration of his property. It takes his gasworks and his waterworks, his trams and his tele-

phones and his railways. It no longer allows him to manage them even under the strictest of regulations, but transfers them to itself and pays him a fixed share of the profits as compensation for his property.

But it must here be noted that the share of the profits of capital, usually called *interest* in the narrower sense, which goes to "pure" capital is a small one. In the plough parable the yield of the plough was put at twenty per cent., and the interest received by A when he deposited his plough at the bank was only three per cent. The return on capital embarked in industry is very various, and the risk of its loss has always to be allowed for. But, as a rule, the trader earns between five per cent. and fifty per cent. on his enterprise; and if he uses capital lent to him, through a bank for example, the ultimate owner of the capital only receives three or four per cent.

The transfer to the community of the administration of industrial capital therefore involves the transfer of the administrator's share of the profits, and this is a large one. The gas and waterworks of our provincial towns, the electric lighting works and the tramways of London, yield very large profits indeed over and above the interest paid to the private persons who hold the municipal stock.

The transfer of the administration of industrial capital to the community is a comparatively simple process. It is going on around us every day. Parliament when it grants franchises for any local monopoly carefully provides nowadays, as French law has long provided with regard to the railways, that it may take place in due time.

We want to speed up the machinery, of course. We want to take over the railways next year and the mines the year after, and then the cotton factories; and we know that it will not be done at that rate. Still it is quite simple, if we steadily bear in mind that this step in the process is, and must be, separate from the step of transferring the ownership; and there is every possible disadvantage in confusing the two.

The last step is the transfer of ownership of capital from private persons to the State, and this the community has hardly yet begun. It has made some attempt to pay off its national debt, which may be regarded as a mortgage, in the first instance, on its industrial capital, such as the Post Office. Local authorities which borrow in order to purchase gasworks and trams, or to build houses or buy small holdings, are required to save out of their rates or their profits in order to repay the loan, that is, to buy out the real owners. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., has made the useful suggestion that local loans should be arranged for short rather than for long terms of years, because the shorter the term the quicker the public authority is compelled to accumulate capital. But all this is the saving of new capital and not the transfer from private holders of existing capital.

If, however, the State constantly accumulates new capital and private persons gradually cease to do so, the share of the capital of the nation in private ownership will gradually decrease.

Quantity versus Quality of Capital.

But there is another consideration. It is commonly believed that the moral validity of the right of private ownership in capital varies according to the quality or kind of that capital. It is thought, for instance, that the moral right to ungoten minerals or mining royalties is highly disputable, since it is obvious that the owner took no part whatever in creating them. The case against private ownership of uncultivated land is scarcely less strong, and all land values are held by many people to belong properly to the State. But against this contention it is argued that all these rights have been bought and sold freely for generations, and since Consols, state obligations whose validity is generally held to be beyond dispute, can be sold and the proceeds invested in mining royalties, it is unfair to penalize the owner of one class of property at a given moment as compared with the owner of another class. In effect the State has guaranteed all classes of ownership equally, and it must not turn round and declare its sanction in one case less valid than in another.

On the other hand, we may have regard to the quantity of property in individual ownership. It has always been held that the rich should contribute more to the State than the poor. Excessive wealth is universally regarded as a public danger. By common consent the objectionable feature of modern civilization, as of that of ancient Rome, is the possession of great wealth by a few, with the accompanying poverty of the masses.

In this connection the kind or quality of the wealth is irrelevant. If some regard the great landlord with special disapproval, others concentrate their hostility on the Stock Exchange financier, and a third set reserve their censure for the trust magnate. This much, therefore, seems clear, that in the measures taken to transfer capital from private to public ownership, regard must be had in the main, not to the quality, but to the quantity, of the property owned by each person. We shall deal with the rich owner as opposed to the poor owner, and not with mining royalties or land values as opposed to steel trust stocks or steamship shares.

Capitalists as Bondholders.

There is another reason for this. We have already explained that whenever the community takes over any particular things—gasworks, tramways, railways—it compensates by giving stocks or borrowing the necessary money on stocks, and thus reduces ownership to a common denominator of annuities payable by the State. As this process goes on, the private owner of capital will become more and more a receiver of a fixed income from the State. The privately owned capital of the future will be gradually reduced to its simplest terms, the payment to individuals by the State of the income, or a part of it, from the property they or their predecessors formerly held, which has been taken over in exchange for water stock, or gas stock, or Consols.

All we shall then be able to consider is the quantity of State obligations held by an individual. Any differentiation between one

class of State guaranteed stock and another, any historical enquiry whether it was given in exchange for mining royalties or for inventions and patent rights, will be impossible.

Capital in Consols.

Consols are properly called Two and a half per cent. Annuities. In reality each £100 consists of the right to receive £2 10s. per annum, with the right *to the State* to redeem that payment by a lump sum of £100. Some stocks give rights to the holders to claim repayment after a term of years, but this right only has value when the market price of the security is below par. When it is above par, the right is useless; and if the company or corporation has the reciprocal right to pay off at par, it becomes a disadvantage. Moreover, public authorities nearly always extinguish their obligations by purchase, if the price is below par. We may therefore disregard the nominal capital amount of State obligations. Their only important feature is the annual payments. The nationalization of the ownership of capital will therefore gradually take the form of the extinction of annual payments made by the State to individuals, and it is easy to see that this will take place in two ways.

Income Tax and Death Duties.

Any deduction made by the State from these annuities is pro tanto an extinguishment of them. A two shilling income tax is a reduction of the State debt by ten per cent. Already the State has begun to differentiate against unearned incomes, and this process will no doubt continue.

The idle rich, the recipients of income which comes to them by inheritance or gift, pensioners of the community on account of ancestral rights to capital acquired under an ancient and abandoned system, will be regarded by our enlightened successors as obvious subjects for the heaviest taxation.

Secondly, there are the death duties. Already the State takes no inconsiderable share of property left at death. The time is not far distant when the right of inheritance will be still more narrowly limited. Before long the principle of the death duty and the super tax will be largely extended.

One millionaire has already enunciated the doctrine that no man should die rich. A simple deduction from this is that no man should live rich, and the habit of regarding millionaires as social pests is rapidly growing. Legislation deliberately directed to penalizing the wealthy in the interests of the community already commends itself to the community. The "vindictive" Budget of 1909 appears to be a popular measure.

Moreover, the right of inheritance and bequest should be closely limited. At present the State only puts in a claim when it has exhausted every effort to discover the remotest cousin of a dead property owner who has been too lazy to dispose of his own fortune. The press and the lady's maid novelists would no doubt deplore a world state in which rich uncles dying in Australia or remote

cousins slain in railway accidents were no longer possible rescuers of the poor but well-born hero, eager to wed the lovely daughter of the haughty earl. But such Ollendorffian occurrences will not be wanted to add zest to a world busy with the thrilling task of social reconstruction on a large scale. The State might well enact in a future not excessively remote that it should be the sole heir of all who die without children.

A third method, already adopted in the case of Indian railways, is to give terminable, or perhaps life, annuities in place of the perpetual annuities which we usually call stock or bonds.

Summary.

The argument is now concluded. It has been shown that the capital which we have to nationalize is exclusively tangible things, but that our financial system, the great structure of credit which economists describe with reverent wonder, consists of isolating the value of these things, so that the ownership can be separated from the control.

We have next seen that the State nationalizes capital in two stages. It first takes over the administration and control, and compensates the private owners by leaving to them the value of the capital in the new form of annual payments of interest. The second step is to transfer the ownership itself. In this distinction we have found the explanation of the confusion on the subject of compensation in the minds of Socialists, who maintain that compensation is both unjust and impossible, although they acquiesce in and sometimes advocate it in any particular instance of the taking over of the administration of actual things.

Compensation, we have shown, is both possible and proper when the State takes over the administration of capital. It is impossible when the ownership (in the sense just explained) is taken over, and therefore it is unnecessary to consider whether it is just or politic.

Finally, we have discussed the methods by which the ownership of capital will be transferred to the State, and have taken the view that no distinction can be drawn between various classes, or kinds, or sorts, or qualities of capital. All we should do is to differentiate between owners of much and owners of little; in other words, between the relatively rich and the relatively poor.

With the wide expansion of social reconstruction which must accompany this transfer of capital to the State we have here no concern. Nor is there space to deal with the new organization of industry which must follow it.

The purpose of this paper has been to indicate the nature of the capital which Socialists desire to socialize and the methods by which it is being and will be emancipated from private ownership and control and transferred to the community for the use and benefit of the whole people.

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WHAT A HEALTH COMMITTEE CAN DO

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WHAT A HEALTH COMMITTEE CAN DO.

"With all deductions the triumphs of sanitary reform, as well as of medical science, are perhaps the brightest page in the history of our century."—W. E. H. LECKY.

MEMBERSHIP of a Health Committee opens up opportunities for social work of the highest importance. The duty of a Health Committee is a very extensive one. It is to prevent all preventable sickness in their district, from whatever cause, and to see that no sickness goes neglected, whatever its nature. Public health administration in the past has done wonderful things in the way of preventing disease and prolonging life. Typhus fever and relapsing fever, which were formerly scourges of the poor, have been swept out of the country; the mortality from typhoid fever, scarlet fever and tuberculosis has been greatly diminished, and the general death-rate has fallen from 21·8 in 1848 to 14·7 in 1908.

Amongst the many influences which have been at work to bring about these results public health administration has certainly been the most important. But although much has already been accomplished, much remains to be done, and the object of this tract is to show in what directions further progress can and ought to be made*

A Whole-time Officer of Health.

The Medical Officer of Health is the chief of the Public Health Department, and much depends on what sort of man he is and how he is supported by the Health Committee. It is most important that he should devote the whole of his time to public health work. All areas of not less than 50,000 population should have a whole-time Medical Officer of Health, and in many districts with less population, especially industrial towns with a large number of workshops, and scattered districts covering a wide area, a whole-time Medical Officer of Health is necessary. Private practice greatly interferes with his public duties. If he is a capable, energetic and popular man—and a Medical Officer of Health should be all this—he will gain a large private practice and can find little time for his public health duties. Moreover, you cannot reasonably expect a Medical Officer of Health to expose the insanitary cottages or slum dwellings owned by his own clients. Smaller districts should combine together to appoint a whole-time officer, which can be done under the Public Health Act, 1875 (Sec. 191). Towns over 50,000 need one or more Assistant Medical Officers. It is essential that every

* This tract applies more particularly to England and Wales, outside the County of London. In London the Public Health powers are divided between the L.C.C., the Metropolitan Borough Councils, and the Metropolitan Asylums Board.

Medical Officer of Health should be specially qualified for his work, and therefore no applicant should be considered who does not possess the Diploma of Public Health (D.P.H.).

The Health Committee should see that only

Whole-time Sanitary Inspectors

are appointed. Unfortunately, in many districts the sanitary inspector (or inspector of nuisances, as he is called outside London) is also surveyor, and may even hold other posts. This always leads to the public health work being neglected. In the Urban District of Braintree with a population of 6,000 the inspector of nuisances is also surveyor of highways, surveyor of buildings, engineer to the waterworks, engineer to the sewage works, surveyor to the cemetery, and superintendent of the scavenging. For three months this inspector was engaged in re-numbering the houses in the town, and had no time for his other duties.*

A sanitary inspector should devote the whole of his time to his duties and he should hold a proper qualification. On no account ought any candidate to be appointed merely because he is a good fellow, or a honest man, or the victim of misfortunes, or the friend of one of the Councillors. The qualification recognized by the Local Government Board is the certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors Examination Board, without which no sanitary inspector can hold office in London. The certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute is, however, a good qualification. At least one of the sanitary inspectors of any district should hold a special certificate qualifying him in meat inspection.

How many Sanitary Inspectors are wanted ?

This depends upon the population, area, and social circumstances of the district. An industrial district covering a wide area will need more inspectors (among whom there should always be at least one woman) than a residential district of the same population with a smaller area. Furthermore, county boroughs administer the Food and Drugs Acts, which in the smaller boroughs and in urban and rural districts are under the charge of the County Council. As a general rule a district should appoint not less than one sanitary inspector to every 10,000 population, in addition to health visitors ; and if the women inspectors act also as health visitors more inspectors are required.

The most progressive towns already exceed this scale. For instance, Liverpool employs 43 male sanitary inspectors and 21 female, besides a milk depôt staff, inspectors of meat and animals, of fish and fruit, inspectors under the Food and Drugs Acts and the Factory and Workshops Acts, and others. The total sanitary administration staff consists of 162 persons (116 men and 46 women) besides the clerical staff. This is about 2 per 10,000 population.

* Dr. Reece's Report to the Local Government Board on the sanitary circumstances of Braintree.

Women Sanitary Inspectors

are particularly needed in districts where female labor is employed. The women inspectors should ascertain whether proper and sufficient sanitary conveniences are provided for women in factories, workshops and work places, and they should supervise the general sanitation of workshops and work places where female labor is employed and of the homes of outworkers. Women inspectors may take part in house-to-house inspection and in the supervision of tenement houses, and they can do very useful work in making enquiries in cases of infectious disease, investigating cases of overcrowding and other insanitary conditions. In some districts the women sanitary inspectors devote part of their time to health visiting; in others this work is carried out by special

Health Visitors

who give their whole time to the work. Health visiting is a most important department of the work of a Health Committee, and in every district there should be one or more properly salaried and qualified women for this work, as well as a staff of volunteer helpers.

The duties of health visitors are various, but perhaps most important is to visit mothers in their own homes and to give sympathetic counsel on what is necessary for the successful rearing of babies. It is desirable that the health visitor should have had some experience in nursing, and even if she is not to be employed as a sanitary inspector she should have had training in practical sanitation and should possess a certificate as a sanitary inspector.

An enquiry instituted by the National League of Physical Training shows that in at least ninety places there are one or more health visitors paid entirely from the rates, in twenty places there are from three to four women sanitary inspectors whose official duties include health visiting. In many districts bodies of voluntary health visitors have been organized, and if these are carefully supervised by the paid staff the results are often satisfactory. In thirty-five districts it is believed that infant mortality has been reduced through health visiting, and these include such towns as Glasgow, Hanley, Huddersfield, Macclesfield and Middlesbrough, where the conditions cannot be considered generally favorable to infant life.

At Brighton the Town Council has started municipal home nursing. A trained nurse is employed who attends at home on such cases as puerperal fever or erysipelas, when removal to hospital is not considered desirable. Nurses to visit the sick poor in their homes are also provided by the Health Committee of the Worcestershire County Council, and this example might well be imitated elsewhere. The Barry Urban District Council also sends out its hospital nurses into the homes.

Having briefly described the chief officers of a health department, we may now proceed to indicate some of the more important features of its work.

Now the bulk of a Health Committee's work may be summed up by saying that it strives to secure

Systematic Cleanliness.

"Cleanliness," said Sir B. W. Richardson, "covers the whole field of sanitary labor. It is the beginning and the end." This rather overstates the case; but at all events we may agree with Sir John Simon, who said that "Uncleanliness must be reckoned as the deadliest of our present removable causes of disease." We want cleanliness in many places, and in the first place we want

Cleanliness in the Atmosphere.

In most of our manufacturing districts the atmosphere is anything but clean. Professor Cohen, of the Leeds University, has calculated that within the four most thickly populated square miles of Leeds twenty tons of soot are discharged daily into the air. It is an offence against the Public Health Act, 1875, Sec. 91, to allow any chimney (not being the chimney of a private dwelling house) to send forth black smoke in such quantity as to be a nuisance; and the same section provides that any fireplace or furnace used in any trade process must, as far as practicable, consume its own smoke. But in many districts this law is a dead letter, and the sanitary authority tacitly allows factories to pollute the air with poisonous smoke. It is said in excuse of this *laissez faire* policy that the emission of smoke is unavoidable, and that any attempt to control it would only hamper home industries. This is nonsense. A smoky chimney is wasteful to the owner; it is a danger to the community by shutting out the sunlight that is so essential to health, and it is an unnecessary evil. The emission of smoke can be prevented as in some districts it is prevented, and it is not necessary to instal elaborate and expensive appliances. The chief preventive measure is good stoking. If a manufacturer chooses trustworthy stokers, pays them well, and makes it worth their while not to allow black smoke, he will keep his chimneys clean and at the same time confer a benefit on his neighbors. In Glasgow, according to the chief sanitary inspector, 90 per cent. of the complaints made against manufacturers are caused by careless stoking. In Germany the training of stokers is subsidized by the Government as a branch of technical education.* The same thing is done by the Education Committee of the Leicester Town Council. It would often be a good thing to get the Health Committee to urge the Education Committee to start such classes for stokers. No Health Committee is doing its work properly if it fails to deal with the smoke nuisance.

Cleanliness in the Street.

Dirt in the street soon finds its way into the house. A good deal of the dust in a city dweller's house consists of dried horse dung blown in from the street. Street cleanliness is a matter partly of

* "The Destruction of Daylight," by J. W. Graham.

paving and partly of scavenging, both under the control of the Highways Committee, but the Health Committee, being responsible for the health of the district, should take note of them and should offer to the Highways Committee any suggestions that seem called for in the interest of the public. It must be remembered that the side streets of our large towns serve as playgrounds for the children, and for their sake we should make them as healthy as possible. A town street should be paved with impervious material which does not, as macadam does, soak up filth. With a smooth impervious pavement the street is washed clean by every shower and scavenging becomes much simpler and more effective; for on a smooth impervious surface the hose and the squeegee can be used with excellent effect, as is done in parts of London and in many continental cities. The best form of pavement is asphalt, but tarred macadam is also very good and is much less expensive to lay down. In Battersea, since 1904, the carriage ways of fifty-two streets have been paved in this manner, and the great decrease in mortality that has taken place in the areas where this pavement has been laid down is attributed by the Medical Officer of Health in part to the improved paving.* Another important feature of civic cleanliness is a frequent

Removal of Dust.

In many districts garbage and house refuse is only taken away once a week. This is not often enough. The first principle of sanitation is that all refuse and waste matter should be removed as quickly as possible. Many towns have adopted a daily dust removal, and this system should be adopted in all urban areas. All fixed ash-pits should be abolished and only moveable metal receptacles should be used. The frequent

Removal of Manure

from stables, mews and other premises should be insisted upon. Manure heaps are good breeding-grounds for flies, which are now known to be inimical to health. Flies convey the germs of disease from the filth in which they live to human food, especially milk, and in order to keep down the plague of flies accumulations of manure and other filth should be prevented. Under Section 50 of the Public Health Act, 1875, an urban sanitary authority can require the daily removal of manure or other refuse matter from mews, stables, or other premises, and this should be done particularly in the summer.

Backyard Cleanliness.

If the backyard is not clean the house will not be clean, for filth from the yard soon finds its way into the house. It will be brought in as mud in wet weather and blown in as dust in dry weather. Yard cleanliness, like street cleanliness, is greatly promoted by impervious paving. The surface of a backyard tends to become polluted with all kinds of filth, the excrement of domestic animals, droppings from the dust-bin, scraps of putrefying food, etc., and there is reason

* Annual Report of Dr. Lennane, Medical Officer of Health, Battersea, 1908.

to think that the contamination of milk and other food with foul dust from a polluted backyard is one of the causes of summer diarrhoea. Backyards should be paved with a smooth, impervious surface properly sloped to a gully. Such a yard will be effectually cleansed by every shower of rain.

Having secured cleanliness outside we must see that there is cleanliness inside, and for this purpose the Health Committee must institute a

House-to-house Inspection.

In every district there should always be going on a systematic inspection which should cover the whole of the district at least once in five years. Every year each of the inspectors engaged in this work should have a number of streets allotted to him, and he should go from house to house with a keen nose for insanitary conditions. This inspection should by no means be confined to the poorer quarters of the district. Bad sanitation exists in good class houses. Overcrowding may occur in servants' bedrooms, and bad smells and rats from defective drains, although they may be unnoticed by the family upstairs, may be a source of considerable discomfort and danger to the servants in their underground kitchens.

The caretakers' quarters in a block of commodious and imposing flats may be grossly insanitary. In Hampstead a systematic inspection of flats revealed the fact that in many cases the caretaker was housed in illegally occupied underground rooms.* Some classes of house require more frequent inspection than once in five years. This applies particularly to

Tenement Houses.

Many of these need constant supervision by the sanitary inspector to keep them in a decent sanitary condition, especially those originally built for one family only and occupied by several owing to the "going down" of the neighborhood. Most of the London poor have to live in such houses, and it is only in a few exceptional cases that any structural alterations have been made to adapt the house for occupation by more than one family. The result is that the tenements lack many domestic conveniences and cannot be called homes. For instance, in many of these houses the only water supply for all the occupiers is a tap in the basement. When water is so hard to obtain it is idle to expect people to be clean. The London County Council have recently obtained power, under Section 78 of the General Powers Act, 1907, for the London sanitary authorities to require a proper and sufficient supply of water on each storey of a tenement house. This section should be rigorously enforced, and sanitary authorities outside London should ask Parliament for similar power.

Many tenement houses greatly benefit by being registered as houses let in lodgings, thus becoming subject to the bye-laws relating to such houses. These confer useful powers upon the sanitary

* Annual Report of the Medical Officer of Health. Hampstead, 1908

authority and impose certain duties upon the landlord, as for instance the duty of carrying out an annual cleansing of the house. The Health Committee should if necessary exert pressure to keep the local authority up to its duty in making and enforcing these bye-laws.

Another type of house that needs special supervision is the

Common Lodging House.

The condition of these houses has greatly improved in recent years with the increasing efficiency of public health administration. The shifting population of a common lodging house has innumerable opportunities of spreading disease and vermin, and therefore requires careful supervision. A high standard of cleanliness should be maintained in these places; the beds should be kept free from vermin (an ordinary plumber's lamp will do wonders with an iron bedstead in the destruction of bugs); and spitting on the floor, which was formerly a common practice, should be sternly repressed. In the ordering of common lodging houses, as in many other things, example is better than precept, and the sanitary authority will find that by providing a well managed municipal common lodging house they will achieve more than can be done by any amount of inspection to raise the standard of the other common lodging houses in the district.

Cellar Dwellings.

Cellar dwellings, that is, underground rooms occupied separately as dwellings, are subject to special sanitary requirements—for instance, the Housing, Town Planning, etc., Act prohibits the use of an underground room as a sleeping place—and it is the business of the Health Committee to see that these requirements are fulfilled. Special inspections should be made for the discovery of these dwellings, which should be entered in a separate register and dealt with as the law provides.

The Protection of the Food Supply.

This is a vitally important part of a Health Committee's work. All places where food is prepared and sold, such as slaughter houses, butchers' shops, bakehouses, milk shops, restaurant kitchens and sausage factories, should be brought under frequent and systematic supervision. A vast amount of illness is due to unwholesome food. One at least of the sanitary inspectors should hold a special certificate of proficiency in meat inspection, and he should be on duty every Saturday night in the poorer parts of the district. Meat inspection is greatly helped by the establishment of a

Municipal Slaughter House,

which butchers should be encouraged to use. Private slaughter houses are objectionable on several grounds. Adequate inspection is extremely difficult, and the public has no proper security that the work is carried out either with humanity towards the animals or with the sanitary safeguards necessary for the consumers' health. But this is not all. "Besides the general public there is another

class which suffers from the system, namely, the unfortunate individuals who have to live in immediate proximity to the slaughter house. In nine cases out of ten we find these buildings packed away at the end of some court or alley with dwellings crowded round within a few yards of them." This proximity is exceedingly bad both from a sanitary and a moral point of view for the dwellers in these courts, especially women and young children.* Brighton has had a public abattoir for 15 years. This institution is made use of more and more every year, and yields an income of £400 to £500 a year in tolls.† Cheltenham, Glasgow, South Shields, Liverpool, Manchester, Dundee, Lincoln, Edinburgh, Leeds, Birmingham, amongst other towns, also have public abattoirs. If all animals used for food were killed in municipal slaughter houses under proper inspection a good deal of disease would be prevented. In this respect England is far behind Germany and other countries. More important than meat, however, is the question of the

Milk Supply.

Milk is a most valuable food, but it is easily contaminated, and when contaminated may be a deadly poison. Adulteration with water or chemicals may be dealt with under the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts, but filth and germs are much more serious, and the law at present is inadequate to deal with them. But even under the present law a good deal can be done to enforce decent sanitation in cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and the Health Committee should see that these places are frequently inspected.

Towns are at a disadvantage in this matter, for nearly all the milk consumed in the towns is produced in the country. Rural sanitary authorities if they did their work properly could effect considerable improvements in our milk supply. Every member of a Health Committee should procure a copy of the regulations that apply to cowsheds, dairies and milk shops, and should see that these regulations instead of remaining a dead letter, as is too often the case, are properly enforced.

*The Prevention of Adulteration.

Every local authority charged with the administration of the Sale of Food and Drugs Acts should take a sufficient number of samples for analysis under the Acts. The number that ought to be taken will vary in different districts, but it should not as a rule fall below 10 samples per 1,000 population per year.

This work should be done by special inspectors, who should use their wits to frustrate the numerous dodges devised by dishonest traders to evade the Acts. The inspectors soon become well known, and it is useless for them to purchase samples personally. They must work through agents and must change the agents frequently.

* See an excellent article on this subject by Christopher Cash, B.A., in the *Medical Officer*, May, 1909, p. 876, and the same writer's book "Our Slaughter House System," Bell, 1907.

† See Report of the Medical Officer

Another precaution is necessary. Fraudulent traders always keep the genuine article and are careful to supply it to strangers who may possibly be inspectors' agents. The adulterated article is reserved for regular customers, and in dealing with this class of trader it is necessary for the agent to become a regular customer by making a number of purchases before the official sample is taken. This plan should also be adopted for the detection of the shopkeepers who make big profits by selling margarine as butter.

The analyses made under the Food and Drugs Acts are chemical analyses, and although they afford valuable information of the kind of food that is consumed in the district it is necessary also in the case of certain articles of food and drink to make a periodical

Bacteriological Analysis.

The water supply, milk supply, and certain foods should be analysed for the presence of germs—either the germs of disease or germs that indicate pollution with sewage or other noxious matter. For instance, samples of milk should be examined for the presence of tubercle bacilli. The Health Committee ought to know what proportion of milk consumed in their district contains the germs of tuberculosis.

The sanitary authority should arrange with a bacteriological laboratory of repute for the examination of samples or else establish a municipal laboratory.

Bacteriological examination is most useful also in the

Prevention of Infectious Disease.

In the control of these diseases it is essential to arrive at an early diagnosis, so that the patient may be properly isolated and disinfection carried out. In certain diseases, for instance, diphtheria and typhoid fever, the bacteriological examination of a specimen taken from the patient may result in an early diagnosis which otherwise would be delayed. The cost of such examinations, which are made chiefly in the interest of the public, should be borne by the public, and every sanitary authority should encourage the doctors in the district to send specimens for examination free of cost.

Maintenance of the Public Health.

But the duty of the Health Committee is not only to prevent the occurrence of disease: it is also to see to all the disease that does occur, in order to ensure that the necessary steps may be taken to prevent its recurrence in the same or any other person. For this purpose the Health Committee has very large powers; indeed, under Section 133 of the Public Health Acts, Health Committees may take almost any action that they think necessary in emergency to save life or prevent disease. Thus, they may do (as the Liverpool and Manchester Town Councils have done) pay the fees of doctors called in under the Midwives Act, 1902, in cases of emergency, they may (as many Health Committees have done) supply any medicines or drugs free of charge to patients or medical practitioners, and even

(as some Health Committees have occasionally done) pay medical practitioners to administer them; they may (as some Health Committees do) treat scarlet fever or puerperal fever, or, indeed, any other disease, in the patient's own home, instead of removing the case to their hospital, they may (like the Worcestershire County Council) start a whole system of domiciliary nursing; they may even, as part of the treatment, pay what is necessary for the maintenance of the sick patient in his own home; they may pay for the maintenance of "contacts," or those who are prevented from going to work because they have come in contact with infectious persons.

Hospitals.

The town or urban district council has power, under the Public Health Act, 1875, to establish and maintain public hospitals for all diseases whatsoever (including maternity). It is quite a mistake, though a common one, to suppose that this power is limited to isolation hospitals for infectious diseases. Very few Health Committees have yet used these powers, but the Barry Urban District Council and the Widnes Urban District Council have set up municipal hospitals for accidents and non-infectious cases. Why not get your council to do the same? The sanitary authority should at least provide hospital accommodation for the isolation of patients suffering from small pox, diphtheria, typhoid fever, and scarlet fever, and, wherever possible, for measles. In the latter disease, however, the hospital is wanted not so much to prevent the spread of infection, but to reduce the mortality from it. Children die of measles because they cannot in their own poor homes get the warmth, good food, and good nursing they need. Deaths are chiefly due to complications that could be prevented if the patients were properly looked after, which in many poor homes is impossible. Unhappily few districts provide as yet hospital accommodation for measles. The Liverpool Municipal Hospital now takes in cases of measles and whooping cough, and the same is said to be the case in Edinburgh. But in London the Metropolitan Asylums Board (which is the isolation hospital authority) refuses to take cases of measles, and except for a whooping cough ward in the Evelina Hospital, the only accommodation available for the poor is that provided in the poor law infirmaries. Hospitals free from the stigma of pauperism for measles patients who cannot be properly cared for in their own homes are much needed just now, and a Health Committee can do very good work in persuading the local authority to provide them.

The Prevention of Tuberculosis.*

This is one of the most pressing public health problems of the present time. Tuberculosis is due to the successful invasion of the body by a germ, the tubercle bacillus. It is communicable from man to man, and by means of meat, and especially milk, from animals to man. In its onslaught the tubercle bacillus is greatly

* On this subject the reader should consult "The Prevention of Tuberculosis," by Dr. Newsholme, Medical Officer of the Local Government Board.

helped if the person attacked lives among insanitary surroundings, is underfed, overworked, or alcoholic. Anything that tends to remove these conditions is working for the prevention of tuberculosis, but we want also more direct preventive measures aimed at the destruction of the bacillus itself. The chief source of infection is the expectoration of a consumptive patient, which contains millions of bacilli. These remain in the dust on floors and elsewhere, and are blown about by the wind. An easy way of attacking tuberculosis is to prevent indiscriminate spitting. The sanitary authority should distribute leaflets and printed notices on the dangers of spitting elsewhere than in a proper receptacle, and a byelaw against spitting in public places should be adopted. It is specially important that consumptive patients should be instructed as to the proper disposal of their expectoration. In order that such instruction may be given, proper spit-bottles provided, and disinfection carried out at public cost, as well as for other reasons, consumption should be made notifiable. Among poor law patients it is already notifiable, and this rule should be extended to all classes, either by a voluntary system, or by following the example of Sheffield and securing compulsory notifications by means of a private Act. The early diagnosis of consumption is important, not only because it enables preventive measures to be taken at the beginning of the disease, but also because the patient's chances of recovery depend chiefly upon the early adoption of proper treatment. The sanitary authority should offer free bacteriological examination of sputum and should establish a

Tuberculosis Dispensary.

These have been established in large numbers in France, and have been found of great value. In our country one has been at work in Edinburgh since 1887, and another has recently been established in Paddington. The work of these dispensaries is to detect early cases of consumption, to treat in their own homes patients who cannot go to a sanatorium and who are unable to pay for medical treatment, to help the patients to live healthy lives as far as possible, and to instruct them so that they may not be a danger to others. The dispensary doctor supervises the home treatment and enquires as to the health of the other members of the family with a view to detecting cases of the disease while they are still in the early and curable stage.

The dispensary supplies cod-liver oil and other medical necessaries and attached to it there is usually a body of philanthropic workers who obtain suitable employment for the patient, give financial assistance when required to the family, and afford help in various other ways. A tuberculosis dispensary should form part of the health department in every large urban area. Wherever possible the Health Committee should also have its own hospital for consumptive patients, as the Brighton Health Committee has, where the patient can go for a month or two, and be taught how to live.

Another necessary institution is the

Phthisis Sanatorium.

Sanatoria are needed for two classes. First there are the patients in an advanced stage of the disease, for whom cure is hopeless. These patients are the most dangerous sources of infection, for they not only bring up a large quantity of sputum, but they are too weak to observe the strict cleanliness that a consumptive must maintain if he is not to be a source of grave danger to his family. The poor among these patients frequently die in Poor Law institutions, in many of which the consumptives are nursed in the general wards. Sanatoria where these unfortunate people may end their days free from the stigma of pauperism are much needed.

Sanatoria are needed also for patients in the earlier stages of consumption. Dr. Newsholme thus sums up their advantages.*

1. In early and suitable cases a cure may be expected.
2. Short of a cure, in a large number of cases, arrest of disease occurs, the patient is able to resume his work at least to a modified extent, and his working life is much prolonged.
3. While the patient is in the sanatorium his home is disinfected, his relatives are free from recurring infection, and have time to recover their full measure of resistance to infection.
4. On his return home and to his work the patient is much less likely than before, even though he continues to have sputum containing tubercle bacilli, to be a source of infection to others.

In some towns, for instance Brighton and Leicester, it has been found possible to devote one or more blocks of the isolation hospital to sanatorium treatment of consumption, and with great success.

In Brighton this treatment is offered in all cases suitable for it, and in actual fact more than half the total cases at present under observation in Brighton have spent at least four weeks in the Borough Sanatorium, and have there been taught the precautionary measures needed to prevent infection and the personal régime suitable to their illness; while at the same time their families have had a temporary holiday from sick-nursing, the house has been disinfected, and the patient has returned with a knowledge of the way to avoid re-infecting it.

The Cleansing of Verminous Persons.

There is one communicable disease that calls for special mention, and that is *pediculosis* or lousiness. This is a horrible condition that ought not to be tolerated in a civilized community, and it specially afflicts two classes—school children and the inmates of common lodging houses. The Children Act, 1908, gives the local education authority power to enforce the cleansing of school children, and the London County Council's General Powers Act, 1907, contains a provision, which might with advantage appear in many local Acts, conferring a similar power with regard to the inmates of common

* Newsholme, "The Prevention of Tuberculosis," p. 382 (abbreviated).

lodging houses. By the Cleansing of Persons Act, 1897, a sanitary authority has power to fit up and maintain a cleansing station, and in Marylebone, where the Act is energetically administered, about 30,000 persons have been freed from vermin in the last ten years. Do not despise this matter, or think it of no consequence. Every town ought to provide in some way for this help to the poor to keep themselves clean.

Infant Mortality.

The prevention of infant mortality is a matter of supreme importance, and every member of a Health Committee should find out precisely what is being done in his district in this direction. Ask the Medical Officer for a special report as to how the infantile death rate compares with that of other places, and as to what is being done to reduce it. Infant mortality is due to many causes, and must be fought with many weapons. One of the most important causes is summer diarrhoea, which is a filth disease and can be prevented by cleanliness. The measures for promoting cleanliness indicated in the earlier part of this tract are most important in this connection. Clean air, clean streets, clean yards, clean houses, all work together to protect infant life. But other measures are necessary. There should be a wide dissemination of information about the proper ways of feeding and generally looking after babies. Cards containing instruction on these matters should be freely distributed, and a sufficient number of health visitors should be employed to visit mothers and give them practical instruction. The health visitors should begin their visits early in the baby's life, and this cannot be done unless they have timely notice of the baby's arrival. The Notification of Births Act should, therefore, be adopted. Mothers should be encouraged to bring their babies periodically to be weighed, so that it may be seen whether their progress is satisfactory. In Battersea a room at the public baths is set aside one afternoon a week for baby weighing. The mothers should be encouraged to nurse their babies; but often this is impracticable, because the mother, from want of food, loses her milk. In many districts efforts are now being made to supply nursing mothers with the food required to enable them to continue to nurse. Such schemes should be supported by the Health Committee who, for instance, might arrange (as has been done in France) to supply nursing mothers with milk at reduced rates from the

Municipal Milk Depot,

which a progressive sanitary authority in earnest about infant mortality will establish. There are many babies who, for various reasons, cannot be naturally fed, and these too frequently are given condensed milk, worthless patent foods, and unwholesome cow's milk. For these babies properly prepared milk may mean the difference between life and death.*

* For further details see "Municipal Milk and Public Health," by F. Lawson Dodd, D.P.H. Fabian Tract No. 122.

The Supervision of Midwives.

The county and county borough councils administer the Midwives Act, 1902, which is one of the most important measures ever placed on the statute book. Every year thousands of women die in child-bed from causes that could have been prevented had the women been properly looked after. No less than 50 per cent. of the births in this country take place under the care of midwives, who by the Midwives Act are brought for the first time under supervision. The local authority should appoint skilled persons to supervise the midwives—women doctors are specially useful for this purpose—and should see that a high standard of cleanliness and efficiency is maintained. In difficult cases a midwife is obliged to call in a doctor, and one of the defects of the Act is that no provision is made for the payment of the doctor in those cases, unfortunately very numerous, where the patient is unable to pay the fee. In some districts the fee is paid by the guardians, after much delay and repeated enquiries by the relieving officer, and then only in cases in which the family is adjudged to be destitute, but this is most inadvisable, for it makes the patient and her husband paupers, which they bitterly resent; it "worries" the poor woman, and it tends to prevent the smooth and effective working of the Act. The doctors summoned by midwives should be paid by the authority entrusted with the supervision of the midwives. This is done in Liverpool and Manchester, with highly satisfactory results; and every Health Committee should order it to be done under Section 133 of the Public Health Act

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- Sanitary Law and Practice. ROBERTSON and PORTER. The Sanitary Publishing Company. 10s. 6d.
 Public Health Problems. J. F. SYKES. Walter Scott.
 The Health of the State. G. NEWMAN. Headley Brothers. 1s.
 The Prevention of Tuberculosis. ARTHUR NEWSHOLME. Methuen. 7s. 6d.
 Infant Mortality. G. NEWMAN. Methuen. 7s. 6d.
 The Public Health Agitation, 1833-48. B. L. HUTCHINS. Fifield. 2s. 6d.
 English Sanitary Institutions. SIR JOHN SIMON. Smith Elder and Co.
 The Destruction of Daylight. J. W. GRAHAM. Allen. 1s. 6d.
 Infantile Mortality and Infants' Milk Depots. G. F. MCCLEARY. 1905.
 The Common Sense of the Milk Question. JOSEPH SPARGO. Macmillan.
 The Problem of the Milk Supply. F. LAWSON DODD. Bailière. 1s. 6d.
 The Work of the Health Visitor. G. F. MCCLEARY. *Albany Review*, April, 1907.
 Public Health Administration in Glasgow. J. B. RUSSELL and A. K. CHALMERS. Maclephose. 1905.
 The Hygiene of School Life. RALPH H. CROWLEY. Methuen. 1910.
 Annual Reports of the Public Health Committee of the L. C. C., submitting reports of Chief Medical Officer and Medical Officer (Education). King.
 Annual Report of the Medical Officer of the Local Government Board. Wyman.
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—BACON, "On Innovations."

The Need.

It is one of the paradoxes of our present stage of democracy that public attention is habitually rivetted on the discussion of those questions on which men differ most, instead of on the furtherance of those measures upon which they most agree. Were it not so, the proposals that have been made in certain quarters of late years for the endowment of motherhood, for maternity pensions, or, at least, for some form of insurance against some of the initial expenses of maternity, would surely have been more favorably noticed. To raise the economic status of women by a method which would emphasize and appreciate at its full value their work as mothers of the race is an aim in which Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists, both male and female, find themselves in accord. To focus the collective energy of the State on the task of building the homes of England anew, should reconcile to Socialism those whose opposition is at present most reasoned and most sincere.

The proposals contained in the present paper are advanced from the standpoint of our present social conditions, and of the present attitude of the public towards them. There are those who believe that if we could wipe out the world and begin creation afresh we should make a much better job of it; but whether this be so or not, in any move towards political progress we have to start from where we are, and deal with the world as it is. Ideals have their value. There is an ideal state in my own mind where all babies would have the best chance of growing up into perfect men made in God's image, where all mothers would have pleasure in the beauty of their motherhood, and receive the meed of care and reward that is their due. Such a state is in my mind, such a state on this earth and in this England I believe one day may come to pass; but I have no intention of describing it. For no ideals are worth much until in our imagination we have succeeded in linking them on to the present state of things, until we have formed an idea of how we are to make for them. And it is this next step which is my humble subject here; humble, because it is small, imperfect, and somewhat uncertain; and yet not without value if it leads out of the confusion of to-day towards the saner order of a future time.

What then is the present condition of things from which, as I have said, we must start, as they affect the mothers and the children during the crisis of maternity?

Millions of our people live in poverty, and it is just at the period of child-bearing that the shoe of poverty pinches most. Not only are its effects most disastrous, but actually there are a greater proportion of our families in poverty at that time than at any other. Men or women while single can keep themselves with comparative ease. After fifteen years of marriage the elder children begin to bring money into the home to supplement the parents' earnings. Later on the children marry and are off the parents' hands altogether; and even for the helplessness of old age there is now a pension in store. But in the early years of marriage the earnings are smallest, the expenses highest, and the proportion of poverty is greater than than at any other time.* Such are the circumstances of motherhood and child-bearing in the present conditions.

The result can be measured in the figures of infant mortality, but they only tell half the tale. The holocaust of little children may have its problems for the next world, but once they are dead we have no more to do with them; it is the survivors that matter most, and though they may come out of the fire alive, they are in most cases not unscathed: they carry in one form or another through all their remaining years the heavy handicap of the conditions which environed them even before they were born, and made their coming more than half a tragedy. It is because of the survivors more than for its intrinsic importance, that it is worth while to draw attention to infant mortality—the danger signal of modern family life.

Infant Mortality.

The death rate among infants during the first years of life is still excessive, although at last it shows signs of diminishing. Owing to the advance of medical knowledge and the improvement in hygiene, the general death rate has declined during the past 50 years, but the infant death rate shows no equivalent change. The mortality of children between the ages of 5 and 10 has been reduced from 7·8 per thousand in 1857 to 3·4 per thousand in 1907, but the mortality among children under 5 has been reduced during the same period only from 67·8 to 40·9. And the mortality of infants under one year actually increased from 145 in the decade 1845-1854, to 154 in the decade 1891-1900. It has however declined to 138 for the 5 years 1901-1905, and still further to 118 for 1907.†

Half the deaths of infants under one year occur in the first three months. Three times as many babies die in the first month as in any subsequent month. Of the deaths in the first month, the greatest number occur in the first week. If babies went on dying at the same rate as they die in the first week, none would live to be a

* See this brought out with impressive effect in "Poverty: a Study of Town Life," by Seebohm Rowntree.

† Local Government Board Report on Social Conditions, 1909.

year old. Of these deaths in the first week, the majority occur on the first day.*

The chances of infant life may be thus expressed: The highest death rate is on the first day. It declines gradually during the rest of that week, falls enormously the second week, remains about stationary the third week, falls again considerably the fourth week, falls enormously in the second month, after which it continues to fall slowly during the rest of the year.

The figures vary according to locality, but, speaking generally, they are highest in mining and industrial districts, and especially where women are employed in industry. The worst county for 1907 was Lancashire with a mortality of 161 per 1,000. Nine rural counties had a mortality of under 90. The rate of infant deaths in the three worst towns is double that of the three worst counties. In 1907, Stalybridge had a mortality of 219.†

But these oft-quoted figures do not tell the whole tale, for high as the rate of infant mortality is for the whole population, the rate for the unskilled working class is far higher still. When the general infant mortality rate at York was 176, Mr. Rowntree calculated that for the poorest section of the working class it was 247.

If any person in the prosperous middle or upper class will take the trouble to compute how many babies have died in their first year of life in his own family and in those closely connected with him, he will find that this mortality does not amount to more than two or three out of a hundred births, or at the rate of 20 or 30 per thousand. In families in which adequate food and attention can be given, the infantile death rate, even in towns, is already kept down to such a figure. Here are some official statistics.

INFANT MORTALITY PER 1,000 BIRTHS †

England and Wales :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	148 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	152 "
1907	...	...	...	...	118 "

London and ten urban counties for the same period :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	161 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	165 "
1907	...	...	...	...	128 "

In sixteen rural counties :—

1873-1877	...	...	...	...	127 (average)
1892-1902	...	...	...	...	125 "
1907	...	...	...	...	99 "

* "Infant Mortality," Dr. Geo. Newman.

† The figures for illegitimate children are of course higher than for legitimate children. In Manchester, with an infant death rate of 7.69 for legitimate children, the figure for illegitimate children was 362.

‡ Local Government Board Report on Social Conditions, 1909.

The nine counties with infant mortality rate under 90 in 1907 were: Dorset, Wiltshire, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Cambridgeshire, Surrey, and Sussex.

Infant mortality in Europe 1896-1905 per 1,000:—

Russia	268	Italy	168
Austria	223	Belgium	153
Hungary	215	France	149
Prussia	196	England	147
Spain	178	Holland	144

Causes of Infant Mortality.

The principal causes of death are—

- (a) In the first three months—diseases of immaturity.
- (b) In the second three months—diseases of digestion, *e.g.*, diarrhoea.
- (c) In the third three months—diseases of respiration, *e.g.*, pneumonia.

The deaths from these three causes are steadily increasing in proportion, in spite of the advance of medicine, which saves the lives of thousands of children in other diseases.

The causes of these three groups of disease are roughly as follows:—

(a) *Immaturity* is mainly due to over-fatigue of mothers when pregnant, coupled with under-feeding, and the sort of bread-tea-and-pickles diet in which so many women indulge, in some cases perhaps through vitiated taste, but more often the direct result of their low economic conditions.

(b) *Gastric trouble*.—Diarrhoea, which carries off so many victims in the second three months of life, is mainly the result of neglect and mismanagement; in fact, of bad mothering, due to poverty, drink, or ignorance; dirt, dirty bottles, improper food, and above all, irregular feeding, contribute principally to this group of diseases.

Epidemic diarrhoea is most prevalent in the third quarter of the year. The worst month is August. Here are the figures:—

Mortality from epidemic diarrhoea:—

Rural districts generally	5 per 1,000
Wigan and Liverpool	20-30 "
Manchester	30-40 "
For the whole country (average) 1891-1900...	27 "
" " 1901-1906...	25 "

(c) *Respiratory Diseases* are principally due to exposure. Leaving babies to lie in wet clothing, exposing them to sudden changes of temperature in the air they breathe, from the hot stuffy upper room to the door-step, from the warm, crowded mothers' meeting to the frosty night air outside—these things affect the bronchial tubes and lungs of a baby however well wrapped up, and claim their victims by the mass.

Present Provision for Maternity.

I have said enough to call attention to the havoc of human life and health which is being wrought under present conditions in English homes, and yet in our haphazard way there is a great deal that we do already, both individually and collectively, to meet the needs of maternity at the present time, and in order to be in a position to grapple with the problem, it is necessary to realize just what is now being done by the State, by charity, and by individual thrift.

(a) The State aid has been so fully dealt with in Chapter III. of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission that it need not be explained in detail here.

In the first place there are some 15,000 babies born in Poor Law Institutions. Then there is the large number of mothers who receive medical (including midwifery) orders, sometimes with, sometimes without, outdoor relief. The number of infants under one year maintained on outdoor relief is about 5,000. The policy that governs the provision of relief and medical aid varies with the locality, and the relief when given is as a rule inadequate and wholly unconditioned, the welfare of the child not being taken into consideration.

Side by side with the Poor Law there is the intervention of the local health authorities with their provision of midwives and medical advice, in some cases even of milk. Their activities are less universal than those of the Poor Law, but the principles that guide them are more rational, aiming as they do at education rather than mere relief, dealing with the future welfare of the child rather than with the present destitution of the mother. By the establishment of health visitors alone, quite extraordinary results have been already obtained in some districts.

Now that midwives are under the statutory obligation by the Midwives Act of 1902 to call in a doctor when certain difficulties occur, local authorities often, though not always, pay the doctor's fees in such cases, and this practice will become more general.

The Minority Report lays stress on the need for a unified service for birth and infancy, and also for the co-ordination and amplification of what has already been done by the community as such.

(b) Turning to charities, there are :—

1. *The Maternity Hospitals.*—These are fewer than might be expected. There are seven in London, which in the year 1905 dealt with about 12,000 patients, or under ten per cent. of the births of London. In the rest of the United Kingdom there appear to be at least nineteen, of which six are in Ireland.
2. *The General Hospitals, including Hospitals for Women.*—The bulk of the indoor cases treated in the general hospitals are cases that have serious complications, but there are a large number of outdoor cases treated by students for the purpose of education.

3. *Nurses and Midwives whose fees are partly paid by charitable boases.*—There are at least twenty such charities in London.

(c) There are a few friendly societies which give maternity benefits; for example, the Hearts of Oak pays thirty shillings to the husband, and the Royal Oak Society two pounds, but most of the other friendly societies make no special provision for maternity at all.

In women's friendly societies confinements would be reckoned with other illnesses

There are of course in existence numerous medical clubs which provide a doctor on payment of a weekly sum of money, and many slate clubs pay for doctor and midwife during confinement.*

It will be seen from the foregoing that an immense amount of care and expense is already being devoted to maternity and infancy in this country, and yet the result is as I have described above; inadequacy, diversity, overlapping, want of system, mark all that is being done. The money spent, welcome as it is in individual cases, is largely wasted in so far as the community is concerned; for the problem, as a whole, has not yet been faced, the enemy is still at the gates.

Immaturity, digestive disease and respiratory disease—the three main causes of infant mortality—are still sapping the fitness of the surviving population. If we are to safeguard and strengthen our race, we must roll back the attacking armies as they approach along these three main lines of advance. The critical period is the first three years of life; the battlefield is the home.

The Community must Step In.

People must soon realize, however anti-social their prejudices may be, that home life in its old sense has been half destroyed by our modern industrial system. It is no use prating of its sacredness, and of the value of parental responsibility. Such homes as unfortunately exist by thousands in our industrial centres are not sacred; they are blighted; a healthy nation has no use for them; they must be either ended or mended. In one form or another the community must interfere.

Two principles should guide our interference. The first is the simple proverbial one that "prevention is better than cure." If we are to assume, as we do assume, and have assumed for centuries back, the responsibility for the motley wreckage of human society in the form of old people, sick people, paupers, wastrels, criminals, lunatics and the rest, it is plain common sense not to let our State activity begin there, but to assert also the right to interfere with the conditions out of which this wreckage is produced.

The second principle is a financial one. Money spent on the beginning of life is more economical than money spent on the end of life. Money spent on a child is returned to the community in two ways: First, in saving of expenditure at the other end of the scale; secondly, in the actual production of future wealth. It should

* "The Endowment of Motherhood," Dr. Eder.

be regarded as an insurance against the expense of wreckage in the future. It may also be regarded as an investment bearing interest in the shape of health, energy, intelligence and labor power in the coming generation. It is financially well worth our while to develop our children, or at least to safeguard them sufficiently to enable them to accomplish the work that lies before them in life,—whether mental or physical, whether as citizens or as rulers, whether as wage-earners or as captains of industry.

Granting the need of State intervention, what form is it to take? Are we to replace the home by State institutions, or shall we set ourselves to build the home anew? There is much to be said for either alternative.

State Maintenance.

On the one hand, the State maintenance of children would probably enable the physical welfare of the growing race to be most efficiently safeguarded. Plato advocated State nurseries more than two thousand years ago, and various modifications of his plan have attracted advanced thinkers of all ages since his time. In some respects modern practice in England is tending in that direction. Compulsory State schools on the one hand, and the participation of women in industrial occupations on the other, tend more and more to divest the parents of their old responsibilities and force the community to take them up. It is only a few steps in one direction from the present state of things to the complete State maintenance of children, and the practical abolition of the family as a social unit. We might have State or municipal hospitals with maternity wards to which every woman could have access, where babies could be launched into life under ideal sanitary conditions, be fed well, nursed properly, and given the best possible start. Then we might have public endowment for the encouragement of nursing mothers, side by side with public crèches into which the children would be drafted, and remain under perfect conditions of food, air and nursing until old enough to go into the public nurseries or kindergartens which would replace our present infant schools, and where physical and mental development would be carried out on a progressive system until the children were of age to enter the public elementary schools. In the schools, too, meals and games would be arranged for as at present in the upper and middle class schools. Perhaps the buildings, instead of being dotted about, would be grouped in open spaces, with playgrounds in accessible suburban spots to and from which free trams could convey the thousands of children whose homes might still be in crowded districts. And perhaps, too, dormitories could be provided for the children of those, who, like the parents of the middle and upper classes, might prefer the boarding school to the day school as affording better discipline and training of character. By some such means as these, the budding citizens could be rescued from the evils that beset them now, and home-life, already more than half destroyed by modern industry, could be supplemented and replaced out of the wealth that industry produces.

Such an ideal is well worth notice. It could easily be linked on to our present conditions ; it would strike at the root of the deterioration over which the public shed their unanimous but futile tears.

Objections to State Maintenance.

But it has two great disadvantages.

The first is on the merits. The death rate of infants, not only in workhouses, but also in well managed private institutions, compares most unfavorably with that in the homes, even of the worst districts. The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission (pages 100 and following) shows that the infant mortality in Poor Law Institutions is between two and three times as great as in the general population ; and that this is not entirely due to mismanagement is shown by the fact given in the same report that " 2,000 infants attended to in their homes—poor and wretched as were those homes—by the competent nurses of the Plaistow Maternity Charity, had a death rate during the first fortnight after birth considerably less than that in *the most successful voluntary hospitals.*" *

The following are the rates of infant mortality for first fortnight per 1,000 births.†

In four large maternity hospitals of London	...	30
For whole population	... ..	31·1
In poor law institutions of London—		
Legitimate children	... ..	47·2
Illegitimate children	... ..	46·1
In poor law institutions outside London—		
Legitimate children	... ..	51·2
Illegitimate children	... ..	53·6

These statistics must be taken with some reserve, and are not by any means conclusive ; but they point to the peculiar danger of institutions for infants which, although it is at present unexplained, we cannot afford to ignore, and they certainly justify the conclusion arrived at by the signatories to that report : " It may well be that human infants, like chickens, cannot long be aggregated together even in the most carefully devised surroundings without being injuriously affected."

On the other hand, Dr. McVale in his report to the Poor Law Commission is impressed by the admirable work done in the maternity wards in the large city infirmaries. " There could be no comparison between the comfort and safety of midwifery practised in such surroundings and that conducted in the homes of the labor classes. . . . I see no reason not to give institutional treatment."

Apart from these facts altogether the institutional solution savors too much of what a great philosopher calls " regimentation." It might tend to cut the race all to one pattern, to turn out citizens after the fashion of machine-made articles. It might tend to stifle true

* Of 3,005 infants attended at birth by the nurses of the Plaistow Maternity Charity in the mother's own home in one of the most poverty-stricken districts of West Ham, 47 died in the first fortnight, or 15·33 per 1,000 births.

† Minority Report, Part I, Chapter III.

individualism, which it should be the aim of Socialism to enfranchise and uplift.

The second objection is one of expediency. Every step towards such an ideal as this would meet with the bitter opposition of that powerful class of opinion which wages perpetual warfare against any interference with the sanctity of home life. The ignorance of facts, terrible every-day twentieth century facts, shown by such people when they talk loosely about home life is pitiful enough, but their motive is genuine and sincere, and if this problem can be dealt with within the family instead of outside of it, by rebuilding the home instead of replacing it, the task of popularizing it will be far easier and, other things being equal, the method is preferable. There are signs that the desire to supply brand-new State institutions on hard and fast lines is giving way to the more elastic theory of State improvement and encouragement of existing conditions. The latest instance in point is old age pensions. We might have had communal almshouses on modern lines provided out of public money and not out of charity, enjoyed as a right and not as a favor, but instead of that we are pensioning the old people in their homes, and it is probably the extension and development of this policy that the future will bring.

So too will it be with the problem of the children. We have gone almost as far as English public opinion will ever go in the direction of State interference outside the home. Free and compulsory education, free and compulsory medical examination in the school, free and compulsory vaccination, free meals at the expense of the rates supplemented by voluntary hospitals, voluntary crèches, nursing systems, etc.—all these things have developed during the past generation. And yet it is not enough. The problems of health are not seriously grappled with even now. A step must be taken by the community, and taken soon, to safeguard the future race from the effects of the wide-spread disease of poverty which attacks our children by millions, spreading physical and moral devastation in each new generation; and if I believe that the response of the community to this call will be to build the home afresh instead of replacing it, it is not that, in the abstract, one theory is necessarily superior to the other, but because the English people have always chosen to transform rather than to abolish, and because the endowment of motherhood, while it will, like all forward steps, be first urged upon the community by Socialists, will command the support of those whose opposition to Socialism is based on the extraordinary error that its aim is to destroy the home.

The Scheme.

The need of State action has now been sufficiently emphasized, so too has the economic wisdom of it. Reasons have been adduced to show why such an action should be brought to bear *within* the home and not outside of it. Starting with these premises and bearing always in mind present conditions and the present state of public opinion, we have now to consider what scheme is possible.

The first step must be the establishment of a system of complete public provision for all the extra expenses incident on maternity.

Medical Attendance.

First and foremost comes the need for qualified medical and nursing attendance on the mother and the newly born infant. At present many mothers go almost unattended in their hour of need; many tens of thousands more have attendance that comes too late, or is quite inadequately qualified; hundreds of thousands of others fail to get the nursing and home assistance that is required to prevent long-continued suffering and ill health to mothers and children alike. This lack of qualified midwifery attendance and nursing will become even more apparent within a year or two, when the provisions of the Midwives Act come fully into force, and none but certificated midwives are allowed to practise. The local health authority ought to be required to provide within its area qualified medical attendance, including all necessary nursing, for all cases of childbirth of which it has received due notice. There is no reason why this should not be done as a measure of public health, free of charge to the patient, in the same way as vaccination is provided for all who do not object to that operation; and on the same principle that led to the gratuitous opening of the hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board to any person suffering from particular diseases quite irrespective of his means.* What is, however, important is that the necessary medical attendance and nursing shall *always* be provided. If the community prefers to recover the cost from such patients as can clearly afford to pay—say, for instance, those having incomes above a prescribed amount—instead of from everybody in the form of rates and taxes, this (as with the payment for admission to an isolation hospital) may be an intermediate stage. In one way or another, there must be no childbirth without adequate attendance and help to the mother.

Pure Milk.

We have next to consider the need of sustenance, both of the mother and of the newly born citizen. At present many tens of thousands of these infants perish simply from inanition in the first few days or weeks after birth. In town and country alike many hundreds of thousands of families find the greatest difficulty, even when they can pay for it, in buying milk of reasonable purity and freshness, or in getting it just when they require it, or often indeed in getting it at all. The arguments in favor of the municipalization of the milk supply are overwhelming in strength.† But an even stronger case can be made out for the systematic provision by the Local Health Authority, to every household in which a birth has taken place, of the necessary quantity of pure, fresh milk, in sealed bottles, delivered every day. Whatever else is left undone, the

* Diseases Prevention (London) Act, 1883; Public Health (London) Act, 1891.

† See Fabian Tract No. 122, "Municipal Milk and Public Health."

necessary modicum of pure milk, whether taken by the mother or prepared for the child, might at any rate be supplied as the birth-right of every new-born citizen.

These two measures—the universal provision of medical attendance and nursing and the universal provision of milk—would go very far to meet by the co-operative State organization represented by the local health authority, the actual extra expense which a birth causes to the average household. But the provision cannot be deemed complete unless an independent provision is made for the maintenance of the mother during the period for which she ought, in the public interest, to abstain from work.

Maternity Pensions.

The next step therefore must be the establishment of a system of maternity pensions on somewhat similar lines to the old age pensions, which, after much promising, have at last arrived.

These maternity pensions must be free, universal, and non-contributory, for reasons which are familiar to all who have followed the controversy over old age pensions. If they be not universal, they will come as of favor, and be open to the objections rightly urged against all doles, public or private. A contributory scheme could only exist as part of a universal sick fund, and State insurance would be a new principle in this country.* If the contributions were optional, the poorest mothers would get no pension at all. If they were compulsory on a fixed scale, the scheme would still further impoverish those it is intended to benefit. If the contributions were on a sliding scale, the pension would be smallest just where it is most necessary.

Four questions immediately arise:—

How much is the pension to be?

How long is it to last?

How is it to be administered?

What would it cost the community?

The amount of the pension will of course depend upon the view taken by the community of the purpose it is intended to serve.

To work out a pension scheme, for instance, on the basis of compensation for loss of the mother's earnings would at once involve a sliding scale such as is in force in Germany and Austria, which would be unfair in the working, and benefit the poorest least. Moreover, the theory is fallacious, inasmuch as it views the woman as a worker and not as a mother. Let the pension be regarded rather as the recompense due to the woman for a social service, second to none that can be rendered. The time will come when the community will set a far higher value on that service than it does at present, and will extend the moderate pension scheme here proposed into the full endowment of motherhood. But at present the main point is to tide the mother over a time of crisis as best we may.

* Should the State, as seems likely, inaugurate a scheme of sick or unemployment insurance in the near future, such change in the premises from which the argument starts would, of course, carry with it the necessary modification of the argument itself.

On the one hand then it can be argued that any sum, however small, would be a relief in many cases to the pressure of want. On the other hand, it could fairly be urged that at such a time no reasonable sum, however large, would be wasted, so many are the extra needs of the mother and the new-born child, so all-important to the future is their full satisfaction. For the purposes of this paper, I suggest that a middle course be adopted, not because it is a middle course—for the golden mean is often the worst course of all—but for the following reasons. Too small a pension is uneconomic; unless it secure to some extent the object in view, the expense would not be worth while. Five shillings per week for a month would be money thrown away. On the other hand, a large pension extending over a long period, say, one pound per week for nine months, would cost so much that public opinion would not seriously consider it, and given the present standard of life, it is quite likely that much of it would be wasted. Let us begin with a sum far less than will be provided eventually by a far-seeing and progressive community.

I suggest, therefore, ten shillings per week as being ample to cover the proper maintenance and feeding of an ordinary working-class maternity case. The cost of a maternity case in Queen Charlotte's Lying-in Hospital for provisions alone works out at 7s. 7d. per week. But food can of course be bought by a hospital in large quantities, and therefore at a much lower price than would be possible to a private family.

HOW LONG SHOULD THE PENSION LAST?

The average duration of a maternity case *inside a hospital* appears to be a fortnight. The statutory minimum of nursing under the Midwives Act is ten days. The normal period during which upper class mothers keep their beds is three weeks, but for some time after leaving bed, the mother is incapable of any active work without harm to herself. Many internal diseases and nervous complaints, as well as a good deal of the drinking among women, have their origin in getting about too soon. For some weeks at least, whether the mother nurses her baby or not, she requires much more than ordinary rest and nourishment. These considerations apply also, though in a less degree, to the period preceding confinement.

Under the law of Great Britain, the period of enforced cessation from factory work is four weeks. The same period is prescribed in Holland and Belgium. In Switzerland the period is eight weeks.

These laws, though of great value, are often cruel in the working, as they deprive the woman of wages without compensation just at the time she needs money most. The result is they are often evaded. Germany and Austria have recognized this. In Germany women are forbidden to work for six weeks after confinement.* But the insurance law of Germany provides women with free medical attendance, midwife and medicine, and in addition with an allowance not exceeding seventy-five per cent. of her customary wage for the

* The period may be reduced to four weeks on production of a medical certificate.

six weeks. There is further a provision that pregnant women unable to work should be allowed the same amount for not more than six weeks previous to confinement. A similar insurance system exists in Austria and Hungary. In some parts of Germany, the municipality goes still further. In Cologne, the working mother is given a daily grant to stay at home and suckle her child, and visitors see that this condition is fulfilled. The Cologne system has been adopted by some municipalities in France. In Leipsic, every illegitimate child becomes a ward of the municipality, which puts it out to nurse with certified persons who must produce it for inspection on demand.

These provisions enable the government of Germany to enforce the law against the employment of women in the last period of pregnancy without hardship to them, and only when some such measures are adopted in England will our law cease to be evaded, and become a real safeguard instead of a dead letter.

The compensation given to German mothers, though far in advance of anything we have in England, is already felt to be insufficient, but there is a difficulty in making it more generous arising from the fact that the system is a scheme of insurance; the benefits cannot be increased without a rise in the contribution. In a free pension scheme, this difficulty will not occur. A small beginning might be made by way of experiment to familiarize the public with the advantages of caring for maternity, with a knowledge that its scope could be extended indefinitely without dislocation of the scheme.

But the period like the amount must be substantial even at first. If the pension is to have any permanent value it should extend, I suggest, over a period of at least eight weeks: about two weeks before and six weeks after the date on which the birth is expected to take place. I attach no importance to the particular period of eight weeks, which must be regarded as a rough minimum chosen to afford a basis for preliminary calculation of the cost of the scheme to the community.

The Scheme in Working.

The pensions might be administered on the following lines, to the details of which no particular importance need be attached.

The first payment should be made a fortnight before the anticipated date of confinement, on condition that the recipient was not at this time engaged in any occupation likely to prove injurious to her health or to her offspring. Most women would willingly comply with this condition could they afford to do so.

Application should be made at least a month before the first payment.

If, as I suggest, the scheme were accompanied by free nursing and supervision, the case would at once be placed in the hands of the nurse in whose district it fell, who would pay a preliminary visit to the applicant's home, arrange with her as to the best place in the house for the lying-in, and give her good advice as to care and diet.

If any symptoms were unsatisfactory, the applicant would be advised to see the medical officer. Special cases could then be scheduled and watched. Difficult and abnormal cases could be removed to the infirmary in good time where they could be treated more conveniently than in the home, and where recovery would be more rapid. In such a case, the pension, or part of it, would presumably pay for the patient's treatment in hospital. In serious cases it might be possible, on the report of the medical officer, to make grants for extra nourishment, even before the pension became due, and in the same way to keep cases of slow recovery furnished with money longer than the prescribed eight weeks.

There would be no need to tie a patient down to a particular doctor and nurse, provided the persons chosen by the patient were approved of by the pension authority.

Women would be encouraged to make their application as long before the statutory month as possible. At first they would not wish to do so; but in a few years, and especially in first pregnancies, many young mothers would come to feel that they had somewhere to go for advice, and would seek out the pension authority early. Much folly would thus be avoided. The mere handing of a one-sheet pamphlet of elementary rules of health to each applicant would not be without its effect in removing some of the ignorance that at present prevails. The women would talk it over on their door steps and in their courts, and gradually the old wives' tales and remedies would give way to a few tags of sound hygiene.

The pension authority would, as tactfully as possible, use the pension as a lever to promote a higher standard of health in the applicant's home. For instance, as regards overcrowding, if it transpired at the preliminary visit that the only room available for the confinement was one in which not only the woman and her husband but also several children slept, temporary arrangements could be insisted on for the reduction of this number during the receipt of the pension. For a small sum per week, which the pension money would far more than provide, accommodation could be obtained for most of the family elsewhere in the same house, or at least in the same street. Both the mother and baby would thus get a national minimum of air for the time being, and in the course of time, a higher standard of opinion would be set up in the matter of house room, and the way be paved for future reform.

There are numerous other ways in which the local authority might, through the medium of the pension, increase the standard of health. If it be true, as the experts tell us, that breast feeding is all important to national health, then special advantages might be offered to nursing mothers under the scheme.

Supposing a fee for the requisite nursing and medical attendance were charged and deducted from the pension, mothers would still be better off than at present, but if the nursing were free, as suggested above, the cost that would be added to the pension scheme would be compensated for by a considerable saving in our present voluntary machinery.

Each case, as I have said, would be in the hands of a certificated nurse, but much of the routine work could be performed under the direction of the nurse by less skilled women who would play the part of mother substitute as well, for the medical aspect of the case is by no means the most important. When the mother of a family is laid by, few workmen can afford to pay for extra help, and so the children are neglected, go to school unwashed, with dirty clothing, and unbrushed hair, and without properly cooked meals at home. Under the pension scheme, as is the case even now in many country districts under private nursing institutions, a mother substitute, or a pupil nurse, could be provided to be manageress to the family during the first three weeks.

What would the Scheme cost ?

First, as regards the provision of nursing and medical attendance, with the necessary supply of milk.

The cost of nurses varies according to density of population, cost of living, etc., in the various localities. Moreover, in some districts, the average duration of labor is three or four times as long as in others; the cases in such districts require far greater attention during recovery, occupying more of the nurse's time, and therefore costing more. In some town institutions, medical and nursing expenses work out at only 10s. a case, while in some unions and hospitals the out-door cases are reckoned at 15s. a case. We are told that the State does things expensively, and certainly its standard should be as high as that of the best poor law or charitable administration in a matter of this kind; so we will take this last figure as our estimate, and adding thereto the cost of milk for eight weeks, at perhaps another 15s. per case, we shall arrive at an outside figure of £1 10s. per case for nursing, medical expenses, and milk.

Now, as regards the cost of pensions.

The total number of births in the United Kingdom for the year 1907 was 1,148,573. Some of these of course were twins, or even triplets. In such cases I do not suppose a full 10s. would be given for each child. More probably it would be decided to augment the pension by a small sum, say only 2s. 6d. per week extra, for each additional child; but this is a mere matter of detail, and need hardly enter into our rough calculation. Without making any allowance for this, the pension of 10s. per week for eight weeks on the basis of the 1907 figures would involve a cost to the community of £4,600,000 per annum. If ten per cent. be added for the extra cost of special cases, we get £5,000,000 as the outside cost of pensions. With the addition of £1,750,000 for the cost of provision of nursing, medical attendance, and milk, the total is £6,750,000.

If the pension were paid through the existing old age pension authority, the cost of administration would be almost negligible.

But this is only the gross cost. From it must be deducted a sum for non-claimants, the number of whom would depend on how far the scheme were accompanied by inspection and other requirements which would keep off those who did not need it. Speaking

roughly, we may take it that the servant-keeping class would not be likely to apply for the pension. This class was estimated by Mr. Booth at 11·3 per cent. in London, and by Mr. Rowntree at 28 per cent. in York. It is reasonable to suppose that at least 20 per cent. of the mothers would not apply for pensions under the scheme suggested, in which case the amount to be written off under this heading would be £1,350,000, leaving a total of £5,400,000.

This expense, which in round figures may be described as five and a half millions of money, would be accompanied, of course, by a considerable saving in three directions: i. the rates; ii. charity; iii. friendly societies, etc.

i. If the estimate I have quoted above be correct, namely, that fifteen thousand children are born every year in poor law institutions, and five thousand infants under one year subsist on outdoor relief, it is evident that from the cost of the scheme there must be subtracted the expenses under this head.

In England and Wales, the proportion of illegitimate births in workhouses is estimated at seventy per cent., but there is a growing tendency among respectable married women to use the workhouse as a maternity hospital. This tendency would undoubtedly be arrested by the pension scheme now proposed, but the great bulk of the maternity work under the poor law would probably continue because it deals with those without homes, casuals, illegitimate cases, etc. These persons would be relieved as at present, but the expense, instead of falling on the rates, would be defrayed out of the pensions to which they, in common with the rest of the community, would be entitled.

ii. There would also be an enormous saving in the expenses of hospitals, nursing institutions, and other charitable agencies

The general hospitals take in cases with serious complications and treat outdoor cases for the purpose of educating their students. This would continue as at present and work in with the scheme, the hospitals being paid for the work done out of the money voted for the maternity law. Thus their sphere of usefulness would probably be enlarged and their finances at the same time relieved.

The lying-in hospitals would find that some who at present used them would, under the pension scheme, prefer to remain in their own homes; but the more complicated cases, which now remain ill-attended at home, would be removed under doctor's recommendation to the lying-in hospitals, which would thus find their activity increased and their work paid for. Over nine per cent. of the births of London are treated by lying-in hospitals at a cost of about £25,000 a year. Under this head alone then this sum would be saved to the charitable public of London every year and be liberated for use in other ways. Similar amounts would be saved in other centres.

As for the nursing institutions, their great work would at last be nationalized, or if the institutions remained under private management, the nurses they provide would be paid for by the community for the cases they tended.

It is impossible to estimate what the saving to charities would be without far fuller details as to the expense of hospitals and other charitable agencies than I have found it worth while to obtain ; but if the saving under this head is less than might be supposed, that is only another way of saying how inadequately maternity is provided for under our haphazard charity system, which does not, indeed cannot, attempt to cover the whole ground.

iii. Lastly, there would be a small saving in the benefits given for confinements by thrift societies and clubs. The money would be thus liberated for fuller benefits in other directions.

Objections to the Scheme.

A host of objections present themselves to the mind against the scheme I have outlined. They may be divided into two heads—practical and theoretical.

The first practical objection will come from enthusiasts who will say that 10s. per week is not enough : it will not replace the wages in many cases, much less afford the extra comfort and nourishment required at such a time.

But the fact is that the better-class working woman who is earning more than 10s. per week is not likely to be so near the poverty line as her poorer sister, and the pension, though acceptable, is not so absolutely vital in her case. The 10s. will be all to the good for her, while for the very poor it will more than replace anything they could earn, and will go some way at least towards securing that national minimum of comfort at a time of crisis in the life of the individual and of the community which is the main purpose it is intended to serve.

Another objection is that in many households the 10s. may not be spent on the mother and the baby : the husband would drink the money. My belief is that these cases will be far fewer than is often supposed. Even rich people, if they found themselves in such a position that they could not rely on a future more than a few days ahead, if they lived in a world of destroyed illusions, where memory is all and hope has little place, would probably do much as the very poor do ; they would drop calculation and let things slide. But give the poorest even eight weeks during which they can see their way clear, and they will feel less helpless, they will derive a stimulus from the new sensation, they will behave more sensibly. Still the objection has force none the less, and be the cases few or many, they must be guarded against. The nurse will see at once how the land lies, and acting on her report, the local authority should schedule the case, and pay the pension in kind through the nurse, or through inspectors or health visitors, whose business it should be to look after such cases. The difficulty is there as in the case of out relief. It has to be met, but it is not insuperable. It would be ridiculous to deprive the whole nation of a beneficial scheme just because there are rogues about.

Another difficulty I clearly foresee is that of arranging the staff of nurses, doctors, etc., so long as the hospitals and medical schools

remain in private hands. As things are at present arranged, there would inevitably be overlapping and jealousy and undue expenditure. Indeed, if overlapping is not now apparent, it is merely because there is no attempt by voluntary agency to cover nearly the whole ground, which is strong evidence of the need of the scheme. But the time is not far distant when the health services will be socialized, and the first beginnings of a far humbler scheme than that mentioned in the present paper would tend to hasten the event.

Finally, there is a powerful theoretical objection to any scheme which lessens the burden of maternity, namely, that it will tend unduly to increase the number of births amongst the poorest classes.

Three considerations must be urged in answer to this :

- (a) The poorest classes already breed almost as fast as they can, faster than any other part of the community.
- (b) The tendency of parents is to become more prudent in proportion as they have more chances in life and a better position to lose.

The more comfortable working classes, as represented by members of friendly societies and trade unions, for instance, have not, on the average, so many children as the unskilled laborer.*

- (c) In Germany, where compensation, fifty to seventy-five per cent. of the wages lost, is paid to the mother, this payment for confinement, so far from increasing, is a diminishing proportion of the total sick pay.

But it is possible that, apart from increase of births, there might, or indeed there probably would be, an increase of population due to the reduction of infant mortality. This is not necessarily an evil. Whether it is so in fact or not depends wholly on the character and quality of the increased population. Surely an increase due to causes that make for a higher level of health all round cannot be said to be an evil except by those who are haunted by the ancient bogey of over-population.

Our object is not to increase the population, but to obtain a national minimum of health for the race. What though this incidentally increase the population, too? If the future race is only sufficiently healthy and efficient, over-population will be no danger to it. It will not allow the few to displace it, to monopolize the land, to pin it into slums, and to live upon it; but it will claim its heritage, it will survive in the struggle for existence, it will be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, replacing, if need be, more effete and less healthy peoples. The modern topsy turvey view of a child as an expense, instead of a source of wealth, will not survive the economic disorganization from which it springs.

Advantages of the Scheme.

Over against all such objections there stand out clearly the advantages to the whole nation of such a scheme as I have outlined.

* See Fabian Tract No. 131.

To the individual these advantages are obvious. They may be summed up as follows :

1. Money at a time of crisis in the home. As Bernard Shaw has truly said, "What is the matter with the poor is poverty."

2. Health to the mother and the child consequent upon the increased care and attention at that time. Moreover, the mother would be saved many of the future consequences of bad recoveries. Thousands of women take to drink at first purely to gain temporary relief from ailments consequent upon unhealthy conditions of motherhood.

3. The husbands would be saved much worry and expense due to the incomplete recoveries and ill-health of their wives.

4. Above all, there would be increased affection between the mother and child springing up in the golden days of rest that will replace the present nightmare of worry, affection that will bear priceless fruit in the home life and conditions of the future.

Great as the boon would be in individual cases, the advantages to the community would be greater still. In the first place, the rate of infant mortality would be reduced, and at the same time would disappear the degeneration of the children that survive. It is impossible to over-rate the value of the health lessons that would be received in the home during the regular visits of the nurses. Little by little, closed windows, dirty bottles, "comforters," ignorance of management and feeding, wanton exposure of children, and the hundred-and-one details that go to pile up our figures of mortality and disease and leave their legacy of trouble and expense to the survivors, would disappear before the method and common sense of a more enlightened generation. Once establish your national minimum in so important a sphere of life as child-bearing, and the seed is bound to grow. It will develop into full endowment of motherhood, and bear fruit in the ever-increasing freedom and health of the coming race.

"Superfluous Women."

In the second place, there seems every reason to believe that with healthier conditions the present disparity of number between the sexes would also disappear. In 1907 there were living in this country 16,879,509 males and 18,066,091 females. This excess of females is not due to an excess at birth, for there are always more boys than girls born, the mean proportion for the decade 1897-1906 being 1,037 boys born for every 1,000 girls. It is due simply to the fact that male children succumb more readily to the dangers that await them in infancy. The proportion of deaths to 1,000 births in 1907 was as follows :—

Under 1 day	-	12.90	males	and	9.71	females
" 1 week	-	14.78	"	"	11.26	"
" 1 month	-	46.17	"	"	34.98	"
" 1 year	-	130.26	"	"	104.49	"

The death-rate under 5 years per 1,000 living was 44.77 males to 37.02 females.*

* See Registrar-General's Reports for England and Wales

Now, as these infant deaths arise largely from causes that are preventible, and are more active in urban than in rural districts, it follows that the present ratio between the sexes is abnormal, and would be modified by legislation of the kind proposed.

Although this scheme was drawn up before the appearance of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, and although Maternity Pensions are not suggested there, yet I venture to think there is nothing in the scheme inconsistent with the principles underlying that report, or with the facts and figures contained therein. Indeed, it would seem to fulfil completely two conditions upon which the Commissioners lay great stress; first, that the service of birth and infancy should be unified, and secondly, that the normal place for the mother and the child is the home.

It has often been urged that the endowment of motherhood would tend to facilitate early marriages, and in this way prevent much misery, immorality and disease consequent upon the economic impossibility of recognized relations between the sexes at a time when the passions are strongest. I do not think the present scheme would achieve this. It would hardly touch the middle classes, and among the poorer classes of the community, which it would undoubtedly benefit, marriage is already embarked upon at a sufficiently early age.

Conclusion.

One word in conclusion. Twice, and twice only, in modern history, according to Dr. Newman, has the mortality of the little children of the working classes been sensibly reduced. Once was during the cotton famine in Lancashire, the other was during the siege of Paris. In both cases, poverty and privation sent up the general death rate whilst reducing infant mortality, in Paris by as much as forty per cent.*

The paralysis of industry spelt life for the race. Why? Because the parents were at home and the children had their meed of care and kindness.

What does this mean? It means that we buy our industrial wealth at the price of our national health.

We are, in fact, living on capital all the time. Financiers refuse to see this. They calculate in terms of money, and dub the rest of the world sentimentalists; but human life, human labor, are not sentimental, but material, considerations, and social problems are not antagonistic to, but essentially a part of, sound finance. The civilization that survives will be that which takes the social items into its account. This can never be done while the two sets of items are in different hands, while the profits of industry are swept into private coffers, and the wreckage and waste of capital is made good out of the public treasury.

Every step taken by the public towards assuming responsibility that is theirs brings the day nearer when in self defence they will

* Dr. Newman, "Infant Mortality."

insist on drawing up a national balance sheet of their own on sane lines. And there is, I venture to believe, no responsibility at present neglected which they ought in common sense to assume before that of the mothers and the little children, the breeding ground of ages long past, the infinite potentiality of the super-race that is to be.

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ON ARISTOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

By RUTH CAVENDISH BENTINCK.

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THE POINT OF HONOUR.

DEAR CHRISTOPHER,—

My attachment for you personally was, as you know, very great. It is therefore a dreadful shock to me to be forced to recognize a rebel and a traitor in one who was a relation and a friend; but to me it seems demoralizing to remain on good terms with bad people—a man's character being shown by the company he keeps—so I find it impossible to associate with a person of your stamp, just as it would be impossible for me to keep up a friendship with a forger or any other immoral person. Forgive my plain speaking, but I am a plain man and about to speak out *my mind for the last time*

I have tried to make every allowance for you. You have always been endowed with an unfortunate disposition, intolerant of anything savoring of restraint, impatient of procrastination, and contemptuous of prudence—which I even recollect your calling a “ditch-begotten virtue,” an expression which of itself betrays you as an intolerant crank.

The Dangers of Too Much Knowledge.

Owing to various deplorable circumstances, and also in a large measure to your own reckless and headstrong disposition, you have, I admit, been brought into contact with many facts which are not generally realized; and these you have only looked at through your own perverted spectacles, which incline you to attribute all those things, which you ignorantly and arrogantly assume to be unmitigated evils, to the defects of our present social system.

As you see, I have taken all the extenuating circumstances into account. I will not even ask how it is that one brought up as you were can so forget our family traditions and the ideals pertaining to his rank as actually to avow himself a Socialist. I have made full allowance for the causes which may have induced you to adopt the mischievous course you are now pursuing. I own you have seen things which at first sight may arouse indignation. Your spirit revolts at what you consider to be “injustice”; but is it “injustice”? A better balanced mind would penetrate below the surface of things and realize its own inability to define abstract justice.

Sentimentalism in Foreign Policy.

For instance, when justice is meted out to some person or people in Spain or Russia, Egypt or India, you and people of your
IV.—^{or} they are apt to jump to the conclusion that it is an “injustice”
V.—^{or} the sentence does not happen to meet with your approval.
127.
Quæ

This frequently leads you into making seditious utterances provocative of endless ramifications of disorder; and yet you know perfectly well that it is not possible for a government office to vouchsafe a reason for its actions, therefore the justification for them does not get published, and many are led astray by misguided and shortsighted sentimentalists who refuse to see any but one side of these questions. You do not consider that the men on the spot have spent their lives in studying the best means of dealing with the native population, etc., and are therefore better able to say what is considered "justice" in those regions than people who have never been in the country, and cannot expect to grasp the full significance of its problems in the same way as the officials, or even as well as those who go to such places in search of sport.

The Uses of Aristocracy.

With regard to our own country, how could it get on without the aristocratic class? Look at the work, often hard, generally tiresome, and always unpaid, which they do on county and district councils, school boards, magistrates' bench, etc., to say nothing of various charities.

Of course there are black sheep in every flock, and I do not deny that the "smart set" gives occasion for anything that Socialists may say of them; but, after all, they are not many in number, and are mostly aliens or risen from the middle classes, therefore the present argument does not apply to them. I own that many things in England are far from being perfect; but this is the case in every civilized country, and it would benefit no one were I to go and live in some mean and monotonous street amongst the myriads of beings who are degraded beyond redemption in our filthy cities. Most people in our class will do more good by keeping an oasis, where culture and beauty, art and literature, may find a home and not be overwhelmed by the ocean of brutal ignorance and coarse hideosity surrounding us.

That is my ideal and the work my artistic perception prompts me to carry on. There will always be squalor and ugliness enough for you to wallow in, because as fast as you sweep it up in one place it will reappear in another, so long as every individual unit does not "do his duty in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call him"; or, in other words, till everyone tidies up his own pigsty before attempting to clean up the farmyard—and if all the pigs did that there would be far less dirt in the world.

The Responsibilities of the Classes.

I have a strong belief that the thing nearest one's hand is one's first duty; that we have inherited certain work and responsibilities; and that if we neglect those and plunge into work of our own choosing, we are not doing what God intended, and end in doing more harm than good. As it is, I think most people of our class are honestly endeavoring to tidy up their own corner of the world before trying to tidy other people's. This is the duty which I hope

and believe I should endeavor to fulfil were I the meanest mole-catcher on the estate instead of its owner, and I only wish you could say as much instead of spending your time in making discontented and disloyal citizens; for this is a sorry occupation any fool is capable of, though it takes a wise man and a truly religious one to make people happy and contented, each in his sphere.

Do you remember our early days and all the "secondary gods," as you were pleased to call them—old Hannah, the stud-groom, the keeper, etc.? They gave you a very good example, for were they not all absolutely contented in their several positions? Would that you had assimilated some of their strong common sense! But your rebellious and predatory instincts were apparent even as a child. I have not forgotten your nocturnal expeditions to the lower gardens nor the fruit you kept hidden in the moat. I know your people pretend to be amused by the words "robbery and confiscation," but the aim of the equal distribution of wealth, though in itself ideal, is an object which can only be attained by appealing to man's predatory instincts, and the proposal to despoil one set of people for the benefit of another can only be called "confiscation," and, as such, can hardly fail to produce demoralization.

Socialism Demands a Higher Morality.

I do not, of course, share the ignorance of those who confound feeble and isolated instances of Communism with Socialism, and I am well aware that Socialism has never been tried by a nation. This in itself proves nothing, though the probability is that the experiment would have been undertaken long ago had there been any reasonable expectation of success; but the success of Socialism presupposes an improvement and elevation in human nature which we are not justified in anticipating: it assumes the complete eradication of all selfish instincts, the surrender of all natural affection, and the grinding down of all degrees of intelligence to a common level. The realization of Socialism suggests a barrack-like monotonous existence in which one set of people will be perpetually watching another to see that no unfair advantage is being taken, a life in which there will be little or no scope for originality or independence, and in which there will be nothing to look forward to, as the incentive to progress will be absent.

And even then the inequality and "injustice" will remain. To take only one instance. I am less physically attractive than X., although perhaps equally deserving. Why should X. enjoy the privilege of ensnaring the affection of some desirable female, whilst I am spurned?

In the interests of common justice I demand that X.'s classic features and model proportions should be planed down or distended to my own level. X.'s attractive exterior is in no sense due to his own exertions; it represents an unearned increment to which he clearly has no right, and it is only fair that he should be called upon to sacrifice it on behalf of the community of which I am one. This argument applies with even greater force to the opposite sex.

No. If you got your Socialistic State to-morrow and everybody equal and enjoying the same advantages, in six months' time those with brains and intelligence would come to the front and those without them would sink, for the former would take advantage of the latter. The whole idea is so Utopian, so idealistic, so totally unpractical! What man who has had to deal with men and their administration on a big scale has ever been a Socialist? Poets, dreamers, ranters, people with an exuberance of philanthropy and no practical knowledge, people who are dissatisfied with their conditions, those who have sunk to the lowest depths and have nothing to lose—there is your Socialist raw material and I wish you joy of it!

Fatalism.

Believe me, the huge fabric of modern civilization is working out its own evolution, and to try to increase the speed of the machine by pouring cans of liquid into it which it is totally unprepared to assimilate, will only result in a shudder of the machine, a spitting out of the liquid, and procedure by evolution as before.

In the vast network of most complicated inter-relations which builds up the civilized world, can you honestly believe that it is possible to straighten out the tangle and have everything nice and smooth, and everyone doing exactly as they should for each other's benefit? The modern industrial world is, alas! so constituted that the conditions you deplore must ever be with us in some form or other, and nothing that you or I can do is capable of altering what may, for all practical purposes, be looked upon as one of nature's laws.

There are other countries besides our own, and the adoption by one nation of a purely Utopian idea would dislocate the whole machine to its own injury; other nations would take advantage of the madness, and the crazy people who had accepted this form of social conditions would be crushed out of existence, for its Socialism would be an *unnatural* state, and therefore doomed to extinction.

Our Nation of Shopkeepers.

Great Britain is a kind of vast shop, which either handles and distributes the goods of foreigners, or supplies other countries with its products. The vast majority of the population is employed in distributing or producing these goods, and the sale of the goods is dependent upon their being of the same, or better, value than those which are produced elsewhere. Eliminate competition between British producers, and the value of the goods will diminish and their price increase. What, in that case, would become of the millions of men and women whose labor produces the goods in question?

The British Isles, already overpopulated, are incapable of sustaining the forty-four millions who now inhabit them unless the product of their labor can be exported, and it is impossible to believe that a nation which forbade private profit could compete successfully with rivals who adhered to the system of competition.

It is futile to talk of Socialism as a cure for all ills as long as the world is what it is. You cannot make people subservient to an idea and go against their natural inclinations and interests for the *sake* of an idea.

Classes a Law of Nature.

Look at nature; and if you can find a successful state of Socialism among animals or plants, I will take all this back. But until you do, I shall continue to assert that Socialism is not only a waste of your time, but a wicked waste, inasmuch as you are now spending your life in rousing a turbulent and dangerous spirit which, when once called forth, you may find it is beyond your power to allay; and you may yet live to regret your reckless wickedness in appealing to men's baser passions and setting class against class. But I will not enlarge on this theme; I have already written enough to show you how deeply I regret that we have indeed arrived at the parting of our ways, and that in future we must be as strangers to one another.

PONTEFRACT.

DEAR P.—

So our divergent opinions have strained your friendship to the breaking point; but mine is still intact, although you call me a philanthropic, idealistic dreamer and a wicked thief appealing to men's baser passions, all in one breath.

Do you remember that legend about the first Norman robber recorded in our line? How he, being about to engage in battle, rode down the lines, reviewing his forces and giving orders? He commanded one of his officers to begin the attack by storming a certain position. This wretched fellow, glancing at the site indicated, replied that it could not be done. Our ancestor lifted his brows. "What, then, do you suggest?" "I cannot say," replied the captain, helplessly. Whereupon, without further waste of time or talk, it is related that our amiable forefather, "raising his battle-axe, clove his head in twain," remarking that "it contained neither courage nor ideas, but only a mouth to eat," and so rode slowly on down the lines, the matter being of no great importance.

"Toujours l'Audace."

Now that callous old savage was right. If we have neither courage nor ideas, and placidly proclaim our inability to attack and deal with the difficult questions of the day—riding the while decked out in burnished armor, exacting respect from those we imagine ourselves born to lead, and expecting to have our greedy mouths filled with the choicest food the army commissariat has to offer—well, then we deserve to have our handsome, but inefficient, heads "cloven in twain," that's all. And yet this is the position you take up when you say "we cannot alter present conditions." Is not the present chaotic industrial system of man's own making? If so, it is capable of amelioration, alteration, and eventual reconstruction by

man: it is no more a law of nature than that we should wear trousers or tall hats. But it is a natural law that certain people should feel impelled to persuade their fellow men that humanity is capable of attaining something incomparably higher and better than that which it has already reached. But for these restless individuals we should all still be happily engaged in scratching up roots and trapping birds for our meagre sustenance, coloring our bodies with clay as our only artistic effort, lining our fetid caves with dead bracken as our only luxury, and killing one another as our only pastime.

Nowadays these pioneers are styled "agitators" because they disturb the brain calcifying prejudices which so agreeably numb our intellects, and they, deeming themselves the unworthy little tools God is pleased to work with, consider it is their duty to ensure that the world does *not* remain what it is. They believe mankind is improving steadily, and, at times, even rapidly. So surely as I am like a god compared to palæolithic man—hairy, bull-necked, long-armed, flat-headed—so surely will the man of one hundred and fifty thousand years hence be as a god compared to me.

Our Intolerable Civilization.

Already you are yearning for an improved environment. The thousands of "mean and monotonous streets," with their myriads of stunted and misshapen beings, breathing dirt-laden air and thinking with dirt-laden minds, disgust you. Then why tolerate them? Your artistic and fastidious nature prompts you to flee from all that is abominable and shut yourself up on your own estate, surrounded only by people or objects whose companionship and contemplation strike no jarring note; but this does not prove you superior to the struggling millions, toiling in crowded towns under conditions which do not admit of their developing any sense of beauty. I can only admit your claim to excellence when I find your artistic perceptions strong enough to goad you into fighting ugliness outside your walls as well as in, and not acquiescing in its prevalence in your country any more than you would in your individual home.

The Ideals of Aristocracy.

You reproach me with forgetting the ideals of our class, but it is precisely these traditions and ideals that have made me a Socialist. The only reason that every intelligent member of our family is not one is due to the fact that most of the others were sent to school young or had these ideals destroyed otherwise.

All things carry within them the seeds of their own dissolution, and aristocracy is no exception to this rule. I maintain that no one, saturated as we were in the spirit of a once proud race, could fail to grow up into an uncompromising Socialist the moment he applied his tenets to modern conditions—unless some powerful influence counteracted his early training.

Let me remind you of the two dominant ideas which were set before us from the beginning.

The Governing Class.

Idea No. 1 was that we were unquestionably superior beings. The world was full of inferior beings placed there on purpose to do our bidding and minister to our wants. These inferior beings were good creatures in their way, so long as they did as they were told, behaved respectfully, and were content "in that state of life" in which God "had been pleased" to place them. Any inclination on their part to leave this "state of life" was little short of blasphemy. Any leisure they might have must be spent, not as they chose, but as the superior beings thought best for them, any claim they might make to appreciate art of any sort instantly became a jest. You may still find traces of this lingering in *Punch*: Mary Ann going to a Wagner concert after cooking the mutton, or a blacksmith in a picture gallery, both still serve as side-splitting jokes (though one wonders if any prehistoric beast can still be found to emit similar cachinnations over them). In short, life for these inferior beings was to be a life of hard work, and they ought to enjoy it—but as for enjoying life itself . . . ! That was reserved for the superior beings.

Fight for the Weak.

Idea No. 2 was that we must always fight for the weak against the strong, against the oppressor for the oppressed, for the forlorn hope, in the losing cause, and this against all odds and at the cost of any personal sacrifice. If you were one of three hundred on a sinking ship, yours the right to be the two hundred and ninety-ninth person to leave that ship—the proud and enviable position of being the three hundredth belonging to the captain. If adrift in a boat, your honor required that you should do your share of the rowing and do without your share of the food. If lost in the desert with only one tepid water-bottle between three people, it was for you to see to it that the water was only drunk by two and that neither of these two should answer to your name—and so forth.

All children are by nature generous and heroic; they respond readily to such teaching, probably only because it appeals to their artistic and dramatic instincts; but, whatever the cause, they undoubtedly respond. Not that they become little angels revelling in self-denial. We were selfish little brutes and fought like demons; all the same, you remember, we formed a high ideal of what the imaginary person would do or say under any given circumstances, and we made up stories and planned adventures in which this splendid individual did all manner of brave and impossibly quixotic things.

How Children see it.

Now you will take note that once these two ideas are thoroughly assimilated, once you have imbued a child with the conviction that it is his privilege to fight for the rights of the down-trodden, and you at the same time place a down-trodden people of his own race under his nose, whose rights he feels he ought to do battle for, then you have already—so far as ethics are concerned—your Socialist to hand!

You have only to add a few elementary principles of political economy and you have your practical Socialist up-to-date. The thing is inevitable. Inevitable, too, the fierce resentment I experienced on discovering that the aristocracy were not attempting to live up to their own ideals, dead within them, and out of whose detritus the fungus of pocket-politics now sprouts instead. Inevitable, too, my exultation on finding the old ideals enshrined in the hearts of the people as they prepared to follow the fiery pillar to the promised land.

It is well to remember the "secondary gods." They were about as contented as governors of provinces usually are—and we owe them much—especially the great man who kept the cinnamon turkeys and always held his hat in his hand, even when ropes of rain were coming down, so great was his respect for all superior beings, even when they were very small indeed; and the coachman who, when out riding, never forgot his "place," but kept so far behind us as to render ordinary intercourse impossible—a pompous proceeding which so enraged us that you recollect we crossed and recrossed the ford after rain, knowing his horse had a fancy for lying down in water and always hoping we might drown him—a pious wish which was once nearly fulfilled, the horse rolling over his leg in a strong current, causing us much terror and hard work in extricating him—still speechless and respectful—from the river bed. Yet this man's abject servility furnished us with our first chance of seeing English people who were not personal retainers. Do you remember the wild gallops to distant villages? the sweets and nuts flung over play-ground walls to amuse children who surely thought us mad? the poacher? the pastrycook? the gipsies? and all the wonderful people outside the park walls? . . . and now you have shut yourself up and out of England again, and tell me that "justice" is an attribute I am unable to estimate correctly!

Here we both see the same fact under different aspects. Surely if each man's individual conscience does not revolt at what he personally thinks unjust, there would be no justice at all! The unjust would have it all their own way, whilst the righteous ones sat in a subdued row, twiddling powerless thumbs and softly murmuring, "What we see appears to us cruel and unjust, but let us not oppose it till we are quite certain that we are capable of arriving at a correct definition of abstract justice." So one might sit gazing contentedly at the Crucifixion. Thus in point of fact many *did* sit. Yet I do not seem to notice that later generations have specially revered those "well-balanced minds" for the part they played on that occasion.

Roughly speaking, injustice is strength taking advantage of its power to crush weakness. Injustice implies a lack of imagination. "Justice" should be impartial, but no human being has sufficient imagination to place himself in the position of another so entirely as to be absolutely impartial. For that reason, "justice" *untempered* by mercy—which is merely the result of imagination—is invariably injustice: a truth which the great Duke of Wellington perceived in

that moment when he asserted that "military law" was no law at all.

The Men on the Spot who Know.

You hold that the omniscience of the "man on the spot" should be taken for granted, and that no action of his should be criticized. In 1567 you would have maintained that the Duke of Alva was right in his treatment of the Netherlands because he had a great knowledge of the world, and that therefore his "bloody council" was assuredly the best means of dealing with and governing people. You would have maintained that the views of the one hundred thousand artisans who emigrated to England were not worth listening to, and that the "strength of mind" Alva showed in sending Counts Egmont and Horn to the block was beyond praise. Yet, in spite of his methods of "dealing with problems on the spot," his fleet was eventually destroyed, and he was only too thankful to leave a country where he boasted of having executed no less than eighteen thousand men.

In our own days the "Congo atrocities" were perpetrated by Christians who had "studied the problems on the spot." It is the carping spirit inherent in a few people which acts as a necessary restraint on those who might otherwise get drunk on overmuch authority. Their vanity makes them susceptible to public opinion, and they weigh their actions a little more when they know these are liable to be criticized by somewhat exacting compatriots. Lord Acton said, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." I only object to this wielding of absolute power.

You accuse the "misguided sentimentalists" of never seeing any but one side of the question. This is indeed true. No matter what paper you take up, you are sure to see "necessary measures of repression" commended, exhortations to a greater display of "firmness," etc.; and all this from panic-stricken, pale-faced persons, wielding pens to order at their dreary desks, and who, never having been on the spot, are no more fit—according to your own theories—to form public opinion than those "sentimental cranks," who have, at any rate, the courage of their theories, and who may frequently be found to have formed the same because they have roamed the world in many an unbeaten track.

Patriotism no Monopoly.

I dwell upon this at some length because it is a pose of our "class" to speak as though they had a monopoly of patriotism. If any reform is proposed at home they scream, "Think of its effect in India!" or "Do not indulge in parish politics, but remember the susceptibilities of the Fiji Islanders and Basutos!" Well and good; but let an Englishman raise his voice in protest against some arbitrary measure or unfair sentence passed in any of our distant dependencies, let him hint that our country's honor is at stake, and the aristocratic imperialists fling themselves on him at once. He is a "traitor," he "ought to be shot," and so forth.

If your imperialist carried his "man on the spot" theory to its logical conclusion, he would believe that only men who have lived with and amongst those they legislate for are capable of knowing what it is they require. In this case the interests of miners would be handed over to those who had themselves worked in mines, and the concerns of cotton spinners to those who had spun cotton. But no; the leisured class fancy themselves born with a sort of marvellous intuition that takes the place of knowledge, and expect everyone to acquiesce in their decrees, when these should in "justice" only apply to the one and a quarter million people in this country whose interests the deer park dwellers may fairly be said to understand.

Aristocrats as Administrators.

You ask me to look at the work done by the upper classes on county councils, as magistrates, etc. It is precisely because I *have* looked that I accuse. They are mostly so unwilling to attack the more serious problems of our time that they even display an occasional activity in opposing those who would. Hence a fitful interest in local matters, usually in order to prevent any progressive measures being enforced, and to guard what they conceive to be their own interests. One hears rich men derided for not giving larger sums to the party funds. On enquiring why a man who appears to take no interest in politics should spend his money thus, the reply is, "Well, it's a very good form of investment." This sentence sets one thinking.

Of course, many rich people and numerous captains of industry do excellent work; but I doubt your finding these exceptions invariably belong to the ancient nobility, who, taking it all round, resist most strenuously any attempts on the part of the working man to manage his own affairs. Now I agree that every pig should attend to his own sty, but I see certain pigs attempting to compel other pigs, less fortunately situated, to restrict their energies to attending to the upkeep of the selfish ones' styes, and prevent them from bestowing any attention on their own! I note, in passing, that to my smile of an armed knight proudly asserting his right to lead the attack on apparently invulnerable enemies, you retort with an appropriate comparison concerning swine.

Is Sport Culture?

You suggest that those who feel unequal to the task of fighting our twentieth century dragons are keeping "culture, beauty and art" alive in some restful oasis. Let us be candid. Do the leisured class fulfil this function? You and I have been associated since our childhood with people who did little, when they had money, except spend it on idle ostentation. Their lives were supported in luxury by a host of parasites ministering to their self-importance, and you are well aware that the character and general upbringing of this class tends to produce a highly conventional, ill-informed and narrow-minded type. Our sons are hardly brought up to this duty of "sheltering culture" or encouraging science in the expensive schools

we send them to. The more intelligent may tell you the difference between Lybia and Lydia, or afford some immaterial detail concerning the Hittites, but their ignorance as to the history, laws, literature or geography of the Empire they are taught to boast of is phenomenal. Other contemptible nations may have a history, or even laws. These are beneath our notice. Political economy would be classed as "rot." No; games are of paramount importance to the "governing class," therefore what the oasis really shelters is "sport." Mill said, "Science takes cognizance of a phenomenon, and endeavors to ascertain its law; art proposes to itself an end, and looks out for means to effect it." Which of these two processes is going on at the present time in any of the "oases" known to you and me? Even the cultivated oasisite is not clamorous in his demands that others may share in, or be given opportunities for learning to appreciate, those things which are, after all, the only ones that make life worth the living. Surely he may be compared to a man who is being rowed by others in a heavy sea, whilst he sits warmly clad on the dry seat, nibbling *pâté de fove gras* sandwiches, sipping champagne, and occasionally throwing the dripping oarsmen a weevilly dog-biscuit in order that their strength may be kept up sufficiently to go on rowing him! Would you be surprised if some day they heaved him overboard? No; you would do it yourself. We are not so unlike after all, and perhaps our quarrel—if quarrel it be—lies far back in those fruit-stealing days when, having committed every possible crime, you repaired to the billiard-room and practised skilful strokes, whilst I, no less steeped in sin, vanished in the library behind fat tomes on anthropology, whose musty and alluring smell is in my nostrils even now, and whose precepts I never forgot. Your very letter proves a transition in human nature. Here you are, an avowed opponent of my every thought and deed, actually endeavoring to "make allowances" for me! Time was when the only allowance you would have made would have been one of distance as you aimed a sharp stone at my head, or of quantity as you poured some death-dealing drops in my drink. In these days you find yourself weighing extenuating circumstances in my favor. It is but a short time ago that we burnt heretics and witches at the stake, and starved people to death, and, in some countries, reserved that worst torture of all, the "Iron Maiden," for the worst criminals of all, namely, those who desired to improve their country's condition. Some might still wish to see those methods made use of now, but public opinion—which is after all only private opinion in the aggregate—has changed, and, with it, our customs. Even I recollect men denouncing trade unions and declaring that the sooner English workmen imitated the Chinese and learnt to live on a handful of rice the better for them and for the country! What fool would say this now? And this process of amelioration which manifests itself in ever greater tendency towards concerted action and combination would not seem to you a "despoiling of one set of people for the benefit of another" if you studied the writings of modern economists more carefully.

The Failure of Individualism.

The prejudice against Socialism is due to the prevailing habit of looking at all the existing evils caused by an obstinate individualism and then saying: "That is what Socialism will be, only ten times more so!" At present a cut-throat competition forces selfishness upon us, insecurity and grinding poverty destroy natural affections, and want and destitution reduce millions of intelligences to one common level of devitalized incapacity. The passions—not the reasoning powers—survive. Mournful, barrack-like institutions *are* here now testifying to the failure of a system which denies men security in their own country, and assumes the only incentive to be money—forgetting appetite, not to mention vanity. It is an insult to all the finest minds of any and every epoch to suggest that the alteration of a vicious system would eradicate the wish to excel from our nature. Only we hope to do so in future without materially injuring others. Socialists desire that "those with brains and intelligence" should "come to the front," but they also claim that those less gifted should enjoy security, respect, and leisure as citizens performing necessary labor for the welfare of a grateful community.

You confound natural with fictitious inequalities when dealing with the "unearned increment" of X's physical attraction. We want to enhance natural advantages by giving all equal opportunities of developing mentally and physically to the utmost. Look at our women! See how these fictitious and cruel disabilities now prevent girls—intended by nature to grow into beautiful women—from becoming real "women" at all—battered, twisted caricatures, with drawn faces and cunning or heavy eyes. The same applies to men, May God forgive you your insolent allusion to "physical inequalities" which conjures up such visions that, for the moment, I cannot. Socialism being a comparatively new faith, it is remarkable how many of those holding it have already been found in positions where they had to deal with men on a large scale. Dozens of names suggest themselves to me had I the space, but I must confine myself to reminding you that the father of English Socialism, Robert Owen, managed a cotton mill at nineteen, and was part owner of the New Lanark Mills when twenty-eight.

Concerning "Utopia," I am tempted to tell you how I once accompanied a motherly primrose dame of high degree when opening a crèche in a foul industrial town. She made a short speech, in which she said a crèche was a temporary measure to palliate temporary evils, but that she hoped for a day when mothers would be enabled to feed and look after their own infants. Every subsequent speaker (they were all millowners!) alluded to Lady T.'s "Utopian ideas," with sarcastic smiles. Driving home, the dear woman protested, wearily, "I've had nine children and attended to each one, and I do assure you that nursing an infant is *not* the occupation I should select in paradise. Men have such odd ideas concerning Utopia."

Socialism and Competition.

But let us turn from her to our old friend Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. Here we see that "Marx's aim is *not* to propound Utopian schemes, *nor* even to offer programmes of social reform, but to elucidate an historical process which is inevitable"; and in this you concur, for you admit that the huge fabric of modern civilization is working out its own evolution, only you are annoyed when it betrays a tendency to evolve without consulting you. History shows that it is the backward nations, slow to adopt new ideas and unwilling to evolve, who get into an "unnatural state"; and that the more advanced ones, having adopted new methods, are obliged by force of circumstances to crush the laggard peoples out of existence. Moreover, if Socialism is impossible, why oppose it so fiercely? As to Socialism eliminating competition between British producers, *would* the value of British goods diminish and the price increase? Gigantic combinations are now, in the interests of private profit, gradually achieving the elimination of competition; and when you find that these amalgamations cause the price of goods to increase, you will also find that your only remedy lies in Socialism. Goods manufactured on a large scale might show better value than those turned out by numerous struggling competitors, with antiquated plant and cheap labor, on a small one. John Bright said that adulteration was a form of competition. Indeed, the dictionary recognizes it as such: "Adulteration. The act of debasing a pure or genuine article for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or by taking one of its constituents away."

When you speak of England as "a kind of vast shop handling and distributing goods," and appeal to my better nature by asking "what would become of the millions of men and women whose labor produces the goods in question" if competition were eliminated? My heart remains as the nether millstone, and for obvious reasons. *What becomes of them now?*

A Little Lower than the Angels.

Nature shows it is useless to fling all manner of seed at random on a rough bit of ground with some ill-considered remark about "the survival of the fittest" as one lies down to watch the result. Nor, should you desire to plant an oak for future generations, will it avail you to stick an acorn in the crevice of some wall and tell it that if it is really an acorn it will become an oak anywhere. So it may: a little dwarfish caricature of what might have been one of the most magnificent growths in creation. Yet these incredibly silly things are what we do with the young of our own kind.

You want me to take the example of animals. You have already done so, selecting pigs: I refuse to compare mankind to the rest of the brute creation: till you can show me animals that cook their food, wear clothing that is not an integral part of their bodies but made for them by other animals of their own kind, or sacrifice their

lives deliberately, not only for the sake of their own young, but for strangers, or even merely an idea. Even "those who have sunk to the lowest depths" are capable of dying for another. True, it is difficult for their atrophied brains to grasp an idea. Even if they could, their devitalized natures and anæmic bodies would be incapable of working for it. This explains why *no Socialist has or ever will* come from the slums. All our recruits hail from the artizan or professional classes, men who have known responsibility and had practical experience. The "submerged tenth," oddly enough, share your views concerning our faith. They cannot see that ideas *do* rule the world; that men *are* subservient to them, and *will* "go against their natural inclinations and interests" for the sake of the "vision splendid" God has vouchsafed them.

Come out of your hole into England once more. Cast away the prejudices which blind you, and you will find a nation of aristocrats forming up swiftly, silently, shoulder to shoulder, in the cold grey dawn, preparing to stem back the great hosts of materialism which have gathered in such force on every side. I entreat you, fight with and not against us, for a long, fierce conflict it will be, during which many will fall; but they shall reckon their lives well lost, dying, as they will, with the ideal ever before them and the sun rising in the East.

Yours,

CHRISTOPHER.

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OUR TAXES AS THEY ARE AND AS THEY OUGHT TO BE.

By ROBERT JONES, B.Sc.

How We Stand.

MONEY has been called the sinews of war. Peace, that "hath her victories no less renown'd than war," has often to pay not much less for them. Though reforms are not all of them questions of money, or even chiefly of money, yet most modern reforms, and the most pressing and most important, come quickly to the money test. The spirit of reform and the cry come first, but the transition from demand to accomplishment is governed by the purse.

The revenue of this country is obtained chiefly, though not entirely, from taxes. If we separate out the taxes from the non-taxes in the estimates of the famous Budget of 1909, we can view the important items thus:—

REVENUE FROM TAXES.		£
Property and Income Tax ... ..	...	37,000,000
Excise ... ..	...	35,500,000
Customs ... ..	...	30,000,000
Estate Duties... ..	...	22,750,000
Stamp Duties ... ..	...	8,500,000
House Duty ... ..	...	2,000,000
		<hr/>
		£135,750,000
NON-TAX REVENUE.		
Post Office, Telegraphs, and Tele- phones (net profits) ... ..	...	4,000,000
Suez Canal Shares ... ..	...	1,000,000
Crown Lands ... ..	...	500,000
		<hr/>
		£5,500,000
TOTAL... ... ..	...	<hr/>
		£141,250,000

This accounts for £159,750,000 out of the total estimate of £162,750,000, allowing for the fact that we have taken the net profits of the Post Office (£4,000,000) in the place of the gross revenue (£22,500,000).

Most of the total falls into three groups, which concern the future and the immediate past, not only of national finance, but of national reform.

1. TAXES ON CONSUMPTION.		
Customs and Excise		£ 65,500,000
2. TAXES ON PROPERTY.		
Property and Income Tax, Estate Duties, House Duty		61,750,000
3. PROFITS ON NATIONAL CAPITAL		
Post Office, Telegraphs and Telephones, Suez Canal Shares, Crown Lands		5,500,000
TOTAL (out of £162,750,000)		£132,750,000

The anti-Budget and Tariff Reform contest was mainly a struggle for raising extra revenue from No. 1 rather than from No. 2. Socialism is largely an endeavor to increase No. 2 and No. 3. So that if this grouping appears somewhat confusing because of its novelty, it would appear to be justified because of its wide significance.

The Past and the Future.

A comparison of the Budget of 1909 with any of the Budgets of the first half of the nineteenth century would bring to light two great changes.

Firstly: the growth of non-tax revenue. Nearly the whole of the £5,500,000 is little more than half a century old

Secondly: the growth of taxes on property and income in comparison with other taxes.

The second of these differences we shall deal with later. The first marks a movement in the direction of substituting national profits from "trading" for national taxes. As a movement, however, it is very recent. We are not long emerged from a period when it was accounted an evil thing for the State to possess any capital—property—that yielded a net income. Our Crown lands, which are now State lands, yield a poor half million. Now that the land tax may be paid in land, and now that a development fund is in existence under which land may be bought and developed, there is a possibility of increasing State possessions in this direction. Saxony, a small country, gets ten millions sterling from State forest lands

There has never been any strong objection to the State owning property that did not give an annual return easily recognizable as money. The doctrine which has hindered the growth of national capital was that the State could not manage business enterprises, and that it was rather wicked of the State to try. The first count is met by the simple facts that exist to-day, when States and municipalities are managing business enterprises with varying success, but, on the whole, quite as efficiently as private firms. The second part of the doctrine has now become the chief entrenchment of those who love their country too well to wish to see it (as a State) too well off. Hence the cries of "rate aided trams" and "unfair

competition." The cry is not that the State or the municipality cannot manage business enterprises, but that it can manage them too well for the comfort of capitalists.

The chief national effect of the doctrine, so far as our revenue is concerned, has been the loss of railway profits to the nation. The revenue from the Prussian State Railways alone would pay for our navy; or, it would pay the interest on the National Debt, and leave enough over for Old Age Pensions.

If we had State railways, as Prussia has, and State forests, say to the extent that Saxony has, nearly fifty out of a hundred millions of actual taxes (No. 1 and No. 2 in our second grouping) would disappear. What, then, is to prevent a gradual extinction of tax revenue altogether and its replacement by profit revenue? Not its impracticability, since States are now drawing large revenues from railways, forests, lands, post offices, canals, steamship lines, and so on. The prospect of the extinction of taxation—except for purposes other than revenue, to the horror of "revenue only" stalwarts—would not be particularly terrifying to taxpayers as such.

What is Taxation?

Revenue is the income of the State from all sources; but it differs from the income of an individual in one particular so important that it would be misleading to have the same name for both. A private individual has an income of a fixed amount, and he must cut his coat according to his cloth. But a nation can make its revenue greater or less within very wide limits, and can first decide on the cut and amplitude of its coat and then order sufficient cloth. If a nation very badly wants a ten million article it can have it.

All revenue, as we have noted, does not come from taxes. A tax has its own special features—two, in particular—that mark it as a tax. It is compulsory; and it carries no guarantee of anything like an equal return. A well-managed State gives a return to its citizens greater than the value represented by its exactions. An ill-managed State may give a very trifling return. But the essential idea of the tax, the thing that makes it a tax, is that it is quite irrespective of the services rendered by the State to the payers.

The Purpose of Taxation.

Quite a number of people have shaken their heads gravely over the danger of introducing any but "purely financial considerations" into questions of national finance. Extreme Free Traders affect to consider it mischievous to prefer one tax to another because that one will (as hoped by some) encourage agriculture. There are others whose sense of "sound finance" is shocked by the idea of admitting the death duties into our system on any ground but that of revenue. They will not accept as an additional reason the fact that the death duties will have some effect in checking the present great inequality of incomes. What the Free Trader really objects to is a Protective System, and he should attack protective duties either because they will not really help agriculture or any other occupation, or because

if they do help "agriculture" (a very complex term, behind which usually sits a smiling landowner), they will injure people engaged in other occupations to a much greater degree. What the other man objects to is making wealthy people pay more taxes than they have been paying, and he should attack all schemes for increasing taxes, unless the increase falls upon all classes in the old proportions, which, to people of his way of thinking, are of course the right proportions. The curious thing is that this latter gentleman is usually a Tariff Reformer, and as such he is desirous of raising revenue in such a way as to bind the colonies closer to the mother country, restore agriculture, and find work for all—or "most." And the former gentleman quite possibly belongs to the Budget League, and wishes to tax land values, not solely for revenue, but also to check the land-monopoly of the dukes. And both would rather tax whisky than water (although a tax on water would bring in more revenue than one on whisky), on the ground that whisky is not a necessity, or that it is harmful—which are very good reasons, but not purely financial reasons.

No tax is raised for revenue only: there are always other considerations. We have just seen how national revenue differs from private income, and since a Government does not get money and then consider how to spend it, but first decides to have something and then considers how to get the money, it will often happen that the very impulses which made people want a thing will impel them to raise the money for it in a particular way. Thus a Parliament which decided to give elementary education to people who were too poor to pay for it would not be likely to raise money for the purpose from those same poor people. There might be some to suggest an arrangement of this sort, well clothed in verbosity; but these persons really do not want to educate poor people at all. They want poor people to pay, or, as they cannot, to do without. The cry of keeping questions of revenue free from ulterior objects is largely a cry of pain and rage at the objects themselves.

If taxes are levied not only for revenue but also for some other purpose, whether it be the encouragement of agriculture, the cementing of an Empire, the discouragement of injurious habits, the diminution of wasteful luxuries, the reduction of the largest incomes or the increase of the smallest, then the points to consider are these:—

Is the object desirable in itself?

Is it best or most conveniently attained through taxation?

Will its attainment in this way bring about any evils that will outbalance its benefits?

"Taxation for revenue only" is repudiated in practice by every party in the State. It is not a principle of taxation. We had best now consider what are the principles of taxation.

The Canons of Taxation.

Adam Smith made so great an advance in defining the principles of taxation in his famous "Canons" or "Maxims," that it is broadly true to say that before the appearance of "The Wealth of Nations"

the principles of taxation had never been clearly set forth ; and further, that from the issue of that book until the close of the nineteenth century they were never effectively restated. His maxims are not obsolete yet, but they are obsolescent. The four maxims can be summarized in a sentence, thus : Taxes should be proportional to income ; certain and not arbitrary ; convenient in time and manner of levying ; and economical in action. They are to be found in "The Wealth of Nations," Book V., Chapter II. Part II. It will be convenient, however, to give the first maxim here in full, because it is by far the most important, and because around it the defenders and assailants have gathered :—

"The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government as nearly as possible in proportion to their respective abilities ; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State."

We need not consider in any detail the justification of taxes generally ; we will take it that when the accredited representatives of the nation declare that certain monies are needed for the common good the citizens "ought to contribute." But how are the contributions to be measured out ? One answer that was very readily given was this, that each citizen should pay "according to benefit received," and as the sole or chief benefit of government was held by many to be the protection of life and property, then, as everyone benefited according to the amount of his property, it was fitting that taxes should be in the proportion of individual wealth, whether measured in property or in income, as these would give roughly similar results. This is the "Benefit Theory." It accords with Adam Smith's maxim, and like them, it is obsolescent. Of course, it is quite impossible to measure the exact amount of benefit that each individual receives from the State, and quite unwarrantable to assume that the benefit is proportional to income. Moreover, as Walker has pointed out, since women and children benefit most from the protection of the State, they should, on this theory, pay most of the taxes !

The rival theory (the Faculty or Ability Theory) sets forth that taxes should be proportionate to ability to pay. It was assumed at first that this also was in agreement with Adam Smith's maxim, and that it also meant taxation in proportion to income. But it means nothing of the kind, as we shall see later. The idea of the Ability Theory crops up again in the Equal Sacrifice Theory—that is, that taxes should fall so as to demand equal sacrifices from all. A somewhat different view is expressed by the Minimum Sacrifice Theory, according to which a scheme of taxation is at its best when it demands the least possible sacrifice from the nation and from the individual citizens. We will consider these three theories together, as they have much in common.

Whatever Adam Smith and his followers might think, everyone knew as a matter of simple fact that a man with £1,000 a year was better able to pay £10, or even £20, than a man with £100 a year was to pay £1. According to the "proportion to income" idea,

taxes of £10 and £1 respectively would be equitable, being in proportion to income. But the poorer man—say an artisan with £2 a week, married, and with three children, to take an average case—must go without something that is either a necessity or what is called a “conventional necessity,” to pay his tax. The wealthier man will not be able to feel the change from £1,000 to £900 per year. He will not drink a glass of wine the less. The cases come out clearer if we imagine the taxes increased, still keeping the same proportion. A tax of fifty per cent. would hit the richer man hard. He would fall to £500 a year; but his fall is not comparable to that of the artisan, cut down from £2 a week to £1. A tax of seventy-five per cent. would drive the richer man to a suburban villa with a maid-of-all-work; but it would drive the artisan and his family underground, for his remaining ten shillings a week would not feed four people, to say nothing of rent, clothing and firing.

Statesmen knew this as well as other folk, and when they wanted money they acted on the knowledge, and taxed, not in proportion to income, but at a progressive rate.

The True Principles of Taxation.

What are the true principles of taxation? They are two, and two only—equity and economy.

1. *Equity*.—Taxes should be equitable; that is, they should satisfy the sense of fairness of the majority of the community at the time.

2. *Economy*.—Taxes should be economical; that is, they should not be costly to the State in collecting, nor should they cause the payer to be mulcted in any way of more than the amount received by the State.

By these two principles we may test the kinds and methods of taxation in use or proposed. There is a preliminary difficulty about the second part of the first principle. It may be objected to as unscientific. It is unscientific, but so is equity. There is no measure of what is equitable that any statesman can use except what men consider as equitable. When everyone agrees that a proportional rate is fair, a proportional rate will be adopted by representative governments. When it is admitted that a progressive rate is more equitable, a progressive rate will appear on the statute book.

Progressive Taxation.

The idea of taxing rich people in a greater proportion than poor people was first brought vividly before the English people by the introduction of the Death Duties in Sir William Harcourt's Budget of 1894. But it was not at all a new thing. There was a graduated tax levied in ancient Athens. The poorest class was exempt, the next paid on an assessment of five-ninths of property owned, the next on five-sixths, and the wealthiest on the whole of the property owned. There were various progressive taxes levied in many cities during the Middle Ages. And it may be set among Solomon's claims to wisdom that he taxed the wealthier classes at a higher rate than the

poorer on a register of property revised every four years. The super-tax is not a new thing, but may claim old established usage as well as the "proportional" doctrine of Adam Smith and Stanley Jevons. The progressive system died out—under aristocratic influences, as Professor Seligman suggests—and has only recently been revived. Its reintroduction into practical politics, however, has not been accompanied by any scientific or economic justification, except among economists themselves. We cannot be content with a mere historic justification, a simple appeal to ancient precedent. It will be more satisfactory to enquire how far modern economic theory justifies or condemns the principle which underlies the super-tax. For it has already become obvious to the average taxpayer that if a progressive system is really "sound finance," in the sense of being equitable and economical, there is a possibility of lightening the burden on the mass of taxpayers who actually feel it without adding any real burden to wealthier people, and without withdrawing the more useful parts of incomes from the recipients.

Curiously enough, the theory which justifies us in taxing a millionaire's estate at double the rate percent. that is levied on a £50,000 estate has been worked out from the very principle of utility which Stanley Jevons himself brought so vigorously to the front. It is based on the doctrine of diminishing utility. Like most economic "laws," it is a mere truism.

If you have just enough water daily to keep you alive, and your supply is increased by an extra quart every day, each added quart is less valuable—that is, less advantageous to you—the last: and in time the additions will be of no value to you, but will become a mere nuisance.

As it is with water, so it is with other things; so it is with all wealth, all income. Set £1 a week in the place of a quart of water and follow the argument through again. As a man's income rises to £2, £3, £10, £100 a week, each additional £1 is less useful to him than the last, and equitable taxation must be in proportion to these changing values. The first pound or two being untouched, a penny on, say, the fourth pound should be a shilling or so on the hundredth. It actually is over a shilling in our present English system.

The theory that taxes should be in proportion to income being rejected by common sense and by economic science, it remains to choose among the other three that we grouped together, all of which satisfy the principles of equity and economy.

Of these the theory of Minimum Sacrifice is the most satisfactory, for it most readily responds to the test of these two principles. Taxation which entails the least possible sacrifice upon the community and upon individuals takes away just that part of the wealth of individuals which is least useful. Such taxation is both equitable and economical. It leads us very far, however. Carried to its logical conclusion it means that all taxes should be raised (as far as economy is concerned, at all events) from the highest incomes. For if we represent the incomes of individuals

by a row of lines of different length, it follows from what has been said that the least useful parts of the whole are those represented by the tops of the tallest lines. There is no questioning the fact that in pure economics it is from these parts that taxes had best be raised. But such counsels of perfection are not for actual chancellors. Moreover, such a method, although it might satisfy a principle of abstract "right" or "natural justice," by no means satisfies the principle of equity as we defined it, and the extreme moderation of which is now apparent. We cannot legislate very far in advance of public sentiment, and if a graduated system, which "satisfies the sense of fairness of the majority of the people" is adopted, the future modifications of the scale may safely be left to the same guide.

Levelling Taxes.

Diagrams do not add anything to an argument, but they are valuable aids to clearness. In the diagrams given, incomes are represented by the length of the upright lines, and the part above the transverse line represents the tax. The diagrams move from abomination to (economic) perfection.

No. 1 is the desolating abomination which helped to cause the French Revolution. Here the poor pay a greater amount and of course in vastly greater proportion than the rich. The smallest income in this particular case is taxed at fifty per cent. and the largest at four per cent. This is a regressive system, no longer figuring in national finance, but familiar enough in other affairs of life, as where the poorest folk in London pay more per pound for coal than their wealthy and distant relations in the West End, who can buy in large quantities and can stock their cellars with winter coal at summer prices.

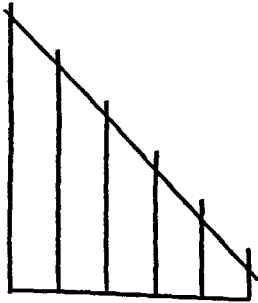
No. 2 represents a step in advance. Here all pay equal amounts, an admirable arrangement among equals, but disastrous otherwise. The poor still pay a greater proportion than the rich. The smallest income is reduced by half, but the largest is left at quite a comfortable amount. Something very like this would appear if we adopted a universal contributory scheme of invalidity insurance based on equal contributions.

No. 3 represents the obsolete economic ideal, "taxation in proportion to income." If the obvious advance in fairness on the two previous cases should create any prejudice in its favor, a consideration of the parallel lines will be found an excellent corrective. The further from the base line, the less the utility. The utility of the part cut off the smallest income is far greater to the owner than the utility of the larger part cut off from the greatest income is to its owner.

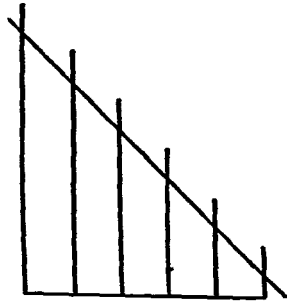
No. 4 represents the economically perfect ideal that we shall never reach, but towards which, as far as we can judge from the drift of things in national finance, we are now steadily moving.

It will be noticed that there is no diagram for the very type of progressive taxation that has here been most insisted on. It lies, of course, between No. 3 and No. 4, and its divergence from No. 3

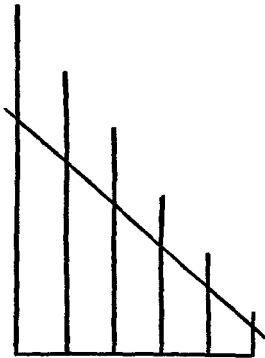
TAXES.



1.—REGRESSIVE.



2.—EQUAL.



3.—PROPORTIONAL.



4.—ECONOMICALLY IDEAL.

measures the advance of knowledge from the time when Adam Smith's first maxim dominated national finance till now, just as its divergence from No. 4 measures the practical difference between our principle of current equity and our principle of economy.

Progressive Taxation in Practice.

The year 1894 marks the definite and open re-entry of progressive taxation into our system, though it must not be forgotten that in many ways, more or less vague, we have stamped on our records an appreciation of the underlying principle. But the Death Duties entered as dramatically as did the famous Budget of 1909, and with very similar results—a mournful forecast of the sale of Chatsworth from the Duke of Devonshire, and cartoons of pauper peers in *Punch*. A comparison of the scales of Sir William Harcourt in 1894 with those of Mr. Asquith in 1907 and of Mr. Lloyd George in 1909 will illustrate the "levelling" of taxation in this direction. Side by side with these are placed figures to represent what the rates would be in a proportional scheme. The figures below show the yield. In order to reach the 1907 total yield on a "proportional" basis a rate of seven per cent. would have been necessary. That would mean that an estate of £500 would pay £35 instead of £5, whilst an estate of £5,000,000 would pay £350,000 instead of £700,000.

Estate £	1894 per cent.	1907 per cent.	1909 per cent.	To reach 1907 total by a proportional scheme
500	1	1	1	} 7 per cent.
1,000	2	2	2	
5,000	3	3	3	
10,000	3	3	4	
50,000	4½	4½	7	
100,000	5½	5½	8	
500,000	7	8	12	
1,000,000	7½	10	14	
5,000,000	8	14	15	
Yield	*	£19,108,000	£22,750,000 (estimated)		£19,108,000

The graduation of the income tax is disguised by the system of exemptions. An income of £200 nominally pays a rate of ninepence in the pound; but, as £100 is exempt, the rate on the whole £200 is really not ninepence but a penny three farthings. Reckoned in this way, there is an elaborate graduation to be traced in the income tax, with about a dozen steps, so that the nominal ninepence runs from nothing up to one and sevenpence three farthings, if we reckon in, as we must, the super-tax of sixpence and the fourpenny rate for unearned incomes. The actual rates in the pound are as follows (1909 Budget):—

* The yield is not given, because it offers no fair comparison with the other totals owing to the growth of national wealth since 1894.

Amount	Earned income Rate (per £1)	Unearned income Rate (per £1)
160	0	0
200	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
300	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
400	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
500	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
700	8	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1,000	9	14
2,000	9	14
3,000	12	14
5,000	14	14
10,000	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
100,000	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$

Now when we consider that it is not very long ago since Mr. Gladstone was contemplating the complete removal of the income tax in times of peace, it is of some significance to find his successors to-day increasing it at one end and diminishing it at the other—for that is the effect of Mr. Asquith's "earned and unearned" innovation, as a glance at the figures will show, and that is the effect of Mr. Lloyd George's abatement in respect of children. What is the cause?

It is twofold. On the one hand, more and more money is needed for two great purposes—defence and social reform. There may be some chance, in the near future, of smaller army and navy votes, through arbitration acts and treaties, though at present it seems a poor chance. But there is no chance at all of a diminution in the money required for social reforms. More money must be got. Modern sentiment resents any plan of raising the bulk of this money from the poorer classes. Economic teaching shows clearly that the wealth that can best be spared is the upper layer of the large banking accounts. The modern Chancellor harkens to the voice of the people and the voice of the expert, crying out in almost perfect unison, and levels up a little further the taxation-line in our diagrams

Taxes on Land.

The war over the Budget of 1909 was largely a land war, and it ensured a very full discussion of the question of land taxation. We have laid it down here that all taxes are really on persons; so that the only essential points arising are whether the landowner, as such, was or was not less hit before that Budget than owners of other property, and whether it was and is wise, for non-revenue reasons, that the State should tighten its grip upon the land. At present only the first of these questions directly concerns us.

The land-owner paid income tax and super tax, like the owner of capital. But his position was and is unique in this, that as a rule, an increase of population, of traffic, of general prosperity, automatically enriches him. He is allowed ten per cent. free and then the community, by whose industry £100 has been added to land values, takes back £20 of this. The logic is faulty, as was pointed out in

the Commons Why £20 only? The answer, of course, is that even people who want a wedge driven in deepest are not always so impatient as to try the thick end first.

The new Reversion Duty of ten per cent. of increase in value on the falling in of a lease is only a further application of the Increment Duty, and need not be specially considered.

The duty on undeveloped land would appear to be an example of taxing the less useful rather than the more useful parts of income; and so it is, but not so directly as appears at first sight. It is necessary once more to remember that taxes are paid by persons. The avowed object of this tax is to check the "cornering" of land and the creation of artificial scarcities. Reform, even more than revenue, is the significant feature of the land taxes.

These taxes, and the tax on mineral royalties, fall almost immovably on the actual payers. The farmer, shopkeeper, and the miner are not going to pay them, except to the extent that they were paying less than a true competition rent before the tax. Agricultural land is specifically exempted as a matter of fact, but the farmer would finally be untouched in any case.

Even now many people are inclined to say, "But why could not a ground landlord put up his rents from £100, say, to £110?" Why did he not do so before the tax? Because £100 was the highest rent he could get. And since the demand for shops is just what it was before the tax was levied, £100 is still the highest he can get, and out of that he must pay the tax.

These taxes, then, are economical. They take from the payer no more than they bring to the State, except the cost of collection. This cost will at first be relatively so heavy that from the point of view of a single year's revenue the taxes offend the canon of economy grossly. But they are intended to produce a growing revenue, and they are levied for reform as well as for revenue, just as a Tariff Reform customs duty might be levied with an eye to unemployment or retaliation.

They are not in themselves graduated. Here we had best remember that a just and systematic graduation should apply to the total of rates and taxes paid by individuals. This is quite impossible, except roughly, and the movement towards a graduation of total payments is necessarily slow. At present we have the State and municipality indirectly subsidizing bachelors, non-smokers, and teetotallers. The land clauses of 1909 filled a gap. It is only necessary to put together the two facts that until 1909 the land tax was assessed on a valuation at the time of William III., and that for centuries the landed interests in England have controlled taxation. As for the small owner, he should not be exempt (partially or entirely) because he is a small landowner, but because he has a small income. It is uneconomic to tax users of land in such a way as to check development, but it is highly economic to tax the owners who merely tax the users.

Some of the new land taxes may be paid in land, which opens up a possible increase of State holdings. This point has a curious

interest, ancient and modern. It is a reversion to "payment in kind," an ancient method of levying. Its modern application has recently been illustrated in New Zealand. When a land-owner objected to the State valuation and assessed his land at a much lower figure, the State, as provided by law, bought the land at his own price. But whether much or little of the land taxes will be paid in land remains to be seen.

As for the second point, whether it is wise for the State to tighten its grip upon the land, the answer in this and in most other countries has already been given unmistakably. And it must be remembered that in English law there is no such thing as absolute ownership of land. If an American or English trust bought up Lancashire and gave all Lancastrians notice to quit, Lancashire and Parliament would have a say in the matter.

Taxes on Capital and Property.

We have been assuming that the taxes are levied on income, as, indeed, they are in the main, however they may be arranged. Everyone pays his taxes out of his yearly income, if he possibly can. When he pays out of his capital, he is either feeling the pressure of taxation or experiencing hard times. It has often been pointed out that taxes on capital must check saving, and so hinder the growth of accumulated wealth; and this argument has been used with regard to the death duties.

It is usually wealthy people who save, and if what they save is of any value to them, it is either as a hoard or as an investment; as a hoard which they can enjoy (like the little girl who saved her daily stick of chocolate until she had enough to give her a feast and a repentance), or as an investment by which the hoard becomes what is called productive capital, yielding an income. A wealthy man has, say, £20,000 a year coming in from property. Of this he "spends," let us say, £7,000 on his house, food, clothes, and so on, and "saves" £13,000. We might as readily say that he "spends" this also in buying railway and other shares, for that is what he does with it. His £13,000 is taken by him, not in the form of goods now available, but in the form of new productive appliances, and he holds a claim over part of the products of these appliances.

Suppose now the State takes £3,000 of this income of his that is just about to become capital in a company. If the State uses the £3,000 in a less productive way than the company would, there is a real check in the nation's rate of increasing wealth. If the State uses it in a more productive way, there is more increase of wealth in the nation through the State's action. A sum of £3,000 has been taken from a private income and has become nationally owned capital instead of becoming privately owned capital.

What is important is whether taxes are moderate enough to be payable out of income, or so excessive that people who are making use of capital to gain a livelihood are obliged to surrender part of that capital to the State or any other user, who will make a less productive use of it. That is what concerns the nation in regard to the

effect of taxation upon production. The best distribution of wealth (economically) is that which gives the best return to labor, and this reacts upon production. If the change makes a very rich man less rich, the nation, as a whole, is likelier to gain than to lose by it, for no economic justification of the very rich has yet appeared. If the change brings the payer below the line of sufficiency for his best work and life, there is a heavy loss, even if the State uses wisely the capital obtained; but such cases are non-existent here and now, or are so accidental that they are of no importance, except as political bogies.

English tax revenue is obtained mainly by taxing purchases, incomes, properties.

Taxes on purchases (or on consumption) are bad because they are not levied progressively, or on those most able to pay them; and good in so far as they bring in revenue freely, and are capable of being laid upon luxuries and things considered rather harmful than otherwise.

Taxes on income are good because income is the best measure of ability to pay, and because they can be levied progressively.

A tax according to income is more likely to be equitable than one according to property, but experience leads legislators to use both taxes, for a property tax partly adjusts the lapses of a system based on income. Thus in the working of the Old Age Pensions Act it appeared that one or two people with quite a considerable capital, having it invested at a very low rate of interest, were eligible for pensions. Property taxes are complementary to income taxes, and can regulate them in the direction of equity.

Experience has proved that for local taxes (rates) fixed property is the best basis.

Taxes on property are only capable of equitable progression if they are assessed according to the productiveness of the property (capital), and hence are really taxes on income; but they can be used as a means of transferring property to the State which the State can employ with advantage to the community. Succession duty or estate duty on land can now be paid in land.

Line of Reform.

Thus we may infer that it will be equitable and economical for us to direct the development of our present system in the following ways.

First. Non-tax revenue should be extended, for by this means a constantly increasing revenue from profits may be secured, and real taxes will gradually disappear. To this end the State should ever seek to obtain and employ more and more productive property, e.g., railways, canals, telegraph cables, forests, land.

Secondly. While taxes continue to be raised, a progressive system, assessed on income, should be the chief feature.

Thirdly. Taxes on property should be used to supplement taxes on incomes and make them more equitable, and also as a means by

which the State can obtain productive property (capital), which will help to extinguish taxation.

Fourthly. Taxes on commodities (customs and excise) should be limited to such commodities as are considered harmful or less necessary, and only extended beyond such bare limits under the stress of need for revenue at all costs

Earned and Unearned Income.

In the United States property is taken as a general test of ability to pay; in England income is taken, and this seems decidedly the better test. But two incomes of £1,000 a year each are not necessarily equivalent. One may be the wage of a year's labor, from which the community benefits, and the other not a wage, but a toll levied through the possession, say, of ground rents or Consols.

To the economist the essential difference between these two is that one is uncertain, dependent on the accidents of life, and the other is practically certain and everlasting.

To the community there is more particularly the difference that the one is balanced by services rendered and the other may not represent services at all. It may, however, for a time. A doctor who invests some of his "wage" in Consols against the time he retires, partly purchases an Old Age Pension. But this element of "deferred pay" ceases when the Consols pass to his son.

The essential distinction between an income that is uncertain and limited by time and an income that is more certain and unlimited by time is not touched by the "deferred pay" argument, and it forms the economic basis for the higher rate upon unearned incomes that Mr. Asquith introduced.

The very name that we give to this class of income—unearned (or *unverdient*, undeserved, as the Germans say)—brings forward vividly the disassociation from services rendered. But its characteristic of being free from the accidents of life that cut off all earned incomes is not suggested by the name and is not so generally grasped. It is, however, a characteristic of the greatest importance to a State which has a long life and can profitably consider the future. Future chancellors may build up two scales of taxes for these two kinds of income, but the likelier development is that of a steeper graduation, with certain additional rates for unearned incomes. Such a system we have already in bold outline

Direct and Indirect Taxation.

There is another way of raising the extra money, as we have been told with insistence and iteration of late. We may increase our customs and excise duties, spurred on by the hope (for there is a hope) that a small part of the customs duty will be paid, temporarily, by people of other nations. This does not amount to very much, however, except on election posters, and may quite safely be neglected. Now a very important and significant feature of this scheme has been neglected in the recent discussion. A graduated scale, by which the wealthy will pay according to any such

scale as that in the death duties or the 1909 income tax, is very difficult to introduce into indirect taxation. Attempts might be made in this direction, and indeed are made at present, as by taxing wine at a higher rate than beer. So, it might be suggested, we could levy a high rate on motor cars and a low one on chairs. But several difficulties arise. There are not very many motor cars made and very few imported. A very heavy tax on these and on the few classes of goods bought only by the rich would be needed to effect anything like a recognizable progression. And a heavy tax would very seriously reduce the number of cars demanded, industry would suffer, and the "Work for All" posters would wear a waggish and ironic look. Lastly, there are the vested interests to consider, and experience shows that these would make short work of any attempt to build up a progressive scheme. It is important enough to be worth repeating that the present movement in national finance towards progressive taxation will receive a serious check if our revenue is to be derived largely from indirect taxation.

There is a Parliamentary fallacy of considerable age and of amazing robustness which must be dealt with in this connection. It may fitly be described in the stirring words of one of its latest exponents, Mr. F. E. Smith, M.P. :—

"With characteristic arrogance, Mr. Lloyd George has thrown over the financial maxims of the past. Instead of an even balance between the two sets of taxes—direct and indirect—the direct burdens are more (*sic*) the heavier by about seven per cent." ("Daily Mail Year Book," 1910).

Economics recognises no "financial maxim" which declares that direct and indirect taxes should be equal. The idea behind this curious delusion seems to be that as direct taxes are paid chiefly by the wealthier classes and indirect taxes chiefly by the poorer classes, the taxes ought to be halved between them. But taxes are paid by persons. Even company taxes are really paid by persons. If we take a line, say £160 per year, to separate those who pay direct taxes from those who pay only indirect taxes, we can work out the amount paid by the two classes in some fashion. But the results are valueless, because £1 income, or £1 tax, is only a great or a small sum as it relates to a small or a great income, as we have already seen.

It would be interesting to trace the rise of this doctrine. Consider for a moment the following figures :—

Year	Direct taxes Per cent.	Indirect taxes Per cent.
1841	27	73
1861	38	62
1891	44	56
1893	45	55
1895	48	52
1898	48	52
1903	50	50
1908	53	47

The figures cannot be absolutely exact, but they are fairly close approximations, and their significance is plain enough. In the early part of the nineteenth century the burden of taxation lay very heavily on the poorer classes, who paid then, as they pay now, the bulk of indirect taxes. There is a steady movement visible tending to transfer the heavier part of the burden to the better-off classes, who pay the bulk of the direct taxes. Is it an unfair inference that the cry for an "even balance between the two sets of taxes" was an attempt to check the movement, and that it became articulate at the period when something like an "even balance" was reached? Whether that be so or not, it is a fair and relevant question to ask where that doctrine was in 1841, when the indirect taxes made up three-quarters of the revenue.

The argument must not be pressed too far. Indirect taxes are not all of one kind, and some of them, as the tax on motor-cars, fall on the richer classes. But the rise in the one column and the fall in the other is quite clear on any fair system of reckoning.

For and Against Indirect Taxation.

It is not to be assumed, however, that indirect taxation is necessarily bad in itself. It is only bad in so far as it is inequitable or uneconomical, and although it is very often both, it need not be either. The case for and against indirect taxation is this:—

On the one hand, so long as people must pay taxes, they undoubtedly prefer paying them without being too insistently reminded of the fact. If it galls a man more to pay £1 to a tax collector on demand than to pay £1 in instalments through his tobacconist, then, if other things were equal, common sense would suggest that the State should take the tobacconists for its tax collectors. But, of course, other things are not equal. The non-smoker escapes.

This brings up the false argument for indirect taxation, that it is voluntary. If a man chooses he need not buy tobacco or beer, and so he "volunteers" to be taxed. Of course, if the taxation were really voluntary it would not be paid at all. The argument is a mere sophism.

To return. Although bread and tobacco and whisky are equally commodities, they are not equally important or necessary to the State or to the individual. It is true that luxuries shade off into necessities, and harmful things into useful things; but there is not the slightest doubt as to bread being more useful than whisky or tobacco, and if the State must tax some commodities, it had better tax the less useful and less necessary things. Only the State must tax things that are likely to produce the revenue it wants from that source, and it must not do it so clumsily that consumers will pay a penny when the State only gets a halfpenny. The beer tax of 1909 is an example of this error, and every Protectionist country has a cluster of such taxes.

The case against indirect taxation is that it cannot easily be made progressive, and so sins against equity by falling heavily on the poor; and that it often costs the consumer more than it brings in to the

State, and so sins against economy. The English duties on commodities are all open to the first of these objections; but some of them, such as the tea duty, which is levied on an article not produced in the country, escape the second objection.

Retrenchment and Reform.

"Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," was a political cry of some value in its day. It was based on the false doctrine that the less the State spent the better. A new cry is needed to express the newer doctrines—that the cry for reform precedes finance, and does not follow it, that the best State is that which raises wisely and expends wisely the largest percentage of the national income. So "reform" must stand midway between "peace" and—something better than "retrenchment." Rather is "Peace, Progression and Progress" the ideal of to-day; peace only as a necessary condition for progressive taxation, and that as a necessary condition for progress.

There need be no fear of a "crushing burden" at the prospect here outlined. There is no burden when there is compensating gain. No one speaks of the "burden" of the price of the ordinary goods he buys so long as he is not cheated. The word becomes distorted with misuse. One can only speak of the "burden" of a gas bill if the gas company overcharges for the quality or quantity of its gas. People who use municipal gas do not talk in such fashion. Those who are apt to speak of a company's "capital" and a municipality's "debt" are apt also to speak of the "price" of motor-cars and the "burden" of the roads upon which they run. What is equitably and economically levied, wisely and usefully spent, can only be described as a "burden" by a misuse of language. In the words of a modern economist, "If a nation gets in return for its taxes as much of the things it wants as it could get otherwise, there is no burden." We would add, for completeness sake, "provided the taxes are equitably and economically raised."

Good and Bad Taxes.

According to the principles we have laid down, we may describe a good tax:—

1. A good tax is paid by people of different degrees of wealth, not in proportion to wealth, but progressively. Thus the graduated tax (other things being equal) is the best tax. This is an application of the principle of equity (from each according to his powers), and of economy (the most useful parts of income being undisturbed).

2. A good tax is not costly to the State to collect, nor does it take anything (or very little) from the payer more than is received by the State. This is an application of the principle of economy.

By these standards the Death Duties appear as the best tax we have, and the Income Tax, now that it is graduated, stands next. How far a tax may be from the ideal set out above may be judged by the case of the beer tax of twelve shillings per fifty barrels imposed by the Budget of 1909. This is less than threepence a barrel, yet brewers were able for a while to meet it by raising the price of beer

a halfpenny per pint, or twelve shillings per barrel. Thus the real taxpayer (the beer drinker) was mulcted of twelve shillings, and the State got threepence.

The direct and progressive taxes of the Budget of 1909, the Estate Duties and the Property and Income Tax, amount to nearly £60,000,000 out of £162,000,000. Among the other taxes, some, like the land taxes, increase the progressive effect of the whole to some extent; others, like the tobacco duty, decrease it; some items in the total, as the £22,500,000 revenue from the Post Office, are not taxes at all. Yet, it may be noted, items such as this last are generally included when there is an outcry about the "burden" of "taxes."

The Case Against Progression.

The arguments that have been used against a progressive system of taxation are about six in number. We will group them as sinning against the principles we have laid down.

As against the principle of equity, it is said that they are arbitrary and confiscatory. For the first, it may be said at once that all taxation is arbitrary. If the argument means that there is no mathematical law of progression, as there is of proportion, it is quite true. The proportional system is easy. We can tax incomes of £100, £2,000, £50,000 to the extent of £1, £20, and £500 by the proportional method. The only mathematical expression yet suggested to represent the doctrine of diminishing utility which lies at the base of the progressive system is that of inverse squares, which would give us a scale of progression at which even Mr. Lloyd George would blench. Supporters of the proportional system would be better content with the arbitrary scales of 1909 than with any mathematical scale likely to be furnished by economists. As for confiscation, that is in the very nature of taxation. What makes a tax a tax is that it is levied irrespective of what compensations may be forthcoming. Progressive and all other taxes are necessarily arbitrary and confiscatory, simply because they are taxes.

As against the principle of economy, it is said that progressive taxation is unprofitable, for the yield is no greater than in a proportional system; that it checks saving; that it drives out capital; and that it encourages evasion. For the first point, it is obvious that a proportional scale may yield more or less than a graduated scale. We have illustrated a case on page 10, where the same amount is raised by a progressive and by a proportional rate (columns 3 and 5). But, of course, the columns can be varied as against each other by altering the rate of progression or the per centage. The argument only means that a chancellor can get as much without outcry from a proportional as from a progressive rate. In fact he can get more, for outcries against taxation are loudest from the well-to-do, as recent events have shown. The second point, that a progressive system checks saving, may be met also in the same way by saying that all taxation tends to check saving. The effect of a progressive system is to encourage saving relatively on the part of people with smaller

incomes. The argument about driving out capital has had to face a constant and increasing exodus of capital, which bears a close relation to the increase of the total wealth or income of the people of the country, but which is only germane to the question of taxation in so far as the system makes investment at home less profitable than investment abroad. A State that spent much, and spent it wisely, would be constantly offering opportunities for home investment. Capital is driven abroad because the State is not adventurous enough at home. Many sound investments are waiting in these islands which private enterprise cannot or will not venture upon. The last argument, that evasion will be encouraged, is of some weight. Evasion is of two kinds, legal and illegal. The illegal methods must be met by greater vigilance, the legal methods by new legislation. Until a better public spirit grows up among the wealthy classes, they must be educated in civic responsibilities and national honor on the one hand, and restrained from disobeying the law of the land or dodging it on the other, in common with all wrongdoers. They have been educated in false doctrines, and have yet to learn what true equity in taxation is. But there is hope for them. It was one of the opponents of the Budget of 1909 who said that it did not tax the rich heavily enough. Even the idle rich may learn to be good citizens.

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THE CASE FOR SCHOOL CLINICS.

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"Daily News."*

If we were really a practical nation instead of an obscurantist nation, we should do some very simple things for school children. We should, to begin with, treat them as individual boys and girls and not as administrative units, with the possibility of a decimal point thrown in. The things that children need are known to very many thousands of English men and women; they comprise good food, good clothing, good housing, and loving care. In educational matters educationists are so far agreed that in a genuinely representative congress, expressing unfettered opinions, there would be no serious differences of opinion on essentials. But we are not a practical nation, and I do not propose to discuss the detail of these practical things. There is a huge gap between what we know how to do and what we immediately proceed to do on any extensive scale. The why and wherefore of this is another matter; at present my concern is with the things that we can immediately proceed to do for the school child.

On the roundabout route by which we approach common sense, the medical inspection of school children is a long step. By this inspection the problem is displayed and made graphic before our eyes. Before medical inspection theorists could argue ad infinitum, after medical inspection the argument must at least centre round the facts discovered.

What Inspection Shows.

The main subdivisions and groupings of children which medical inspection enables us to make, are, broadly speaking, the same for all schools. In every school the bulk of the children show an average health which is comparatively satisfactory. And among the children presenting defects of mind and physique there are two main groups. In both of these medical defects are present, but in the one the family circumstances are average or above the average, in the other group the circumstances are below the average. The first may be said to present simply medical defects, the second medical defects plus poverty.

The children who are average must not be thought by any means to be satisfactory. The average of one school is of necessity made for that school, and applies to the particular children drawn from the homes round about it. The average of a school in a slum neighborhood would be below the average for a school in a district of well-paid artisans. In London, for instance, parts of Lambeth may be well below parts of Battersea.

The average is in no case very high, in the London County Council schools three decayed teeth are charted as normal, many slight eye defects, many slight degrees of feeble nutrition, and many slight deformities are "normal." None the less these things are handicaps in schoolwork, and in after life. Such average children are very "average" in general capacity, in character, and in grasp of the duties of citizenship and of their part in life.

To raise the average of child life in all schools to the level of the school with the highest average among children drawn from the same social stratum, to raise the average of all slum schools to the average of the best slum school, is a non-utopian ideal with a very concrete measure of its success, which we might well adopt into our municipal politics.

The problem of the average child is largely a problem for the statesman and social reformer; medical knowledge has made the problem concrete and definite, and can suggest some needed reforms. But the problem of the child with defects, whether purely medical or medical plus poverty, is predominantly a doctor's question.

The Medical Group and the Poverty Group.

The division into two groups is important from the standpoint of treatment. The purely medical cases can get cured comparatively easily, the poverty cases only with difficulty. To treat a child with obstructed breathing and adenoids who is otherwise fairly sound and who comes from a decent home, is simple, and cure is probable. The parents of such a child will take trouble to see that the defect is remedied when it is pointed out to them. The decent home and the child's fairly sound condition are an indication that the parents have the desire and probably the time to see that proper treatment is applied. In every large town and accessible for most small towns and villages there are hospitals and dispensaries supplying facilities for treatment which can be taken advantage of by those having the desire and the time to do so. On the whole the great bulk of children presenting medical defects pure and simple will have those defects attended to by existing institutions when the parents become aware of what is needed. In this respect medical inspection puts the child of the poor man on a level with the child of the rich man, by giving him an expert opinion on what should be done to put the child in the fittest possible condition. Medical inspection does a great work if it makes medical knowledge available to the parents of all children.

Difficulty of the Poverty Group.

In the case of children presenting medical defects plus poverty, the case is far different. To begin with, such children often present not one or two but a group of defects, and complicated and continuous treatment may be required. The general condition of such children is not good, and the children do not give good results from treatment. Discharging ears in a badly nourished poor child for instance, take longer to get well than in a decently nourished

average child. But, worst of all, the parents of such poor children do not take them for medical treatment. Sometimes the parents will not take them—these, I think, are the rarer cases—sometimes the parents do not think medical treatment necessary, these are commoner cases. Sometimes the parents cannot spare time to get the children treated. This last class is as large as either of the two others, and may in certain localities be larger. In the first group come the children from drunken and vicious homes, in the second from feckless homes, in the third from overworked and underworked homes. We might call them the vicious, the feckless, and the poor homes.

The remedy for these conditions lies outside the scope of school organization, but the recognition of the existence of these conditions is very much a matter for school authorities. For the plain A B C of the facts is this, that it is no use treating defects of nose and throat, eye and ear, unless you treat the underlying debility of constitution produced by the home conditions. That means remedial school feeding firstly and open-air schools, school baths and gymnasia among other things as secondary methods. This state of things means also a new organization for getting the children treated.

It may, in theory, be highly desirable to "insist" on the parents getting remedied the defects pointed out to them by medical inspection. In practice the parents will either not do so, or only pretend to do so, for in the matter of getting treatment it is fatally easy to pretend. If the poverty group children are to have their illnesses and ailments remedied, they will have to be (a) fed on a diet designed to improve their physique, and (b) sent to hospital or school clinic in charge of someone from the school by the authority of the school.

The home conditions of such children also need tackling; the necessity of open windows and soap and water need pointing out, and all kinds of complicated little details need discussing with the parents. These are the duties of the care committee, but if they are to be effectively carried out, if remedial feeding is to become a reality instead of a pretence, and if medical defects are to be cured, there is only one effective way of doing these things—all of these activities must centre round a school clinic. And the school clinic, the school doctors, and the school nurses must be as much a part of the school organization as the school teachers.

The average children in council schools (who are nevertheless below the standard of their own possibilities), and the children with medical defects only, may be put aside for the moment; the children with defects plus poverty are an urgent problem demanding instant attention.

The Morass of Destitution.

Children belonging to the poverty group, as already defined, are the children sprung from the morass of destitution which quakes and shivers around the foundations of our civilization. These children come from definitely localized neighborhoods, from particular streets,

and from special blocks of "model" dwellings. The poverty of destitution and demoralization is spotted over the surface of our towns as concretely as smallpox is spotted over the face of a man sick from this disease. The poverty spots are, however, mouths of the abyss into which human life and our civilization sink away out of sight of man. And to children coming from the poverty spots, it is no use giving a box of ointment or a bottle of lotion to cure their diseases; these things make no impression thrown into the abyss.

A mother equipped with patience, the desire of cleanliness, and the wish for health, may get some good out of a hospital out patient department, even if the interview accorded by the doctor after hours of waiting be very brief. The mother from the demoralized poverty spot, even if she does arrive at the hospital, will get usually no help of which she can avail herself.

The doctor's point of view needs to be considered. A busy man, seeing very many similar cases, giving very frequently the same instructions, and meeting constantly with the same failure to get those instructions adequately carried out, may sometimes get a little hopeless as to the value of his out patient work.

A Typical Slum Mother.

The advent of a typical slum (poverty spot) mother increases the doctor's feeling of hopelessness ten or twentyfold. Take a concrete case, that of a child with discharge from the ears. The mother of the case I have in mind is a person with tattered, frowsy, and safety-pinned raiment, conforming generally to the blouse and skirt type; the sleeves are torn to a conveniently free length, the waist is commodiously ample. Neither face nor hands are especially clean, the face is coarse in feature and grinningly amiable. Conversation reveals much surface plausibility, with much genuine and deep laid sloth and inertia. The home is in two or three dark, semi-basement rooms, low, hung with lines on which hang flapping clothes, cumbered with backless chairs, decayed tables, peeling veneer chests of drawers, and iron bedsteads heaped with brownish coverings.

Is it wonderful that, faced by the problem of treating the child of such a mother, living in such a home, the doctor may get a little despairing? Treatment which consists partly of syringing out the ears must inevitably fail of being carried out under cleanly conditions (aseptic is pure utopianism). Regularity is not understood; any directions given, except with the most labored simplicity, are not understood. For unexplained reasons such a patient will frequently not attend to see the doctor and report progress. For other unexplained reasons the patient will try "a bottle of medicine" from some private dispensary or from some other public institution. On other occasions the patient will attend in charge of an incompetent person to whom it is useless to give instructions and from whom it is impossible to expect reasonable information. In the particular instance the person in charge was sometimes a drunken grandmother, and once or twice a sister only a year or two older than the patient.

In such cases it may be possible to get parental consent to an operation for removal of tonsils or adenoids. That involves very little trouble to the parents, and is besides by way of being fashionable, and has proved of benefit to neighboring children. But an operation is the first part of the treatment and not the end. A child operated upon needs medical supervision and careful training before it may be pronounced cured. And this supervision and training it does not get.

Deeper Deeps.

The case cited above is by no means an especially bad one; it may even be thought to belong to the aristocracy of the poverty group. It is still possible to treat a child of this kind by the united effort of school nurse, school teachers, school doctor, dispensary doctor, with the casual intervention of the clergyman, the district visitor, and a member of the care committee. But there are many children beyond these agencies. There is (I take examples at random as they occur to me from my own experience) the case of the blind woman, a widow, with verminous and ringworm smitten children. Medical treatment comes and goes, according to the aberrations of the patient's mother, but the conditions persist. To expostulate with such a woman for sewing her child's clothing tightly upon its back is to get a glib explanation (glaringly denied by the conditions) that this is done regularly every night after the equally regular bath. Nevertheless, however glaringly obvious the condition, the cure is not obvious under existing circumstances. To give a complete outfit of clean clothes is no remedy; it has been tried more than once and failed.

Another case is that of a child attending a school for mental defectives. The school nurse noticed the discharging ears, and managed, after considerable trouble with minor arrangements, to get the child specially medically examined. At the examination the mother stated that the child was "under treatment." This, it appeared, meant one attendance in six weeks at a hospital out-patient department, where she was given some lotion and some rapid and half-comprehended instructions. The mother then consented for a special arrangement to be made whereby the child was to be sent from school to a public dispensary every day, in order that the ears might be properly syringed out and attended to by a nurse. The school doctor gave the mother a letter for the school teacher to the effect that the mother agreed to this, to be given to the school teacher by the child. Three days afterwards a teacher called on the dispensary doctor to enquire when treatment might begin, as she had heard about it from the nurse. It then appeared that the letter had not been delivered. Another teacher then visited the child's home and secured the school doctor's letter. "It had been forgotten." After this the child attended at the dispensary most days, but never on Saturdays, when it "minded the baby." As soon as the summer vacation began, the child also ceased attending. After the summer holiday the ears, which were

in a most serious and foul condition, were found just as bad as they ever had been. The same thing occurred at the Christmas vacation. And these measures taken to get treatment were quite independent of numerous official letters and enquiries about the child, involving the labor of clerks and other officials on a fruitless task.

Even when with great and, compared with the results, disproportionate exertion, such a child has been cured of one definite ailment, it very often presents another. Frequently a poverty group child shows more than one defect, often several defects, and the cure of one may leave the others unaffected. While the cure of all definite ailments may still leave the groundwork of anæmia and a debilitated constitution unaffected. To get a poverty group child into a good state of health often involves prolonged and expensive treatment, one or more operations on ear, glands in the neck, tonsils or adenoids, a stay in hospital and at a convalescent home, and perhaps a prolonged three to six months holiday in some country cottage, all of which means much money and very much expenditure of time and energy.

The Necessity of the School Clinic.

To continue the present methods of dealing with the poverty group children is to perpetuate the diseases and defects from which they suffer. Nothing but a special organization to meet the special case will be of any great service. What is done at present is of immense help in ameliorating disease, in easing pain, in keeping the worse worst conditions from spreading too widely; but what is done at present is costly, cumbrous, involves great labor, and effects little permanent result, in the poverty group often none.

When medical treatment is as much a part of the school work as manual training or housewifery, then it will have a chance to be effective. The educated observation of the teacher will be at hand and at the doctor's disposal to supplement the haphazard observation of the parent, the report of the school medical inspector and the observation of the school nurse will be available, and the machinery of the school organization, with school nurse, attendance officer, and children's care committee, will be able to be used for the purpose of carrying out necessary instructions in the home and out of school hours. In a word, instead of endeavoring to treat an ailing child by the agency of half a dozen badly co-ordinated or entirely separate institutions, with no effective grip anywhere, we shall be treating the same ailment as a part of the school life, with the necessary means entirely at our disposal, and with all the other agencies adequately co-ordinated and properly effective.

All the activities controlled and directed by the care committee should be worked in the closest co-operation with the school clinic. This is especially true of the provision of meals for necessitous children, but it is also true of the provision of boots and of clothing and of the arrangement of country holidays.

In describing the suggested organization of the school clinic I am relying on my experience at the St. George's Dispensary in Black-

friers, where for some time past the medical staff have been experimenting in the direction of the school clinic. The patients at this dispensary are women, school children, and infants; the dispensary is free to those too poor to pay for medical advice, and some 6,000 patients, a large number of whom are school children, are seen every year. This figure probably represents the full number of patients who can be seen in the space available and during the time the doctors are in attendance.

Judging from this experience and that of others who have been pioneering on school clinic lines, one gets a very actual view of the conditions to be met.

The Clinic Required.

In every thickly populated locality schools are built fairly close to each other, and fall into groups. To supply the need of such a group only one clinic is required, and may well serve for sixteen or twenty schools, with a school population of something under a thousand each.

To start a clinic the first necessity is to find a convenient building situated in the centre of the group, or as near this as may be. It is desirable, especially for small children, to have the clinic not more than twenty minutes' walk from any school. Greater distances are inconvenient, and much smaller distances highly desirable. The St. George's Dispensary is established in an old public house less than ten minutes' walk from nearly a dozen schools.

A clinic must have a large waiting-room, one or two rooms for consultation with the doctor, and a room for treatments and dressing by the nurse.

A doctor should be in attendance at the clinic during school hours, and the head teachers of the schools belonging to the group should send there, in charge of the school nurse or other responsible person, all the children who are to have treatment. These children will be roughly those of the poverty group, but they will also include cases of discharging ears and other chronic ailments which need daily care, and cannot be attended to at a hospital. The children sent to the clinic would be normally those examined by the school doctor, whose parents were recommended to get them treatment, but who failed to obtain it on their own initiative, after a reasonable period, say a month. In some acute and urgent cases the clinic should render first aid, as it were, and the teachers should be encouraged to send children for examination whenever there was uncertainty as to its condition.

A Sorting Out Centre.

When a medical inspection of a school is made the defects discovered fall into very definite classes. Among them some children, for instance, will have defects of vision, some obstruction at the back of the nose caused by adenoids, some have discharging ears, and others threatening or incipient phthisis. Which of these ailments can the school clinic properly treat? Partly this must depend

upon the situation of the clinic. If it is near to a good special hospital for eye diseases or for those of nose, throat, or any other special ailments, and if satisfactory arrangements can be made for treatment at that hospital, then it is a waste of energy to multiply treatment centres. But the clinic should always reserve to itself the power to treat any kind of case in the event of a child for any reason failing to go to the special hospital. This does not mean that a recalcitrant eye case should be treated at the clinic, but that the child not getting treatment should be sent to the clinic and arrangements made, through the clinic organization, for the special treatment needed. All that is often wanted, when parents refuse or fail to get the suggested treatment, is a medical talk, giving them information or reassuring them about some not understood medical mystery.

This hypothetical instance gives the key to the line of treatment which must be adopted. The clinic will be the organization which sees that the child gets treatment. A large number of cases, those of diseases of ear, nose, and throat, many skin diseases, chest troubles, digestive troubles, and others, would be actually treated at the clinic. But the very severe ear trouble would be sent to hospital, the serious phthisis to the sanatorium, and the serious bone tuberculosis to the special hospital. The clinic, in fact, while acting as a treatment centre for those defects and diseases which can be conveniently and economically treated in an institution fitted up in a simple and inexpensive way, would also act as a sorting centre, and draft off serious and special cases to the institution where their appropriate treatment could be obtained.

Co-operation with Hospitals.

The school clinic should work in the closest co-operation with the hospitals and dispensaries, and have standing arrangements whereby certain classes of cases could be sent direct to them as soon as discovered. Some of the arrangements made at present with hospitals for treatment would fit in well. This means in practice that the clinics would only need the simplest apparatus, and that for the complex cases the costly and elaborate hospital organization would be made use of.

Existing Clinics.

In Germany, of course, school clinics for the treatment of all varieties of school diseases have been in existence for some years, with the greatest possible benefit to the health of the children concerned. But it is not necessary to go to Germany for examples. These institutions are in existence already in various towns in England, the Board of Education having power to sanction their establishment under section 13 of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907, under which medical inspection is carried on. In London voluntary agencies have established clinics at Bow, Deptford, and Blackfriars. In Cambridge a dental clinic established on a voluntary basis has now been taken over by the municipality

and is run as a publicly supported institution. In London a dental clinic is working at Deptford on two afternoons a week, and one is being established, as the result of a private experiment, to work on five afternoons a week at the St. George's Dispensary, Blackfriars. Bradford, Brighton, Sheffield, Southampton and York are among other towns where school clinic treatment is provided. The clinic at Bradford is open six days a week and treats children requiring spectacles, skin diseases, including X-ray treatment for ringworm, children referred from medical inspection, and for admission to special schools, including open-air schools, cases of discharging ears (syringed daily by the nurses), and children who have been in contact with, or are recovering from, infectious disease. At Bradford the clinic is found not to interfere with ordinary medical practice, and it is significant in this respect that a clinic has been established at Wandsworth, under the auspices of the local branch of the British Medical Association, and a treatment centre opened in Hampstead under the control of local medical practitioners. Probably the London County Council will be forced by pressure of circumstances to establish clinics in lieu of their present hospital system, a sub-committee of the Education Committee having reported strongly in favor of the system in 1908.

Part of the reason for the establishment of school clinics lies in the fact that without them the large poverty group of ailing children cannot be adequately treated because their parents have not time to, cannot, or will not, take their children to private doctors or hospitals. Nevertheless a clinic may look forward to frequent visits from the parents and every possible endeavor should be made to get the parents to attend. There are very few of even the most demoralized slum dwellers who do not wish to do what they can for the good of their children. But when not only means, but all knowledge is lacking, it is idle to expect the observance of hygienic common sense. Many parents who cannot afford to wait for a whole morning or afternoon, or even the larger part of a day at a hospital, could manage to get to the clinic if a definite hour was fixed.

The Clinic and Common Sense Hygiene.

The clinic should, in fact, become the instruction centre for parents in the art of hygiene, the concrete examples being provided by their own children's ailments. Such concrete hygiene teaching, supplemented, perhaps, by special demonstrations and talks for parents—on the care of the teeth, on breathing and on feeding, for instance—would do more for slum districts and poverty spots than years of abstract lectures in evening schools, admirable as these are.

Above all the clinic must be simple, straightforward, and human. A laughing and a smiling child should be the rule, a solemn or a weeping child the exception. The doctors' and nurses' rooms should be places of happiness and kindness. In this way the confidence of child and parent will be gained easily, treatment will be facilitated and the parents will try to obey and understand rules of treat-

ment and hygiene. In my own experience I have met very few people incapable of following simple hygienic and medical instructions.

The Clinic and Poverty.

In the preceding paragraphs I sketched the organization of the school clinic on its medical side, and indicated how it would deal with medically and surgically remediable ailments and defects. But among the poverty group children the worst disease, upon which the others do indeed largely depend, is poverty itself. Lack of boots, lack of clothing, and lack of food are not matters which the doctor can professionally remedy. But the school clinic should work in the closest touch with the care committee, and when the doctor has done all that is possible to put the ailing child straight from his point of view, the care committee agency must be called in to remedy poverty defects which otherwise would render (and do now render under present circumstances) all the medical labor in vain. The underfed child must be fed, the underclothed child clothed. The doctor will certify what social factors are likely to cause or allow a relapse of the illness or defect, and it must be the business of the care committee to take precautions accordingly.

Remedial Feeding.

This will mean in practice that the care committee must have a fund for supplying the needs of school clinic cases. The committee must go even further. The chief need of poverty group children often is carefully adjusted feeding, adjusted, that is, to their damaged and deteriorated digestive systems. This remedial feeding will inevitably be an important part of the school clinic's prescriptions, and will have to be something very different from the present haphazard meals, frequently all that is now provided under the Provision of Meals Act. These meals will be framed on the lines of a medical prescription, and might well (in some cases, at least) be distributed on the plan used by the excellent invalid kitchen in Southwark, which provides meals of different kinds to suit invalid digestions.

Used in this way it will be essential to see that the meal serves its purpose of feeding the child adequately and not of merely staving off starvation. If the school meal was improved so as to become a really physiologically good meal, it would be unnecessary to have invalid cookery for special cases. If the meals are not so improved, it is difficult to see how otherwise the proper feeding of ailing and debilitated poor children is to be obtained.

When one turns from feeding to consider the question of boots and clothes, it is clear that very much requires to be done. A school clinic will have only one answer to the conundrum as to whether it is better to treat recurrent attacks of bronchitis and throat trouble or provide a stout pair of boots and warm clothing. The drug bill and the bill of salaries and general expenses will be balanced against a bill for clothes and boots, and found to be much heavier. The bill is heavier now, but different pockets pay the

different bills; and the hospitals that appeal for subscriptions do not consider it part of their duty to prevent the need for some of their work by subsidizing boot and clothing clubs for schools; nor would they, as long as they are separated institutions, do much good by their subsidies, if given.

Country Holidays.

It is the same with another important aspect of care committee work, that of providing for country holidays. The knowledge gained at the school clinic will be of immense help in determining what children need this kind of holiday and what that. At the present time the question of country holidays and of convalescence after illness or sanatorium treatment are in a rather unorganized condition. Multitudes of children who would benefit by country holidays do not get them, many children who need seaside convalescence or sanatorium treatment do not get it, while, at the same time, financially unsuitable children are allowed to take advantage of charities which are needed by others less well able to pay. The conditions at present are unavoidable, but a school clinic would make it easier to apply the charities to the best result. Given, then, that the care committee is working in close touch with the doctors, it should be possible to arrange for the optimum use of the agencies at the committee's disposal and probably for the holidaying of all those children whose condition urgently required it, and especially those threatened with tuberculosis.

Very much valuable work is done by voluntary and paid health visitors, who endeavor by home visits and by plain talks to impress on the homes of poor people the common sense lessons of modern hygiene. The school clinic will do much to fortify and reinforce this health missionary work. For the clinic will not only act as a centre, a rallying point, and a reference on all questions connected with the health of the school child, but it will train the children and the parents themselves as health missionaries on their own account. As I have before mentioned, the discussion of a practical point of hygiene, say, that of open windows or of personal cleanliness, becomes not only concrete, but vital, when it is discussed with the parents with the ailment or delicacy of a beloved child as its object lesson. The lesson (it is a way with lessons) may have to be repeated, but ultimately it will be effective. A school clinic properly conducted should spread principles of hygiene very rapidly throughout its district.

The Main Points.

I have above pointed out how the school clinic will enable all cases of ailment or defect in school children to be adequately treated, how it will link the school organization with the present school doctors and school nurses and with the special and general hospitals.

How, again, all the activities which have to do with feeding, clothing, holidaying, and convalescence may be naturally grouped and co-ordinated with the clinic's medical work. And how, further,

the activity of the clinic and its co-ordinated helpers will stretch outside the clinic, outside the school, and penetrate by means of its missionaries into the home itself, bringing the sweetness and light of health to the parents of school children (particularly of the poverty group), clothed in the garb of their own thoughts and ideas, and exemplified by the occurrences of their daily lives.

Nothing here suggested is utopian, nothing advocated is more than the grouping together of isolated and unco-ordinated practical activities already existing in one form or another. The school clinic, by medically studying the child, provides the natural centre and rallying point for all these activities. The agencies which are now working in a scattered and unco-ordinated way for the helping of school children will be centralized by the clinic, organized, and made a hundred per cent. more effective than they can now be. And we may hope for great and almost unrealizable changes when the school clinic pours out health and help and kindness in every congested and poor district, for then the growth of child life, which now sinks down into the abyss, will spring up and grow healthily into the light and air of good human existence.

Pure Utopianism.

What I have spoken of above is practical to-day; that which follows will not be "practical" until to-morrow, when some of the preliminary work of clearing out the awful morass of slum child life shall have been performed. To-day it is only a dream, a dream of the time when the child at school shall grow as sweetly and as happily as a flower in a garden, when it shall stretch up its mind for knowledge as a flower for sunlight, and when all the strange and impish deformities and etiologies medical inspectors have to catalogue are relegated to infrequent hospitals and sanatoria with but very few beds in their wards.

The school clinic will aim to get the level of all children up to the low "average" or "normal" of the relatively healthy in present council schools, and when that is accomplished we can begin our real work of devising means whereby that low, that all too low, average may be transcended; the lethargic body grow supple, nimble, and good to look upon; the dulled senses quick, true, and responsive; and the narrow mind actively growing and expanding. All these things are within the sphere of the school doctor, all these things are within the scope of present day medical knowledge. The knowledge is here in reality; it is only the accomplishment in fact that is in Utopia—to-morrow.

In the good time when the poverty group child has grown into a sound average and the present average become robust, I look forward to a new kind of standard being introduced in schools—standards of imagination. In the present day children are only sent to the doctor when they are obviously deaf, or blind, or halt, or maimed. In the future the tests will be more subtle, and I confidently anticipate the time when "Peter Pan" or "The Blue Bird," or some such fairy tale, will be a compulsory subject of the

ordinary council school curriculum. At that day any child failing to reach, at any rate, the "Peter Pan" standard of imagination will promptly be sent to the school clinic. It is, after all, a rather serious reflection that there are many thousand "average" children to-day who do not reach this level.

The first step towards the raising of the standard must be taken by raising the lowest, and by pouring so much health, help, and kindness into the poverty group children that their all too low grade finally disappears.

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151. The Point of Honour: a Correspondence on Aristocracy and Socialism. By RUTH CAVENDISH BENTINCK. 147. Capital and Compensation. By EDW. R. PEASE. 146. Socialism and Superior Brains. A reply to Mr. Mallock. By BERNARD SHAW. 142. Rent and Value. 138. Municipal Trading. 121. Public Service versus Private Expenditure. By Sir OLIVER LODGE. 113. Communism. By WM. MORRIS. 107. Socialism for Millionaires. By BERNARD SHAW. 139. Socialism and the Churches. By Rev. JOHN CLIFFORD, D.D. 133. Socialism and Christianity. By Rev. PERCY DEARBOR (in cover with portrait of the author). 78. Socialism and the Teaching of Christ. By Dr. J. CLIFFORD. 42. Christian Socialism. By Rev. S. D. HEADLAM. 79. A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich. By JOHN WOOLMAN. 75. Labor in the Longest Reign. By S. WEBB. 72. The Moral Aspects of Socialism. By SIDNEY WEBB. 69. Difficulties of Individualism. By SIDNEY WEBB. 51. Socialism: True and False. By S. WEBB. 45. The Impossibilities of Anarchism. By BERNARD SHAW (price 3d.). 7. Capital and Land (7th edn. revised 1908).

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III.—Local Government Powers: How to use them.

TRACTS.—137. Parish Councils and Village Life. 109. Cottage Plans and Common Sense. By RAYMOND UNWIN. 76. Houses for the People. 99. Local Government in Ireland. 82. Workmen's Compensation Act. New edition for the Act of 1906. 62. Parish and District Councils. 54. The Humanizing of the Poor Law. By J. F. OAKSHOTT. LEAFLETS.—134. Small Holdings, Allotments and Common Pastures: and how to get them. 20. Questions for Poor Law Guardians. 68. The Tenant's Sanitary Catechism. 71. Ditto for London. FABIAN MUNICIPAL LEAFLETS (Nos. 32, 37 and 90 to 93). Municipalization of the Gas Supply. A Labor Policy for Public Authorities. Municipalization of Milk Supply. Municipal Pawnshops. Municipal Slaughterhouses. Women as Councillors. 1/- per 100.

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IV. General Politics and Fabian Policy.

127. Socialism and Labor Policy. 116. Fabianism and the Fiscal Question: an alternative policy. 108. Twentieth Century Politics. By SIDNEY WEBB. 70. Report on Fabian Policy. 41. The Fabian Society, its Early History. By BERNARD SHAW

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THE CASE AGAINST THE REFERENDUM.

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THE CASE AGAINST THE REFERENDUM.

THE proposal to establish the Referendum in this country seems to have entered, temporarily at least, the sphere of practical politics. How long it will remain within that holy of holies probably depends upon how long its official sponsors continue to cherish the illusion that, once established, it can be so restricted as to make it a reliable instrument for the defence of hereditary privilege. It is never wise, however, to count upon the early dissipation of a political illusion, no matter how fragile, and for the present we must assume that the Conservative leaders seriously intend to incorporate the Referendum in our political system at the earliest opportunity.

The proposition has been so little discussed that it is not easy to estimate the forces which will be ranged on either side. So far the Liberals have found no difficulty in making up their minds, since it is fairly obvious that at the moment they have all to lose by the Referendum and nothing to gain. But whether their minds will remain made up in the same sense under all political circumstances may be doubted. The experience of other countries seems to have been that whilst the party in opposition generally favours any proposal to introduce or extend the use of the Referendum, the party in power is always hostile to it—which, indeed, is precisely what one would expect. At all events, there is no reason why Liberals as Liberals should be permanently opposed to the Referendum. Sooner or later the proposal is likely to find friends and enemies in every political camp; and if we are to form any sort of stable judgment upon the worth of the Referendum as an instrument of democratic government we must ignore as far as possible its bearings upon current politics, and examine its intrinsic worth, not as a bar to Home Rule or Tariff Reform, but as a part of some definite and intelligible theory of government. That, at all events, is what is attempted here.

Definition of Terms.

The subject is not sufficiently familiar in England for definitions to be unnecessary.

The REFERENDUM is a popular vote for or against a law or an alteration of the constitution which has already been passed by the legislature. It may be "compulsory" or "optional," according as to whether it has to be applied as a matter of course or only on the demand of a certain proportion of the electorate.

The POPULAR INITIATIVE is a device by which a certain number of electors can demand the adoption of a law or constitutional amendment. The demand may (1) be in general terms, or (2) take the

form of a Bill already drafted. In the first case, if the legislature approves it proceeds to draw up a Bill embodying the proposal, which is then submitted to the popular vote; if it disapproves, it may call for the decision of the electorate before it drafts the Bill. In the second case (which is distinguished as the "formulated initiative"), the law which is demanded must be submitted at once to the popular vote in the exact form and phraseology in which it has been drafted by its promoters. Not so much as a comma must be altered by the legislature, which, however, generally has the right, if it wishes, of submitting at the same time an alternative Bill of its own.

DIRECT GOVERNMENT (as opposed to Representative Government) may be said to exist where the Referendum and the Initiative are both freely used by the electors without restriction as to time or subject. By its chief advocates in the United States it is accurately described as "majority rule," pure and simple.

History of the Referendum.

Historically the Referendum is the offspring by unbroken descent of the primitive mass meeting of self-governing citizens. Both in Switzerland and in the United States, the only countries where it flourishes to-day, the whole body of citizens were from the earliest times (in the Swiss cantons from the thirteenth century, and in the American colonies from their foundation) accustomed to exercise all the functions of government for themselves in open assembly. This direct control over the affairs of State was never entirely surrendered, and when the assemblies of all the citizens became impracticable and more and more powers had to be delegated to representative councils, the Referendum came into being gradually and naturally, not as an accession of popular power, but as a mere retention by the sovereign people of certain important powers in their own hands. In its earliest form, in both countries, the Referendum consisted simply in the reference of a law from the Legislative Council to the communes or townships, the citizens of which thereupon met together and decided what answer they should send to the Council. It is thus not easy to say precisely when the Referendum as we know it came into existence.

The United States.—It is clear, however, although it was advocated by Victor Considérant and many of the "men of 1848," that it cannot be described as an invention of modern democracy. It was included in the programme of constitutional reform (the "Agreement of the People") which the Levellers tried to force upon Cromwell in 1647; and it was certainly in use in the Puritan colonies of America in something very like its present form during the earlier half of the seventeenth century.* Throughout the eighteenth century it continued to

* One of the first recorded instances of its use took place in Massachusetts on May 29th, 1644, when the legislative body of this Puritan colony conveyed an earnest request to the elders and freemen to "take into serious consideration whether God do not expect that all the inhabitants of the plantation allow to magistrates and all that are called to country service a proportionate allowance. . . ." This seems to have been an early demand for "payment of members."

Subsequently the Declaration of Independence was agreed to in this and other colonies by Referendum, and the number of votes given for and against the new constitution of 1780 after the war, is definitely on record.

be employed occasionally, and when, after the War of Independence, the young States set about the business of drafting constitutions for themselves they nearly all included as a matter of course a provision whereby the first draft itself, and all future amendments which might be proposed, should be confirmed by a direct vote of all the citizens. One State at least (Georgia) included also a provision for the employment of the popular Initiative for constitutional amendments.

From that time onwards the Referendum has been in regular use for constitutional purposes in all the States of the Union except Delaware. But it was not until almost the end of the nineteenth century that it began to be applied to ordinary legislation. This development was partly due to propaganda, partly to the fact that ordinary laws were so often held to amount to alterations of the constitution that the distinction between the two became uncertain and unimportant *

In 1898 South Dakota led the way to a still more important development by formally adopting not only the Referendum, but the Popular Initiative as well, for all legislative purposes. Its example has since been followed by ten or twelve other States, and there is no reason to suppose that it will end with these. It appears, indeed, that we are about to witness throughout the United States an experiment in Direct Government on an immense scale, a scale restricted only by the not very important limitations of State, as compared with Federal, legislative activity. Already in a single decade a mass of material has been accumulated which, as soon as it is made available for the political student, will cause him to forsake for ever the little Swiss Republic which has hitherto so monopolized his attention.

Switzerland.—At present, however, Switzerland cannot be ignored. The history of the development of the Referendum and Initiative in Switzerland is remarkably similar to their history in America, and need not be detailed. The Initiative has been in use rather longer in the Cantons than in the States, but otherwise the differences are merely those due to the different character of the populations. At the present time the position in Switzerland is briefly as follows. In the Federal Government the Referendum is compulsory for constitutional amendments, and is applied to ordinary laws upon the demand of thirty thousand electors. The Popular Initiative (for which fifty thousand signatures are necessary) is applicable in either the "formulated" or general form to constitutional amendments, but not to ordinary laws. The distinction, however, here, as in America, is of little consequence, since practically any law can be drafted as an amendment of the constitution. In all the Cantonal Governments the Referendum is compulsory for constitutional amendments, and in some places for all ordinary legislation that is not expressly excepted. The Initiative is also freely used, though its form differs from canton to canton.

* This distinction, which was formerly the basis of the whole political system of the United States, was founded on the consideration that the constitution alone possessed the high sanction of a direct vote of the people. The extended use of the Referendum, by giving all sorts of laws the highest possible sanction, has now practically obliterated the distinction in most of the States. In Federal affairs, however, where there is no Referendum for any purpose, it is still of the utmost importance.

Australia.—The only country outside Switzerland and the United States in which the Referendum is in use is Australia. It appears to have been tentatively introduced in an advisory form in South Australia in 1896, when the Government called for a popular vote on the question of religious teaching in the State schools. The purpose of this vote was not to confirm any law, but merely to elicit the opinion of the electors, and the experiment has not been repeated. When Federation took place, however, the Referendum was definitely adopted in the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which provided that any future amendment must be confirmed both by a majority of all those voting in the Commonwealth and by a majority of those voting in a majority of States. The new Constitution was itself submitted to a popular vote in 1898 and rejected. It was then modified and accepted by another vote in 1900. The first amendment was submitted and passed in 1906, and two further amendments were submitted in April, 1910, one of which was accepted and the other rejected.*

It will be noticed that the three countries in which the Referendum has established itself—if, indeed, it can be said to be yet established in Australia—are all of them federations of States with a very large measure of local autonomy. This is a very important fact, the significance of which will be apparent when we come to consider the practical merits and defects of Direct Legislation as applied to a large and centralized sovereign State.

English Local Government.—All that need be added here to complete the brief descriptive summary which has been given is a reference to the fact that a form of Referendum has long been in use in this country—and possibly elsewhere—in local and municipal affairs. Certain adoptive Acts, such as the Public Libraries Act, have required a poll of the ratepayers to be taken before they could be put into force in any district; and upon various other questions of local government, like the purchase or lease of tramways, the electors have the right of demanding a poll after a Town or Parish meeting has been held.† The public interest, however, attached to the Referendum as a municipal institution has never been very great, and with the growth of large and fully responsible local authorities it seems likely to fall more and more into disuse.

The Inevitable Corollary of the Referendum.

We now come to the real subject of this paper: the pros and cons of the proposal to introduce the machinery of the Referendum

* The amendment which was rejected concerned certain complicated adjustments between the Federal and State finances which had been agreed to at a special conference of the Premiers of the different States. It is improbable that more than a very few of the electors understood the proposal which they voted against— which may have been the reason why they voted against it.

† It is interesting to notice that as with Referendum in America and Switzerland, so with this English practice of taking a "poll of the parish": at no time did it appear as a democratic innovation, it arose as a perfectly natural development when parish meetings and "open vestries" of the ratepayers grew to an unwieldy and impossible size. It was, indeed, in law, merely an adjournment of the vestry meeting in order to take a vote of those whose presence was presumed. See "The Parish and the County," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

for use in this country in national and Imperial affairs. The first important point to be considered is whether it would be possible, having once introduced the Referendum, to restrict its application or to prevent the development of a system of Direct Legislation as complete as that which exists in Switzerland and America.

The experience of America goes to show that as long as the use of the Referendum is confined to questions which can properly be described as constitutional there is no marked tendency on the part of the electors to demand its extension to other purposes; but as soon as for one reason or another it begins to be applied to matters of ordinary legislation the momentum of its development becomes irresistible, and cannot be checked until its scope has been widened to include all possible subjects of legislation, and its inherent limitations corrected by the addition of the Popular Initiative.

Now the actual proposal which has been put forward in this country is clearly to apply the Referendum to ordinary legislation, to anything which the House of Lords or some other undefined authority chooses to regard as "revolutionary"; it may be a Budget, a Church Disestablishment Bill, or even a mere Licensing or Education Bill. There is, therefore, good reason to suppose that if this proposal is carried out by any future Government it will either prove abortive, because incompatible with the spirit of our political institutions, and shortly be repealed; or else within a comparatively few years the rest of the machinery of Direct Legislation will be added unto it and it will become possible to submit "Right to Work" Bills, and "Conciliation" Bills and the like, to a vote of all the people by means of the formulated Initiative. Moreover, quite apart from the experience of other countries, there are strong reasons why this should happen. It is scarcely likely at the present juncture, when new legislation is being demanded on all hands and the chief complaint that is heard is of the slowness and the comparative barrenness of the Parliamentary machine, that the mass of the electors will remain content with the mere power of checking their representatives. The chief Conservative advocate of the Referendum, Professor Dicey, habitually refers to it as the "National Veto," apparently regarding the description as a tacit recommendation. But it may be safely asserted that the majority of electors at the present time are far more interested in the abolition than in the creation of vetoes upon the action of Parliament. Moreover, it would need but a short experience of the Referendum to teach the electors that the power of framing the question is scarcely less important than the power of voting upon it.

For all these reasons it is impossible to consider the establishment of the Referendum in this country except as a first instalment of a more or less complete system of Direct Legislation which, although it would not of course displace, would modify fundamentally the whole of our representative system. We are therefore justified in treating the issue as one not merely between the adoption or non-adoption of a restricted and rarely used Referendum, but between the essential principles of Direct and Representative Government.

The Case for Direct Government.

Let us consider first the chief arguments in favor of Direct Legislation. The general contention of its advocates is, of course, that by no other means is it possible to ensure that "the will of the people" shall prevail. Thus Mr. J. A. Hobson urges that "there is no certain way of determining this fact (*i.e.*, whether a law is 'acceptable to the body of the people') unless an opportunity is afforded to ask the people." This assertion plainly begs the whole question at issue, namely, whether the people should be asked to give their judgment upon a Bill, a mere legal document, or upon an Act, the practical merits or defects of which they have experienced. The same may be said of all arguments which refer to "the will of the people" as a definite and easily ascertainable fact. They all beg the question of how the real "will of the people" may be discovered, which is, of course, the crux of the whole matter. Instances might be adduced from the experience of the American States of laws having been enthusiastically adopted by large majorities which turned out to represent in practice anything but "the will of the people."

Another argument for Direct Legislation, an argument which in the United States carries decisive weight with the mass of the people, is that it destroys the power of vested interests by making corruption practically impossible. This no doubt is true. Where the representatives of the people not only have their price, but can find some one eager to give it to them, there you have, not democracy at all, but plutocracy in its worst form, and every democrat in such circumstances becomes of necessity a staunch advocate of the Referendum. But it must be remembered that it is only certain flagrant forms of corruption obvious to the elector that can be effectively checkmated by the Referendum, and that the argument has therefore little application in this country. Moreover, it is worth noting that if the possibility of securing honest representatives be granted, the point of the argument is immediately reversed. For it is clear that wealthy vested interests which can control the Press must always be able to influence the electors far more easily than they can influence any reasonably honest and public-spirited representative assembly.*

* In 1890 an amendment of the Swiss Constitution providing for the subsequent establishment by law of universal accident and invalidity insurance was enthusiastically adopted by an enormous majority (283,328 ayes, and 92,200 noes). But before the law itself could be drafted and passed through the legislature a campaign was organized by the insurance companies and wealthy employers regardless of expense. A special paper was started to oppose the law, and posters were showered all over the country. As a result when the voting day came the law was rejected. (*The Swiss Democracy*, H. D. Lloyd and J. A. Hobson.)

This incident is interesting, because it is always contended by advocates of the Referendum that in so far as the electors may require education on any subject which they have to vote upon, it will be effectively provided by the various propagandist societies and leagues and by Members of Parliament anxious to get their measure through. A Referendum is referred to as if it would be like a General Election in miniature, except that, as Lord Courtney puts it, "there would in fact be no candidates, and their hopes and fears and personal interest would not arise." Lord Courtney apparently regards this absence of the hopes and fears of personal interests of candidates as a great advantage. In fact it would be likely to prove the reverse, since there would be no one to spend money on "educating" the electors, except persons who were financially interested in the passage or rejection of the submitted measure.

An argument of far greater force in Great Britain is the contention that the Referendum acts as an immense stimulus to the political education of the people by forcing them to think about their laws and to realize their privileges and responsibilities as citizens of a self-governing State. Only so, it is urged, can they become the "free and enlightened" persons they are expected to be. This argument ignores, of course, the corruptibility of what must always be the chief instrument of such education, namely, the Press; but after making full allowance for that unfortunate circumstance, it remains undeniable that a series of popular votings on important questions would be calculated to have some extremely valuable educational results—results which might startle many of the present advocates of the "National Veto." All that can be said on the other side is that even education may be bought too dearly.

But perhaps the most appealing of all the arguments for the system of Direct Legislation is the sobering and altogether healthy effect which the mere existence of the Referendum and Popular Initiative inevitably has upon revolutionary movements of all kinds. The fact that any reasonably substantial section of the electors can at any moment demand an effective popular verdict upon any legislative project which they like to bring forward, deprives the disappointed propagandist of all those excuses for failure with which he sometimes strives to conceal even from himself the real cause. Socialists need scarcely to be reminded of the forms these excuses take; they are only too familiar. Sometimes it is "the party system" that gets the blame, sometimes the consoling bogey is "a conspiracy of the governing classes," and occasionally we hear significant whispers about some powerful ring of Jewish financiers or, it may be, in Lancashire, of Roman Catholic prelates. Anything is apt to be good enough to explain away the unpleasant fact that the right sort of legislation is not forthcoming.

The moment the Popular Initiative becomes an established fact all these comfortable theories have to be abandoned, and the breath that is wasted in propounding them diverted into more fruitful channels. Far too many Socialists to-day are plainly obsessed with the idea that Parliament itself is the great obstacle to Socialism, and that if only the people could make their will directly effective all would be well—the Utopia would be at our doors. Twenty or thirty years ago when Socialism was young such errors were perhaps permissible, almost necessary; to-day they are deadly. Nothing is more vital at the present moment to the continued advance of Socialism than a clear realization of the facts, that the working classes of England are not yet Socialists; that, until they are, Socialist legislation is impossible and undesirable; and that in the meantime no energy can be spared from the work of education for mere abuse of political machinery. That it automatically keeps all revolutionary propagandists in clear and continuous touch with the hard facts of the situation is one of the most attractive features of Direct Legislation.

The Case Against Direct Government.

The system of Direct Legislation is always identified by its advocates with "majority rule." The issue which they raise is therefore a perfectly clear and straightforward one, namely, whether "majority rule" is superior or inferior to "government by consent." The difference between these two forms of government is, of course, essentially a question of how minorities are to be treated. Under a system of majority rule the only right possessed by a minority is that of complete submission. A system of government by consent, on the other hand, recognizes the claim of any minority to be granted all such rights as do not seriously conflict with rights of an *equally important nature* of the majority.

An imaginary example will illustrate the point. Suppose that a small group of persons dwelling in a certain street enjoy a sincere conviction that it is necessary to their eternal salvation that they should sing hymns at the top of their voices between nine and ten o'clock every Sunday morning, and at no other time. And suppose that that is exactly the time which the other inhabitants of the street, who form a considerable majority, have selected for a pleasant extra hour of sleep. How is the issue between the two parties to be settled? If it is settled on the principles of government by consent the noisy minority will be allowed to continue their matins, with a strong suggestion that they should moderate their tones as much as ever their consciences will allow. The majority will no doubt grumble until they get hardened to the disturbance, but comparative peace will reign. If, however, the dispute is settled by a majority vote, the singers will be suppressed, and from thenceforward will constitute an outraged, and therefore dangerous, minority, whose respect for the justice of the law is gone for ever. Both solutions may be called "democratic"; but one is a good solution, and the other a very bad one.

This is an illustration of the first great argument against any system which approximates to pure majority rule: that it takes no account, and can take no account, of the quality or intensity of the feeling behind any individual vote. For it is just that intensity which matters, and which must constantly be considered and allowed for if any form of government is to be satisfactory. The primary, indeed the only, object of having any government at all is that it may reconcile conflicting interests and conflicting desires and arrange a general *modus vivendi*. And the only test of whether a Government is good or bad is whether or not the *modus vivendi* which it has arranged secures the voluntary respect and adhesion of the great mass of the community. No law can fully satisfy everybody. The most—and the least—we must ask is that the inevitable dissatisfaction should be reduced to a minimum, and especially that no section of the people should be given cause to regard themselves as unjustly treated. The greatest crime which any Government can commit is to deal with any section of the citizens in such a way as to alienate their loyalty towards the common institutions of the nation and

make them feel that resistance to the law is a moral duty. For such action must endanger the very foundations of civilized human society.

The ideal of those who uphold majority rule is apparently that upon every separate subject of legislation the will of the majority should be made to prevail. So simple a definition of the problem of democracy begs every question and shirks every real difficulty. Ultimately any form of democratic government must stand or fall not so much by its perfect subservience to majorities as by its just treatment of minorities—a far more difficult condition to fulfil. That minorities must not rule is only the first canon of good government; the second is that they must not be ignored. Yet how, under a system of Direct Legislation, can they be other than ignored? It must handicap them in two ways. In the first place, it is obviously far easier for a minority to submit their claims to a representative assembly than to the whole body of electors; and in the second place, representatives are far more likely than are the electors to give such claims adequate consideration. An individual elector in casting his vote for or against any proposal has naturally and properly no other object than to give expression to his own individual opinion upon the matter as it affects himself. But the same individual voting on the same proposal in the capacity of a representative would approach the question in quite a different way, and would feel it his duty, on account of the trust reposed in him, to take into account claims which as a mere elector he would ignore.*

Apart, however, from this sense of duty towards the community as a whole, there are factors which tend to make representatives duly sensitive to the claims of minorities. The average Member of Parliament holds his seat by a fairly steady party vote. Once he has got it, he can generally count upon keeping it, provided he does not arouse violent and active resentment amongst any section of his constituents. Consequently, where the feelings of the majority about any issue are lukewarm, whilst those of the minority are deep and strong, he will probably be guided rather by the latter than by the former. In other words, he will attempt to go behind mere numerical votes and take into account the *relative intensities* of conflicting desires. He will thus tend to support such solutions of the various problems which arise as satisfy the *fundamental requirement of good government*, that popular dissatisfaction should be reduced to a minimum with a view to the maintenance of universal respect for the law.

* The difference of attitude here referred to is the essential factor in the distinction, often misunderstood, between a delegate and a representative. The former has nothing to do but to carry out the instructions actually given to him by the majority of his constituents, and is responsible to that majority alone. The latter is responsible to *all* his constituents, and has the semi-judicial function to perform of deciding how far it may be right that the wishes of this or that minority should receive consideration. In other words, whilst the representative is a device for securing the presence, as it were, of all the people at the making of their laws, the delegate is a mere telephone to which the majority in any given constituency alone has access.

Territorial Minorities.

In considering the application of majority rule to this country a question of immense practical importance arises. Any given law is to be decided by a majority; that is clear. But by a majority of whom? Of the persons who are directly affected by the law, or of all the adult inhabitants of the United Kingdom? This difficulty is fundamental with a system of government so centralized as ours. Take, for example, the question of Welsh Disestablishment. What is the value upon this issue of the vote of, say, a Kentish farm labourer or a Yorkshire manufacturer? What does either of them know or care about the subject? They will be no more affected by the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales than they are now by the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland—a fact of which, by the way, they are both of them most probably unaware. By what conceivable theory of government could a Referendum of the United Kingdom on such an issue be justified? The result of the vote outside Wales would be merely irrelevant, that is to say, would afford no guide whatever to the statesman as to the decision which he ought to take in the interests of *good democratic government*.

The same reasoning applies to Irish Home Rule. The fact that the mass of the Irish people have been in rebellion for a century against the government under which they live may be deplorable, but it is the only fact in the whole situation which can carry any weight with the democrat. Home Rule may have bad results for Great Britain, and even for Ireland herself. Union may have been worth trying, but it has failed because it has not secured the assent of the Irish people. They do not respect the law because they do not feel it is their own law. Home Rule, in short, appears to be the only plan by which this unconquerably romantic race can realize the blessings and responsibilities of self-government; and that, as far as the democrat is concerned, is the last word on the rights and wrongs of the problem. A knowledge of the views of the electors of Great Britain would not contribute to its right solution in the least degree.

These two cases are of course rather exceptional. They belong to the category of questions, mainly or exclusively affecting a single locality, to which the Referendum has never been applied in any part of the world, and has never been regarded as applicable by any of its advocates outside the English Conservative party. The very significant fact has already been noted that the Referendum has only been adopted where a very complete system of local autonomy already exists. Consequently one of the most obvious dangers of Direct Legislation, the oppression of territorial minorities, has in practice been largely avoided.

Racial, Religious, and other Minorities.

But the danger to other minorities, more or less permanent, which are *not* concentrated in one locality, and which, therefore, can enjoy no autonomy, remains, and has proved to be very real. Two instances may be cited,

First, there is the well-known case in Switzerland where the Popular Initiative was employed by an anti-Semitic faction to introduce a Bill imposing pains and penalties on all persons slaughtering animals in a certain manner, namely, the manner prescribed by the Jewish law. Under cover of a humanitarian agitation, and in the face of the opposition of both Houses of the Legislature, the Bill was carried into law. Fortunately its drafting was imperfect, so that the Executive authorities in the Cantons have been able largely to ignore its tyrannous provisions. It should be added that this is the only case up to the present where the Federal Initiative in Switzerland has been successfully employed.

The second instance refers to America and is much more serious. It is that in State after State at the present time the Referendum is being used to disfranchise the negroes; not, of course, by actually laying down a colour line—that is prohibited by the Federal Constitution—but by imposing qualifications which are quite as effective a bar to the black man, and the purpose of which is understood by every one.*

Now is there any democratic advocate of "majority rule" who would defend this application of its principles? *And if not, why not?* There is no question but that in these States there are large majorities in favour of the disfranchisement of the negroes. Why should not the will of the majority prevail? The answer to that question strikes at the very root of the principles of Direct Legislation, because it must involve an admission that laws are of different sorts, some properly requiring much more than a bare majority of votes, and some much less. Mr. J. A. Hobson, arguing in favour of the Referendum, urges that "experienced statesmen . . . know that many laws . . . fail to work chiefly because of their unpopularity among the people." Surely what experienced statesmen know is that when laws fail to work it is generally due, not to a majority, but to an active minority, of malcontents. The Referendum only intensifies the danger. Witness the history of Prohibition in the United States. Laws actually passed by a majority vote forbidding the use of alcohol have notoriously failed to work, simply for the reason that such an interference with individual liberty requires something approaching unanimity amongst the electors before it ought to be enacted. There are lots of similar questions upon which from time to time legislation is proposed, and which ought not to be dealt with by anything less than, say, a 75 per cent. majority.

On the other hand, there are propositions for which a majority ought not to be required at all. Laws of a type already referred to affecting mainly or solely the inhabitants of a single locality come

* It may be urged that in some States the feeling against the negroes being allowed to exercise the rights of citizenship is so strong that the Representative Assemblies would have been, and in fact have been, obliged to adopt these measures on their own initiative. This may be true, but on the other hand it is unlikely that a representative body would consent to such an abuse of power without a really overwhelming mandate. The danger, therefore, is much less under a representative than under a direct legislative system.

under this heading together with others affecting minorities of different sorts. Broadly, it may be said that if a substantial minority want something very badly indeed, whilst the majority are mildly opposed, then the minority ought to have their way. This proposition is but the corollary of the proposition laid down earlier in this paper, that legislation must not so outrage the feelings of any section of the electors as to make them rebels against the law. Faults of omission may have as serious results in this respect as faults of commission. The Trades Disputes Bill of 1906 is a case in point. Whether the majority of voters were behind that Bill may be doubted, but about the intensity of feeling and the moral force behind it there can be no doubt at all; and it is to be noted as a signal instance of the success of our representative system that the Bill did actually become law. That is the answer to those people who complain that the present machinery of legislation enables the will of the people to be ignored. The truth is that where any substantial section of the electors know clearly and definitely what they want, they get it. The real difficulty is that generally they do not know what they want.

What is "The Will of the People"?

This brings us back to the question already asked: what is "the will of the people"? It is not a question which can be answered offhand, but thus much is certain, that you cannot discover the will of the people by any system of counting heads that was ever invented. The ideal elector who always knows exactly what laws he wants and always deliberately uses his vote to obtain them, is unknown to the practical politician. He is, indeed, every whit as much a figment of the academic imagination as was the "economic man" with whom the *laissez-faire* economists used to juggle. The votes of most electors, whether they be educated or uneducated, wise or foolish, are influenced by a hundred and one considerations entirely foreign to the merits of the matter in hand.

Thus the experience of both Switzerland and America is conclusive on this point, that proposals submitted to a popular vote at the same time tend to stand or fall together. "An unpopular proposal will frequently carry down to defeat proposals which if submitted alone might easily have been adopted; and a popular proposal will aid others submitted at the same time."* On one occasion in Switzerland an entirely harmless Bill for amending the law as to patents happened to be submitted at the same time as a law to establish compulsory vaccination. The latter was extremely unpopular, and both proposals were decisively rejected. Subsequently the law about patents was put forward in better company and accepted by an enormous majority. Astute politicians will no doubt soon learn how to turn this tendency to account for their own ends, but the existence of such a tendency shows how uncertain is the relation between the vote and the real will behind it. And this is

* *Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions*. By W. F. Dodd. U.S.A. 1910.

but one instance out of a hundred that might be adduced of that uncertainty.*

The Necessity of Compromise.

But even if it were always possible to discover the will behind the individual vote, the problem of discovering "the will of the people" would not be solved. For clearly where there is a definite and serious cleavage of opinion on any subject the will of a bare majority must be a very different thing from "the will of the people," if any intelligible meaning is to be attached to that phrase. "The will of the people" would be best interpreted in such a case by some sort of compromise representing, not merely the resultant of so many conflicting wills, but their greatest common measure, their substantial agreement.

The writer happens to have the honour to serve upon the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, a body whose methods of transacting business may or may not be unique, but are certainly instructive. There is an unwritten rule or custom, almost invariably observed, that divisions should never be taken upon really important questions, except in the very last resort. The use of divisions is to clear away unimportant matters so that time may not be wasted in discussing them at length. In matters of real consequence when there are two diverse opinions it is clearly absurd to divide and adopt the one which happens to have the odd vote behind it. The reasonable course is to go on discussing the question until a solution is discovered which everybody is ready to accept as a compromise. That compromise represents the substantial agreement of the Committee, and by the time it is reached the chances are that most of the members will regard it not in the light of a compromise at all, but as the best possible solution, and will be ready to give it active support without feeling that they have sacrificed to it any part of their better judgment.†

No one surely will deny that the character of all legislation ought to be determined by some such process as this. At all events a system under which nothing of the kind is possible must stand condemned.

The subject of compromise, however, vital as it is to the success of any kind of government, is too wide to be pursued here. It must suffice to suggest that, after all, the device of counting heads is at best a very crude and unsatisfactory method of deciding important or complicated issues in accordance with "the will of the people." We may be obliged to resort to it from time to time, but we need not glorify it as if it were in itself the pure quintessence of democracy. For in reality it is its *reductio ad absurdum*.

* An interesting sidelight is thrown on the practical working of Direct Legislation by the Constitution of North Dakota, U.S.A., which contains a provision to the effect that if two conflicting measures dealing with the same subject should be submitted at the same time and both should be passed (!) the one with the greatest number of affirmative votes behind it is to be taken as accepted, and the other as rejected.

† This, in point of fact, is the usual custom of a body much older than the Fabian Society, the Society of Friends; † is also the way in which the Mir manages the affairs of every Russian village.

Public Opinion v. Popular Opinion.

There is another point connected with the determination of the real will of the people which demands brief reference. Every one who has paid any attention to political history knows that from time to time laws have been passed which would have been emphatically rejected by the people at the time of their enactment, but which would have been equally emphatically accepted if submitted after being in operation for a year or two. Obvious instances are Catholic Emancipation and compulsory Education. It would seem that certain propositions can never hope to be "popular" until *after* they have become accomplished facts. At the present moment there are at least two issues before the country which are probably of this character: Women's Suffrage and the raising of the school age. Public opinion—which is not necessarily the same at any given moment as the opinion of the majority—supports both these proposals. Both will certainly be adopted within a few years, and a little later will be fully, if tacitly, endorsed by the people. Yet if they were submitted to a popular vote before enactment they would just as certainly both be rejected, even if in the case of Women's Suffrage women were allowed to vote.

These statements in regard to the particular questions selected may be doubted, but it cannot be denied that there are questions about which they would be true. We have here a definite political phenomenon which theoretical advocates of Direct Legislation must find some means of dealing with. There appears to be only one way of meeting the difficulty, and that is to legislate through representatives, and throw upon them the responsibility of deciding—on penalty of losing their seats in case of error—not what Bills but what Acts will secure the approval of the people. To discover the real will of the people, writes Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, "is the task of the statesman who knows how far expressed desire is not real desire, who understands how he is to speak for what is in the heart but not on the lips of the people, and who, without mandates, and even against mandates, does what the people really want."*

The Responsibility of the Representative.

Most, if not all, of the simple issues of modern politics belong to one of the categories described above. Either because they deal solely with small minorities, or for some other reason, they are obviously unsuitable for the application of the Referendum. But what of those more complicated issues and projects which form the bulk of our legislative output at the present time?

The average elector may be able to judge principles, but he has neither the time nor the knowledge nor the will to consider details. It is common knowledge amongst State politicians in America that a Bill which exceeds certain very narrow limits of length and complexity is almost certain to be rejected by the electors. Advocates of

* *Socialism and Government*, Vol. I, p. 9. No student of Socialism, or, indeed, of any aspect of modern politics, can afford to miss this original and really masterly study of political theory.

Direct Legislation, indeed, constantly cite this as one of the great advantages of the system, that it leads to a simplification of the laws. But whatever may be the advantages of simple drafting, they are surely insignificant compared with its drawbacks. *For not only must it largely exclude concessions to minorities, but it carries with it as a necessary corollary that the executive officials should be given a free hand to deal with points of administration which in England, for example, would be dealt with in the Act itself and settled by Parliament.* Both in Switzerland and in America the officials do, in fact, exercise unheard of powers which, if administration were anything like as centralized as it is in this country, would be intolerable.

This difficulty becomes overwhelming in regard to that large class of modern legislation in which details are everything and principles comparatively nothing. The creation or alteration of duties on imported articles is an example. It is impossible to conceive a more insane or a more dangerous proposal than that Tariff Reform should be decided by popular vote. Apart from objections to indirect taxation *per se*, not one elector in a thousand, be he wage-earner or University don, is in a position to form an opinion of any intrinsic value upon the question of whether Tariff Reform is likely to do the nation more harm than good. If the object be to reach a right decision you might almost as well save the cost and trouble of a Referendum by tossing a halfpenny instead.

Suppose that, dismissing all preconceived theories of government, the reader were called upon to devise a satisfactory method of settling such a question. What would he propose? Would he not say something like this? "Let us select a number of men, as intelligent as possible, representing all classes in the community; let us insist that they shall have access to every possible source of information and opportunity of weighing expert opinion on all sides; and then let us leave the decision to them, *holding them responsible for the consequences.*" If he were wise, he would add that the representatives should not be allowed, upon any pretence whatever, to shift the responsibility for the decision on to the electors by referring the matter to a popular vote at the last moment. That is to say, he would choose the representative method and the representative method alone.

It may be argued that Tariff Reform is a very exceptional case. But it is the case chosen for the first application of the Referendum. Besides, an ever-increasing proportion of our most important legislation is of a similar character, that is to say, its merits and defects are so much a matter of details that they can only be appreciated with the assistance of experts, and pronounced upon by persons who have devoted much attention to the art of legislation. If Great Britain were governed by counties it might be otherwise, but it is governed as a single community, and the consequences of that fact must be accepted. It is often asserted that all opposition to the Referendum is inspired by the belief that representatives are wiser than the people, and know better what is good for them. In other words, that the arguments against the Referendum might equally be employed to

justify a system of oligarchy. Such assertions, ignorantly or intentionally, are altogether wide of the mark. No doubt it is true, though one can call to mind many exceptions, that a representative is usually superior in general intelligence and ability to the average of the persons who have chosen him to represent them; and this is an important fact. But the case against the Referendum requires no such assumption. The point is that the representative has opportunities which in the nature of things are denied to the individual elector of hearing not some, but all, of the evidence for or against any proposal; and it would be just as valid if representatives were chosen by lot instead of by election. A representative body is "superior" to the electors for the purpose of legislation in precisely the same sense as a jury is superior to the general newspaper-reading public for the purpose of giving a just verdict. Inherently there is no more "oligarchy" about one than about the other.

There is, however, one essential condition which is by no means always fulfilled at present but must be fulfilled if representatives are really to represent; and that condition is that they should be held strictly responsible for the consequences of their action or inaction on any subject. The right of the elector must be recognized even to give his representative a mandate for a certain policy and then to blame him if it turns out badly. Otherwise there can be no security for the proper exercise of those powers which under any system of democracy must be entrusted to the representative assembly. The experience of Switzerland proves, if proof be necessary, that the habitual use of the Referendum does, in fact, destroy this safeguard. Elections are rarely contested except for some personal reason, and the representative becomes in effect an irresponsible official, acting as he pleases in regard to all those matters which are not submitted to a popular vote. In Switzerland the volume and importance of the legislation not so submitted are small, and the danger of excessive bureaucracy is so far mitigated. But in England the bulk of the legislation must under any circumstances be left to the discretion of Parliament, and the evils that would surely flow from any diminution of its responsibility to the electorate are hard to exaggerate.

The Practical Working of Direct Legislation.

There is no space here for any sort of detailed analysis of the actual results of the Referendum and Initiative where they have been adopted. Nor is it likely that such an analysis would afford a basis for judging the effect of the same machinery in this country. The total population of Switzerland is less than half that of Greater London, and is divided amongst twenty-five cantons, each of which is autonomous for almost all the ordinary purposes of government. For Great Britain to adopt the Referendum on the strength of Swiss experience alone would be about as reasonable as for the House of Commons to adopt the principle of co-optation on the strength of the experience of a Board of Guardians. In America the unit of government is larger; but there Direct Legislation is still in the early experimental stage, and neither the triumphs which it has achieved nor the absurdities

which it has been responsible for afford a fair basis for generalization at present.*

It should be said, however, that the widely prevalent notion that the Referendum has a conservative effect upon legislation appears to be based on very insufficient evidence. It is true that in Switzerland a disproportionate number of measures submitted by the Federal Government are rejected, but this may be explained by the deep-rooted preference of the Swiss elector to be governed by his Canton rather than by the Federation. The proposals of the Federal authorities are thus always more or less suspect, and opposition to them is no proof of conservatism. In America, on the other hand, the weight has been deliberately thrown into the other scale in some of the States, by allowing new measures to be placed on the ballot-paper as affirmative propositions, which must be crossed out by those who object to them; that is to say, the non-voter is counted on the affirmative side. Elsewhere a definite anti-conservative bias has appeared without any such artificial aid, owing to the increasing number of proposals submitted at one time. In Oregon in 1906 the ballot-paper contained the names of thirty-seven candidates and the titles of thirty-two measures. Very few electors take the trouble to go more than halfway down the paper. Consequently proposals put forward by a small active minority tend to get passed, because the affirmative is organized and the negative is not. The only people who understand or are interested in the proposition sufficiently to vote upon it at all are mostly its supporters.†

To sum up, there seems no particular reason to suppose that the adoption of the Referendum in this country would result in special advantage to any party. A certain conservatism would no doubt become apparent amongst the electors in regard to large constructive schemes of social reorganization. But to balance this there would be the unquestionable popularity of land taxes, supertaxes, heavy death duties, and the like.‡ The case for and against the introduction of the beginnings of Direct Government rests, therefore, solely upon the merits of that system compared with the Representative System as a

* The experience of the English Trade Unions has provided data as valuable perhaps as any for a study of the working of Direct Legislation. In this connection the reader is directed to *Industrial Democracy*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, where he will find an analytical account of how the Referendum and Initiative were adopted and enthusiastically employed by some of the largest Trade Unions during the nineteenth century, and how they fell steadily into disuse and discredit, until finally it was seen that the practice of taking a general poll was practically useful only for some such purpose as that of discovering whether the members might be relied upon to support individually a proposal requiring concerted voluntary action, e.g., a strike.

† It might be suggested that this tendency meets the objection urged above, that the Referendum tends to the oppression or neglect of minorities. But it is to be observed (1) that it is only a safeguard upon issues of little public interest, and (2) that to give minorities an improper influence in certain matters is no remedy for allowing them none in others.

‡ A vote taken in the Canton Grisons on Sunday, March 6th, 1911, suggests the possibility of other sorts of anti-capitalistic legislation. By a majority of more than three to one the electors decided to prohibit absolutely the use of motor cars upon any public road within the area of this Canton.

satisfactory instrument of democracy. It must be admitted that when the unit of government is small and the population homogeneous in character, the advantages of the Referendum (as also, when practicable, of the mass meeting of citizens) are very considerable. But when the unit of government is large and the population heterogeneous, the inherent defects of "majority rule" assume overwhelming importance.

The choice which must be made is a momentous one, fraught, perhaps, with the most profound consequences in relation to the future prospects of democracy. For democracy is still upon its trial. Nowhere in the world as yet can it be said to have worked to the complete satisfaction of everyone. Everywhere still there are doubters, even in the foremost ranks of the democratic movement itself; people who despair of their faith and are turning to alternative theories, to Plato, to government by the best, government by a semi-ascetic voluntary order or government by a specially trained, or even specially bred, class. No great attention need be paid to the views of such pessimists, but they suffice to illustrate a fact which does deserve consideration, that the permanent success and stability of democracy have not yet been conclusively demonstrated. Developments are perfectly conceivable which would lead to such widespread disgust with popular government as to cause a revolt in favour of some other alternative, possibly a personal dictatorship.

How can these dangers best be avoided? By following the ideal of "majority rule" or the ideal of "government by consent"? In other words, is legislation to be determined by a mere counting of heads or by methods which allow of a more or less accurate estimation, both quantitative and qualitative, of all the forces and currents of opinion in the community? It may be that upon the answer to that question hangs the fate of democracy itself.

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THE WORKING LIFE OF WOMEN.

It is still the custom in some quarters to assert that "the proper sphere for women is the home," and to assume that a decree of Providence or a natural law has marked off and separated the duties of men and women. Man, it is said, is the economic support and protector of the family, woman is its watchful guardian and nurse; whence it follows that the wife must be maintained by her husband in order to give her whole time to home and children. The present paper does not attempt to discuss what is in theory the highest life for women; whether the majority of women can ever realize their fullest life outside the family, or whether an intelligent wife and mother has not on the whole, other things equal, more scope for the development of her personality than any single woman can possibly have. The question I am here concerned with relates to the actual position of the women themselves. Is it the lot of all women, or even of a large majority of women, to have their material needs provided for them so that they can reserve themselves for the duties that tend to conserve the home and family?

Lét us see what the Census has to tell us on the subject. We find that in 1901 there were in round numbers 15,729,000 men and boys, and 16,799,000 women and girls, in England and Wales. This means that there are 1,070,000 more women than men, and if we omit all children under fifteen there are about 110 women to every 100 men. This surplus of women has increased slowly but steadily in every Census since 1841; that is to say, in 1841 there were in every 1,000 persons 489 males, and 511 females; but in 1901 there were in every 1,000, 484 males, and 516 females.

The disproportionate numbers of women are no doubt partly due to the Imperial needs which compel a large number of men to emigrate to our actual or potential colonies and dependencies. It is impossible to say how many are thus to be accounted for, probably not a very large proportion, save in the upper classes. The Census shows figures for the army, navy, and merchant seamen serving abroad, but if these are added to the population of the United Kingdom the excess of women is still considerable. There seems to be no means of estimating the numbers of men who are absent on private business.

The main cause of the surplus of women seems to be their lower death-rate, and this is popularly accounted for as the advantage resulting to women from their comparatively sheltered life and less exposure to accident and occupational disease. This assumption no doubt accounts for some part of the difference; women do not work on railways or as general laborers, or usually in the most unhealthy

processes of trades scheduled as "Dangerous" under the Factory Act. There can be no doubt either that the death-rate of women has been lowered by the operation of the Factory Act in improving conditions of employment. The death-rate of men has also been lowered, but in a less degree, because although men benefit by improved conditions in the factory just as women do, the proportion of men employed in factories and workshops is small comparatively with women, so many men being employed in transport, building, laboring, docks, etc. These latter occupations so far have obtained very little legal protection from the risks and dangers run by the workers, although many of these dangers are notoriously preventable.

Still it is doubtful whether the lower death-rate of women can be entirely accounted for by the greater degree of protection enjoyed. Women often work longer hours even under the Factory Act than most men do under their trade union; much of the work done by women in laundries, jam factories, sack factories, and others, is extremely laborious. Again, the enormous amount of domestic work accomplished by women in their homes, without outside help, in addition to the bearing and caring for infants and young children, must be equal in output of energy to much more than all the industrial work of women, especially when the rough, inconvenient, and inadequate nature of the appliances common in working-class homes is considered, and the still more painful fact is remembered that the very person responsible for all this work is often the one of the family who in case of need is the first to go short of food.

It is true that more men than women die of accidents. But let us add to the accidental deaths the deaths of women from child-birth and other causes peculiar to women. We find that in 1907 10,895 males died from accidents; 4,890 females died from accidents; 4,670 from causes peculiar to women, 9,560 altogether, about 1,300 less than men. But the total deaths of men in 1907 exceeded the deaths of women by 14,297, an excess more than ten times as great.

There is also the question of age, which is important in connection with the death-rate. The number of boys born is larger than the number of girls, about 104 to 100. The death-rate of boy babies is almost always higher than that of girls, and in 1907 the death-rate of boys under four was higher than that of girls, but the death-rate of boys from four to fifteen was lower than that of girls at the same age; then at fifteen the male death-rate again rises above the female and remains higher at all later ages.

DEATH-RATES, 1907, PER 1,000 LIVING.

	Under 1 year per 1,000 births										
	aged 1	2	3	4	under 5	5	10				
Males ...	130	38·4	15·5	10·1	6·9	44·8	3·3	1·0			
Females ...	104	36·2	14·8	9·7	7·6	37·0	3·4	2·0			
	15	20	25	35	45	55	65	all ages			
Males ...	2·9	3·8	5·6	9·5	16·9	33·7	94·1	16·0			
Females ...	2·7	3·2	4·6	7·8	13·1	26·0	85·9	14·1			

Now if the lower death-rate of girls and women is due to their being taken more care of, how inexplicable are these figures. There is little enough difference in the care and shelter given to boys and girls under four, yet the boys die much faster; between four and fifteen, on the other hand, girls usually are a good deal more sheltered and protected than boys, and less likely to run into dangerous places and positions, yet from four to fifteen the male death-rate is slightly lower than the female. At fifteen when, as we shall see, a very large proportion of girls begin industrial work, the death-rates are again reversed, the male death-rate being thenceforward the higher. Nor does it appear that the death-rate of young women is much influenced by the fact of industrial employment. It is true that in Lancashire, where many women and girls work, the death-rate of women is higher than in England and Wales; but in Durham, where comparatively very few women and girls are employed, the death-rate is higher still.

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES OCCUPIED.

	LANCASHIRE			DURHAM		
	Ages 15	20	25-34	15	20	25-34
Single	78	80	76	40	49	49
Married or widowed	24	25	19	1	2	3
Death-rates, 1907—						
Male... ..	3·3	4·2	6·1	3·8	4·7	5·6
Female	3·0	3·5	5·4	3·7	4·4	6·3

The contrast seems to indicate that it is not the fact of employment, but the conditions, both of life and employment, that are prejudicial to women in these industrial centres, for although death-rates have generally fallen, they are still higher in most of the mining and manufacturing districts, notably in Lancashire and Durham, than the average of England and Wales.

It will be agreed that the greater average duration of life among women is sufficient to account for a large excess number of women over men, over and above the emigration of many young men, which contributes to the same result. The surplus of women is distributed very differently in different districts: it is greater in London and the Home Counties, and also in Lancashire, less in the mining districts and the rural districts; and generally much greater in town than country. In the urban districts women over fifteen number 112, in the rural districts only 102, to every 100 males. This is perhaps partly due to the girls going to towns as domestic servants; for although the percentage of domestic servants is rather higher in the country than in town, the actual numbers are much less, and particular towns and residential urban districts—Bournemouth, Hampstead, and the like—show a very high percentage of servants. But the higher proportion of males in the country must in part be due to the fact that babies born in the country have a better chance of life. Although the number of boys born is greater than the number of girls (it was about 1,037 to 1,000 in 1891-1900, and slightly higher since 1901), the boy babies are on the average more

difficult to bring into the world and more delicate for the first few years of life, as is shown by the male infant death-rate being higher than the female. It follows that though boy babies are more numerous at the outset, the girls steadily gain upon them, and at some point in early life the numbers are equal. If infant mortality is high, the surplus boy babies are very soon swept out of existence, and there may be "superfluous women" even under five years old. But in healthy districts, especially in the country, where infant mortality is low, the boys survive in greater numbers, and exceed the girls in numbers up to the age of twenty; thus in later life the disproportion of women is not so great in the country as it is in towns. This fact constitutes one important reason (among others that are better known) for improving the sanitary conditions in towns. A diminution in infant mortality will tend to keep a larger proportion of boys alive, and thus by so much redress the balance of the sexes. To give an instance: in rural districts of Lancashire the boys under five were 1,018 to every 1,000 girls; in the urban districts, which include many towns with a high infant mortality, the boys under five were only 989 to every 1,000 girls. It is impossible here to give many details on this point, but fuller statistics are given in the *Statistical Journal*, June, 1909, pp. 211-212.

Marriage and Widowhood.

But it is evident that one way or another we must face the fact of a large excess number of women, even though we may hope that improvement in the people's life and health may prevent some of the waste of men and boys' life that occurs at present. How are women provided for? Marriage is still the most important and extensively followed occupation for women. Over 5,700,000 women in England and Wales are married, or 49.6 per cent.; nearly one-half of the female population over fifteen.

In every 100 women aged	15-20	.....	2 are married.
"	"	" 20-25	..... 27 "
"	"	" 25-35	..... 64 "
"	"	" 35-45	..... 75 "
"	"	" 45-55	..... 71 "
"	"	" 55-65	..... 57 "
"	"	" 65-75	..... 37 "
"	"	" 75	..... 16 "

In middle life—from thirty-five to fifty-five—three-fourths of the women are married. In early life a large proportion are single; in later life a large proportion are widowed. Put it in another way. From twenty to thirty-five, only two out of every four women are married, most of the others being still single; from thirty-five to fifty-five, three in every four women are married; over fifty-five, less than two in every four are married, most of the others being already widowed. It is only for twenty years (between thirty-five and fifty-five) that as many as three-fourths of women can be said to be provided for by marriage, even on the assumption that all wives are provided for by their husbands.

As we have seen, women exceed men in numbers, and not only that, but the age of marriage is usually for economic reasons later for men than women, and some men do not marry at all, consequently it is utterly vain to assume that women *generally* can look to marriage for support, and to talk of the home as "women's true sphere." Mrs. Butler wrote, now many years ago, that, like Pharaoh who commanded the Israelites to make bricks without straw, "these moralisers command this multitude of enquiring women back to homes which are not, and which they have not the material to create." Although about three-fourths of the women in the country do get married some time or other, at any given time fully half the women over fifteen are either single or widowed. Women marry younger and live longer than men, consequently the proportion of widows is considerable, something like one woman in every eight over twenty years old. The largest proportion occurs, as might be expected, at advanced years.

In every 100 women aged	35-45	.....	6 are widows.
"	"	" 45-55	..... 16 "
"	"	" 55-65	..... 31 "
"	"	" 65-75	..... 52 "
"	"	" 75	..... 73 "

Occupation.

The number of women and girls over fifteen returned in 1901 as occupied was 3,970,000, or 34.5. This figure can only be regarded as an approximate one, as there is little information to show how many of the numerous women who work occasionally, but not regularly, do or do not return themselves as occupied, and even if this information were forthcoming, it is difficult to see how any precise line of demarcation could be devised to distinguish the degree of regularity that should constitute an "occupied" woman. The figure is again obviously inadequate in regard to women's *work* (as distinguished from occupation), as no account is taken of the enormous amount of work done at home—cooking, washing, cleaning, mending and making of clothes, tending of children, and nursing the sick done by women, especially in the working class, who are not returned as belonging to any specific occupation.

It is misleading, however, to take the percentage 34.5 as if it meant that about one-third of all women enter upon a trade or occupation.

In every 100 women aged	15	.....	66 are occupied.
"	"	" 20	... .. 56 "
"	"	" 25	..... 31 "
"	"	" 35	..... 23 "
"	"	" 45	..... 22 "
"	"	" 55	..... 21 "
"	"	" 65	..... 16 "
"	"	" 75	..... 7 "

These figures show what is a very important point to remember, viz., that the majority of women workers are quite young, and this is

husbands' death ; but there can be little doubt that the proportion of widows working is higher than the proportion married. In a very interesting passage Madame Gnauck points out the peculiar handicap suffered by a woman who is thus forced to renew industrial activity in middle life. The industrial life of women, she writes, is not continuous, but is split in two. Woman is normally provided for by marriage, let us say, for twenty or thirty years. But marriage is not a life-long provision for the average woman, it is only a provision for the best years of life, those years, in fact, in which a woman is ordinarily most capable of taking care of herself. The husband is, in many cases, swept off in middle life, and in the industrial classes he has usually not had very much chance of saving a competence for his widow. A certain proportion of women, therefore, we cannot say exactly how many, are forced to re-enter the labor market by widowhood, or by other economic causes—illness of the husband, desertion, and so on. Once more the woman appears in the industrial arena, with all the disadvantage of a long period of intermitted employment and loss of industrial experience. Having lost the habit of industrial work, having very usually children to look after and a home to find, she has to compete with girls and young women for wages based on the standard of life of a single unencumbered woman. It may be that the inferior technical skill often attributed to women as compared with men is largely due to this fact, that while a man gives his best years to his work, a woman gives precisely those years to other work, and therefore returns to industry under a considerable handicap. We can hardly doubt that this is a chief cause of pauperism.

The late Mr. Kirkman Gray, in his interesting unfinished work, "Philanthropy and the State," wrote :—"The theory is that the male can earn enough for a family and the female enough for herself. But this theory, even if we accept it as correct, makes no allowance for the fact that every eighth woman is a widow. Here then is the bitter anomaly of the widow's position in the economic sphere. As head of a family, she ought to be able to earn a family wage ; as woman she can only gain the customary price of individual subsistence." The Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission recognizes the same anomaly. "It is to the man that is paid the income necessary for the support of the family, on the assumption that the work of the woman is to care for the home and the children. The result is that mothers of young children, if they seek industrial employment, do so under the double disadvantage that the woman's wage is fixed to maintain herself alone, and that even this can be earned only by giving up to work the time that is needed by the care of the children."

Even the Charity Organization Society, which usually inclines to ignore the social aspect of economic hardship and treat every case as merely individual, is forced to recognize the anomaly of the widow's position. "We must look the poor woman's troubles in the face. . . . She has to do the work of two people ; she has to be the breadwinner and go out to work, and she must also be the housekeeper. She has to wash, clean, and cook, make and mend clothes, care for and train

her children. Can one pair of hands manage all this? And, secondly, when she goes out to work our poor widow will probably only earn low wages . . . about 10s. a week, and she will certainly not be able to support herself and her family on that."*

The reflection here occurs that the life of women is inseparably connected with the life of men, and we may well pause to ask whether it is necessary so large a proportion of women should be widows at all. There is an excellent saying, that "we can have as many paupers as we like to pay for." It has an intimate bearing on the toleration of preventible disease and accidents as well as on administrative laxity in the Poor Law. The comparative mortality figure for the general laborer is more than double that of occupied males generally, and it is true the Registrar-General ascribes some of this mortality to confused returns, but even if some allowance, say 25 per cent., be made on this ground, the excess is still great. A pamphlet by Mr. Brockelbank † shows that in 1907 one shunter in thirteen was killed or injured at his work on the railway. The same writer gives reasons for supposing that the published returns of fatal accidents to railway servants fall far short of the truth, only those accidents which cause death within twenty-four hours being reported as fatal.

Many other occupations have a deplorably high death-rate, and it would seem that there is still a good deal to be done in improving the conditions of those workers who are not under the Factory Acts or protected by any effective organization. The protection of women by factory regulation has gone on the lines of protecting the individual woman worker at her work. Surely protection is also needed for the woman at home who sees her husband go off daily to some dangerous trade, where, for want of the necessary technical means for the prevention of disease or accident, he may be killed, maimed, or incur disease, and she and her children be left desolate.

It is notorious that a great deal of industrial disease and many accidents are due to causes largely preventible and within control. A very interesting report was issued last year in regard to dangers in building operations, which affect a large number of men—over a million. The report states that laborers are the principal sufferers from accidents, and have the most dangerous part of the work to do. One trade union secretary stated that 9 per cent. of his members had accidents in 1905. On this scale in eleven years each member would have an accident. Another union official said that a large number of accidents were preventible, and asked for more Government inspection. An employer stated that accidents were, in his belief, largely due to the lack of competent foremen and skilled supervision; he had only had three accidents in thirty years' experience, and attributed this immunity to his engagement of a really competent man. He thought the building trade got into bad odor with the public owing to the tendency to save in wages and put

* "How to Help Widows," by A. M. Humphrey, p. 1. (Published by the Charity Organization Society.)

† "A Question of National Importance." (Hapworth and Co., 1909.)

incompetent men to work that needs really expert supervision. Another witness complained that accidents were caused by putting unskilled men to skilled work for the sake of cheapness.

Dr. Young stated before the Physical Deterioration Committee in 1903 that factories contributed to the spread of phthisis, and that he considered that while a great deal had been done to combat the special dangers and diseases incidental to special trades in general industrial conditions, a great deal remained to be done, and legislative interference had by no means reached its limit. From the Registrar-General's report we find that very high rates of phthisis occur among men in early manhood and middle life. In 1891-1900 of the total deaths among men twenty-five to thirty-five, nearly one-half were due to phthisis and respiratory diseases. The comparative mortality figure for certain occupations in 1900-02 was as follows :—

	Phthisis.	Other Respiratory Diseases.
All occupied males	175	78
All occupied males in agricultural districts	125	38
Tin miners	838	653
General laborers	567	268
General laborers (industrial districts)	450	171
File makers... ..	375	173
Lead miners	317	187
Dock laborers	291	161

It is in the light of such figures as these, it seems to me, that we have to study the problem of married or widowed women's work and the pauperism of able-bodied widows and their children. As women become better instructed, better organized, able to take more interest in politics, and especially when they obtain the Parliamentary franchise, it is to be hoped that they will agitate for drastic legislation and stringent inspection in the industries carried on by men and unregulated by Factory Law.

In the mining and industrial counties the death-rate is markedly above that of England and Wales as a whole, and it is somewhat curious that while a great deal of attention has been given to the infant mortality of Lancashire, which is usually explained as being due to married women's employment, much less notice has been taken of the fact that the *corrected* death rate of Lancashire is even more above the average than is the mortality of infants.* In 1907, which was an exceptionally healthy year, the death-rates of Lancashire, though diminished, showed themselves still conspicuously above the average; which can be most simply shown by taking the death-rate for the whole country as 100.

* See Corrected Death-Rates in Counties, Registrar-General's Report for 1907, pp. 12-20, cf. p. 14.

COMPARATIVE DEATH-RATE, 1907.

	Infants.	General Death-Rate, corrected for age-constitution.	
		Male	Female.
England and Wales ...	100	100	100
Lancashire	117	124	126

A large part of this excess mortality, which is not by any means peculiar to Lancashire but can be paralleled in some mining districts and exceeded in the Potteries, is made up of deaths from phthisis and respiratory diseases, which are now considered to be largely traceable to unhealthy conditions of houses and work places, and in very great measure preventible. It is impossible in the limits of this paper to give full statistics, but those who desire further information are referred to the Reports of the Registrar-General, especially the two parts of the Decennial Supplement, published in 1907 and 1908 respectively, which are an invaluable mine of facts and figures, and also to the *Statistical Journal* (*loc. cit*)

The Woman's Handicap.

It is not very easy to summarize briefly the facts of woman's life and employment, which demand a treatment much fuller than is possible within our limits. But there are several points which seem to be of special importance. First, there is the curious fact that women, though physically weaker than men, seem to have a greater stability of nerves, a greater power of resistance to disease, and a stronger hold of life altogether. It is notorious that there are more male lunatics, and very many more male criminals than female, and much fewer women die from alcoholism, nervous diseases, suicide, and various complaints that indicate mental and physical instability, while more women than men die of old age. On the other hand, there are more female paupers and more female old-age pensioners than male, and these facts seem to indicate that women on the whole are handicapped rather by their economic position than by physical disability. We have seen that in this country women are more numerous than men, and that for various reasons they cannot all be maintained by men, even if it were theoretically desirable that they should be so maintained, a point which I am not here discussing. It follows that (quite apart from the question of economic independence as an ideal) economic self dependence is in a vast number of cases a necessity. It is impossible to estimate in how many cases this occurs, but it is safe to say that many women do in fact support themselves and others, and that many more would do so if they could.

Normally working women seem to pass from one plane of social development to another, not once only but in many cases twice or thrice in their lives. We might distinguish these planes as status and contract, or value-in-use or value-in-exchange. All children, it is evident, are born into a world of value-in-use; they are not, for some years at all events, valued at what their services will fetch in the market. At an age varying somewhere between eight and eighteen or twenty the working girl, like the boy, starts on an

excursion into the world of competition and exchange; she sells her work for what it will fetch. This stage, the stage of the cash nexus, lasts for the majority of girls a few years only. If she marries and leaves work, she returns at once into the world of value-in-use; the work she does for husband, home, and children is not paid at so much per unit, but is done for its own sake. This accounts on an average for say twenty-five years; then she, in numbers at present unknown, is forced again to enter competitive industry on widowhood. This is what Madame Gnauck has called the "cleft" (*Spalte*) in the woman's industrial career. The lower death-rate of women is actually a source of weakness to them, in so far as it leaves a disproportionate number of women without partners at the very time when owing to the care of young children they are least capable of self-support, and it increases the competition of women for employment. Their use-value in the home, however great, will not fetch bread and shelter for their children. Professor Thomas Jones, in his deeply interesting report to the Poor Law Commission (Appendix XVII., Out-Relief and Wages) has been impressed by the pitiful fact that outside work should be forced on women whose whole desire is usually to be at home. He writes in reference to the well-intentioned efforts made by the Charity Organization Society to train widows for self support, efforts which, unfortunately, have not met with much success: "The widow whom it is sought to train is no longer young. It is rather late to begin. . . . Further, many women are domestic by instinct, and dislike factory life. More important still in explaining failure . . . is the conflict between the bread-winner and the house-mother. Many a mother is distracted during the training time with anxiety for the children at home who may or may not be properly cared for."*

Many serious discourses and amiable sermons are delivered in public and in private on the supreme beauty and importance of woman's influence, the necessity of maintaining a high standard of home life, and the integrity of the family. All this may be true, but for many women it is singularly irrelevant. *Il faut vivre.*

A woman may possess all the domestic virtues in the highest possible degree, but she cannot live by them. Value-in-use is subordinated to value-in-exchange. Mrs. Brown may be much more useful, from the point of view of her family and the community, when she is engaged in keeping her little home clean and tidy and caring more or less efficiently for the fatherless little Browns' bodily and spiritual needs, than she is when fruit-picking, sack-making, or washing for an employer's profit. But the point is that these kinds of work do at worst bring her in a few shillings a week, and the former—nothing at all. In the face of such facts it is absurd to tell women that their work as mothers is of the highest importance to the State. We may hope, however, that public opinion will ere long be convinced that the present system of dealing with indigent widows, as described in Professor Jones's Report, is wasteful of child life, destructive of the home, and cruelly

* Poor Law Commission, Appendix, Vol. XVII.

burdensome to the most conscientious and tender-hearted mothers. The truly statesmanlike course will be to grant widows with young children a pension sufficient for family maintenance, on the condition that the home should be under some form of efficient inspection or control to ensure the money being properly laid out and the children cared for.* In the case of those women who are not naturally adapted to an entirely domestic life and prefer to work for themselves, it might be arranged that some portion of the pension should be diverted to pay a substitute. These cases would probably not be numerous, but it is as well to recognize that some such do exist.†

Socialists will not fail to realize that the case of the mother of small children forced under a competitive system to do unskilful and ill-remunerated work and neglect the work that is all-important for the State, viz., the care and nurture of its future citizens, is only an extreme instance of the anomaly of the whole position of woman in an individualist industrial community. This is not a place to enter on a discussion of the lines on which the economic position of women may be expected to develop under Socialism. I desire here merely to emphasize the importance of the distinction between value-in-use and value-in exchange which seems to me to lie at the root of the whole social question; but most especially so as regards women. Our present industrial system, and therewith largely our social system also, is continually balanced perilously on the possibility of profit. Production is directed, not towards satisfying the needs and building up of the character of the nation's citizens, but merely towards what will yield most profit to the individuals who control the process. Except to the extent of the regulations of the Factory, Public Health, and Adulteration Acts (often inadequate and imperfectly enforced), it makes no difference at all whether the objects produced are useful or poisonous, beautiful or hideous, whether the conditions are healthy or dangerous, ennobling or degrading; profit is the only test. The special anomaly of the woman's position is that while the pressure of social tradition is continually used to induce her to cultivate qualities that, so far from helping, are a positive hindrance to success in competitive industry, yet when circumstances throw her out into the struggle there is little or no social attempt made to compensate her for her deficiencies. Her very virtues are often her weakness.

No sane person can argue that adaptability to the conditions of profit-making industry can afford any test of a woman's merit *qua* woman, yet it is all that many women have to depend on for their own and their children's living. The position ought at once to be frankly faced that women's work at home is service to the State, and it may be hoped that ere long some practical step may be taken to put in force the Minority Report suggestions regarding allowances to widows with young children.

* See Minority Report Poor Law Commission, Part I., p. 184 (Longmans' edition).

† I am not here alluding to cruel, depraved, or drunken mothers. In those cases children should obviously be entirely removed from the mother, and she herself dealt with penally or curatively, as may be deemed advisable.

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The Case Against the Charity Organization Society.

BY MRS. TOWNSHEND.

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THE CASE AGAINST THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.

The Charity Organization Society Blocks the Way.

It is surprising to find that the most strenuous opposition to almost every scheme for social betterment comes from a body of people who are devoting their lives to that very purpose. Why have charity organizers resisted and denounced the proposals of General Booth's "Darkest England" scheme; of Mr. Charles Booth's Old Age Pensions scheme; of all the various schemes for providing meals for hungry school children; of the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908, of every scheme for "school clinics"; of every scheme for providing for the unemployed? Why did they object to the proposals of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, the most masterly scheme ever brought forward for co-ordinating the forces against destitution, the very object they have themselves in view?*

Those of us who are keen that the public sense of responsibility should be awakened with regard to destitution must feel that this opposition on the part of "charity experts" is of the utmost importance, and I want if possible to trace it to its source and to see what it has to do with the organization of charity.

"The Greatest of These is Charity."

And first of all, what do we mean by charity? It is hard to say how much the Christian laudation of the virtue has to answer for. The current misinterpretation of the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians has set a seal of merit and respectability on free gifts that becomes very mischievous if it serves to accentuate the human weakness of preferring impulse to science and generosity to justice.

When the question arises as to whether it is better to fight destitution out of the rates by means of a series of preventive measures aimed not at results but at causes, or on the other hand, to leave it to be dealt with, so far as possible, by free will offerings administered by volunteers, those beautiful familiar words form a very real handicap in favor of the obsolete and more slipshod alternative. But how much of the virtue that "vaunteth not itself" is really to be found in the modern subscription list?

* For their own answer to these queries, see "The Social Criterion," Dr. B. Bosanquet Blackwood

Charity and Commercialism.

As long as the ties between men were largely personal, as long as production took place in the workshop of the craftsman and the household of the lord of the manor, almsgiving was a natural healthy expression of human love and sympathy. As such it is still to be found among the poor. One sees sometimes in the slums a certain generous happy go-lucky community of interests which comes far nearer to the charity that "suffereth long and is kind" than any that can be organized. The virtue still inheres in such rash and ill-considered acts as the hasty adoption of motherless children or the sharing a scanty meal with a starving neighbor, but it tends to be squeezed out by the machinery of investigation that becomes necessary, if almsgiving is to be placed on a scientific basis.

The beneficence of to-day is not to be blamed because the element of love has evaporated from it. The loss is inevitable. It is due to the complexity of modern life, to those dissociating forces that have reduced all mutual service to a basis of cash payment. The swiftly rising tide of industrial change, sweeping away all the old landmarks of service and responsibility, has left a chasm between rich and poor. A capitalist class with a civilization of its own cannot enter into the everyday life of the wageworker, who lives from hand to mouth, with habits, necessities, and pleasures entirely different.

It is this separation that cuts at the root of charity, severing the outward act from the inward grace. Robbed of close personal contact, the relationship of giver and receiver is bound to lose its beauty.* I can without loss of dignity accept help from a friend who loves me, but not from a stranger. Among the rich the warm impulse to help a friend in distress is replaced by a sentimental pity for seething humanity, and the act of devotion or loving service by a donation to a charitable institution; while among the poor, glad acceptance of friendly aid in time of need is apt to degenerate into cringing dependence, for gratitude is not a wholesome emotion unless it be vitalized by love. All the specific defects with which we are familiar—misdirection, waste, overlapping, professional parasitism—arise out of this separation.

Origin of the C.O.S.

It was to fight these evils that the C.O.S. was founded. By the middle of the nineteenth century England, having outstripped her neighbors in industrial change, had become enormously rich. The contrast of the wealth of the capitalist class and the poverty and insecurity of the worker had become pronounced, and the blood money of charity flowed freely in an ever increasing stream

* It may be mentioned here that the C.O.S. does all it can to prevent almsgiving from becoming purely impersonal by sending to each donor a report on the cases helped by his subscription and enabling him to take some interest in their individual circumstances. But this artificial contrivance for generating sympathy at a distance, away from the sights and sounds and smells of destitution, is far from restoring the ancient community of feeling.

But thoughtful people were becoming dissatisfied with charitable methods and results. In the later months of 1860, a time of much poverty and distress, sundry letters to the *Times* gave expression to this feeling and led to the formation of the "Society for the Relief of Distress," which aimed at establishing a more personal relation between giver and receiver and a more careful administration of charity. In March, 1868, Mr. Hicks, a member of this society, brought forward a proposal for establishing a central board of charities, to classify them, analyze and compare their accounts, and present an annual report. In June of the same year the "Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime" was founded, with the Rev. Henry Solly as Hon. Secretary, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Lichfield, and many other well known people as members. This society, though it began by aiming at big constructive schemes, such as that of employing "waste labor on waste land," gradually decided to limit its work to organization and propaganda. A paper read by Dr. Hawksley on December 17th, 1868, seems to have brought about this decision. It was issued as a pamphlet, entitled "The Charities of London and Some Errors of their Administration, with Suggestions of an Improved System of Private and Official Charitable Relief." Dr. Hawksley estimates the total annual expenditure in London on the repression of crime, relief of distress, education, and social and moral improvement, at over seven millions, but points out that little good was being done by the expenditure of this great sum, because neither poor law nor charity aimed at preventing destitution. His recommendations are practical and far reaching. They include a central office for the control and audit of charities and for the inspection of annual reports, and a large staff of voluntary district visitors to carry out the necessary investigation of cases and applications. These suggestions formed the starting point of the C.O.S. "The movement began," writes Dr. Hawksley, in a letter dated October 22nd, 1892, and quoted in an editorial article on the origin of the society in the *C.O.S. Review*, "with Mr. Solly and the Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime, and after a laborious existence of some months ended in accepting Lord Lichfield's suggestion to concentrate all our forces on charity organization, etc., as proposed in my pamphlet" *.

The Object and Methods of the C.O.S.

are thus stated in its "Manual":—

"The main object of the society is the improvement of the condition of the poor. This it endeavors to attain (1) by bringing about co-operation between charity and the poor law, and between charitable persons and agencies of all religious denominations amongst themselves; (2) by spreading sound views on charitable work and creating a class of almoners to carry them out; (3) by securing due investigation and fitting action in all cases; (4) by repressing mendicancy." †

* "Origin of the London C.O.S.," *C.O.S. Review*, No. 94, October, 1892. See also "Philanthropy and the State," B. Kirkman Gray, Appendix to Chapter VIII.

† "Relief and Charity Organization," Occasional Paper No. 8, Third Series C.O.S. Papers

With regard to No. (1), it must be admitted that the society has met with no marked success. London charities are still unorganized and new bodies, called "Guilds of Help" and "Councils of Social Welfare," are springing up to attempt once more what it has failed to accomplish.

Valuable Work of the C.O.S.

With regard to (2), (3), and (4), it has been more successful. There is no doubt that its influence on public opinion has been very important and, to a large extent, excellent. "The repression of mendicancy" appealed forcibly to the well-to-do classes. The hideous inconvenience to the public at large of street begging and of the begging letter ensured a welcome for any proposal for putting a stop to such nuisances, especially one which issued from high benevolence and claimed to further the well being of the destitute. The views and methods of the society, though they never became really popular, were listened to with respect; and it has certainly done a great work in training public opinion concerning the duties and responsibilities connected with almsgiving and in initiating orderly and efficient methods of social work. It has checked well meaning muddlers, has taught how to sift for helpable cases, and how to choose the right modes of help. It may lay claim to initiating in England the reign of the enquiry form and the "dossier." Even the country parson and the district visitor are falling into line, while many of the paid investigators for Royal Commissions and the London County Council have owed their efficiency to its training.

The society's want of success as an organizer of charity may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that it soon found itself largely occupied in the actual bestowal of relief, thus entering the lists with the various benevolent societies which it had set itself to investigate and to organize, and offering a concrete example of the actual working of those rules and principles on which the verdicts of the society were based. These soon became a strict and clearly formulated creed.

Principles of the C.O.S.*

1. Full investigation into the circumstances of the applicant to be undertaken in every case.
2. No relief to be given that is not adequate, that cannot hope to render the person or family relieved self-supporting.
3. No relief to be given to cases that are either so "bad" in point of character or so chronic in their need as to be incapable of permanent restoration.
4. All "hopeless" cases, however deserving, to be handed over to the poor law.

This creed, which, like all sets of working rules, arose out of temporary conditions, many of them badly needing alteration, has gradually acquired a kind of sacred character, and a strange structure of social theory has been built on it: that is almost grotesque when compared with everyday experience.

* Cf. "Principles of Decision," C.O.S. Paper No 5.

The very excellence of the society's work has served to make this theory more mischievous, for it comes before the public backed by the honored names of devoted workers

Fundamental Errors of the C.O.S.

I.—LIMITATION OF STATE ACTION WITH REFERENCE TO DESTITUTION.

The first step towards organization seemed to be to draw a clear line between the province of the State in dealing with destitution and that of private charity. Unfortunately the early leaders of the society stumbled in taking this first step, and their initial blunder, never having been corrected by their followers, has tainted all the valuable work which they proceeded to set on foot

They misread the facts that lay before them. They stoned the prophets of their own day and built the sepulchres of those who had preached to their fathers. In other words, they neglected the signs of the times (easy for us to read in the light of the years that have elapsed since 1869), such signs as the agitation for public education, for the decent housing of the poor, and for factory legislation, and they harked back to the decisions of the wise men of 1834. They failed to see that *laissez faire* was giving way all along the line before the phenomena of modern capitalism. They stuck to the theory of individual independence and of the danger of State interference in a world where man-made laws were enabling the rich to grind the faces of the poor. So long as the relative amounts of rent, interest, and wages were believed to be beyond human control, generosity in the rich, fortitude in the poor, seemed indeed the virtues called for; but those very investigations incidental to the careful bestowal of charity must have brought to light a gross disparity of distribution, a hideous waste of national resources that no charity could stem or cure. If only the leaders of the society had recognized this, had seen that the efficacy of charity for the redress of social grievances was at an end, and that the time had come when the community as a whole must shoulder its responsibilities, the C.O.S. might have begun work of great national importance in preparing the way for modern social legislation. But they did not see this. Habitually oblivious of any department of State action except the Poor Law, they saw merely that the more humane and the more lax of poor law administrators were overstepping the limits which had been legally assigned to them, and they traced the increase not only of pauperism, but also of destitution, to this relaxation of the principles of 1834. These principles—that the poor law should be a stern measure, seeking not the prevention, but merely the relief, of dire necessity, and that the condition of the pauper should never be "more eligible" than that of the lowest grade of self-supporting laborers, however insufficient for decent life that might be—they were prepared to adopt without modification, in the belief that the diminution of poverty which followed the reforms of 1834 is to be traced exclusively to those reforms, and that similar results might be

confidently expected from a return to them. The exclusive importance attached to this one period of history and to this one among many possible causes for the improvement which took place at that time is very characteristic of C.O.S. thought as we know it. It is interesting, therefore, to discover from the writings of Dr. Hawksley, to whom rather than to any other single person the origin of the society is due, and from those of Dr. Devine, the Secretary of the New York C.O.S., that these particular views have no necessary connection with the organization of charity. Dr. Devine, in the "Principles of Relief," points out that there were many changes going on in the thirties to which the improvement of the people may have owed quite as much as to that stricter administration of the poor law on which so much stress has been laid.*

Dr. Hawksley goes still further, expressing the warmest disapprobation of the reformed poor law, "which in spirit sought to deal with destitution only in its completed state—it did not attempt the prevention of pauperism by seeing that the children of the dependent, or the idle, or the vicious, were trained for industry and virtue—it did not entertain the question of individual merit or demerit, but it adopted a uniform system of relief which was to be so ingeniously balanced that, on the one hand, its recipients might be prevented dying of starvation or want of shelter, but, on the other hand, that the kind and mode of the relief should be so hard, painful, and humiliating, that none but the very helpless and hard pressed should seek for it. The system was to be a test, and the idea was that if you drive away poverty out of your sight, you would cure it, as if the charnel house could be changed by screening it with a whited sepulchre. The system did not contemplate visiting 'the fatherless and widow in their affliction,' but it set itself up in the broad way of misery and destitution, and to every applicant, as a rule, it refused the recognition of any domesticities. It treated with contempt the humanizing influences of hearth and home, and with stern voice, pointing the way to the dreary portal of 'the House,' it said: 'Enter or depart without aid.' The result has been the creation of an abject, miserable race." †

The society that Dr. Hawksley was to some extent instrumental in founding has departed widely from these views. Its members have fully agreed with him that paupers are "an abject and miserable race," but instead of attributing this, as he did, to "maladministration," to the fact that grudging relief was given instead of treatment and that it was given too late, only after destitution had set in, they attributed the evil results of poor relief entirely to the fact that it was given by the State, ignoring altogether the very different results of other forms of State action.

Instead of recognizing that the poor law was already obsolete and was bound to become more anomalous with every succeeding

* See "Principles of Relief," Professor Devine, pp. 276-7. The Macmillan Co.

† "The Charities of London," etc., T. Hawksley, M.D. Published by the Association for Preventing Pauperism and Crime, London, 1868.

measure of social legislation, they accepted it as immutable and made it the corner stone of their system. Their line of argument was very singular. They admitted that the poor law was demoralizing; that its action was merely palliative, not restorative, that at best it could only prevent the worst horrors of destitution, but could not prevent its occurrence and its recurrence; and yet they never proposed any change in the application of public funds! They insisted that private funds should always be expended with a view to prevention and cure, but that public funds should be strictly reserved for those who were already in the last stage of destitution, and therefore already beyond curative measures.

Taking for granted that State action must demoralize, they assigned to private charity the task of preserving from pauperism all those persons or families whose need was only temporary or accidental, or easily remediable, especially where such need was accompanied by good character and record.

It is interesting to find this limitation of State action in a book published in 1868 by Mr. Charles Bosanquet. He was not one of the group who started the society, but he was an early member of it and became secretary in 1870.

"It would not be difficult," he says, "to classify cases between the poor law and voluntary charity. The former would take the ordinary chronic cases, the latter, perhaps, some of the more deserving chronic cases, but especially those temporary cases which, it might be hoped, judicious help would save from sinking into pauperism."*

Whether Mr. Charles Bosanquet was or was not the first to introduce this system of classification into the C.O.S. creed, there is no doubt that he continued to preach it after he became secretary and that it has taken a permanent place. "It is an essential difference between charity and the poor law," he writes, "that the former can direct its energies to preventive and remedial action. As the poor law is bound to give necessary existence to all destitute persons, charity is only doing the work of the law if it take up such cases without special reason."†

An authoritative statement of the same view is to be found in the introduction to a recent number of the very valuable *Charities Register and Digest* which is published annually by the society.

"The claim for poor law relief rests, it may be broadly stated, upon the destitution of the claimant. . . . On the threshold of the question then we see the boundary lines of charity and the poor law. To charity it is not a question of primary importance whether a person is destitute or not. For it destitution is no test. It has more chance of helping effectually if a person is not destitute. It has to prevent destitution and indigence. It may have to supply actual necessities, but to place the poor beyond the reach of need or to

* "London: Some Account of its Growth, Charitable Agencies, and Wants," by C. B. P. Bosanquet, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, pp. 199-202. Haichard, 1868.

† "History and Mode of Operation of the C.O.S.," C. B. P. Bosanquet

prevent the recurrence of need is its true vocation. It is unlimited in its scope and gives as a free gift. From the point of view of the poor law the question of destitution is all important. It is the passport to relief. Its administration is tied and bound with restrictions. Its supplies are drawn from a ratepayers' trust fund. Its main purpose is not to prevent or remove distress, but to alleviate it. It is a stern alleviative measure. It helps only when it must; charity always when it will.*

It is singular that in these utterances, and hundreds of similar ones that could be adduced, the charity organizers give no reason (other than the present condition of the law) for this hard and fast distinction between the principles which should guide public and private administrators in dealing with destitution. Presumably they think the reasons *sautent aux yeux*, but surely much might be said for entirely reversing their decision. The prevention of destitution implies that we should search out those who are on the downward road and arrest their progress before they become "destitute." Such action demands a many-sided and far-sighted policy, for the roads that lead to destitution are many and gradual. It demands a considerable outlay, producing distant and not always obvious results. Above all, it demands disciplinary powers.† Where are we to look for the statesman who will co-ordinate and maintain such a policy, for the Exchequer to supply capital for such a purpose, for the authority to wield such powers, if not the Government of the country? And yet, according to Dr. Loch and Dr. Bosanquet, this is precisely where we are not to look.

If they wished to lay down a hard and fast rule, one might have expected that it would be that great remedial and preventive measures should be left to the national and local executive, the collective wisdom of the nation, while private charity should concern itself with the pitiable, but apparently hopeless cases, should indeed humbly take up the work of palliation with instruments of love and religion and personal self-sacrifice that the State can with difficulty command, as, in fact, the Salvation Army and the Church Army profess to do. On the contrary, their decision is, as has been shown, exactly the reverse; charity is to be remedial, the State is to confine its action to palliation.

This decision accords perfectly, no doubt, with facts as they are. It is a statement of the theory behind the existing poor law, but in the writings of the charity organizers there is acceptance and approval as well as statement. Dr. Bosanquet emphasizes and explains that approval in his essay on "Socialism and Natural Selection." "We should never forget," he says, "that the system," i.e., State "interference," "is a necessary evil, nor ever handle our

* Introduction to Annual Charities Register and Digest, 1909, "On the Functions of the Poor Law and Charity." Cf. "Charity and Social Life," C. S. Loch, p. 349. Macmillan, 1910.

† The experiments already tried in the operations of the Local Health Authority, the Local Education Authority, and the Local Lunacy Authority have been—in marked contrast with the Poor Law—highly promising in their success.

national initiative, whether through the poor law or through more general legislation, so as to relieve the father of the support of the wife and children or the grown up child of the support of his parents. We should raise no expectation of help or of employment invented ad hoc which may derange the man's organization of life in view of the whole moral responsibilities which as a father he has accepted."*

A good example of the actual mischief wrought by this pernicious doctrine that public action weakens private resource is to be found in the C O S. attitude towards the agitation for school clinics. The absolute futility of school inspection unless followed by treatment is obvious. At least fifty per cent. of the children in our schools are suffering from defects which, if not dealt with, will seriously handicap them in after life. These defects require treatment from a nurse under medical supervision. It is simply ridiculous to suppose that the mother of a family living on a pound a week in two rooms can find leisure to take her child suffering from adenoids to a distant hospital, can wait for it to recover consciousness, and then bring it back, still bleeding, in a public omnibus; that she can afterwards superintend the breathing exercises that are as important as the operation, or if the child's ears are affected, can spend half an hour daily in syringing them. The position becomes still more impossible if a second child requires spectacles and a third has decayed teeth to be stopped or extracted; yet such a case is not impossible or even unusual. It is perfectly clear that if the men and women of the next generation are to start life with a fairly sound physique, the preventive measures which are taken for the rich man's child in the nursery must be taken for the poor man's child in the school.

Advice, nurses, nursing appliances must be provided collectively, since it is a sheer impossibility that they can be provided in the home. The Education Department, the medical profession, members of care committees, and even county councils outside of London, are beginning to see that the difficulty can be met only by means of medical centres in connection with the schools. One might expect that a society whose aim is "the improvement of the condition of the poor" would guide public opinion towards such a conclusion. We find instead that the C O S has been acting, as usual, not as a pioneer, but as a powerful, though fortunately insufficient, brake.

At this last stage of the controversy (March 21st, 1911) nothing authoritative has been issued by the society. In default of it we may quote from the Occasional Paper on "The Relief of School Children" (No 8, Fourth Series). Such measures "teach him" (the child) "to look to outside help for the things he has a right to expect from his parents, a lesson he will not be slow to remember when he himself is a parent. The child needs before all things in the present day to learn the lessons of self-reliance and self-respect" †

* "Aspects of the Social Problem" XVI "Socialism and Natural Selection," Dr B Bosanquet, p. 304.

† Occasional Paper C O S No 8, Fourth Series

And from an essay of Dr. Bosanquet's entitled "The Social Criterion": "Granting a complete system of inspection at schools and of sanitary supervision through the health authorities and advice from health visitors, the normal mode of medical attendance should be for the wage earner as for ourselves, attendance by his family doctor, whom the head of the family chooses, trusts, and pays. On a provident system this is in many places successfully arranged, to the complete satisfaction of the doctor and of the patient. When, however, we should go to the specialist or to expensive nursing homes, the wage earner will be referred by his family doctor to the appropriate hospital or infirmary. . . . Thus the division of labor is properly maintained, the all important relation of trust and confidence between the family and the family doctor is not interfered with, the general practitioner's position is secured, and the hospital also is secured in the acquisition of interesting cases and in the fullest exercise of its powers of helpfulness."*

With regard to proposals for free medical treatment, Dr Bosanquet says: "Such a policy is calculated to ruin the medical clubs and provident dispensaries, and to substitute visits of an official who, however good, is not the people's choice for the family doctor whom they like and trust and pay."†

This question of school medical treatment is for the moment, perhaps, more under discussion than any other question of social reform, and for that reason affords the most striking example of the C.O.S. policy of obstruction; but that policy is perfectly consistent and perfectly general in character. It erects a barrier in the face of every attempt to lighten that pressure on the wage-earner which results from existing industrial conditions.

II.—THAT UNEARNED INCOME INJURES THE POOR BUT NOT THE RICH.

Another arbitrary assumption of the charity organizers is that for any man to enjoy any benefits which he has not definitely worked for and earned is injurious to his character. The naïveté with which they take this for granted is really preposterous when one remembers that nearly all the more respectable and refined members of the community are themselves living chiefly on wealth which they have not earned. One begins to wonder how those of us whose income is derived from dividends have any independence of character left. Dr. Bosanquet points out that the recipient of charitable help is injured because it comes miraculously and not as the natural result of personal effort; ‡ but what effort do I make in connection with my dividends from the North Eastern Railway, and

* "The Social Criterion," a Paper read by B. Bosanquet, M.A., LL.D., November 15th, 1907, before the Edinburgh C.O.S., p. 23.

† *Ibid.* p. 24.

‡ "The point of private property is that things should not come miraculously and be unaffected by your dealings with them, but that you should be in contact with something which in the external world is the definite material representation of yourself." "Aspects of the Social Problem," p. 313.

what can be more miraculous than my waking up one morning to find that certain shares that were worth £100 yesterday are now worth £105?

Dr. Bosanquet must really find some other reasons for objecting to doles, unless he is prepared to return to the ancient canon law with reference to usury.

III.—"CHARACTER IS THE CONDITION OF CONDITIONS."*

The third grave error in C.O.S. theory is like the first, in that it arises out of the acceptance of human arrangements as if they were heaven-sent and unchangeable.

Accepting the individual ownership of land and capital and a competitive wage system—all with exactly the same limitations and mitigations that are to-day in force, and no more—as the inevitable basis of society, the charity organizers are driven to an easy optimism that sees a satisfactory opportunity open to every virtuous worker, and looks forward with composure to a future when the working class, having been taught thrift, industry, and self-control, will do its duty in that state of life to which modern industrial processes shall call it.

Poverty, even extreme poverty, seems to them unavoidable. "Destitution," says Dr. Loch in his last book, "cannot disappear. Every group of competing men is continually producing it." † Not to abolish destitution, but to improve "social habit," should be, he thinks, the aim of the philanthropist. It is for this reason that he looks coldly at all recent schemes for social betterment.

"The remarkable and well known investigations of Mr. Charles Booth and Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, which have stirred public thought in many circles, were, in our judgment," he says, "faulty from this point of view. They were not analytical of social habit, but of relative poverty and riches. They graded the population according as they were 'poor,' or 'very poor,' or above a poverty line. Their authors aimed at marking out such a line of poverty, forgetful, as it seems to us, of the fact that poverty is so entirely relative to use and habit and potential ability of all kinds, that it can never serve as a satisfactory basis of social investigation or social reconstruction. It is not the greater or lesser command of means that makes the material difference in the contentment and efficiency of social life, but the use of means relative to station in life and its possibilities. Nevertheless, in these investigations it was on the possession of means that stress was laid. Hence the suggestion that the issue to be settled by the country—the line of social reform—was the endowment of the class or classes whose resources were considered relatively insufficient.

"But to transfer the wealth of one class to another, by taxation or otherwise, is no solution of social difficulty" ‡

* "Aspects of the Social Problem," Dr. Bosanquet, Preface, p. vii.

† "Charity and Social Life," C. S. Loch, p. 393. Macmillan, 1910.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 386-7.

For a clear statement of the opposite view we cannot do better than turn to the writings of Dr. Devine, General Secretary of the New York C.O.S., and thus discover that the views of Dr. Loch are not inseparable from the aims of the society. "I hold," says Dr. Devine, "that personal depravity is as foreign to any sound theory of the hardships of our modern poor as witchcraft or demoniacal possession; that these hardships are economic, social, transitional, measurable, manageable. Misery, as we say of tuberculosis, is communicable, curable, and preventable. It lies not in the unalterable nature of things, but in our particular human institutions, our social arrangements, our tenements and streets and subways, our laws and courts and gaols, our religion, our education, our philanthropy, our politics, our industry and our business."*

Even more definitely Dr. Devine, towards the end of the same book, expresses the view "that distress and crime are more largely the results of social environment than of defective character, and that our efforts should therefore be directed toward the changing of adverse social conditions, some of which can be accomplished only by the resources of legislation, of taxation, of large expenditure, or by changes in our educational system, or in our penal system, or in our taxing system, or even in our industrial system."†

If we turn to the writings of Mrs Bosanquet, perhaps the most popular exponent of what we are accustomed to look on as the C.O.S. view, we find that though she is more willing than Dr. Loch to admit the drawbacks of extreme poverty, yet she is equally certain that the aim of the philanthropist should be to stimulate the energy and improve the character of the sufferers, rather than to make any change in "adverse social conditions."

"How can we bring it about," she asks, "that they (i.e. 'those whom we may call the very poor') shall have a permanently greater command over the necessities and luxuries of life? The superficial remedy is that of gifts. . . . But this is a policy which has no tendency to remove the evil. . . . The less obvious, but more effective, remedy is to approach the problem by striking at its roots in the minds of the people themselves; to stimulate their energies; to insist upon their responsibilities; to train their faculties. In short, to make them efficient."‡

"Wherever there are people in want," she continues, "there lies the possibility of a new market and an increased demand for workers. The key necessary to open it is the efficiency which will enable them to buy by their services, what before they only needed."§

This theory—that the root of the problem must be sought in the minds of the people themselves; that the key to the industrial impasse of unemployment is the efficiency of the worker; that, in short, the poor need not be poor if they choose to exert themselves;

* "Misery and its Causes," E. T. Devine. Macmillan & Co., 1909.

† *Ibid* p. 267.

‡ "The Strength of the People," Helen Bosanquet, p. 114. Macmillan, 1902.

§ *Ibid* p. 115.

and that the only way effectually to help them is to drive home their personal responsibility—is indeed the keynote of the C.O.S philosophy; and yet, we may remark in passing, that, as in the case of the first “error,” it is markedly absent from the utterances of the actual founders of the society.

The Rev Henry Solly, in his address on “How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London,”* alluding to recent riots in Wigan, quotes from the *Spectator* for May 2nd, 1868: “Five hundred lives ought to have been taken in that town rather than five hundred laborers should have been robbed by violence and with impunity of their labor, rather than the law should have been made ridiculous and authority contemptible,” and adds: “True, most sorrowfully and unanswerably true; but what about the responsibility resting on owners of property in the neighborhood for allowing twenty thousand colliers to live in a state of semi-barbarism? What about the responsibility of persons of property and education in this metropolis, if the question of preserving the reign of law and order were to be decided some day by slaughtering five hundred miserable semi-savage fellow citizens in the streets because we would not adopt remedial and preventive measures in time?”

We find the same frank acknowledgment of collective responsibility in Dr. Hawksley’s address already quoted from: “When we think,” he says, “of the suspended murderer, let us ask ourselves whether we took pains to educate and train him for virtue and usefulness; and if we have not, let us bow our heads and be silent in the overwhelming sense of our responsibility. Or when we view the sad state of the poor—their overcrowded and filthy dwellings, the foul air, the bad and adulterated food, the disproportion between the present expenses of living and the wages that such darkened minds and feeble bodies can earn—let us again be mute and grateful that our own state is better, let us remove these stumbling blocks in the way of health and virtuous industry. Before we venture to judge these people, let us rather ask ourselves how much more are we to blame than they” †

Nothing could be further removed from the tone of virtuous superiority which characterizes the writings of later exponents of C.O.S views, and yet these two men may be said to have first formulated the aims of the society.

It may perhaps be claimed that the new theory is due to experience, that it is founded on poor law statistics and on the observation of C.O.S. investigators, who find that there is nearly always some moral defect associated with cases of dire poverty.

The argument from poor law statistics may be ruled out at once. It is simply misleading to speak as if pauperism and poverty were interchangeable terms. Pauperism can be diminished, or even

* “How to Deal with the Unemployed Poor of London, etc.” Paper read by the Rev. H. Solly at the Society of Arts, June 22nd, 1868, which brought about the formation of the “Association for the Prevention of Pauperism and Crime.”

† “The Charities of London, etc.” T. Hawksley, M.D. Read at a meeting of the Association for Preventing Pauperism and Crime, December 17th, 1868.

quenched altogether, by a change in the poor law which would leave poverty just where it was.

The fallacies that underlie the other argument are a little more subtle. First, the ancient fallacy of "any and all." One may say with truth to the last dozen people who compose the queue outside the pit door of a crowded theatre, "if you had been here half an hour earlier you would have got good seats," but if one says it to the whole crowd it is obviously untrue, for the amount of accommodation

number of disappointed people would
r. Hobson's words, "the individualist

that because A, B, or C in a degraded class is able, by means of superior character or capacity, to rise out of that class, no one need remain there, contains the same fallacy. It assumes what it is required to prove, viz., that there are no economic or other social forces which limit the number of successful rises. It assumes that every workman can secure regularity of employment and good wages . . . and that all can equally secure for themselves a comfortable and solid economic position by the wise exertion of their individual powers. Now if there exist any economic forces, in their operation independent of individual control, which at any given time limit the demand for labor in the industrial field . . . these forces, by exercising a selective influence, preclude the possibility of universal success. All economists agree in asserting the existence of these forces, though they differ widely in assigning causes for them. All economists affirm the operation of great tidal movements in trade which for long periods limit the demand for labor, and thus oblige a certain large quantity of unemployment. The C.O.S. investigator naturally finds that the individuals thrown out of work in these periods of depression are mostly below the level of their fellows in industrial or in moral character, and attributes to this 'individual' fact the explanation of the unemployment. He wrongly concludes that if these unemployed were upon the same industrial and moral level as their comrades who are at work, there would be work for all. He does not reason to this judgment, but, with infantile simplicity, assumes it."*

We find a similar assumption underlying the argument with regard to underpayment in "The Strength of the People." Mrs. Bosanquet takes for granted that payment is determined by quality of work, and concludes, quite logically, that the cure for a man's poverty is to make him do good work. To a casual observer the argument receives some support from appearances, as in the case of unemployment, for just as the unemployed are usually less steady and skilful than the employed, so is the sweated worker less efficient than the well paid worker.

To conclude that efficiency would secure good wages is, however, quite unwarrantable, for wages are determined in a state of free competition not by the intrinsic value of the work, but by the relative needs of the worker to sell and the employer to buy. Unfortu-

* "The Crisis of Liberalism," J. A. Hobson, p. 205.

nately, however, though good work does not always secure good wages, bad wages will usually produce bad work. "The father of a family who receives eighteen shillings a week and pays seven shillings for lodging cannot, if he also feeds his wife and children, either remain or become a very good workman. Before he can do better work he must be better paid. Mrs. Bosanquet thinks otherwise. Efficiency and, consequently, prosperity might, she appears to believe, be enforced upon the poor by the withdrawal of such help as is now accorded them. . . . The hunger and hardship of their daily lives do not furnish an adequate spur, but perhaps despair might do so. We seem to hear Mrs. Chick exhorting the dying Mrs. Dombey 'to make an effort.'"^{*}

This attempt to abolish sweating by improving the sweated worker is on a par with that perennial crusade against prostitution, which consists in "rescue work" and the inculcation of personal chastity, leaving entirely out of consideration the economic conditions which give rise to prostitution. Both are attempts to eradicate social evils by improving the moral character of their victims, *without arresting the causes*, and therefore both are as useless as Mrs. Partington's mop.

But even if we grant that efficiency is the true cure for sweating or, to put it more broadly, that a man's social position depends on his character, we have still to consider what his character depends on. Does it not depend largely on his physique, his upbringing, and his general surroundings? Even if we admit that all energetic individuals may make satisfactory lives for themselves, how can we expect that the requisite moral energy shall be generated in the environment of poverty? It may be true, as Dr. Bosanquet says, that material conditions are largely independent of "the energy of the mind which they surround," but it is at least equally true that the energy becomes impossible under certain material conditions. The driving force of individual effort is a realization of higher wants. How are these wants to grow in such an atmosphere?

It is indeed hard to understand how this theory that the moral elevation of the masses must precede in point of time all successful reforms of environment can have survived the impact with fact which C.O.S. methods imply. With the slum child before their eyes, born with low vitality, reared by ignorant and poor parents, breathing bad air, wearing foul clothes, tormented with vermin, how can they assert that the problem is a moral one, that "in social reform character is the condition of conditions"?[†] "Only give scope of character, it will unfailingly pull us through." Of course material improvements will be of no use unless they react on character, but have we any reason to suppose that they will fail to do so? Is it not likely that the child bred in cleanly habits will wish to be clean, and, in general, is not the way to raise the standard of living to accustom the young to higher ways of life? Even if it is true that character is the most important element in social reform, it

* "Sweated Industry," Clementina Black, p. 155.

† "Aspects of the Social Problem," B. Bosanquet, Preface, p. vii

is equally true that habit is the most important element in the formation of character, and habits of life are conditioned by environment.

But in all this talk about character it is well to consider whether the characteristics on which Dr. Loch and his followers lay so much stress are the most important for the future of our country.

It has been said that the C.O.S. holds a brief for the independence of the workers. Certainly this is the virtue on which these writers chiefly insist. The constantly recurring argument against old age pensions, against school feeding or school clinics, is that such State aid will tend to relax the effort to be entirely self-supporting. The C.O.S. ideal is that every head of a family should provide for his children, and even for his collateral relatives if they happen to be incapable of providing for themselves. "That terrible pressure of the poorer upon the poor, which Mr. Booth regards as so serious an evil, appears to Mrs. Bosanquet * an element of hope and strength. Morally the charity of the poor to one another is undoubtedly a beautiful thing; economically it is assuredly one of the causes that increase and aggravate poverty, and such diminution of pauperism as is produced by the maintenance out of the workhouse of an aged or sick relative may, in the long run, lead to the destitution of a whole family. The last result of such maintenance may, if widespread, be far more nationally expensive than if all the sick and aged were supported out of the public purse." †

But apart from the question whether it is cheaper for us to support the sick and the aged or to bind that burden exclusively on the wage earner, it remains for us to enquire whether a thrifty, calculating habit of mind, a tendency to count the cost to the uttermost farthing before giving way to a generous or aesthetic impulse, to prefer always the solid necessities of life before its joys and delights, to limit one's outlook to the material wellbeing of oneself and one's blood relations, whether such a disposition is the one and only basis of national prosperity. What becomes of the graces of life under such a régime, what becomes of the search after beauty and knowledge, what becomes of that training in corporate action on which all successful administration depends and of the sense of human solidarity which lies at the root of citizenship?

But now, apart from theory, let us test this statement as to the all-importance of character by what we see around us. Is it true or is it not true that a man's personal character determines the comfort and wellbeing of himself, his wife, and family? If so, the agricultural laborer at twelve shillings a week, whose family cannot have clean skins, clean clothes, and enough to eat, must be a worse man morally than the fox hunting squire who is his landlord, and the house mother, toiling early and late to keep her children decent, a worse woman than the squire's wife waited on by five servants.

Is it true or is it not true? If not, then not character, but the accident of birth is the condition of conditions, together with the laws and customs of the time and country into which a man is born.

* See "The Strength of the People."

† "Sweated Industry," Clementina Black, p. 155.

Now these laws and customs are after all of human origin. We, the governing classes, are responsible for them. The C.O.S. philosopher appears to think that they are God ordained and came down from heaven ready made, but does not attempt to reconcile such a view with his studies of history and of the varying laws and customs of different countries at the present time.

Social conditions are amenable to human action. In a democratic country laws and customs are modified by public opinion acting on and through the Government. What becomes then of this terror of State interference, with its debilitating effect on individual character? It stands revealed as a satisfaction with social conditions as they exist at the present time in England and a dislike to any proposed modification of them. "We like things very well as they are. We have much and you have little; but you must cut your coat according to your cloth, as we do. If you are very thrifty, very sober, very industrious, if you put off marrying till you have insured your life and built yourself a really nice cottage with a bath room, and put by a nice little annuity for your old age, there will still be time for you to produce two or three strong healthy sons to work for our children. We may go to our clubs, our dinner parties, and our theatres, but you must not frequent the village alehouse. We may send up our sons for scholarships at Oxford, but you must pay out of your hard earned wages for any higher education that your children may desire. You must pay your rates and taxes as we do. There is no reason why we should bear a disproportionate amount of the burden; for though our wealth is greater, more is expected of us and our needs are greater. Any attempt, however, on your part to secure for yourselves any special return for your expenditure is most mistaken. It is true that the vast sums spent on the army and navy provide convenient and respectable careers for the less brilliant of our sons; while the more brilliant can obtain official posts at home or in India, well paid out of public money. It is true that it is the streets where we live that are well lighted and paved out of the rates, but this is all as it should be, and any attempt on your part to have your children fed when you are out of work or medically treated at the public cost is most ill judged. School meals and nursery schools would relieve your wife of part of her unceasing toil and might enable her to keep your home and your children cleaner, while school clinics might make a vast change in the health and wellbeing of the coming generation and in the future of our country; but what are these advantages compared with the sacredness of individual responsibility and of family life? It is the duty and privilege of every man to organize his life in view of the whole normal responsibilities which as a father he has accepted, and any State assistance which interferes with that duty and privilege is a cruel kindness. So important is your individual independence that it must not be jeopardized even to improve the health and save the lives of your children. It is better for England that her citizens should grow up crooked, diseased, and undersized than that they should believe in mutual aid and learn to look upon State funds as common funds, to be wisely administered for the common good."

Such, in plain words, is the C.O.S. attitude towards poverty. So stated the theory sounds offensive and absurd; but when we meet with it interwoven with high sounding philosophical phrases and also with the record of many years of unselfish and benevolent effort, we are apt to be hoodwinked as to its real character. There is, moreover, insidious attraction for the well-to-do in this notion that destitution is but the natural working out of human character. If the present condition of affairs suits us, much satisfaction is to be derived from the assurance that any alteration of outward conditions, any change in human laws or institutions, would be worse than useless. The theory thrives and spreads among our upper and middle classes because it strikes root into the indolence and self-satisfaction of an easy and sheltered life.

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THE NECESSARY BASIS OF SOCIETY.

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THE NECESSARY BASIS OF SOCIETY.

IN choosing for my subject "The Necessary Basis of Society," I shall not deal with any plank of the platform of the Liberal, the Conservative, or the Labor Party. Nor is it my intention to argue the more fashionable thesis of to-day, that either Socialism or Individualism, according to taste, is the more desirable principle on which to organize society. My aim is the more limited and, I venture to hope, the more practically useful one of bringing to your notice certain considerations on which all political parties can agree; considerations without attention to which, I believe, it is impossible to expect to have, on any principles whatsoever, even a decently successful social order. However much the rival partisans may quarrel among themselves as to what sort of social order they wish to have—however much in this respect the Liberal may differ from the Conservative, the Republican from the Royalist, the Democrat from the Aristocrat, the Trade Unionist from the Capitalist, the Socialist from the Individualist—there are, as I venture to believe, certain fundamental matters of social organization which they can (and, if they are well-informed, reasonable beings, must) accept as indispensable to any successful carrying out of their own projects and ideas.

I invite you, in the first place, to consider for a moment some of the characteristics of popular government. It has been, in a sense, the special task of the nineteenth century, in our conceptions of social organization, to bring into prominence the claims, and needs, and rights of the average man, the typical citizen, the normal human being. I do not need to expatiate on the triumphant progress round the world of what we may call the ideas of 1789; on the rout and extermination of the notion that society ought or can even properly be governed for the advantage of a privileged class; or on the universal acceptance of the Democratic assumption that it is by its results upon the life of the whole body of citizens that every government must stand or fall. One effect of this triumph of Democracy has been to influence us all in favor of large and sweeping applications of governmental administration. That which is used or enjoyed or participated in by every citizen alike has necessarily come to seem much more "Democratic" than that which can only be used or enjoyed or participated in by a few people. Seeing that all have to pay for governmental action, we get into the habit of thinking it exceptionally appropriate—even, we may say, specially fair—to employ the forces of government in such ways only, and for

² These pages contain the substance of an Address given to the Social and Political Education League in London, May 14th, 1908, and of an article in the *Contemporary Review* for June, 1908.

such ends only, as concern us all. So much is this the case that there are actually people to-day, thinking themselves educated, who make this a test of legislation. If a measure does not extend to the whole population they denounce it as "class legislation," the implication being that "class legislation" is bad, or wicked, or, at any rate, undemocratic. It is characteristic of the infantile condition of American political thought that in some of the United States "class legislation" is actually forbidden by the State Constitution. The result of this conception has been that the work of government, so far as it has been based on Democratic ideas, has so far reminded us rather of the crude and clumsy proceedings of an army of occupation than of any fine adjustment of services to needs. It has, even in the most advanced countries, progressed little further—to use a pregnant phrase of Mr. H. G. Wells—than dealing with things in a wholesale sort of way. But the wholesale method of supplying human needs is very far from ensuring accurate adjustment. We are apt to forget that the average citizen or the normal human being is a mere abstraction, who does not exist. You and I have never seen him in the flesh. So varied is our individuality that whatever is handed out to all alike must necessarily fail to meet our requirements with any exactness. This is not a valid objection to nineteenth century achievements. A regiment of naked men needs clothing too urgently to allow us to grumble that the standard sizes of the regimental contractor make all the uniforms, if closely scrutinized, nothing better than misfits. The Early Victorian community, bare of schools, or drains, or Factory Acts, had to get itself supplied with the common article of standard pattern, so to speak, by wholesale, in order to be able to survive at all. But this necessity ought not to blind us to the fact that, when we come to scrutinize them closely, all these governmental products, supplied on the conception of Democracy as necessarily a wholesale provider, are, one and all, like the army contractors' uniforms, nothing better than misfits.

My first proposition is, therefore, the paradoxical one that, whilst it may have been the most pressing business of nineteenth century governments to deal with the whole people, or, at any rate, with majorities, by far the most important business of twentieth century governments must be to provide not only for minorities, but even for quite small minorities, and actually for individuals. We are no longer content with the army contractors' standard sizes. The regimental boots and uniforms must be made to fit each individual soldier. This, when you come to think of it, is just as "Democratic" in any sense whatsoever, as the merely wholesale method. "Class legislation," in short, is not only not bad, or wicked, or undemocratic, but actually the only good, the only useful, and the only really effective legislation. Of course, it is not necessary to confine legislative advantages to one minority any more than to one individual. Every minority—every citizen, in fact—has to be supplied, under the one system as under the other, just as every soldier in the regiment has to have his suit of clothing and his pair of marching

boots. Only, on the one method, the fit is so bad that the soldier is galled, and his marching and fighting capacity falls far short of what can be attained. On the other method, an improved fit so much increases freedom of action that both comfort and efficiency are greatly increased.

An actual example of progressive government action may serve to make my meaning clearer. A century ago the provision of schools formed in England no part of governmental activity. The first need was to get supplied in sufficient quantity the most universal and least specialized type of school. The Democratic program was simply "schools for all." The ideal of advanced-reformers was the universal provision of the "common school," the school common to all, in which, in every group of a few hundred families, all the boys or girls—some said all the boys *and* girls—should sit side by side, receiving whatever their intellects, whatever their idiosyncracies, whatever their opportunities, the same kind and degree of education. We may agree that these enthusiastic Democrats were right in desiring to get rid of purely artificial class distinctions in education. Moreover, a lonely village, like the cluster of homesteads in the early American backwoods, has necessarily got to put up with a single undifferentiated school. But we do not to-day, in any highly organized community, provide or expect to have provided, any monotonous array of such "common schools." We recognize now that children have infinitely varied needs and capacities in education. Where many thousands of children are together in the same locality, we have learnt how to avoid the more atrocious of the misfits that were involved in the "common school." And thus an Education Authority such as that of London already provides not one kind of school, but several dozen different kinds—not merely the ordinary boys' school and girls' schools and infants' schools, but also special schools for the quick and precocious, and special schools for the backward and feeble-minded; blind schools and deaf schools and cripple schools; day schools and boarding schools; truant schools and industrial schools; domestic economy schools and three or four kinds of trade schools; and half-a-dozen different types of secondary schools. The "schools for all," for which Bentham and James Mill and Francis Place strove a century ago, have become differentiated into these dozens of different kinds of school for differently situated groups of children. What was originally a common universal provision has become a highly specialized meeting of the needs of a series of minorities—many of them quite small minorities. And the end is not yet. We don't yet know how to provide each individual child with exactly the kind and grade and amount of education that its individuality requires. This, however, and not "common schools," has already become, in education, the Democratic ideal.

Or consider, in another sphere of government, how far we have already travelled in a quite analogous differentiation and specialization of Poor Relief. Originally the dominant conception of the Poor Law was the relief of destitution, visualized as the handing out

of bread or other necessities of life, just to keep people from dying of starvation. Nowadays we ought not to think of dealing with our million of paupers in any such simple and uniform way. When you come to think of it, there is no average pauper any more than there is an average man. Hence the very notion of the simple undifferentiated "relief" of the destitute—the very conception of herding them all together in one common institution—is to-day quite comically obsolete, though we still find dear, good people, who really date back to before 1834, unable to imagine anything else, and still discussing little details about the horribly demoralizing mixed general workhouse poorhouse, as if it were not a scandal and a disgrace to us that this dreadful building, unknown in any other country, has not long ago been razed to the ground. What the modern enlightened administrator has learnt, though the average Poor Law Guardian cannot understand what it means, is that there is no category of the destitute; that the people with whom he has to deal do not, in fact, form a single class at all, but a whole series of distinct classes, differing widely in their requirements. Thus, what we have to aim at providing to-day is not relief at all, but appropriate treatment for each class—foster parents or nurseries for such of the destitute persons as are infants, schools for such of them as are children, specialized infirmaries for such of them as are sick, highly equipped asylums for such of them as are of unsound mind, pensions or suitable homes for such of them as are permanently invalided or merely aged, farm colonies or training homes for the able-bodied for whom work cannot be found, and of dozens of more minutely specialized forms of treatment appropriate to such sub-classes as the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the candidates for migration or emigration, the feeble-minded, the sane epileptics, the chronic inebriates, and so on, most of which are actually now being undertaken, in rivalry with the Poor Law Authority, by the specialized Local Authorities established in connection with the Town or County Council. It is really ludicrous to think that, in this twentieth century, there are still people who think that all these different services, each requiring its own specialized technique, can be administered in each locality by a single body, the Board of Guardians in England and Ireland, and the Parish Council in Scotland, which can thus never possess either the knowledge or the competent staff to deal properly with any one of them. The survival down to the present day of such an anomaly as a special Poor Law Authority, with such an entirely obsolete institution as the mixed general workhouse, established to deal in an undifferentiated way with such an unreal abstraction as the "destitute," is a striking example of how imperfectly we have yet realized that government action of this "universal" character is entirely out of date.

From my fundamental paradox that governmental action, to be successful, must henceforth necessarily take the form, more and more, of provision for minorities, various inferences follow. We see at once how needful becomes, in every branch of administration and legislation, a high degree of specialized knowledge and expertness.

The provision for the average man, whether in the way of prohibitions or in matters of supply, is a comparatively simple matter. The draughtsmen of the American Declaration of Independence and the author of the "Rights of Man," writing as they did for the Political Man—quite as unreal a being as the Economic Man—found no difficulty in deducing from first principles all the government that they contemplated. I sometimes think that those who object to any other kind of legislation are often unconsciously biassed by a haunting suspicion that they, at any rate, are unequipped for it. In our own time it does not require much knowledge to draw up, let us say, a Factory Law on the lines of universal application still customary in the legislation of France. "Clause 1: The hours of labor shall not exceed eight per day. Clause 2: The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this law." This is scarcely an exaggeration of the type of legislation to which the conception of governmental action as concerned with the whole people inevitably leads. What we in England have learnt is that not until factory legislation has been broken up and sub-divided into highly specialized regulations, each affecting a particular trade or a group of trades—in short, not until government becomes a matter of dealing with minorities—becomes, in fact, nothing but "class legislation"—does it become either effective in itself or other than a clanking fetter and incumbrance upon our personal freedom. But well-fitting clothes involve skilled tailoring. Accordingly legislation and governmental administration necessarily become, in all highly organized communities—however Democratic they may be—more and more the business of persons elaborately trained and set apart for the task, and less and less the immediate outcome of popular feeling. Nothing was more inexact than the forecast that so alarmed our fathers, that Democracy meant government by the mob. The more strong and effective becomes the Democratic feeling, the more will legislatures and governments be driven to grapple seriously with the real grievances and needs, not of the people in the abstract, but of the people as they really are; the more will it become clear that the only way to do this is to provide what is actually required by the series of small minorities of which the people as a whole is composed; and the more this continuous series of class legislation, dealing successively with every class in the community, will necessarily involve, not the sweeping generalities and political abstractions which mark to-day the political thinking both of mobs and college common-rooms, nor even the comparatively simple, broad general issues that can be submitted to direct popular vote, or formulated by the merely amateur member of Parliament, but the highly elaborated technicalities by which the really experienced departmental administrator seeks to carry out the orders of the legislature. Already we come to recognize that it is neither the street-corner orator nor the Fellow of All Souls who makes the most successful member of a twentieth century Cabinet.

But this inference is not the one on which I want here to lay most stress. Nor do I wish to do more than glance in passing at

another consequence of government more and more concerning itself with minorities. It is almost impossible to get out of the heads of fastidious people of the last generation a shrinking terror of Democracy as involving the sacrifice of all that is delicate, all that is refined, all that is distinguished, to the needs and passions of the "vulgar herd." But the "vulgar herd" is, as we have now seen, no indissoluble whole, necessarily swamping any small minority. It is, in itself, nothing but a congeries of small minorities—each of them by itself quite as weak and powerless politically as the "remnant" of refined and distinguished folk, which may therefore quite comfortably reassure its timid soul. The most Democratic government of the ensuing century—based, as it must necessarily be, on the very idea of providing for each of the series of minorities of which the world is made up—is as capable of providing for one minority as for another, for its poets as for its apprentices, for its scientists as for its soldiers, for its artists as for its artificers, and with the advance of actual knowledge in the administration is even more likely to know how they can be fostered and really well provided for than the irresponsible plutocratic patron ever did.

And here I come at last to the proposition which I am more particularly concerned to press upon you to-night. As it is coming more and more to be the business of government to deal with minorities, to provide what is required for minorities, to legislate for minorities, because minorities are what the people as a whole is composed of, so we are discovering in one department of life after another, that it is upon the specialized scientific treatment of minorities—often of quite small minorities—that social well-being depends. It is curious to remember that practically all past Utopias seem to contemplate a world made up entirely of healthy adults! But it is not enough to provide the government that we might imagine would be required for a community of average, normal healthy citizens—that way, in the actual world in which we live, made up as it is entirely of citizens who are not average or normal at all, be degeneration, disease and death. Consider first the case of physical health. If the community provides no exceptional provision for the sick—no special care of the tuberculous, no isolation hospitals for zymotic diseases, none of the social elaborations of modern preventive medicine—we know that disease will arise, and will spread, not to the weakly alone but also to the strong; that not only will the yearly toll of death be heavier than it need be, but that sickness will drag down and incapacitate also the average man, and abstract unnecessary days from social service; and, worse than all, even if it do not affect adversely that mysterious germ plasm on which the race depends, that it will, at any rate, generation after generation, impair the vitality and lower the efficiency of the community as a whole. Hence, every civilized government finds it imperative to provide elaborately for the quite small minority of the sick—to deal with them, in fact, individually, one by one—to insist on extensive precautions against disease; to press, indeed, upon everyone, so far as we yet know how, the obligation to be well—

that is to say, to promulgate and enforce what may be called a National Minimum of Health, below which, in the interest of the community as a whole, no one is permitted to fall.

Carry the conception a stage further. The past century has seen a gradual and empirical adoption of the principle of the segregation of persons of unsound mind—of special provision by appropriate institutions for even harmless lunatics and idiots, for epileptics and chronic inebriates, now about to be extended to the merely feeble-minded—partly, no doubt, out of humanity to the unfortunate individuals themselves, but more and more because of a recognition of the fact that their indiscriminate presence in the competitive world has a tendency to deteriorate the sane, to drag down the standard of intelligence and self-control, to lower the level of order as well as of intellect in the community as a whole. We now, in short, enforce a National Minimum of Sanity, below which no denizen of the world of free citizenship is allowed to fall.

And we have already gone much further. With the support—now unanimous, if somewhat belated—of the economists, we have recognized that the conditions of the wage contract can no more safely be left uncontrolled by law than any other department of civilized life, and we have the constantly growing series of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Merchant Shipping Acts, Shop Hours Acts, Railways Regulation Acts, and now even a Trade Boards Act—all proceeding on the principle that it is absolutely necessary for social well-being that there should be an inflexible inferior limit below which the conditions of employment must not be permitted to fall.

And now at last the meaning of my title will, I hope, be clear. My thesis is that the Necessary Basis of Society, in the complications of modern industrial civilization, is the formulation and rigid enforcement in all spheres of social activity, of a National Minimum below which the individual, whether he likes it or not, cannot, in the interests of the well-being of the whole, ever be allowed to fall. It is this policy of a National Minimum which, in my judgment, is going to inspire and guide and explain the statesmanship and the politics of the twentieth century.

I have already described some of the ways in which this policy of a National Minimum has, usually without much comprehension of its bearing, influenced our social and industrial legislation. But it is clear that various other applications of the policy lie near at hand, to some of which we may, in conclusion, give our attention. In the Democratic politics of to-morrow we may expect to see the policy of the National Minimum translating itself into four main branches of legislative and executive activity. There will clearly have to be a legal minimum of wages, as there is already in Australasia, and as we have now, in the Trade Boards Act, already adopted in principle for the United Kingdom, with the general agreement of all parties. The employers will be under no legal obligation to employ any person whatsoever; but if they do employ him or her it will be a condition of every contract, not to be waived or ignored, that its

terms shall not be such as will impair the efficiency of the citizen or diminish the vitality of the race. To engage labor at wages insufficient to repair the waste of tissue caused by the employment is demonstrably to injure the community as a whole, and will be prosecuted as such in the criminal courts. Those whose labor, in the judgment of the employers, is not worth the National Minimum—the aged, the permanently invalided, the crippled and the blind, the mentally or morally deficient, the epileptic and the chronically feckless and feeble-minded—will be maintained by the community, as, indeed, they are now. But as every economist knows, of all the ways of maintaining those unable to earn a full livelihood, by far the most costly and injurious is to allow them to compete in the labor-market, and thus to drag down by their very infirmity those who are whole. There are still people, of course, who simply cannot imagine how a legal minimum wage could possibly be enforced, just as there were, sixty years ago, economists who demonstrated the impossibility of factory laws. I don't think we need waste time to-night over their ignorance—for it is simply ignorance.

There will be a National Minimum of Leisure and recreation time secured by law to every wage earner. It will certainly be an implied condition of every contract of employment, rigidly enforced by law, that it shall leave untouched fourteen or sixteen hours out of each twenty-four, for needful sleep, recreation, exercise of mind or body, and the duties of citizenship and family life. Any attempt by man or woman to sell for wages any part of the fourteen or sixteen sacred hours will be blamed as virtual embezzlement, since this part of the twenty-four hours' day must be regarded as necessarily reserved for the purpose of maintaining unimpaired the efficiency of the race. Any employer purchasing them, or allowing them to be spent in his mill or mine, will be prosecuted and punished, just as if he had incited to embezzlement or had received stolen goods. This, indeed, is already law in principle, again with the general assent of all parties, though very imperfectly applied and enforced, in our Mines Regulation Acts, our Railway Regulation Acts, our Shop Hours Acts, and our Factory Acts. And with this will go the campaign for the actual prevention of Unemployment, and for securing to everyone full provision, along with training, whenever we have failed to prevent involuntary idleness.

There will be a National Minimum of Sanitation, enforced not merely on land or house owners or occupiers, but also on local governing authorities. The nation will find it preposterous that any parish or city, merely out of stupidity, or incapacity, or parsimony, should foster disease, or bring up its quota of citizens in a condition of impaired vitality. The power of the community as a whole will, somehow or other, be brought to bear upon every backward district, compelling it to bear its part in the constant campaign for the actual prevention of disease, to lay on pure water, to improve its drainage, and to take such action, even by municipal building, if need be, that no family in the land shall have less than "three rooms and a scullery" as the minimum required for health

and decency. Along with this must come the adequate provision of medical attendance, skilled nursing, and hospital accommodation for all the sick. White infants, in particular, are getting too scarce to be allowed to die at their present quite unnecessary rate. Within a generation of the adoption of such a policy the death-rate and sickness experience would show a reduction of one-third of what is at present endured as if it were the decree of Providence.

There will obviously be a National Minimum of Child Nurture—not merely of education in the sense of schooling, not merely in the provision of teaching, but in everything required for the healthy, happy rearing of the citizen that is to be. Besides schools and colleges of every grade, effectively open to all who can profit by them, there will have to be an adequate “scholarship ladder,” securing maintenance as well as free tuition, right up to the post-graduate course, for every scholar proving himself or herself fitted for anything beyond ordinary schooling. And this provision will be enforced by the national power upon local school authorities, as well as upon parents and employers. What right has any part of the community to allow any part of its quota of citizens to be lost to the community by carelessness or neglect, or to be reared in ignorance, or to suffer even one potential genius to be snuffed out by hardship or privation? The next few years will see not only a great improvement in ordinary schooling, but also the doubling or trebling of our collective provision for child nurture from infancy to adolescence.

The lesson of economic and political science to the twentieth century is that only by such highly differentiated governmental action for all the several minorities that make up the community—only by the enforcement of some such policy of a National Minimum in Subsistence, Leisure, Sanitation, and Child Nurture—will modern industrial communities escape degeneration and decay. Where life is abandoned to unfettered competition, what is known to the economists as “Gresham’s Law” of currency applies—the bad drives out the good: evolution means degeneration. To prevent this evil result is, as both Europe and America are discovering in the twentieth century, the main function of government.

Now, I dare say that some of you, knowing that I am a Socialist, will imagine that they see in this proposition nothing but a cunningly devised form of Socialism, put skilfully in a way not to shock the timid. On my honor I have no such guile. In my view, this policy of the National Minimum is a necessary condition of a healthy social order, whether you adopt the Individualist or the Collectivist principle in the organization of your State. You cannot have a successful and healthy Individualist State—whether of millionaires and wage slaves, or of peasant proprietors and small masters—without it. In fact, it is the necessary *basis* of Society, whether you intend the *superstructure* to remain Individualist or whether you wish it to become Collectivist. You will notice that to enforce the National Minimum will not interfere either with the pecuniary profits or with the power or the personal development

the exceptional man. The illimitable realm of the upward remains, without restriction, open to him. The policy of the National Minimum does not involve any attack upon, or any diminution of, either rent or interest—the whole differential advantage of superior sites, and soils, and machines, and opportunities remains absolutely unaffected. That, by the way, is why I, as a Socialist, describe it only as the basis of social organization, it does not, like the “nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange,” deal with the superstructure.

Nor does this Policy of the National Minimum abolish competition, which, as we may confidently reassure timid Individualists, can no more be abolished than gravitation. But in the wild anarchy of unregulated modern industry, competition is apt to be as indiscriminately destructive as was the fall of the Tower of Siloam. It is, I need hardly remind you, quite a mistake to suppose that the bracing and invigorating action of competition, or any other social force, is proportionate to its intensity. We do not nowadays plunge our babies into cold water in order to harden them, or deliberately bring up our sons—whatever we may do with those of the poor—between a gin-shop and a brothel, in order to strengthen their characters. In the domain of human experience and social organization generally, as I have read of biology, “Weak stimuli kindle life activity, medium stimuli promote it; but strong stimuli impede it, and the strongest bring it altogether to an end”¹ What the enforcement of a policy of the National Minimum does to competition, as we see by a whole century of experience of factory legislation, is to change its form and shift its incidence. By fencing off the downward way, we divert the forces of competition along the upward way. We transfer the competitive pressure away from a degradation of the means of subsistence of the mass of the people (where it does little but harm), to the intellect of everyone who has any, in the degree that he has it (where it quite usefully sharpens the wits). Only by constructing this Necessary Basis can the twentieth century community go forward—only in this way, in fact, can it, whether Individualist or Collectivist in its leanings, avert social degradation and decay.²

¹ Rudolf Arndt

² For further explanation of the Policy of the National Minimum and answers to economic and other objections, see “Industrial Democracy,” by S. and B. Webb (Longmans, 12s. 6d.), or “Socialism and National Minimum” (Fabian Socialist Series: Pifford, 6d. and 1s.).

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AFFORESTATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

THE United Kingdom is remarkable amongst civilized nations in two respects: it has a smaller area of forest than any other in similar latitudes; and though it has a Government Department called "Woods and Forests," that Department is not much more than an office for the State gardeners and gamekeepers. The science and the art of forestry, studied and practised by every other important nation and by ourselves in our Indian Empire and in our colonies, is so utterly neglected at home that people of ordinary intelligence rarely know that the science and art exist.

No doubt statistics afford us some excuse. By forests we do not mean the deer forests of Scotland and the heath-clad hills and moorlands which in England are known as Ashdown Forest and Dartmoor Forest and so on. We mean land covered with trees, and the percentage of forest in this sense is in Ireland 1·5 of the area, Wales 3·9, Scotland 4·6, and England 5·3, compared with 17 per cent. in France, 17·3 per cent. in Belgium, the most thickly populated of countries, 25·9 in Germany, 32·6 in Austria, 35 in Sweden and in Hungary, 42 in Russia, and 48 in Servia.

Our national want of attention to forestry is therefore accounted for by the scarcity of our forests. But, for reasons about to be explained, the time has come to establish in our country both forests and the science and art of forestry.

Report of the Royal Commission.

Such, at any rate, is the opinion expressed in the Report on Afforestation (Cd. 4460) of the Royal Commission on Coast Erosion, etc., issued in 1909.

The nineteen Commissioners comprised six professional men (two of whom were experts in forestry) and four officials (two State and two municipal); while of the nine politicians five were Liberals, including a Trade Unionist, two Conservatives, and one each from the Nationalist and Labor Parties. The Report was unanimous, with some reservations from one Commissioner, and proposed that the State should purchase suitable land in order to plant 150,000 acres yearly, at an average annual cost of £2,000,000, until a national forest estate of 9,000,000 acres had been created. In times of trade depression some of the labor required would be drawn from the ranks of the unemployed, a fair number of whom are fit to carry out the work with but little preliminary training.

As a piece of Collectivism the scheme is a striking one. No body of men as representative as were the Commissioners would have produced it unless a very strong case had been made out.

With but few exceptions, the Report was received with a chorus of approval by the press. The organ of the country gentlemen, the *Field*, in its issue of January 23rd, 1909, wrote :

The opinion of the Commission upon Afforestation is emphatic. In effect they say : "Yes, afforestation is both practicable and desirable." It would be passing strange if the decision had been otherwise. For many years the authorities best able to form an opinion have been urging not only the wisdom, but the national necessity, of safeguarding our timber resources.

We may reasonably hope that the work of this Commission will be positive, and not in the direction of that shunting which is so frequently the conclusion of costly official enquiries. To be effective, however, there should be no delay in the beginning. Nor is there any reason for hesitation. Upon the facts as to the necessity of systematic afforestation there is universal agreement, and the portions of the Report containing it may at once be taken as read. The existence of unemployed men is also too obvious for dispute. The real points of debate are : (1) Are the men fit for work ? (2) Will the work be profitable ? The assurances of the Commission upon these questions we cannot but regard as wholly satisfactory.

With this declaration on the part of progressive landlords little fault need be found, but the difficulty in practice will be to hold them and their agents to it.

Proposed National Forests.

The Commission report that 6,000,000 acres in Scotland, 2,500,000 in England and Wales, and 500,000 acres in Ireland, 9,000,000 acres in all, are fit for afforestation and should be afforested. They point out that the world supply of timber is being steadily depleted, that the price is constantly rising, and that (in 1907) we imported 8,315,937 loads of timber, valued at £20,127,943, from countries of similar climate and character to our own. This quantity of timber could be grown on 9,000,000 acres, planted to cut on a regular rotation, and the Commission report that exactly this area of suitable land is available for the purpose. This, of course, is a mere coincidence, and there is no reason to suppose that our imports will be constant at the figure of 1907.

There is, therefore, a clear *prima facie* case for the promotion of afforestation ; but this is one of those services which private enterprise has not yet undertaken, and, indeed, is unfitted to undertake. The initial outlay is substantial. The Commission estimate of cost of land and planting is £13 6s. 8d. per acre. Interest and management expenses have to be added annually. For twenty years there is no direct return whatever, and for another twenty years the thinnings yield but a small income. When forty years have elapsed the crop can be sold at £60 per acre, and if left for eighty years it will realize £175 per acre. But the investment of a substantial capital which will cost money to protect for twenty years, will yield very little for forty years, and between that and eighty years will give in lump sums, according to the acreage cut, a return of £3 16s. 6d. per cent. on the whole outlay is not a business proposition for an individual, however young and however wealthy. The State, which can borrow cheaply, which lives for ever, and can therefore afford to take long views, is the only body which could undertake afforestation on a large scale.

Germany has had State forest departments for a century. Saxony has 429,300 acres of State forests and obtains a net return of 22s. an acre. In Prussia, Bavaria, and four other States, the net revenue of the State forests is between 10s. and 15s. an acre, whilst in Wurtemberg the return is as high as 25s. 3d.*

Nearly every important nation not only owns and works State forests, but undertakes the systematic teaching of forestry, the science and art of the profitable growing of timber for sale.

In Switzerland 71 per cent., in Hungary 68 per cent., in Russia 60 per cent. of the forests, 25 per cent. of the whole area, belongs to the State, and in Germany 52 per cent. of the forest area is State or municipal. In other countries the proportion is considerable, though smaller, save in British India, where it is nearly 100 per cent., and in the United Kingdom where it is 2 per cent.

Climate and Soil.

Yet our climate and soil are suitable for the growing of timber; and English wood is as good as or better than that of other countries, if it is properly grown. In practice our home grown timber is usually inferior, because our woods are used primarily for ornament and sport. We grow fine trees with spreading branches and abundant space for underwood; the timber merchant wants tall trees with no big branches, and for this purpose they must be grown close together, as in natural forests.

Why Afforest at all?

The Commission demonstrate that 9,000,000 acres of land, now used to little purpose, employing scarcely any labor, and producing nothing but game and a little mutton, could be purchased and planted by the State, would yield in a generation or so a very large amount of wealth, larger, indeed, than the estimate if the price of timber continues to rise in the future as it has in the past, and would in the end return what is for the State a fair profit on the whole enterprise.

But there are the special reasons for undertaking it. Commercially the proposition is sound but it is not exactly attractive. It is the expected social results which determined the Commission to recommend afforestation to the nation.

Forestry and Unemployment.

Afforestation has an important bearing on the problem of unemployment in two main ways.

1. It can be advantageously used as a direct palliative, or, to put it more correctly, a preventive of unemployment both during trade depressions caused by cyclical fluctuations and in the slack periods of seasonal trades.

* These figures are, presumably, the net annual income, that is the difference between receipts and working expenses per acre averaged over the whole area. The forests are mostly natural, and no doubt State property from time immemorial. These figures therefore have little relation to the finances of the scheme proposed for the United Kingdom.

2. Its permanent effect will be to help in, what is an essential part of the organization of the labor market, the better distribution of labor.

Everyone knows what the "casual labor system" means. Round the dock gates in London and Liverpool and Hull, and all our other great ports, to take only one example, there is constantly hanging an army of "under employed" men fighting for a bare existence, and that army is partly recruited by country-born men who have drifted away from the rural villages and farms. Now, if unemployment is to be satisfactorily dealt with, it is necessary, as the *Minority Report* of the Poor Law Commission has shown, that the casual labor system should be abolished, the recruiting of the "casual" army stopped, and the present congested masses of the "under employed" dispersed. The men who are squeezed out in the process of decasualization will have to be absorbed eventually into regular and self-supporting employment, and one of the forms of that employment will be the work of afforestation. Thus afforestation will play an important part both as a preventive of the "drift to the towns" and as an absorbent of much labor which is at present unemployed or "under employed."* Incidentally, of course, the creation of forests would develop other industries beyond the mere growing and felling of timber, e.g., its conversion and manipulation, and the wood-working trades generally. It has been estimated by a high authority that the afforestation of a million acres would afford regular work on the land for 100,000† men, which means, to put it another way, life in the country for half a million persons, counting five to the family.

The peculiar value of afforestation as a preventive of unemployment is, however, its applicability to times of great industrial depression and to seasonal slackness. It is hardly necessary to say that it must not be used for relief works, which are thoroughly unsound, and can have no place in a well organized system. But the peculiarity of afforestation is that it lends itself admirably to temporary work. Planting can, to a great extent, be put in hand at intervals according to the state of the labor market, without detriment either to the work itself or to the interests of the community.‡ In giving evidence before the Royal Commission, Professor Schlich was asked, "If you had to regard periods of depression in the labor market,

* This does not mean that every under employed dock porter or builder's laborer could go straight to tree planting. Training will be a necessary part of such re-organization of industry. It is worth remembering, however, in this connection, that the Report on Afforestation found that "there are sufficient unemployed persons willing to submit to and able to satisfy ordinary labor tests, who could advantageously be employed without a period of special training." This is a conclusion based on the experience of a number of practical foresters and others who have actually used the "unemployed" in their work. (See the Report, 1909, Cd. 4460, pp. 15 foll.).

† The discrepancy between these figures and those at the end of the section is due to the deduction of labor displaced allowed for in the latter estimate.

‡ Provided that, as in India with famine relief works, schemes are carefully elaborated to this end beforehand.

would it very seriously interfere with systematic operations if you had to do little planting for two or three years, and had a correspondingly increased quantity once in three or four years, we will say?" His reply was "I think it would make very little, if any, difference, provided you did a certain amount within a certain number of years, say within every ten years approximately the same amount. . . . Generally speaking, I can say it does not matter whether you do a double amount in one year and nothing in the next year in the shape of planting—really it makes no difference in the long run so long as you do every five years, or every ten years at the outside, approximately the same amount."

It is clear, then, that a large part of the work in the national forests could be (and ought to be as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission suggests) "executed out of loans on a ten years' program, and within the decade, made to vary in volume in such a way as to ebb and flow in a manner complementary to the flow and ebb of private industry."

It is clear, also, that another part of the national (or municipal) forests can be used to prevent seasonal unemployment. The actual planting of trees is confined to the winter months (roughly from October to April), whilst preliminary work, such as fencing, clearing the ground of brushwood, draining, etc., may be done either in winter or summer. Obviously, therefore, silvicultural operations will fit in with agriculture. Thousands of men who will be busy during the summer at haymaking, harvesting and the hoeing of roots, can find employment in the woods when ordinary farm work is slack during the winter. Moreover, with a proper organization of the labor market, that is to say, with national labor exchanges and training establishments in full working order, there is no reason why forest work—the rougher and less specialized departments of it at any rate—should not be the alternate trade of many urban laborers, men in the building trade for instance. There is afforestable land in the neighborhood of many great cities (such as London, Portsmouth, or the towns of the West Riding), while several of the great municipalities (e.g., Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool), have water catchment areas, which really need afforesting.

Two and a half million acres is England's share of the area proposed to be planted. It is here that forestry has its principal bearing on the unemployed question. In Surrey, Kent, and Sussex, not to speak of Essex, there are 36,000 acres of afforestable land, about 90,000 acres in Hampshire, nearly 300,000* in the South-West of England. Here are demonstration areas and training grounds close at hand, where men can be tested and, if necessary, trained until they are fit to be drafted to the Yorkshire moors or the highlands of Scotland. In Scotland there would not be enough men unemployed in times of depression to do the work on the large areas proposed to be acquired unless men previously trained in England could be drawn upon.

* Moreover, out of 28,000 acres of hill and heath land in Suffolk about three quarters, or 20,000 acres, could be successfully planted.

Enough has been said to show the special value of afforestation in dealing with the unemployed problem. Important questions then arise as to the number of men employable on any given area of woodland and the amount of supervision and training necessary.

This is what the Commissioners arrive at in the way of employment:

- (a) *Temporary*.—Temporary employment is afforded annually to 18,000 men during the winter months. Subsidiary occupations would employ as many more. This is equivalent to the labor of 12,000 men for one year and increases gradually as the scheme matures.
- (b) *Permanent*.—Permanent employment is afforded to one man per 100 acres afforested, rising to 90,000 men when the whole area has been dealt with. The scheme is a "snowball." At first the labor of 12,500 men will be required; ultimately it will rise to 90,000. The subsidiary industries will absorb a much larger number, so that finally this new industry will support an additional population of about two to two and a half millions.

Forestry and Small Holdings.

A large forest scheme started at several centres in England will greatly assist the development of many land reforms. For, to quote from the Report, "the conversion of comparatively unprofitable lands into forests enhances the productiveness of adjacent areas and should promote the development of the small holdings movement." This is fairly well understood in Scotland, and it should be the business of all south of the Tweed to see that it is equally well understood in England.*

The English Small Holdings Act on its introduction aroused great expectations among the rural population, which have since in many counties been disappointed. With the help of well considered afforestation schemes, the hopes of those fortunate enough to live in their neighborhood stand more chance of being realized. As an instance of the way in which a system of small holdings can be set upon a sound financial basis the evidence of Mr. Rawlence is much to the point. He stated that in Dorset, Wilts, Hants, and Kent (to which may be added Devon, Somerset, Yorkshire, Wales, and many other areas), there "must be hundreds of thousands of acres, taking that land the normal [annual] value of which would be less than five shillings per acre." He also gave instances of estates sold or for sale at £10 or less per acre, and added: "If you want to buy land of that sort, the better plan will be to buy an estate of 700 acres, taking my illustration; and you would probably let several small holdings for almost as much as the whole farm is let, and you would have the residue left [for forestry purposes] practically for nothing."

* The Commission report that only half a million acres need be acquired for forest purposes in Ireland. This is a *timid* recommendation; but to analyze the situation there, which is complicated by all kinds of political issues, would require too much space.

The advantage to the small holder of being able to earn good wages during the winter in the adjoining State forests is too obvious to need enlarging on. It will serve to tide him over the time it takes for his farm to become economically self-supporting, and afford him ready money for rent and the interest on the capital required for stock. If the county councils do not fall in with this idea, there is no reason, save the defects of the present Board of Agriculture, why the State itself should not establish the subsidiary small holdings, under section 20 of the Small Holdings and Allotments Act, 1908. There will be a further advantage in that co-operation, which is so essential to the success of the small holder, ought to be initiated and fostered by central State action, and these "national" small holdings will provide an invaluable opportunity for this purpose.

Opposition to be Overcome.

IN ENGLAND: FOR HUNTING AND SHEEP FARMING.

In England, apart from the grouse shooting on the Yorkshire moors, the hunting rather than the shooting interest is to be feared. For example, there are, according to the Commissioners, many suitable areas in the West of England; for instance, in Somerset alone the Mendips, the Quantocks, and Exmoor. Now the prosperity of the present rather scanty population of Exmoor is based on two things—sheep grazing and the existence of the Devon and Somerset stag-hounds. It is true, as the Report points out, that much land could be devoted to forestry that is now being used as pasture for sheep, and that the system of farming could, without difficulty, be adapted thereto. If the poor upland pasture were improved by suitable cultivation and the use of artificial manures, as is being done with great success in Belgium and Denmark, and to a lesser extent in England itself, the diminished area of grazing could easily carry the same number of sheep as before. If additional land were required to be given up to the forester, great stock would be substituted for small, and cattle breeding and dairy farming would replace the production of mutton.

But the opposition of the stag hunters is more serious. In England the ownership of land in many cases, if not most, does not imply the management of a business, but rather the enjoyment of a luxury. Consequently, even though it could be proved as a matter of estate management that a landlord who lent himself to a large scheme of afforestation on Exmoor would benefit himself materially, it does not follow that this would move him to support locally unpopular improvements. Still less would he or his agent be influenced by the fact that such a scheme could indirectly benefit the unemployed of Bristol, Bridgwater, and Taunton during times of trade depression. For if new work were started on a large scale in his neighborhood, there would be a demand not only for comparatively unskilled labor from the towns, but also for skilled woodmen, planters, and men brought up on the land from the neighborhood. This would inevitably send up the wages of the rural proletariat; and

however much some of us may wish to see that (as it is the necessary antecedent from a financial point of view of most land reforms), it would for that very reason be opposed by the existing territorial interests. Increased wages, though they would ultimately pay for themselves in the better quality of the work done, might at first lead to reductions in rent; and whereas rents are now rising, the rise might be stopped. Changes in husbandry—even changes which would ultimately increase rents—are not often welcomed by the landowner. His immediate interest “is in getting the utmost possible rent, which may (and often does) come from such a use of the land as involves its producing a smaller quantity of foodstuffs than some other use”; just as “the farmer’s pecuniary interest lies in getting the highest possible percentage on the capital he employs, which may (and often does) lead him positively to restrict the intensity of his labor and the product of the farm.”*

IN SCOTLAND: GROUSE AND DEER.

Scotland, where the Commission recommends that 6,000,000 acres be acquired for plantations, is where afforestation is likely to be carried out on a large scale. In that country, outside the fertile lowlands, all classes of the country population are well aware that the rural economy is based almost entirely on the use of the land for sport. And this is a very unsafe position. Fashions in shooting change. Just as pheasant shooting is losing the esteem of sportsmen because over preservation has made it too artificial (and as a table bird the tame hand-reared pheasant is little, if at all, superior to a barndoor fowl), so in deer forests, where the ground is often overstocked and the beasts’ range limited, the stalker will seldom get such fine trophies as he can in Germany and Eastern Europe, where the deer live under more natural conditions. But the conversion of bare mountain land and heath into forest will not destroy the shooting. Except for rabbits (which are incompatible with afforestation, but which in any case are of no account in the Highlands), game will still flourish, though its character may be changed. As a well informed article in the *Academy* puts it: “People can make shooting for black game, capercaillie, and pheasants instead of grouse at no pecuniary loss. They can keep deer from destroying the young trees by giving them fodder, as they do in the German deer forests.” Pheasants reared in large areas of dense forest would be wild and gamey enough to satisfy the most critical shot or maitre d’hotel, and this kind of shooting would soon recover its value. The able writer of the *Times* articles on British forestry, published between February and May, 1908, observes upon game preservation that “Any misgivings as to the effect of forestry upon pheasant shooting may be allayed by recollecting that the battue system is a fashion imported from Germany, where scientific forestry has been longer established than in any other country.”

* Sidney Webb: preface to the English translation of Hasbach’s “History of the English Agricultural Laborer.”

It may seem strange to devote so much consideration to un-economic sports hitherto enjoyed only by the leisured rich. But, according to the Royal Commission, the sporting rights would serve to cover the expense of local taxation and part of the upkeep of the woods until they began to pay expenses. In fact they are an economic asset of immediate value; and their exercise need not interfere with the proper tending and profitable exploitation of the forests, although perhaps their enjoyment in a more democratic fashion than at present will have to be deferred until the national income is more equably distributed. In the near future the State might let shootings to co-operative societies of sportsmen, upon trustworthy guarantees of fair usage.

The Scots will, therefore, be well advised to accept the Commissioners' scheme; for they will be in the pleasant position of eating their cake and having it too, at least a part of it. And on points like these those who wish to see the scheme carried through in its entirety do well to be posted. There are differences of opinion as to the best scale for a start. Mr. R. C. Munro Ferguson, M.P., who has been a conspicuous advocate of forestry in Scotland, said, in July, 1910: "The agricultural interest is exceedingly sensitive as regards the afforestation policy of the Commission on the ground that it may absorb some undue proportion of the available resources." This would be perfectly true if he had stopped there, but he continued: "That, however, is a groundless fear, because it must be a matter of some years before any large scheme of afforestation can be undertaken, and an expenditure averaging £50,000 for the first six or eight years is probably as much as could be well laid out on the requisite preliminary machinery." Here his view entirely conflicts with the view of most experienced men. They are of opinion that too much time is being spent in talk, and that there are plenty of men and sufficient experience accumulated in the United Kingdom to allow the work to be begun on a far larger scale with every promise of success.

THE OPPOSITION OF LAND AGENTS.

Even if landowners were less unprogressive than is often alleged, and many were prepared to support a large development of State forests in their neighborhood and run the risk of the increased value of the adjoining estates being largely absorbed by taxation, there would remain another very formidable class to be reckoned with.

Compare the amount received by the landlord and his agent. The landlord does 5 per cent. of the work and receives 95 per cent. of the rent; that is to say, the work of the landlord is rewarded 361 times as highly as that of the agent. Here is a disproportion that exists in no other business. If we turn to the provisions of the Commissioners' larger scheme, we find that the administration charges required to produce a net revenue of £17,500,000 amount to no less than £1,800,000, or nine and a half per cent. on the total of the two sums. The inference is obvious: either the agent is very much

underpaid, or the work is often badly done. Both conditions are true at once in varying degree. The result is that the land agent, as compared with other professional men, can only make a living by managing a very large tract of land in a routine fashion. He has not the time, even if he had the knowledge to do his part in adapting the husbandry of the estate to changing conditions. Were he to do so he would lose in two ways. Firstly, he would manage less land and get a correspondingly smaller income; secondly, until the *improvement on the land he still managed* became productive he would lose a part of his percentage on that. This is particularly true of forestry, because farm land given up to plantations would hardly become productive during the *agent's lifetime*. The consequence is that English land agents as a class (since they are but human) are quite ignorant of scientific forestry. Hence if their business were curtailed in one direction by the creation of large State forests, they could hardly hope, under any proper system of administration that is likely to be set up, to expand it in another by assuming the direction of these forest estates. Nor do they show any serious signs of improving. Only a few years ago the lecturer in estate agency and forestry at a well known college, which has been compared in efficiency with the Agricultural University at Copenhagen, qualified for his duties in teaching forestry by a short visit to Germany. And a few months ago a very capable land agent in charge of some large woods in the south of England told the writer that he was ignorant of the art, and more than hinted that it did not matter in the least.

ARTISTS AND SCENERY.

There remains a final objection which, as it is often raised by those who profess to love "natural" scenery, must be met and answered. It is said that afforestation will destroy the "natural" beauty of the moors and mountains, and that economic forests must necessarily be ugly. This is not so, for 2,500,000 acres devoted to forests in England will leave plenty of open space, while the additional charm of real forest scenery will be added. The author of the very able series of articles on "British Forestry" in the *Times* (February to May, 1908), completely disposes of the objection:

If woods are to be preserved they must be managed on an economic basis. We hope to convince readers that this can be done without sacrifice to sylvan beauty—that the best aesthetic results indeed can only be obtained as the outcome of sound forest treatment. The most delectable and special characteristic of English scenery consists in richly timbered parks, the finest of which owe their origin to ancient forests. Take as an example in the South the park at Ashridge. Nowhere else shall you see such statues of beeches in dense masses, in detached groups, and standing singly—the very perfection of tree growth. But do not imagine that such a result can be attained by dotting beeches about on open ground. The Queen beech at Ashridge had never attained her height of 135 feet with 90 feet of clean bole unless she had shared with ten thousand sisters the discipline of high forest.

Similarly Maeterlinck has waxed eloquent on the beauties of serried ranks of forest trees. Dealing with arboriculture in a park he says:

Plant it with beautiful trees, not parsimoniously placed as though each of them were an object of art displayed on a grassy tray, but close together like the ranks of a kindly army in order of battle. . . . Trees never feel themselves really trees nor perform their duties unless they are in numbers. Then at once everything is transformed—sky and light recover their first deep meaning, dew and shade return, silence and peace once more find a refuge.

Of the common Scots pine he adds :

You can picture nothing to compare with the architectural and religious alignment of the innumerable shafts shooting towards the sky, smooth, inflexible, pure. . . .

It is to be hoped that the town councils of England will lay the words of the practical man and the poet to heart, so that we, too, may have nobly timbered woods close to our big towns such as give a distinctive charm to many Danish, Belgian and German cities.

A New Department Wanted.

The Commissioners appear to have recognized this, for they advise that their scheme be administered by Commissioners specially appointed for the purpose. This is an admission that the Departments of Woods and Forests and of Agriculture, as at present organized, are unfit for it. With one or two exceptions, the officials capable of executive work have only the ordinary land agent's training. Mr. Munro Ferguson, in a letter to the *Times* in 1910, pleaded that we are not in a position to find offhand skilled subordinate officials and working foresters for executive duties. But this plea must not be exaggerated. "Offhand" does not mean five to eight years. The first essential step is a properly constituted Forestry Department. It would be idle to try developing this out of the Office of Woods and Forests, if "development" implied retaining anything more than the name of the department. Its first duties will be to secure demonstration forests, provide the necessary sylvicultural training for the executive staff, make a survey of lands suitable for forests, and prepare schemes for planting them. So soon as this new department is ready to act, the Commissioners' scheme should be entrusted to it for execution. It may well have recourse to the large water "catchment" areas which several municipalities possess in the Midlands and the North of England, and which are being planted in a tentative fashion. These will be very useful as demonstration areas and training grounds. Moreover, since the representatives of these towns have already asked for expert advice and financial aid, the new Forest Department should be able to secure efficient management. We must not forget the recommendation of the Royal Commission that "this form of State work can best be performed by a central authority," a recommendation which all Progressives, with the object lesson of the administration of the Small Holdings Act before them, will cordially endorse.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, what is now needed in this matter is not enquiry, but agitation and definite State action. The experts have done their part. The case is made out. The only danger is lest a

scheme which has few, if any, open enemies should, through public apathy and official incompetence, be allowed to lapse. Reformers should press for proper publicity on matters of afforestation and especially for :

1. A well equipped executive Forest Department under the reformed Board of Agriculture, with an expert body to make a proper return of the land suitable for afforestation, to give advice, and to prepare schemes.

2. A settled policy of steady acquisition of land by the State and local authorities to be used for afforestation ; the local authorities to be advised by and, if necessary, subsidized and controlled by the Forest Department.

3. Proper technical instruction in forestry, both in rural schools and colleges and in the universities

It is only by these means that this important measure of national reconstruction can be brought into being.

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FAMILY LIFE ON A POUND A WEEK.

BY

MRS. PEMBER REEVES.

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FAMILY LIFE ON A POUND A WEEK.

Who are the poor? Are only those people counted poor who are driven to sleep on the Embankment or to throng the casual wards? Or does the term cover all cheap labor? If so, at what wage does poverty begin? Attention is often diverted from the condition of an individual or of a class by the perfectly accurate announcement that there are "plenty of people worse off than that," to which statement would probably be added the generally accepted formula that the poor should be divided into the "undeserving" and "deserving." Deserving of what? Nobody likes to say "of sufficient pay for the work they do." And yet if they do not deserve that, what do they deserve?

It is the purpose of this tract to describe the resources of London working men and their families when the wages range between 18s. and 24s. a week. These men are often somebody's laborers, or they may be carters, horse-keepers, porters, railway carriage washers, fish-fryers, and perhaps one may be a borough council street sweeper on half time. They are in regular work and receiving a regular wage, which means that they are not in any sense casuals, though they suffer at times from unemployment and live in the dread of it. Whole streets are inhabited by this class of family. They "keep themselves to themselves" with as much anxiety and respectability as the dwellers in a West End square. They generally live in the upper or lower half of a small house, for the whole rent of which either they or the other family are responsible to the landlord. A kind of sordid decency is the chief characteristic of their horribly monotonous streets. Mile after mile of them, every house alike except for the baker's or greengrocer's shop at the corner, they cross and recross, broken occasionally by big thoroughfares where trams, omnibuses, and public houses are. A church, a chapel, or more often a school, makes a welcome oasis in the architectural desert. The ordinary visitor seldom finds access to these houses, where the people are jealously respectable and make no claim on any charity or institution other than the hospital.

The Cost of Houseroom.

How does a Lambeth working man's wife with four children manage on a pound a week? If ordinary middle class persons were to attempt the calculation, they would stop with a sense of shock and come to the conclusion that everything, from rent to food, must be very cheap in Lambeth. Now is this so? The chief divisions in a twenty shilling budget are rent, insurance, light and heat, food. To begin with rent, a good unfurnished room in Lambeth, measuring twelve feet by fifteen feet, costs 4s. a week. A house of eighteen rooms, with storage for coal, with hot and cold water system, and sinks and waste pipes throughout, can be obtained in Kensington, rent, rates, and taxes included, for £250 a

year. If the tenant of this house paid 4s. a week for every twenty square yards of his floor space, he would, roughly speaking, pay £385 a year. But if he paid 4s. a week for the same amount of cubic space that the Lambeth man gets for his 4s., the West End householder would pay about £500 a year instead of £250. These figures are approximate, but they are calculated from real instances. Add to this that the large house has better air, greater quiet, and healthier surroundings. The man who pays a rent of 7s or 8s. in South London may be paying over one third of his income, for which he may get three tiny rooms in a four roomed dwelling, with a mother or other relative occupying and paying for the fourth room. The living room may be ten feet by eight feet, and three of its walls may be pierced by doors, the room itself being the passage way to the back yard. Two slightly larger rooms are bedrooms. A family of eight persons divides into two parties, four elder children sleep in one bed in one room, while the parents and two younger children sleep in the other. The four elder children go, perhaps, to three different schools. When one of them brings home measles from its school measles go round the bed; when another brings home whooping cough from its school the same course is pursued by whooping cough. The afflicted children are kept away from school, but the baby and the two year old, who are both teething, have no chance of escape. The distracted mothers do what they can, but in many cases the rooms are terribly damp, and in many the chimneys smoke continually. The convalescence of the children—if they do convalesce—is difficult and prolonged. For one third of his income then the man with £1 or 22s. a week cannot afford space enough for health. His wife may have to carry all her water upstairs and, when it is used, carry it down again. There is no storage for coal; perhaps no room for the humblest mailcart for the baby. Add to this that as likely as not the walls are old and infested with bugs, which defy the cleanest woman, and can only be kept under by constant fumigation and repapering. It is obvious that the well-to-do man for less than a third of his income can afford a better bargain than this for the housing of his family.

Coal is another necessary which the poor cannot afford to buy economically. The woman with 20s. a week must buy by the hundredweight. She pays from 1s. 4d. in the summer to 1s. 7d. or 1s. 8d. in the winter. The same quality of coal can be bought by the ton in Kensington for less than 1s. per cwt. in the summer and for 1s. 1d. in the winter. Gas also is dearer by the pennyworth than by the 1,000 cubic feet.

Certain kinds of food can be bought cheaply in Lambeth Walk on a Sunday morning—meat which would not be saleable on Monday—vegetables in the same plight. But sugar has risen as ruthlessly for the poor as for the rich, milk has done the same, and even the tinned milk which is separated before being tinned, and which is the only milk a woman with 20s. a week can afford, is now a halfpenny more a tin. Bread is no cheaper in Lambeth than in Kensington, but the Lambeth woman buys hers at the shop because she is then entitled to the legal weight, whereas the "delivered" is

bread of the West End is known as "fancy" bread by the trade and is generally under weight.

Insurance for Funerals.

Insurance in Lambeth (up to the time of writing) means burial insurance. The middle class man does not need to pay out something like a twentieth part of his income in order to provide for the possible burials in his family. The poorly paid working man is driven to this great expense for two reasons. First, he is likely to lose one or more of his children, and the poorer he is the more likely he is to lose them; second, the cost of a funeral, including cemetery fees, is out of all proportion to his means. It is generally supposed that poor people, rather than miss the delight of a gorgeous funeral, will dissipate money which ought to be spent on rent or food or thrift. As a matter of fact undertakers in Lambeth or Kennington will bury an infant for the sum of 28s. or 30s. This includes the cemetery fee of 10s. An older child will cost according to size, a child of three perhaps £2 5s, until the length of the body is too great to go under the box seat of the funeral vehicle, when a hearse becomes necessary and the price leaps to something like £4 4s. At a later stage the cemetery fee goes up. Under these circumstances the poor man has as alternatives burial by the parish and insurance. It is the insurance which is the extravagance—not the way he manages his funerals. But his fear of being made a pauper or of being driven to borrow the price of a child's funeral keeps his wife paying a weekly sum, varying with the number of children, of from 6d. to 1s. or even over. One penny a week from birth barely covers the funeral expenses at any age in childhood. Adults commonly pay 2d. a week. A peculiar hardship which often befalls the poor man is that, owing to periods of unemployment, his payments are interrupted and his policies may therefore lapse. His children are at those times less well fed and more likely to die, and he may quite well be driven to the disgrace of a pauper burial after having paid insurance for many years. Burial by the parish is taboo among the poor. It is no use arguing the case with them. The parents fiercely resent being made paupers because of their bereavement. Moreover they consider the pauper burial unnecessarily wanting in dignity and respect. They say that as soon as have the parish they would have the dustman call for their dead. The three years' old daughter of a carter out of work died of tuberculosis. The father, whose policies had lapsed, borrowed the sum of £2 5s. necessary to bury the child. The mother was four months paying the debt off by reducing the food of herself and of the five other children. To reduce the food of the breadwinner is an impossibility. The funeral cortège consisted of one vehicle in which the little coffin went under the driver's seat. The parents and a neighbour sat in the back part of the vehicle. They saw the child buried in a common grave with twelve other coffins of all sizes. "We 'ad to keep a sharp eye out for Edie," they said; "she were so little she were almost 'id."

The following is an account kept of the funeral of a child of six months who died of infantile cholera in the deadly month of August, 1911.

The parents had insured her for 2d. a week, being unusually careful people. The sum received was £2.

Funeral	£1	12	0
Death certificate	0	1	3
Gravediggers	0	2	0
Hearse attendants	0	2	0
Woman to lay her out	0	2	0
Insurance agent	0	1	0
Flowers	0	0	6
Black tie for father	0	1	0
	£2	1	9

This child was buried in a common grave with three others. There is no display and no extravagance in this list. The tips to the gravediggers, hearse attendants and insurance agent were all urgently applied for, though not in every case by the person who received the money. The cost of the child's illness had amounted to 10s.—chiefly spent on special food. The survivors lived on reduced rations for two weeks in order to get square again. The father's wage was 24s., every penny of which he always handed over to his wife. Until burial can be made an honorable public service there seems to be no hope of relief in this direction for the family living on any sum round about £1 a week.

How the Budgets were obtained.

In order to explain how the family budgets given further on were obtained, it is necessary to state that an investigation has been carried on for three years by a small committee formed of members of the Fabian Women's Group. The investigation has for its object observation of the effect on mother and child of proper nourishment before and after birth.

To further this enquiry it was found necessary to take down each week in writing the whole family expenditure for that week. The budgets thus collected began before the birth of the child and continued until the child was a year old. The names of expectant mothers were taken at random from the out-patient department of a well known lying-in hospital. Only legally married people were dealt with because the hospital confined itself to such persons. The committee decided to refuse cases where virulent disease in the parents might outweigh the benefits of proper nourishment, but it was considered that moderate drinking on the part of the parents would probably be a normal condition and must therefore be accepted. As a matter of fact, tuberculosis in some form or other was found to be so common that to rule it out would be to refuse almost half the cases. Respiratory and tuberculous disease was therefore accepted. With regard to drink, on the contrary, only one instance did we find of a woman who drank. A few men were supposed to take a glass, but in every case but one they faithfully rendered over to their wives the agreed upon weekly allowance. Out of fifty cases taken at hazard this is a good record.

As may well be imagined, the visitors did not find accounts in being. The women "knew it in their heads," they said, but to write it down was absurdly impossible. Gradually, however, the interest grew, and with patience a few weeks generally saw some kind of record of the family expenditure. The first attempts taught the investigator far more than they taught the mother. A book was supplied to each woman, and week after week she entered in it every penny she received and spent. Wednesday was the great day when, with her floor scrubbed and her hair as tidy as she could manage, she disentangled these accounts with the aid of the visitor. Her spelling was curious, but her arithmetic was generally correct. "Sewuitt . . . 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " was as serious an error as the figures often knew. "Coul . . . thruppons" is Lambeth for "cow-heel . . . 3d." Seeing the visitor hesitate over the item "yearn . . . 1d," the offended mother wrote next week, "yearn is for mending sokes." Eight women were found who could neither read nor write. Sometimes they had only forgotten, and were capable of being coaxed back into literary endeavour, but in a few stubborn cases the husband came to the rescue, and in three, eldest sons or daughters, aged ten or twelve, were the scribes. One wrote in large copperplate, "peper . . . apeny," which threatened to remain ambiguous till his return from school. Fortunately the mother had a burst of memory. Another entry, "earrins . . . too d" gave a lot of trouble, but turned out to mean "herrings . . . 2d." A literary genius of thirteen kept her accounts as a kind of diary, part of which ran as follows.

"Mr. D, ad too diners for thruppence, wich is not mutch e bein such a arty man."

Pages of this serial had to be reduced, though with regret, to the limits of ordinary accounts. Many of the women enjoyed their task, and proudly produced correct budgets week after week.

A typical budget is that of Mrs. X. Her husband is a railway carriage washer, who earns 18s. for a six days week and 21s. every other week when he works seven days. He pays his wife all that he earns. There are three children. The two budgets were taken on March 22nd and March 29th, 1911.

A 21S. WEEK.

	s.	d.
Rent	7	0
Clothing club	1	2 for two weeks.
Insurance	1	6 for two weeks.
Coal and wood	1	7
Coke	0	3
Gas	0	10
Soap, soda	0	5
Matches	0	1
Blacklead, blacking	0	1

Left for food 8s. 1d.

	s.	d.
11 loaves	2	7
1 quartern flour	0	5½
Meat	1	10
Potatoes and greens	0	9½
½ lb. butter	0	6
1 lb. jam	0	3
6 oz. tea	0	6
2 lb. sugar	0	4
1 tin milk	0	4
Cocoa	0	4
Suet	0	2

8 1

Average per head for food 1s. 7½d. a week, or less than 3d. a day all round the family. But a working man cannot do on less than 6d. a day, which means 3s. 6d. a week. This reduces the average of the mother and children to 1s. 1½d. or less than 2d. a day.

AN 18s. WEEK.

	s.	d.
Rent	7	0
Coal and wood	1	7
Gas	0	10
Soap, soda	0	5
Matches	0	1

9 11

Left for food 8s. 1d.

	s.	d.
11 loaves	2	7
1 quartern flour	0	5½
Meat	1	9½
Potatoes and greens	0	9
½ lb. butter	0	6
1 lb. jam	0	3
6 oz. tea	0	6
2 lb. sugar	0	4
1 tin milk	0	4
Cocoa	0	4
Suet	0	3

8 1

Average per head for food 1s. 7½d. a week, or less than 3d. a day.

In the same street lives Mrs. Y, whose husband is a laborer who works at Hackney Marshes, a long way off. He earns 24s. and gives his wife 19s. 6d. His fares cost 3s. 6d. a week. There are three children. Date of visit October 25th, 1911.

	s.	d.
Rent	7	0
Insurance	0	7
Calico club	0	6
Coal club	1	0
Soap, soda	0	4½
Gas	0	8
Blacklead and blacking	0	1
Mangling	0	2
Wood	0	1
1 yard flannelette	0	2½
Hearthstone... ..	0	½
	<hr/>	
	10	8½

Left for food 8s. 9½d.

	s.	d.
7 loaves and 7 loaf bottoms	2	7½
¼ quatern flour	0	2½
Meat	2	9½
Potatoes and greens	0	10
1 lb. butter	0	10
½ lb. tea	0	7
3 lb. sugar	0	7½
Fish	0	3
	<hr/>	
	8	9½

Average for food per head 1s. 9d. a week, or 3d. a day.

Mr. Y. is rather a bigger man than most Lambeth workers, and requires at least 4s. a week spent on his food. Hardly too large an allowance for a working man. But that reduces the average spent on the rest of the family to 1s. 2½d. a week per head or 2d. a day.

The housekeeping allowance is often all that the man earns. The wife either allows him a few coppers for fares, or not, as she can afford. Where the wage is regular, but below £1 a week, this is usually the case. A man with 24s. will keep 2s. or 2s. 6d., and will dress, drink, smoke, and pay fares out of it. A very usual amount for a man to pay his wife is 20s. a week. It almost looks as though there were an understanding that, where possible, that is the correct sum. The workman earning 20s. a week often pays it all over to his wife. If his wages rise to 22s. he goes on paying the 20s. and keeps the extra money. Given, then, the 20s. a week it entirely depends on how many children there are, whether the family lives on insufficient food or on miserably insufficient food—whether the family is merely badly housed or is frightfully crowded as well as badly housed.

To illustrate this, here are the budgets of three women with varying numbers of children, each of whom is allowed 23s. a week—an amount which generally means that the husband is earning about 25s. In one of these cases this is so, but in the other two it will be noticed that the 23s. is the whole family income. In spite of this,

and in spite of the fact that it is above the average allowance, the amount spent a week per head on food falls to 1s. 1½d. all round when there are six children. If 3s. 6d. be spent on the man, the average for the woman and children is 9½d per week.

Mr. A, horsekeeper, wages 25s, gives wife 23s., three children born, three alive, five persons to feed. March 24th, 1909.

	s.	d.
Rent	6	6
Insurance	0	10
1 cwt. coal	1	6
Lamp oil	0	5
Boots... ..	1	6½
Soap and soda	0	4
Wood	0	2

11 3½

Left for food 11s. 8½d.

	s.	d.
11 loaves	2	6½
Meat	3	11
Potatoes	0	10
Greens	0	2½
1 lb. margarine, 1 lb. jam	0	9
8 oz. tea	0	8
2 tins milk	0	6
2 lbs. sugar	0	4½
¼ quartern flour	0	3
Bacon and fish	0	11
Rice	0	3
Suet	0	2½
Pot herbs	0	4

11 8½

Average for food per head a week 2s. 4d. or 4d. a day.

Mr. B sells on commission, earns about 15s., boy earns 2s., girl 6s., wife gets in all 23s, five children born, five alive, seven persons to feed. July 6th, 1910.

	s.	d.
Rent	7	6
Insurance	0	7
½ cwt. coal	0	7½
Gas	1	0
Boots... ..	2	6
Soap and soda	0	4½
Hat	1	0½
Saved	0	2½

13 9½

Left for food 9s. 2½d.

	s.	d.
9½ loaves	2	3
Meat	2	6
Potatoes	0	7
Greens	0	2½
1 lb. butter	1	0
7 oz. tea	0	7
1 tin milk	0	3½
3 lbs. sugar	0	6½
½ quartern flour	0	2½
Bacon	0	4½
Cornflour	0	2½
Currants	0	1½
¼ lb. cheese	0	3½
	<hr/>	
	9	2½

Average for food per head a week 1s. 3½d. or 2¼d. a day.

Mr. C, carter, wages 23s., gives wife 23s., seven children born, six alive, eight persons to feed. April 21st, 1910.

	s.	d.
Rent	8	6
Insurance	1	0
1 cwt. coal	1	6
Gas	0	11
Boots mended	1	8½
Clothing club	0	6
	<hr/>	
	14	1½

Left for food 8s. 10½d.

	s.	d.
14 loaves	3	2½
Meat	2	0½
Potatoes	0	9
Greens	0	3
2 lb. margarine	1	0
4 oz. tea	0	4
No milk.		
4½ lb. sugar	0	9
½ quartern flour	0	3
No bacon.		
Dripping	0	4
	<hr/>	
	8	10½

Average for food per head a week 1s. 1¼d. or almost 2d. a day

In these three budgets the women housed their families as well as they could and economized in food when the family increased. The rooms were as large and light as they could get—inadequate and

bad, of course, but not specially dark or damp. Mrs. B needed less coal in July, so she laid out extra money on clothes. She always saved, if it were only a farthing. It is curious to note how with the larger family the first set of expenses goes up and the amount left over for food goes down. On the whole these families were about equally housed. The first two women have so far reared all their children. Mrs. C has lost one. Compare this result with the second and third of the following budgets, where the women economized in rent in order to spend more on food.

Mr. D, emergency 'bus conductor, wages 4s. a day, four or five days a week, five children born, five alive. August 25th, 1910.

	s.	d.
Rent	9	0*
Insurance	0	7
$\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. coal	0	8
Gas	0	4
Soap, soda	0	2
Matches	0	1
	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>

* Three light, dry, airy rooms at top of model dwelling.

Left for food 6s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

	s.	d.
10 loaves	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Meat	1	8
Potatoes	0	6
Vegetables	0	2
1 lb. margarine	0	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
6 oz. tea	0	6
2 tins milk... ..	0	6
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. sugar	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>6</u>	<u>6$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

Week's average per head for food 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. or 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a day.

Mr. E, fishmonger's assistant, wages 24s., seven children born, four alive. March 24th, 1910.

	s.	d.
Rent	5	6*
Insurance	0	7
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. coal	2	3
Gas	1	0
Starch, soap, soda	0	5
Wood	0	1
Newspaper	0	1
	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>

* Two fair sized, but very dark, damp rooms in deep basement.

Left for food 12s. 7½d.

	s.	d.
10 loaves	2	3½
Meat	5	2
Potatoes	0	6
Greens	0	4
1 lb. butter, 1 lb jam	1	3½
8 oz. tea	0	8
6½ pints fresh milk	1	1
2½ lb. sugar	0	5½
½ qrtn. flour	0	2½
Bacon	0	6
Currants	0	1½

12 7½

Week's average per head for food 2s. 1½d. or 3¼d. a day.

Mr. F, carter, wages 22s., nine children born, four alive. July 14th, 1910.

	s.	d.
Rent	4	6*
Insurance	0	8½
1 cwt. coal	1	6
Lamp oil	0	8
Starch, soap, soda	0	5
Boot club	1	0
Clothing club	0	6

9 3½

* Two tiny rooms in very old one storey cottage below level of alley way.

Left for food 10s. 8½.

	s.	d.
11 loaves	2	6
Meat and fish	3	0
Potatoes	0	8
Vegetables	0	5
1 lb. margarine, 1 lb. jam	0	10½
8 oz. tea	0	8
1 tin milk	0	3½
4 lb. sugar	0	10
1 qrtn. flour	0	6
Bovril	0	6½
2 lb. rice	0	4
Salt, pepper	0	1

10 8½

Week's average per head for food 1s. 9½d. or 3d. a day.

All the children in these three families are delicate. Perhaps there is a worse heredity in the case of Mrs. D's children than in the other two. Mrs. D, who had only 17s. 4½d. to spend and a child more to spend it on, paid 3s. 6d. more in rent than Mrs. E, and 4s. 6d. more than Mrs. F. She spent less on coal and gas than either of the others—even taking into account that July is a warm, light month. She spent less on cleaning and nothing on clothes. She fed her family—her husband, herself and five children—on 11½d. a head a week. All her children were living.

Mrs. E, who lives in very damp, dark rooms, has to spend heavily on coal and gas to keep them warm and lighted. Even for the time of year she takes an unusual amount of coal. She spends more on cleaning, and takes in a Sunday paper. She had 22s. 6½d. to spend, and was able to allow 2s. 1½d. a week a head for food. She has lost three children.

Mrs. F economizes in food as well as rent, and spends 1s. 6d. a week on clothing. She has lost five children.

Each of these families had lived a very long time in the rooms described. The three women were clean, hardworking, and tidy to a fault. The men decent, kindly, sober and industrious. The comparison of the two tables seems to show that air, light and freedom from damp are as necessary to the health of young children as even sufficient and proper food. In fact, the mother who provided good housing conditions and fed the family on 11½d. a head per week, did better for her children than the mother who lived in the underground rooms—spent plenty of money on coal, and fed her family on 2s. 1½d. a head per week. The poor mother who economized on both food and rent in order to clothe decently did worst of all.

Another budget which compares interestingly on this point with Mrs. F's is that of Mrs. G. She has slightly over 20s. a week, sometimes a few pence over, sometimes more than a shilling over. She houses her children better than Mrs. F does, and spends much less a week on food. She has reared all her six children.

Mr. G, printer's laborer, wages 24s., six children born, six living. He goes a long distance to his work and is obliged to spend on fares. Date of budget, September 20th, 1911.

Mrs. G.							s.	d.
Rent ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	0
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	8
¾ cwt. coal ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	11
Starch, soap, soda ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5
Boot club ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	0
Clothing club ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Boot laces ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1½
Matches ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1
Blacking ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0½

Left for food 7s. 11d.

	s.	d.
14 loaves	2	11
Meat	2	0
Potatoes	0	6
Vegetables	0	4
1 lb. margarine	0	6
No tea		
2 tins milk	0	7
2 lb. sugar	0	5
1 qrtn. flour	0	5
Salt	0	1
Pot herbs	0	2
	<hr/>	
	7	11

Week's average per head for food 1s.

	Mrs. F.	s.	d.
Rent		4	6
Insurance		0	8½
1 cwt. coal		1	6
Lamp oil		0	8
Starch, soap, soda		0	5
Boot club		1	0
Clothing club		0	6
		<hr/>	
		9	3½

Left for food 10s. 8½d.

	s.	d.
11 loaves	2	6
Meat and fish	3	0
Potatoes	0	8
Vegetables	0	5
Margarine and am	0	10½
8 oz. tea	0	8
1 tin milk	0	3½
4 lb. sugar	0	10
1 qrtn. flour	0	6
Salt, pepper	0	1
Bovril	0	6½
2 lb. rice	0	4
	<hr/>	
	10	8½

Week's average per head for food 1s. 9½d.

It will be seen that Mrs. G spends a regular 1s. 6d. a week on clothes, the same amount that Mrs. F does. She has 21s. 8d. to spend, where Mrs. F has 20s., but she has six children, whereas Mrs. F has four. She spends 3s. 6d. a week more on rent, and certainly houses her family better, having three small, inconvenient, crowded,

but fairly light, dry rooms, in place of Mrs. F's terrible little abode. She buys cheaper bread and flour, and spends but 1s. a week a head on food. She has lost no children, whereas Mrs. F has lost five. It is not to be supposed that the surviving children of Mrs. F, or the children of Mrs. G are robust and strong. Poverty has killed Mrs. F's five weakest children and drained the vitality of her four stronger ones. Poverty has prevented any of Mrs. G's children from being strong. The malnutrition of school children, which was so conspicuously mentioned in the published report of Sir George Newman, Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, seems to be explained by these budgets. The idea that mothers who have to feed man, woman and children on 1s. a head a week can do anything else than underfeed them must be abandoned. But it is also evident that the mothers who in desperation try economizing in rent in order to feed better are doing unwisely.

The question of food values is much discussed in connection with ignorance and extravagance on the part of the poor. It is possible, of course, that a shilling, or elevenpence farthing might be laid out to better advantage on a week's food than is done in the foregoing budgets. But superior food value generally means longer cooking—more utensils—more wholesome air and storage conveniences than can be commanded by these women. To take porridge as an instance. When well cooked for an hour and eaten with milk and sugar, most children would find it delicious and wholesome. But when the remainder of last night's pennyworth of gas is all that can be allowed for its cooking, when the pot is the same as that in which fish or potatoes or meat are cooked, when it has to be eaten half raw without milk and with but a hint of sugar, the children loathe it. They eat bread and dripping with relish. No cooking is required there, for which the weary, harassed mother is only too thankful—so they almost live on bread and dripping. A normal menu for a family of seven persons living on £1 a week is as follows:—

Breakfast for seven persons.

1 loaf; 1 oz dripping or margarine; $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. tea; $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar; $\frac{1}{4}$ d. worth tinned milk.

Dinners.

Sunday, 3 lb. meat; 3 lb. potatoes; 1 cabbage.

Monday, any meat left from Sunday, with suet pudding. The father on weekdays taking a chop or other food with him to work.

Tuesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, suet pudding, with treacle or sugar, or gravy and potatoes.

Wednesday, 1 lb. meat and potatoes stewed with onions.

Tea for seven persons.

1 loaf; 1 oz. dripping or margarine; $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. tea; $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. sugar; $\frac{1}{4}$ d. worth of tinned milk; Saturday evening may see a rasher or a bloater for the man's tea.

It will be noticed both from the budgets and from this menu that tinned milk is the only milk which the mother can afford. Each of these threepenny tins bears round it in red letters the words "This milk is not recommended as food for infants." Nevertheless it is the only milk the infants get unless their mother can nurse them. If the mothers are able to nurse they always do for two very convincing reasons—it is cheaper—it is less trouble. But the milk of a mother fed on such diet is not the elixir of life which it could be, and which, under different conditions, it should be. Very often it fails her altogether. Then the child is fed on tinned milk. When it is fractious, because it is miserably unsatisfied, it is given a dummy teat to suck or a raisin wrapped in a bit of rag. This is not because the mother is ignorant of the fact that she could nurse much better if she took plenty of milk, or that if her child must be brought up by hand it were better to feed it from the M.B.C. milk depot. It is because milk usually costs 4d. a quart, and just now costs 5d., and either price is prohibitive. The milk depot feeds a new baby for 9d. a week till it is three months old, when 1s. 6d. is charged. The price rises regularly till it reaches something like 3s. at the age of a year. In a family where the weekly average is 1s., or even 1s. 3d., 1s. 6d. cannot be devoted to the new baby without cutting down the average for everybody else. So baby often has "jest wot we 'ave ourselves." It is all there is for him to have.

Meals and Manners.

The diet for the other children is chiefly bread, with suet pudding for a change. Often they do not sit down for a meal; it is not worth while. A table is covered with newspaper and as many plates as there are children are put round with a portion on each. The eating of this meal may take ten minutes or perhaps less. The children stand round, eat, snatch up caps and hats, and are off to school again. Breakfast and tea are, as often as not, eaten while the child plays in the yard or walks to school. A slice of bread, spread with something, is handed to each, and they eat it how and where they will. In some cases the father comes home for a meal at some inconvenient hour in the afternoon, such as half past three or four or five. This may mean that the children's chief meal takes place then in order to economize coal or gas and make one cooking do. This is not because the mother is lazy and indifferent to her children's well being. It is because she has but one pair of hands and but one overburdened brain. She can just get through her day if she does everything she has to do inefficiently. Give her six children, and between the bearing of them and the rearing of them she has little extra vitality left for scientific cooking, even if she could afford the necessary time and appliances. In fact one woman is not equal to the bearing and efficient, proper care of six children. She can make one bed for four of them, but if she had to make four beds, if she had to separate the boys from the girls and keep two rooms clean instead of one, if she had to make proper clothing and keep those clothes properly washed and ironed and mended, if she

had to give each child a daily bath, if she had to attend thoroughly to teeth, noses, ears, and eyes, if she had to cook really nourishing food, with adequate utensils and dishes, and if she had to wash up these utensils and dishes after every meal, she would need not only far more money, but far more help. The children of the poor suffer from want of light, want of air, want of warmth, want of sufficient and proper food, and want of clothes, because the wage of their fathers is not enough to pay for these necessaries. They also suffer from want of cleanliness, want of attention to health, want of peace and quiet, because the strength of their mothers is not enough to provide these necessary conditions.

Clothing.

It is easy to say that the mothers manage badly. If they economize in rent the children die. If they economize in food the children may live, but in a weakened state. There is nothing else that they can economize in. Fuel and light are used sparingly; there is no room for reduction there. Clothes hardly appear in the poorer budgets at all. In the course of fifteen months visiting, one family on 23s. a week spent £3 5s. 5½d. on clothes for the mother and six children. Half of the sum was spent on boots, so that the clothes, other than boots, of seven people cost 32s. 9d. in fifteen months, an average of 4s. 8d. a head. Another family spent 9d. a week on boots and 9d. a week on clothes in general. There were four children. Other families again only buy clothes when summer comes and less is needed for fuel. Boots are the chief expense under this heading, and few fathers in Lambeth are not able to sole a little boot with some sort of skill. Most of the body clothing is bought third and fourth hand. How it is that the women's garments do not drop off them is a mystery. They never seem to buy new ones, and yet the hard wear to which the clothes are subjected ought to finish them in a month. It is obvious that clothing can hardly be further reduced. Remains insurance. It has been shown that steady, hard-working people refuse to have their dead buried by the parish. If they should change their attitude to this question and decide to economize here, it is difficult to imagine the state of mind of the "parish" when confronted by the problem.

How then is the man on a pound a week to house his children decently and feed them sufficiently? How is his wife to care for them properly? The answer is that, in London at least, be they never so hardworking and sober and thrifty, the task is impossible.

But there is a large class who get less than a pound a week. There is also a large class who get work irregularly. How do such people manage?

A small proportion of the cases undertaken in the investigation, from ill health and other causes, fell out of work. Their subsequent struggles afford material with which to answer this question.

Mr. H. Carter, out of work through illness, gets an odd job once or twice in the week. Wages 24s. when in work. Six children born, five alive.

July 7th, 1910, had earned 5s. 5d.						s.	d.
Rent ...	...	...	...	...	...	goes unpaid	
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	lapsed	
Coal ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2
Soap, soda ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Matches ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1
Blacklead ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$

Leaving for food 4s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.						s.	d.
9 loaves ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Meat ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	9
Potatoes ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3
Vegetables ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1
Margarine ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
3 oz. tea ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3
Tinned milk ...	...	...	...	...	...	none	
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. sugar ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3
Dripping ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6

 4 3 $\frac{1}{2}$

 Or an average per head for food of 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week, or 1d. a day.

July 14th had earned 15s. 10d.						s.	d.
Rent (two weeks) ...	...	...	...	...	...	11	0
Insurance ...	...	...	...	...	...	lapsed	
Coal ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	2
Gas ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	5
Soap, soda, blue ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wood ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$

 12 0

Leaving for food 3s. 10d.						s.	d.
7 loaves ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Meat ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
Potatoes ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Vegetables ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	1
Margarine ...	...	...	...	...	...	—
4 oz. tea ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	4
Tinned milk ...	...	...	...	...	...	—
1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. sugar ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3
Dripping ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	6
1 lb. jam ...	...	...	...	...	...	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$

 3 10

 Or an average per head for food of 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a week, or less than 1d. a day.

When Mr. I could earn again, his back rent amounted to 15s. He found work at Finsbury Park, he living south of Kennington Park. He walked to and from his work every day, refusing to move because he and his wife were known in Kennington, and rather than see them go into the "house" their friends would help them through a bad spell. People in that class never write, and to move away from friends and relations is to quit the last hope of assistance should misfortune come. Mr. Y, who works on Hackney Marshes while living at Kennington, is another instance of this. A fish fryer who had to take work at Finsbury Park declared that he walked eighteen miles a day to and from his work.

Mr. J, carter out of work through illness, took out an organ when well enough to push it. Wages 18s. when in work. Six children born, six alive.

Jan. 26th, 1910, Mr. and Mrs. J had earned between them 9s.					
Feb. 2nd,	"	"	"	"	7s.
Feb. 9th,	"	"	"	"	8s. 10d.
Feb. 16th,	"	"	"	"	9s.
Feb. 23rd,	"	"	"	"	7s. 6d.

	Jan. 26th	Feb. 2nd	Feb. 9th	Feb. 16th	Feb. 23rd
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Rent ...	5 6	3 0	5 6	5 6	3 6
Coal ...	0 6	0 6	0 4	0 6	0 6
Wood ...	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1½
Lamp oil...	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1	0 1½
Soap, soda..	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 2	0 4
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6 4	3 10	6 2	6 4	4 7
Leaving for food ...	2 8	3 2	2 8	2 8	2 11
Average for food per head a week in holidays	0 4	almost 5	0 4	0 4	0 4½

Those children who were of school age in these three families were fed once a day for five days a week during term time. None of the children were earning. The three women were extremely clean and, as far as their wretched means would allow, were good managers. It is impossible to lay out to advantage money which comes in spasmodically and belated, so that some urgent need must be attended to with each penny as it is earned. After a certain point of starvation food must come first, though before that point is reached it is extraordinary how often rent seems to be made a first charge on wages.

It is an undoubted fact that the great majority of babies born to this class of parent come into the world normal as regards weight; osy fat little creatures who should flourish and thrive in decent conditions. At the end of a year they show many signs of

delicacy most of which have been created by lack of warmth, lack of air, lack of light, lack of medical care, lack of food. It seems certain that could these children have what is necessary to a healthy child they are capable of growing up into healthy men and women. Baby clinics, school clinics, free public baths, free public wash-houses would seem to be but the beginning of a scheme of national care for the nation's children. The argument that the conditions described in this tract are useful in that they kill off the sickly children and allow the stronger to survive is an argument which is not followed by its supporters to a logical conclusion. The conditions which kill a weak child drain and devitalize strong children. For every one who dies three or four others live to be in need later on of sanatorium or hospital, or even asylum. It would surely pay the nation to turn its attention to the rearing of its children. It is no use urging that parents are drunken, and lazy and vicious; where that is true all the more do their children need protection and care; in fact, they only have to be drunken and lazy and vicious enough, for their children to be boarded out by the local authority, and four shillings paid weekly for their food alone, a sum undreamed of by the ordinary decent mother on a pound a week. If the parents, with all the strength, with all the industry, with all the thrift, with all the anxious care shown by these budgets, can only lodge their children as they do, and feed them as they do, what is the use of appealing to the parents for what only money can procure, money being the one thing they have not got? If this rich and powerful nation desires to have strong, healthy children, who are worthy of it, what is to prevent it? There is no reason why the school children should suffer from malnutrition, or why an unusually beautiful summer should kill off the babies like flies.

What Can be Done?

The remedy for this state of things is not easy to devise. Advance is likely to be made along two lines where it has already begun—the growing demand for a national minimum wage and the responsibility for the nation's children which is being increasingly assumed by the State. Trade boards are a beginning, piecemeal and tentative, which should make a starting point for a strong effort to attain a national minimum wage throughout the kingdom. It would be comparatively simple to define a fair wage for the individual worker. In Fabian Tract No. 128, "The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage," the difficulties and limitations, as well as the advantages, of that bed of Procrustes, a family minimum wage, are very fully dealt with. But, after all, the whole question raised by these budgets is one of children. A wage which was a tight fit for three children would be miserably inadequate for six or seven. Add to this that there is no certainty that the wage earner, man or woman, would always spend the whole wage upon actual necessities. If amusements, however innocent, were brought into the budget, something already in it would have to go. Very moderate drinking would upset the balance altogether. It is not reasonable to expect

working class men and women never to spend on other things than rent, insurance, clothing, firing, and food. Middle class people do not expect from themselves such iron self-control. Children, once an economic asset, are now a cause of expense, continually increased by legislation, which tends more and more to take children and young persons out of the labor market. The State, which has wisely decreed that children shall not be self-supporting, has no more valuable asset than these children were they reared under conditions favorable to child life instead of in the darkness and dampness and semi-starvation which is all that the decent, hardworking poor can now afford. Any minimum wage which is likely to be wrung from the pockets of the employing class during the next few years would not affect the question raised by the earlier budgets in this tract where the wage is already over £1 a week. Therefore, along with a strenuous demand for a national minimum wage, advance must be made on the line already laid down by the State in its provision of free and compulsory education for its children and in its statutory endorsement of the principle of school feeding. The establishment of school clinics, which is a step likely soon to become general, ought to be followed by a national system of compulsorily attended baby clinics. It is obvious from official reports already laid before the public that by the time they can be received into a national school many children have already suffered for want of medical attention. The doctors in charge of baby clinics, knowing that what a hungry, healthy infant wants is milk, and being confronted week after week with the same hungry infants gradually growing less and less healthy as their need was not satisfied, would collect and tabulate in their reports an amount of evidence on the subject which would revolutionize public opinion on the question of the nation's children and their needs.

If men, already in steady receipt of wages as high as any minimum wage likely to be attained for years to come, can only feed and house their families after the strictest personal self-denial, as these budgets show, the State, if it is to concern itself with its most vital affairs, should recognize its ultimate responsibility for the proper maintenance of its children. That this responsibility might eventually take the shape suggested in "The Case for a Legal Minimum Wage," for the children of widows or unmarried women, is quite possible. Some form of child maintenance grant might be placed in the hands of parents who, as joint administrators, would be answerable for the well-being of their children. It would be easy to discover through the clinics whether this duty was in each case being efficiently performed. A child, presented happy and well cared for, would be a sufficient guarantee, and a child whose condition appeared to be unsatisfactory would be noted and all necessary steps would be taken to secure its welfare. The country has faced the dead weight of Old Age Pensions; it is not impossible that the creative and repay- ing task of building up the nation's youth should be collectively undertaken.

WAGE EARNERS' BUDGETS. BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

- BELL, LADY.**—*At the Works. A Study of a Manufacturing Town.* Arnold. 1907. 6s.
- CHAPIN, ROBERT COIT, Ph.D.**—*The Standard of Living among Working Men's Families in New York City.* New York, Charities Publication Committee. 1909. Contains a useful bibliography of methods of budget keeping and tabulation, and of printed collections of budgets.
- DAVIES, M. F.**—*Life in an English Village.* 1909. Unwin. 10s. 6d. net.
- LE PLAY, FRÉDÉRIC.**—*Les Ouvriers européens.* Paris 1855-1879. Contains a large number of elaborate monographs on working class families, including several in England.
- Liverpool Joint Research Committee.—*How the Casual Laborer Lives.* 1909. Liverpool, Northern Publishing Company. 1s.
- MANN, H. H.**—*Life in an Agricultural Village in England.* Sociological Papers, Vol. I, p. 163 1905.
- MORE, LOUISE BOLARD**—*Wage Earners' Budgets. A Study of Standards and Cost of Living in New York City.* New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1907. A detailed study of two hundred budgets.
- PATON, DUNLOP and INGLIS.**—*Study of the Dietary of the Working Classes in Edinburgh.* 6s. Contains probably the most thorough and scientific examination of food yet available.
- ROWNTREE, B. S.**—*Poverty: a Study of Town Life.* 1901. Macmillan. 1s. net.
- The Life of the Railway Clerk. Some Interesting Facts and Figures.* Prepared by Three Experienced Railwaymen. 1911. Railway Clerks Association. 3d. Gives budgets of thirty-three railway clerks.
- United States Bureau of Labor. *Sixth Annual Report, 1890. Cost of Production: Iron, Steel, Coal.* Gives returns from 3,260 families in these industries, including 770 families in Europe.
- WILLIAMS, ETHEL, M.D.**—*Report on Children on Poor Relief.* Poor Law Commission Vol. XVIII. 1910; Cd. 5037. P. S. King & Son. 2s. 4d.
- WILSON, FOX.**—*Wages and Earnings of Agricultural Laborers.* 1900; Cd. 346. 1905; Cd. 2376.
- Accounts of Expenditure of Wage Earning Women and Girls.* Board of Trade (Labor Department). 1911; Cd. 5963. 5d.
- Report on Cost of Living of the Working Classes in Large Towns.* Report of an Enquiry by the Board of Trade. United Kingdom: 1908; Cd. 3864. 6s. Germany: 1908; Cd. 4032. 4s. 11d. France: 1909; Cd. 4512. 4s. 1d. Belgium: 1910; Cd. 5065. 2s. 2d. All can be procured from P. S. King & Son.

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Fabian Tract No. 164.

GOLD AND STATE BANKING

A Study in the Economics of Monopoly.

BY

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GOLD AND STATE BANKING.

A STUDY IN THE ECONOMICS OF MONOPOLY.

PREFATORY NOTE ON CURRENCY CRANKS

Currency cranks are the most foolish of theorists, and their schemes the most futile of Utopias.

The following pages, read as a lecture to the Fabian Society in April, 1911, contain some speculations about the place of gold in the machinery of commerce which the writer puts forward with diffidence, precisely because of his distrust of the company he is keeping.

His speculations lead up to a remarkable conclusion, which, however, is not necessarily dependent on them. And the reader is particularly requested to note that what is here outlined is not a scheme, but a forecast. Neither the Government nor any individual is asked to adopt any proposals or to follow any advice. The writer invites them only to accept Mr. Asquith's well-known policy—"Wait and see." In his view, the almost inevitable effect of economic causes will be that our banks will continue to amalgamate. when there is only one bank, or virtually one, its power will be too enormous for private persons to wield; hence it must be controlled by the State.

The remarkable consequences of this monopoly are briefly indicated in the following pages, which to some extent are based on ideas set forth in Fabian Tract No. 147, "Capital and Compensation."

The connection between Socialism and currency is ancient and respectable.

Labor Notes.

Robert Owen, the father of Socialism, devised the simple expedient of labor notes, which, like a will-o'-the-wisp, if such a thing exist, has ever since lured Socialist theorists to destruction.

He established a series of stores, one, the most famous, in Gray's Inn Road, at which commodities, chiefly boots and clothes, were received and were paid for in hour notes on a valuation in money, an hour being reckoned at sixpence. The introduction of time was therefore purely nominal and for purposes of edification. The time value of an article had no necessary relation to the time spent in its production, except in so far as it has at present, that is, in so far as it regulates the cost of production.

Nothing which Owen devised in Utopian reconstruction seems to have lasted longer than a few months, or at most a year or two, and his labor exchanges all promptly failed, though exactly why does not appear. All one can learn from Frank Podmore's exhaustive biography is that they began with apparent success and sprang up in crowds, but in a year or two had all faded away.

In his labor notes, as in his co-operative communities, Owen got hold of a right idea, but he tried to do by private enterprise what can only be properly and completely accomplished by the State, and therefore he failed.

The idea of labor notes is simple enough. It is that labor, added to raw materials, creates wealth. Trade is simply barter. All that is wanted is some authorized indication that the laborer by his labor has created wealth. Constitute an authority with power to appraise the value embodied in the article and to grant certificates therefor, and you have at once a currency which is based on actual wealth and which cannot exceed it in amount.

Where the Theory Fails.

But there is one big flaw in this theory. The mere addition of labor to raw material does not necessarily create wealth. The product must be such as to satisfy some human desire. Moreover, the amount of the labor is no measure of the amount of wealth. And the human desire must be a desire for the product *here and now*, in exactly the right form and quantity. Without this correspondence no amount of labor produces wealth. Finally, not only does desire fluctuate and change, but also it has the very awkward feature that it automatically and inevitably diminishes in intensity as the quantity of the product increases. Thus it is impossible to measure wealth in terms of labor.

Moreover, where do services come in? The work of tramway-men and busmen and cabmen is moving about people. It may be argued that I am of more value to the community when by the labor of numerous railway servants I am removed each day from the Surrey village in which I live to my office in London, but their labor embodied in me has no exchange value, and it may be said to be cancelled by more labor on the part of the railway servants in conveying me home again at night.

A moment's reflection will show that only some labor is so embodied in commodities as to have a more or less permanent exchange value. Therefore the theory breaks down. The Marxian law stipulates that the labor which creates value shall be socially valuable, but the difficulty is that this can only be ascertained long after the labor has been expended. The labor embodied in commodities cannot be valued with any certainty because the value of the commodity fluctuates, whilst the value of the labor note, if it is to be useful as currency, must be rigidly fixed. The labor note, in fact, comes to be merely an attractive name for a paper currency; the idea that its amount will be automatically regulated by the available wealth of the community vanishes. The notion that it has

some special security in the object created by the labor it pays for is unsound because the object created has itself no certain value.

It may be thought that the labor note project is as dead as the wages fund theorem, and it is waste of time to demonstrate its fallacies. This is not so. A recent book, entitled "Twentieth Century Socialism,"* by the late Edmond Kelly, an American lawyer, and a most capable and intelligent man, describes a mixed system of currency, according to which gold will be used for export purposes and labor notes for internal trade, and this project is set out in all seriousness as the most up to date device for settling currency problems.

But any ardent advocate of labor notes who reads this is no doubt already burning to point out that the advantage of labor notes would be that, unlike gold, they cost virtually nothing to produce, and unlike some other forms of currency, they earn no interest, whilst bills and mortgage bonds and overdrafts all carry interest, a charge on industry for the benefit of the capitalists.

The Guernsey Market Notes.

Socialists who take up finance have at intervals since Socialism began, discovered the Guernsey Market House, and they tell us with glee how the States of Guernsey, being short of the needful, resolved to build a market and to pay the workpeople, not in gold but in labor notes, which were to be legally current till the profits of the market enabled them to be redeemed. Why should not our municipalities build their markets, lay their tramlines, construct their waterworks by the same method, and thus escape the necessity of paying ransom to the monopolists of gold or, in simpler words, interest on the capital borrowed.

Mr. Theodore Harris, a member of our Society, not exactly orthodox in his opinions or, indeed, practice, in the matter of currency, has rendered a great service by investigating this famous transaction in the archives of the island; † and alas, the bright illusion vanishes! The labor notes were not, so far as evidence goes, given in exchange for labor, but were put out as currency, just as Argentina or Honduras, or Venezuela does to-day. They were not secured on a market in building, but on an excise of spirits, just as any borrowing State with bad credit hypothecates its customs or its railway receipts as special security for its loan. In fact, the notes have not been repaid yet, and these same notes, though the Market House was built in 1820, still circulate in the island.

What the States of Guernsey actually did was to issue paper money, in small amounts, intended to be redeemed after short periods; and the scheme came to an end apparently, precisely as the economists predict. Guernsey found the facile descent into paper currency as attractive as all States find it. It set its printing

* Longmans; 1910. 7s. 6d. net.

† "An Example of Communal Currency: the Facts About the Guernsey Market House." Compiled . . . by J. Theodore Harris. P. S. King & Son. 1911.

press humming till its paper notes amounted to £55,000. Then the bankers kicked. The account of their difficulties is obscurely worded, and the editor makes no attempt to elucidate it. But it seems clear that foreign commerce and finance could not go on with a currency incapable of export. The market notes were driving out the gold, because gold alone was valuable for sending abroad. So the bankers persuaded the States to retrace their steps. The £55,000 was reduced to £41,000, and at this figure it has remained ever since.

It is obvious that any Government by the issue of paper money, can make once for all, a profit to the amount of the gold replaced by the paper which has no appreciable cost. To that extent it is always possible for a Government to obtain a supply of capital free of cost. It can only do it once. In the United Kingdom the value of our gold coins in circulation is £113,000,000.* Theoretically we could let the foreigner take these, and replace them by inconvertible paper. Practically every nation which can afford it uses gold in preference to inconvertible paper, because experience shows that a currency of, or based on, gold is worth as an instrument of exchange far more than its cost. Inconvertible paper is only used by nations who have blundered financially and have failed hitherto to recover their losses

The Stability of Gold.

Gold, then, is universally regarded as the best basis for currency, because it is the most stable. But it is said by some that the alleged stability of gold as a measure of value is not a fact. Other things, it is said, exchange with gold in proportion to its quantity. An increase in the supply of gold means a rise in prices, because there is more gold available to exchange against products in general. It is pointed out that the gold production of the world has increased enormously, from £22,000,000 in 1885 to £95,000,000 in 1911, and in fact the rise in commodity prices in most countries of the world, and recently England, is a marked feature of present day politics.

Let us consider what actually happens. Every month the Transvaal mines produce some 800,000 ozs. of gold, worth roughly £3,400,000. The greater part of that gold is shipped to London. When £1,000,000 of gold is landed from South Africa, let us suppose that it is taken, as much or most of it is, by the Bank of England. When in the Bank it is actual or potential money, and is available as currency or floating capital. Its immediate effect is to increase the supply of loanable capital, to decrease the rate of interest on such capital by increasing the supply, and also by increasing the gold reserve. (It must be remembered that the Bank rate is largely determined by the amount of gold reserve; the rate is put up when gold is scarce, in order to attract floating capital to England, and therefore to check the outflow of gold and sometimes to bring gold)

* Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint, 1911. Of this sum £44,214,173 was held by bankers, including the Bank of England, on June 30th, 1910. Gold bullion to the value of £20,000,000 also in the Bank is not included in the above.

But low rates of interest mean cheap trading and low prices. So the first effect of more gold is not to raise but to lower, even if only a little, the range of prices.*

Now has it any other effect? Does anybody who has a bank account, in the savings bank or any other bank, ever fail to get gold when he asks for it? Obviously not. Whether the Bank of England has much gold or little, it always pays in gold any person who has a claim upon it. Even if ten or twenty millions in gold were brought into the Bank, no person would use another sovereign than he uses now †

It therefore seems to be clear that for currency purposes we have in England, and have had for fifty years past, every ounce of gold we want to use. Whether the Transvaal or Mysore or Westralia or the Jungle produce from their mines ounces of gold by the million or no ounces at all, we in England do not use one half sovereign more or less of currency. If I owned a private mine, and took its proceeds, 100,000 ounces, to the Mint, and got it coined into sovereigns, I could only pay these into a bank; in a few hours they would be in the coffers of the Bank of England, and the currency would be at exactly the same level as before †

The inference is that the quantity of gold in use in England as currency is not determined by the quantity of gold produced in the mines, because currency in England is the first claim on the world supply of gold, and is relatively a small claim. A mere fraction of the ninety-five millions in value produced annually (the figure is for 1911) is all that is required to supply the wear and tear, and to meet the demands (if there are any) of our growing population, and increasing commerce and industry. If half a million or one million is all we need annually for our currency, it is immaterial whether the total production is fifty or seventy-five or one hundred millions.

What becomes of the rest? Large amounts are used in the arts, for jewelry and watches and gold leaf. For the rest, it seems probable that other countries are not, as we are, full up with gold. Twenty years ago, when I was in the United States, I saw a gold coin in the Eastern and Middle States in the course of three months only once or twice. There was no gold in circulation, and I believe there is very little even now. § Only a few years ago, in 1907, America

* Some economists argue that a low rate of discount encourages loans for the purchase of commodities and so raises prices. But the new loans may also be applied to the production of more commodities and so lower prices. In fact during the present century, with its unparalleled gold production, the Bank rate has on the average been markedly higher than it was at the end of the last century. From 1892-7 it varied between 2 per cent and 3 per cent. (average 2.46); from 1898-1911 it varied between 3 per cent and almost 5 per cent. (average 3.61). The recent effect of the great output of gold on prices through its tendency to lower the Bank rate has therefore been at the utmost only negative.

† For confirmation of this view see de Launay, "The World's Gold," quoted by W. W. Carlisle, "Monetary Economics" (Arnold, 1912), p. 6.

‡ Gold in circulation is currency; gold in the Bank is floating capital.

§ The United States Currency Department has taken a great deal of gold in recent years and held early in 1912 £247,000,000.

ran out of currency and had to borrow gold and anything else as quickly as possible from all the world over. India, again, is on a gold basis, but has no gold currency. It is said that the gold coinage melts away into hoards. Here too it is probable you could not get gold anywhere and everywhere, if you want it and have negotiable currency to give for it.

I am not prepared to say whether the rise of prices* in India, which is enormous, or in the United States, which is notorious, or in Germany, where it is affecting the fortunes of political parties, is or is not due to the increased supplies of gold or to what extent it is due to this cause among others in each case, because I am not familiar with the banking and currency system of those countries. They may in the past have had available less gold than they could use, and the increase of the world supply may be having some effect on their prices.

In England the only possible effect † of increased output of gold seems to me to be to lower prices, and that perhaps is why England has largely escaped that great rise in the cost of living of which so many other nations are complaining.

In foreign countries, it may be that the gold reservoir, so to speak, is not yet full, and its gradual filling from the produce of the mines may be affecting the level of prices. In England our reservoir has been full for the past half century at least, the level varies slightly from month to month or from year to year, but that is a matter of internal and external trade, and bears no sort of relation to the gold supply of the world.

The Local Value of Gold.

What, then, determines the value of gold? Why does half an ounce of gold (say £2) exchange, roughly, for a ton of iron, or a quarter of wheat? Why is it reckoned a bare living wage for a fortnight in London? Why in all these cases is the weight of gold half an ounce, and not a quarter of an ounce or two ounces?

* The increase of prices abroad must affect the prices of imported goods and raw materials in England.

† One accepted explanation of the effect of increased gold production on prices attributes the rise to the increased demand for commodities caused by the wealth of the mineowners. But in this connection gold is in no way different from any other commodity, except in so far as a bountiful harvest or a big cotton crop tend to depress the prices of wheat and cotton; and the increase of wealth in terms of gold is not necessarily proportionate to the increase of commodities. According to this theory, the settlement of new countries (as in Canada or South America) should affect prices quite as much as the discovery of new gold fields. Stanley Jevons made an investigation of prices in the years 1845-62 and calculated, by taking "unweighted" prices (i.e., considering a rise of 10 per cent. in the price of corn as practically equivalent to a fall of 10 per cent. in the price of black pepper), that prices on the average had risen 94 per cent. coincidentally with an increase in the production of gold. All his forecasts based on this induction have proved wrong, and he made no attempt to check his conclusion by ascertaining that no such alteration of prices had occurred in previous decades when there had been no change in gold production. Moreover he did not attempt to show *how* the increased output of gold had affected prices. ("A Serious Fall in the Value of Gold," by W. Stanley Jevons; Stanford, 1863. This is said to be still the classical authority for the generally accepted doctrine.)

Well, the first thing to notice is that the value of gold not only varies from century to century—that is well known, and economists write books about it—but from place to place.

By one of those odd blindnesses common amongst economists, the fact that the exchange value of gold varies from place to place is commonly disregarded: the professors are aware of the phenomenon but it does not fit into their theories, and so they only speak of it as a variation in real wages, or the cost of living. But if the value of commodities varies in terms of gold, it is necessarily and equally true that the value of gold varies in terms of commodities.

I read recently that in the remote interior of China a European missionary can live in comfort on 12s 6d. a month. That is an extreme case. Wages in Belgium are, according to Seeböhm Rowntree,* about half those in England. In America, according to a recent Board of Trade Report,† wages are more than twice our rate, and it is commonly said that a dollar is the equivalent of a shilling. Now I do not see that it can be disputed that this means that the value of gold in terms of commodities and services varies. Impossible, it is sometimes said: merchants would buy where commodities are cheap, people with fixed incomes would rush to live where their gold purchases much. Well, they would and they do. The coast towns of France swarm with our half-pay officers, who live there precisely because their gold has a higher value in France than in England. And as for the merchants, their business in the main does consist in buying where many commodities are given for little gold, and selling where more gold is given for the same commodities. Would eggs be brought from Denmark and Siberia and Ireland to sell, not in London only, but throughout England, in towns and villages and farms, if eggs and gold interchanged on equal terms in Siberia and in Surrey?

Now the prices of certain articles, of corn and cotton, of iron and copper and tin, are more or less international. Apart from tariffs, corn and iron must fetch practically the same prices in London and Hamburg, in Marseilles and in Constantinople, because cargoes can be sent to one or the other at practically the same cost; they are one market for international produce, and goods in one market can have but one price.

But for land and houses and labor, and innumerable other things, the effective market is measured by half-miles, and for the great bulk of things it is bounded by a frontier. Our home trade, as all the world knows, is enormously greater than our foreign trade and enormously more valuable. Only a mere fraction of the people can select their places of residence in accordance with the purchasing power of their incomes, because most incomes are earned. Only a tiny fraction will exercise this choice, because most people are bound

* In some trades, in others the difference is less. "Land and Labor: Lessons from Belgium" (Macmillan, 1910), p. 561, etc.

† The precise ratio is as 100 to 235. "The Cost of Living in American Towns." *Cd.* 5609, 1911.

by stronger attractions than a high purchasing power of gold. Finally, only a few of the things which are bought and sold can be transferred from one country to another.

Since, then, gold has different values according to locality, it is clear in the first place that its value is not determined by any cause connected with gold itself. For gold is indisputably international and flows with hardly a trace of resistance from one country to another, across oceans and mountains from Arctic beaches and Australian deserts, to the strong rooms in London and Paris and Berlin.

Hence we are forced to the apparently absurd conclusion that the value of gold in any given locality is not determined by any general cause at all, but depends on local custom. In other words, agricultural labor is paid 10s. a week in Dorset and 20s. a week in Northumberland largely because it was paid, let us say, 9s. a week in Dorset and 18s. a week in Northumberland ten years ago, and the laborers have managed to get a rise of 1s. and 2s. respectively in the interval. If you ask why wages are not 18s. a week in Dorset also, there is no reason in the nature of things. It is custom.* Northumbrians have been able to raise their wages because of the neighboring coal mines Dorset men have not. But it is misleading to use special illustrations. A dozen explanations can be given why wages vary in different countries. But it is not so easy by any means to explain why the general level of prices varies so enormously from Belgium or Russia to New York or Pittsburg.

Take Belgium again. According to Mr. Rowntree wages are low because house rents are low.† Rents are low because building is cheap. Building is cheap because wages are low. A complete circle! In other words wages are low in Belgium because wages are low. That in my opinion is the correct explanation. In terms of gold it is equivalent to saying that the value of gold in relation to commodities is high in Belgium. In fact, labor is not, as used to be said, the source of all wealth, but a factor in all wealth of overwhelming importance. The cost of labor largely determines the range of prices. Wherever labor is or has been scarce and that scarcity has forced wages up and prices with them: or wherever labor is organized and intelligent, and demands high wages, prices also are high, and gold is relatively cheap. On the other hand where labor is ignorant or degraded, or remote from the world market, wages are low, prices are low, and gold is dear.

* By custom I mean that which exists owing to the habits of thought of the people of a district. The value of gold in terms of labor, for example, is fixed locally because people have been and are in the habit of offering and accepting certain rates of wages, certain rents for cottages and, to some extent, for farms, and even prices for commodities. Within the limits of these customs, rates are kept relatively stable by competition. No man can obtain much more than the customary rate because of the competition of his neighbors.

† This is not intended as a criticism of Mr. Rowntree, and in fact he does not explicitly include low rents amongst the causes of low wages in Belgium, though it is implied on pp. 72 and 529. See also pp. 445, 527 and 528 of "Land and Labor."

But remember, labor benefits by high wages even if accompanied by high prices, because the world market controls the prices of world commodities, such as corn and meat, and therefore, notwithstanding high prices, the American and Australian and English workmen are better off than the Belgian and Italian, the Hindu and the Chinese.

Is Gold a Monopoly?

Socialists sometimes object to gold as a basis of currency, because they say that the bankers and financiers have a monopoly of gold, and by that monopoly make great wealth for themselves.

Now the idea that in England bankers and financiers have a monopoly of gold, or desire a monopoly of it, is singularly perverse. In fact, it is the one commodity of which by law there is, and can be, no monopoly. Our whole monetary system is based on free gold, and it is this free gold which makes London the financial clearing-house of the world. By law, every bank or other debtor must make payment in Bank of England notes or in gold, and every holder of Bank of England notes can by law get gold for his notes at the Bank. A monopoly of gold, if it means anything, means a monopoly, not against the poor, but against the rich. De Beers have a virtual monopoly of diamonds because they control the sales to the rich, who are able and willing to buy. There is no monopoly in motor cars, though comparatively few are wealthy enough to be buyers.

There is, by law, no monopoly of gold, because any man who can command three pounds' worth of saleable property, or can do three pounds' worth of saleable services, and therefore has a claim on the world, can demand payment in gold, and, in fact as well as law, can get it in gold.

But there is another consideration. The odd thing is that gold, supposed to be desired by all men, is in fact the one thing bankers dislike and detest.

A banker keeps a large part of his assets in investments of various sorts, stocks, bills and loans, and a small part in gold. The stocks and bills and loans all yield interest, and it is from them that he pays the interest on his deposits, and makes his working expenses, and his dividends. His gold yields no return whatever, and requires safe custody, for which he has to pay. Every additional £1,000 in gold is so much interest lost, and so much extra coin to be cared for. Every thousand sovereigns he pays away reduces his dead capital. That is why there is a constant rumble of complaint going on that the bankers do not keep a sufficient reserve of coin, and trust too much to the Bank of England. The financial critics, always half a century out of date, as I shall subsequently show, are full of the terrible risks the banks run in keeping their stocks of gold so low. Why this perversity if their "monopoly" of gold is so precious? On the contrary, what is precious to them is to get rid of every sovereign they can possibly spare, and to fust on to the Bank of England, a semi-public body, the duty of keeping for the country the enormous stock of idle and useless gold, which from generation to generation reposes in its vaults, as a fetish for the City to worship, a sort of

golden ark of the covenant, kept in the holy of holies of Threadneedle Street, never to be seen or touched by the ordinary mortal, but in some mysterious way essential to the stability and endurance of the mighty fabric of our commerce and industry.

During the past twenty years there has never been less than 20 millions sterling of gold in the Bank, rusting, so to speak, idly in its strong rooms. During the last forty years there has never been less than 17½ millions. Even in 1866, the year of the great panic, when half the banks were toppling and credit was shaken to its core, the Bank never had less than 11½ millions, and this was only about a million under the average of several previous years.

Our Banks too Big to Fail.

The fact, which surely everybody knows and hardly anybody ventures to state, is that the stability of our great banks—and all our banking system which now matters a tittle consists of great banks—is based not on the supply of gold in their vaults, nor on the reserve in the Bank of England, but on the fact that they are too big to fail, too big commercially and far too big politically. If Lloyds, or the London County, or the National Provincial stopped payment, the consequences would far exceed a San Francisco earthquake, a Chicago fire, or any other catastrophe within the memory of man. The Chancellor of the Exchequer with a word could avert the catastrophe as Richard Seddon did in New Zealand,* and so saved his country from the panic which desolated Australia; or as an alternative, a dozen bank managers in conclave could save the situation, as they saved it when reckless speculation in Argentine loans wrecked the fortunes of the house of Barings.

Is it credible that both the Ministry and the banking community would stand aside in face of an impending calamity certain to bring them irretrievable misfortunes?

Even in America at the financial crisis of a few years ago the banks, when they had time to think about it, refused to resign when defeated by the scarcity of currency, considering it wiser simply to decline to honor cheques till the clouds rolled by, rather than follow the traditionally correct course of closing their doors and winding up in bankruptcy because they happened to have run short of gold or paper currency.

The ultimate security of our banks is, then, dependent not on a stock of gold, but on the political and commercial common sense of our country. The economists still talk about commercial crises because they read Mill and Ricardo—who wrote about what they saw around them—instead of observing what happens now. All the first class finance of the empire is and has for years been centred in London, and there has been no bank failure in London of the traditional sort since the failure of Overend, Gurney & Co. in 1866,

* By an Act passed in one day, June 30th, 1894, the Government lent the Bank of New Zealand £2,000,000 in return for a share of control. A further loan was made in 1895.—“Newest England,” by H. D. Lloyd. (New York), Doubleday. 1900. Page 276.

an event which but few bankers nowadays will be old enough to recollect *Industrial* crises—periods of declining trade—we still have, and shall have no doubt for years to come. *Financial* crises are matters of ancient history, which are described in the classical economists, who, I understand, are chiefly studied by the occupants of bank parlors.

Bankers, old fashioned people who follow tradition with great reverence, still believe that their five per cent. or ten per cent. of gold is their sole salvation. They compare their banks to a mighty pyramid of credit standing upside down, poised on its tiny apex of gold; they flatter themselves that it is their extraordinary caution, their admirable system, their almost superhuman dexterity, which alone accomplish this perennial miracle.

The Basis of Currency.

In fact it is all a delusion, because the security of the credit system does not depend on gold, but on public good sense; and gold is to the system merely the small change, as silver and copper are to the individual. The only proper explanation of our system of currency with which I am acquainted is to be found in John A. Hobson's important book, "The Industrial System," although it is in my opinion marred by a curious error of some £15,000,000,000 sterling! The great bulk of our currency consists of bankers' credit, but it does not seem to be commonly recognized that the potential substance of bank credit is the total tangible wealth of the country, which is estimated at something between fifteen and twenty thousand millions sterling*.

The realized property of the nation consists of all sorts of things—land, houses, machinery, products, raw or manufactured, all the miscellaneous property summed up in the case of individuals *only* at their death for the beneficent operation of the death duties.

Our banking system is an enormous federated pawnshop. Those who have things—traders with goods bought on credit, or in warehouses, or on the high seas, or in process of manufacture, land-owners requiring money to build or improve, householders desiring to buy a house and pay by instalments, all who want to use and control property which they cannot at the moment fully pay for, deposit the documents representing that property, deeds, bills, bonds, etc., at a bank as security for loans. On the other side is the class who keep their spare money at the bank, current accounts or deposit accounts. What the banker borrows he lends. What the depositors possess is really and ultimately the goods which the borrowers have pledged.

Our currency consists in the main of crossed cheques, that is, orders on the bankers to transfer claims on the goods in pawn from

* He considers the effect on prices of a given increase of the output of gold in relation to the national income (£2,000,000,000). My view is that gold, except for use in the arts, is of the character of capital and not income, since it is necessarily saved, and cannot be spent. Hence the increased output has relation to the national capital, which is fifteen to twenty thousand millions. See Chapter xvi.

one account in a bank to another account in the same or another bank. As I have said before, the whole of the realized and saleable wealth of the country or, to speak more accurately, the whole less the margin of safety which the prudent banker would deduct, is potentially available to be thus turned into currency; and under a perfect system, a monopoly, it would actually be available.

One State Bank.

Our banking system can, however, never be perfect till it is not merely a series of trusts, but an actual monopoly, which of course must be under the State

If all banking were done at one bank, the problem would be infinitely simplified, and people would realize that our paper currency, bank notes, cheques and bills are not, in truth, based on gold alone, but on all other forms of realized wealth. Moreover, they would further perceive that the real limitation of a banker's operations is not the amount of his deposits, but the amount of his loans.

The assets of the bank are the goods pawned with it. Whilst we have a number of independent banks, each one can only lend in proportion to its deposits, because one bank might hold the property, and another bank might hold the credits or currency secured on it. If we had but one bank, and all cheques were drawn on it, and had to be paid back again into it, banking, so far as internal commerce was concerned, would be reduced to book-keeping. A supply of gold would have to be kept for small change, but beyond that, for the purposes of internal transactions, no gold basis would be dreamt of; no banking panic could be feared, because what was withdrawn with one hand would have to be paid back with the other.

The Uselessness of Deposits.

A universal State bank could convert into currency any property lodged with it, and would not have to consider its deposits of currency, that is, its deposits in the ordinary sense. What good, then, would the deposits be? Why should the bank accept and pay interest on deposits? The only possible answer is in the negative. Under a régime of competition, bankers must pay interest on deposits because their loans are limited by their borrowings. Under a monopoly conditions are wholly altered. The "laws" of political economy and the rules of commerce, elaborately worked out in theory as well as in practice on the assumption of competition vanish into nothing as soon as a monopoly supervenes.

The economics of monopoly have not yet been even sketched, but at first glance one can see surprising results.

With a strict banking monopoly all crossed cheques would be drawn on and paid into the same bank. Therefore, all cheque transactions would be book transfers from one customer to another.

Under the competitive banking system, if I have £1,000 at my credit in Parr's Bank, the bank will pay me £20 or £30 a year to leave that deposit there, because if I spent it, I should pay it away to persons who had accounts in other banks. But if there was only

one bank, I could only pay it away to other customers of that bank ; the £1,000 could only be transferred from one customer to another. That, obviously, would make no sort of difference to the bank. Therefore, the bank would not pay me £30 a year for refraining from transferring my £1,000 to other accounts in the bank's ledgers.

It is easy to explain why, under competitive banking, a banker's loans are limited by his deposits, and under a unified banking system there would be no such limit. When a bank accepts, say, warrants for goods in dock warehouses as security for a loan, it in effect promises to pay gold, if demanded, to the agreed amount. For most purposes this promise does not take effect, because transactions are in cheques balanced against one another.

But at the end of the day each banker squares up through the Clearing House, and if in any case the amount due *to* other banks exceeds the amount due *from* other banks, the bank which owes actually does pay in gold or in notes or drafts on the Bank of England, which are equivalent to gold.

Deposits in a bank are made in gold or cheques on other banks. The bank which receives £1,000 in deposits, can lend that sum, because its payments out will equal its payments in. But it cannot lend in excess of its deposits to any large extent, because it would have to pay away the difference in gold or its equivalent, at the end of the day.

But if there were only one bank there would be no settling up in the evening ; no other bank would exist to demand a balance in gold. All the elaborate Clearing House business, which is in effect, a balancing up in order to arrange that each particular bank shall have at the end of the day the proper amount of assets to balance its liabilities would cease, because the claims on the goods would always be in the possession of clients of the bank which held the goods. The bank, it is true, would undertake to pay gold against goods as before, but gold for internal circulation—and for the moment I exclude foreign trade—varies in amount slowly and between well-ascertained limits ; and on the average, if one borrower took his loan in gold, other depositors would bring in gold to the equivalent amount.

Remarkable Consequences Thereof.

I confess this proposition is simply staggering. There are our enormous bank deposits, the pride of the City, fifteen hundred millions in all. Banks are amalgamating every day. There are only some sixty or seventy left which do home business in the United Kingdom. If those amalgamate, the need for these enormous deposits suddenly, so to speak, vanishes. The universal banker drops a note to each depositor : "Dear Sir or Madam, The National London Midland County Capital Joint Stock Bank of England has resolved to amalgamate with Messrs. Lloyds, Parr, Barclay, British Linen Co., its remaining competitor, as from the 25th inst., and I beg to inform you that we shall no longer be able to pay interest on your deposit. You may take it somewhere else *if you can*. Your obedient servant, General Manager."

But this suggests a misconception. The interest-bearing value of deposits ceases, not by the fiat of a monopolist, but in actual fact. Bank deposits are only a shadow, so to speak, of wealth. Take a case. If I possess £1,000 of Great Western Railway five per cent. debentures (that is a part of the land, stations, engines, etc., of a railway company) any bank will lend me, say, £1,000 on them at, say, four per cent. If I choose to be so foolish, I can deposit that £1,000 in the same bank and the bank will pay me, say, two and a half per cent. on it.

We have then

- (a) Certain tangible things, railway lines, and buildings and engines,
- (b) Debenture stock representing them at five per cent.,
- (c) A loan from the bank on them at four per cent.,
- (d) A deposit at the bank of the loan at two and a half per cent.,

all three latter based on the railway, and consisting of nothing else than the railway. The action of the bank in lending £1,000 on the debentures is to make the railway, to the extent of £1,000, available for currency. For the time it is as much currency as gold or notes.

Now the point I want to make clear—and it is not very simple—is that deposits in banks are based on things like railways or bales of cotton, have no value apart from those things, have no power apart from those things of earning interest, and are not in themselves of any value, but merely represent claims of one set of people on wealth apparently held by another set.

It is all a system of double entry. Every item appears at least twice. So long as we have competing banks this system must be kept up, and a bank must make its claims on the general stock of wealth, that is, its deposits, balance its loans, that is the claims it gives to others, on the particular wealth pawned with itself.

But as soon as it becomes the universal pawnshop, the sole creator of bankers' currency, it cannot be called upon (as any one bank can at present) to pay against property lodged in another bank. Therefore the value of deposits ceases.

Effect on the Rate of Interest.

Another consideration arises. If the unified bank has not to pay interest on deposits,* what rate of interest would it charge on loans? On the whole I do not see why it should charge more than enough to earn the necessary working expenses and interest on its working capital, say one and a half per cent. It will really in practice be much less. But let us say one and a half per cent. for the present. Take a simple case. I buy ten acres of land for £5,000 in order to build houses for sale. I deposit that land—in the form of deeds—with the universal bank, which advances me £4,000. That £4,000

* Banks hold large deposits on current account for which they pay no interest. But this is really a concealed "cross entry" The customer pays the bank for keeping his account by letting it have a loan without interest.

is paid away in cheques to timber merchants and brick merchants, and artisans of all sorts, and all the cheques obviously are paid in again to the bank, so that the £4,000 stands in other names than mine. Presently I sell the houses for £10,000 which comes into my account out of some other account all in the one bank. Then I pay off the loan get my land transferred to the purchasers, and the transaction is closed. I started with £5,000 and end up with £6,000. The bank is out of pocket by the cost of the clerical labor, the valuation of the land and other working expenses, and that is all. These I must pay. Beyond these working expenses, there is no necessary reason why anything should be charged at all.

Further, the effect of this on the rate of interest on borrowed money would be remarkable. If the State bank lent on good security at one and a half per cent fixed, it would obviously pay me to buy £1,000,000 Consols returning about three per cent., and get the money from the bank at one and a half per cent. The security would be perfect, and the profit £15,000 a year. Everybody would do this. And at once the price of all gilt-edged securities would rise till they returned to an investor only a shade over one and a half per cent. Our two and a half per cent. Consols could be reduced at once to one and a half per cent. Our town and county councils could borrow in future at one and a half per cent. The toll taken by the idle possessors of capital would in future borrowings be only half what it has hitherto been, though existing obligations would continue for a time.

A Bank Monopoly in Sight.

We are already within an easily measurable distance of a banking monopoly. In the Stock Exchange Year Book for 1898 the number of banks recorded which did a home trade, in the United Kingdom and the Isle of Man, is one hundred and twenty. In the volume for 1908 the number is seventy-nine. In ten years forty-one banks have disappeared.

The latest list of joint stock banks,* omitting one or two quite insignificant in size, is sixty-eight, some of them quite small ones. At the present rate of decrease there will be only sixteen in 1924, and only one in 1929! It is not the small banks only which disappear. Only recently the London and County and the London and Westminster, both first rank concerns, joined their forces. It is, moreover, inevitable because large banks almost invariably pay a higher rate of interest on their capital than small ones.† It is an advantage to big banks to buy small ones, and to small ones to sell to big. In another ten years everybody will be discussing what the

* "Stock Exchange Year Book," 1912. I have not included the very large number of foreign and colonial banks, which no doubt conduct a little home trade, or the discount houses. The Co-operative Wholesale Bank is not in the list, but I doubt if there are any other omissions.

† The Bank of England is an exception; it has a relatively low rate of dividend because it keeps so large a part of its capital in gold.

effects of a banking monopoly will be. This, then, is no speculation, such as the familiar puzzle, How will newspapers run under Socialism? This banking monopoly is coming so near that it is actually in sight, and its arrival can be calculated almost as accurately as the next total eclipse of the sun.

Moreover, this monopoly cannot be left in private hands. Finance is the life blood of commerce, of industry, and of politics. Any board of directors which possessed exclusive power to grant or withhold credit would be the virtual dictators of the Government and of the lives of the people. No community could endure such a monopoly for an hour in any other hands than its own representatives. And the control over industry which such a monopoly would give to the State must have far reaching consequences.*

International Banking.

But unfortunately this attractive forecast can scarcely be realized in one country alone. If the United Kingdom no longer gave interest on deposits and America maintained her antiquated system of tiny banks, currency would tend to float over where it would earn interest, and this would mean in the long run a demand by America for our gold. In fact competition between countries is on the same lines as competition between banks in one country.

But there is already in existence a piece of machinery expressly designed to maintain our stock of gold. The Bank rate is put up when there is too big a demand for our gold because a relatively high rate of interest attracts floating capital from other financial centres, Paris, or Berlin, or New York, and the influx of capital means either the influx of gold or the cessation of its efflux.

Under the unified banking system this machinery would necessarily be retained, in order to preserve the balance of gold actually required for our international and internal trade.

But this retention of the Bank rate means that interest would continue to be paid on floating capital, that is, amongst other things, bank deposits; and so it may be said the whole idea of cheap loans vanishes. I think this is not necessarily the case.

Bankers' deposits vary in their depth, so to speak, from day to day money, lent for twenty-four hours only, to loans, mostly taken by bankers trading abroad, for periods up to a year. Now day to day money cannot move far. A lender who may require repayment in a day or even a week will not send his money even as far as Paris. Probably by far the greater part of bankers' deposits is money

* The State already participates in the business of banking through the Post Office Savings Banks and the Postal Order and Money Order business. In Austria, Switzerland (1906), Japan (1906), and Germany (1909) Postal Cheque systems have been in operation for some years which in effect convert every post office into a branch bank for the purpose of the transfer of money. (Report by the Postal Clerks Association, 39 Gainsborough Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester. "The Post Office: the Case for Improvement, Development, and Extension," ? 1911. ? free) Progress in England on these lines may be anticipated, and ultimately the State will doubtless work the Post Office Banking business and the Unified Bank in co-operation. But it is not possible here to deal with the problem of their amalgamation.

required at very short notice, which would in no case be sent abroad. It is true that the rate of interest paid on deposits varies with the Bank rate, but it always lags one and a half per cent. behind that rate, and that rate itself is quite often below the market rate. It is therefore clear that floating capital is attracted from abroad by the rate of discount on bills, and not by the rate of interest on deposits. When the Bank rate is four per cent in London and three per cent in Paris, the London holder of a bill who wishes cash for it discounts it in Paris at three per cent. rather than in London at four per cent. In other words he sells the bill in Paris and gets the money (floating capital) sent over to London for him. But the merchant with more money than he wants for the moment does not as a rule deposit elsewhere than with his own bank, and he takes the two per cent. or three per cent., whatever it is, according as fate determines.

It is difficult to foresee exactly what would happen under a unified banking system, that is, under conditions very different from our own. But so far as I can judge the continuance of the protection of our gold reserve by means of a varying Bank rate does not involve the maintenance of our present payment for money placed on deposit. It must be remembered that already the bankers hold enormous sums on current account on which they pay no interest at all. Further; at present Colonial and other banks accept deposits for terms of months at substantially higher rates than the London banks pay, and therefore deposits fixed for long periods tend to go abroad. This tendency of deposits would be promoted if our unified bank paid no interest at all, and perhaps payment of interest on deposits for substantial terms might be necessary, at any rate at first, in order to help to keep our gold at home and prevent our Bank rate from maintaining too high a level.

All this is only a special example of the general rule that industrially the world is rapidly becoming a unit. It is practically impossible for one country greatly to outstrip the others in even such rudimentary instalments of Socialism as factory legislation or such elementary approximations to common sense as reduction of armaments.

As I have said before, it is difficult to see precisely how near we can approach to an ideal banking system in England so long as other countries remain as they are. But of one thing we may be sure. Other countries will advance, as we are advancing; and if the international difficulty is the only one this forecast has to face, it may be regarded with confident equanimity.

Socialist Theorists Justified.

One point in conclusion. The old Utopian Socialists invented labor notes because they dimly saw that currency should be founded on wealth and not alone on gold. Commerce and finance have spontaneously carried out their idea in a practical form and created the cheque system, which is, in fact, an almost perfect currency, based on wealth, the product of labor.

So, too, these forerunners dimly dreamed that interest was an unnecessary charge on labor and was somehow created by our system of finance. That dream, too, will come true, in so far as the interest is now unnecessarily charged on the simple transaction of making the realized wealth of the country available for our currency.

NOTE.

IT may be worth while to answer in anticipation two criticisms of a general character on the argument advanced in the foregoing paper.

If the quantity of gold produced bears practically no relation to its present value as currency, how, it may be said, can the enormous prices (i.e., the low value of gold) on goldfields be accounted for, and what is the explanation of the changes in the levels of prices in Tudor and other periods?

The answer is that my paper deals with currency in England, now, under a system of universal banking. In Tudor times and indeed at any time up to about half a century ago, there was no such banking system, and prices, in Tudor times at any rate, were determined by the quantity of gold or silver available for currency. The currency system I analyze is very modern and very local, and of other times and places I say nothing.

Again, it may be asked why we should not use silver or copper for our currency if the quantity of gold produced bears no relation to its value in currency. Would the discovery of a method of transmuting lead into gold have no effect on the exchange value of the sovereign?

The answer is this. If any one person possessed the secret of turning lead into gold and used it only to supply gold for his own needs as currency, his great wealth, increasing *pro tanto* the demand for commodities, would infinitesimally raise the general level of prices. Gold, for him, would be more easily obtained than commodities, and he would spend it freely. If many or most people obtained gold with relative ease (as was recently the case at Klondyke, or at any other placer goldfield), the general level of prices is raised because gold dust is relatively easier to obtain than bottles of whisky: and gold is in fact used rather for primitive barter than as an adjunct to a modern banking system.

If (as might conceivably happen) a cheap method of extracting gold from seawater were discovered, the company exploiting the secret would for a while earn enormous profits, and those profits would, by increasing the demand for products, raise, perhaps sensibly, the level of prices. But apart from this the currency value of gold in England would not be directly affected *so long as the whole output was freely absorbed*. (Elsewhere, in the absence of a complete banking system, prices might be greatly raised, and this would *indirectly* affect prices here.) But the time would ultimately come when nobody would want gold at the Mint price: the Bank of England would have enough, and all nations would have what they required for currency and for the arts at the fixed price. Then something would begin to happen. The sea-gold company of the hypothesis would get its gold turned into sovereigns at the Mint in accordance with the law, and these, put into circulation by the company, would be paid into banks and ultimately into the Bank of England. The Bank could not get rid of them because other countries, by hypothesis, already had all the gold they wanted. Our financial system would therefore be clogged with surplus gold which locked up the bank capital in a form yielding no interest. At this point, if not before, our system of free coinage of gold would no longer work, and the whole problem of currency would have to be reconsidered.

In other words, our present currency system (and incidentally the reasoning of the foregoing paper) is dependent on the fact that the demand for gold exceeds the supply. The output, however great, is absorbed somehow, and there is always room for more. The moment the demand is satisfied, a new factor, so it seems to me, will appear on the scene, the effects of which are not easily calculable.

Finally, I desire to emphasize that the distinction between capital (actual things which earn interest) and currency created out of this capital by banks (which can be used as capital for some purposes) is vital to my argument, and has been as yet insufficiently recognized by economists. It is the interest now charged on this form of currency which under an altered system could be largely and permanently reduced.

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FRANCIS PLACE

THE TAILOR OF CHARING CROSS

BY

ST. JOHN G. ERVINE

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FRANCIS PLACE,

THE TAILOR OF CHARING CROSS.

FRANCIS PLACE was born on November 3rd, 1771, in a "sponging-house," or private debtors' prison, in Vinegar Yard, near Drury Lane, kept by his father, Simon Place, who was at that time a bailiff to the Marshalsea Court. He died on January 1st, 1854, at a house in Foxley Terrace, Earl's Court, at the age of eighty-two. His death attracted almost as little attention as his birth. He might have passed out of the memory of men had not Mr. Graham Wallas dug out the facts of his career from a mass of unattractive manuscripts, and printed them in his admirable "Life of Francis Place." Yet no man of his century was more necessary to the establishment of democracy in England than he. He was essentially the practical man in politics. Other men saw visions and dreamed dreams, but he, when they related their visions and retold their dreams, turned the visions into acts and the dreams into laws. He was an agitator of a totally different type from the agitator of common imagination. He had not the gift of oratory, and was a little distrustful of those who had; he could not stir an audience by emotional appeals, nor did he aspire to do so, he could not force men to deeds by finely written statements, though he tried to do so. He was too prolix, too eager to state all that there was to state, whereas the art of writing consists in knowing what to omit; but he could prepare plans for using to the best advantage the emotion which orators evoked. He made ways for the safe passage of democracy, and devised schemes for its protection while it was still weak. When the visionaries came to him and said, "The people must be free," he replied. "Yes, but how shall we make them free?" And then, so practical was he, instantly set about discovering a means to this end. The idealist and the practical man too frequently work in opposition to each other. It was fortunate for the cause of democracy that Francis Place, entirely practical, should always have desired to work with the idealists who were setting up the structure of a commonwealth in England in the early nineteenth century.

Boyhood and Education.

His father was a rough, careless, and sometimes brutal man, whose habitual method of communicating with his children was to assault them. "If he were coming along a passageway or any narrow place such as a doorway, and was met by either me or my brother, he always made a blow at us with his fist for coming in his way. If we attempted

to retreat he would make us come forward, and as certainly as we came forward he would knock us down." Mr. Place, after a number of years' service as a keeper of a sponging-house, took a tavern, but he spent so much of his money in the State lotteries that he frequently had to resort to his old trade as a journeyman baker in order to retrieve his losses, his wife in the meantime maintaining their family by needlework. From the age of four until he was nearly fourteen Francis was sent to one of the private adventure schools which abounded in the neighborhood of Drury Lane and Fleet Street in the eighteenth century. The instruction given to him was of poor quality, but he was quick-witted and eager to know, and he easily became head boy in his school. His thirst for learning, however, did not prevent him from taking part in the street life of his day. He was, writes Mr. Graham Wallas, skilled in street games, a hunter of bullock in the Strand, an obstinate faction fighter, and a daily witness of every form of open crime and debauchery.

When the time came for him to leave school, he being then about fourteen years old, his father decided to apprentice him to a conveyancer, but he refused to become a lawyer; and his father, thus flouted, strode into the bar-parlor and offered him as an apprentice to anyone who would have him. A drunken breeches maker, named France, accepted the offer, and to him the boy was formally bound. During this time he became associated with a "cutter club"—an eight-oared boat's crew—who used to drink and sing together in the evening. The coxswain of this crew was subsequently transported for robbery, and the stroke oar was hanged for murder. A certain quality of pride saved Francis Place from dissoluteness, and in 1790, when he was eighteen, and had given up his indentures, he met his future wife, Elizabeth Chadd

Marriage.

The effect of this meeting was to check any tendency to viciousness he ever had. He then began the career of extraordinary endeavor, which lasted for the remainder of his life. His fortunes at this time were not happy. His trade was a declining industry, and, although he was a highly skilled workman, he could not earn more than fourteen shillings a week. His family was impoverished; his father, in ill-health, had sold his tavern and had lost the proceeds in a lottery, and his mother was obliged to work as a washerwoman. The time did not seem propitious for marriage; but Place, always indomitable and always hopeful, was prepared to take risks which Elizabeth Chadd, unhappy at home, was willing to share, and in March, 1791, when he was nineteen and a-half, and she was not quite seventeen, they married and went to live in one room in a court off the Strand. Their joint earnings were under seventeen shillings a week. "From this we had to pay for lodgings three shillings and sixpence a week, and on an average one shilling and sixpence a week for coals and candles. Thus we had only twelve shillings a week for food and clothes and other necessities."

When he was twenty-one, and the father of a child, a strike took place in the leather breeches trade. At this time the Combination Laws were still in force. There were, however, a number of societies of a purely benevolent character in existence, and to one of these, the Breeches Makers' Benefit Society, Francis Place belonged. He has left an interesting account of this society and the strike which it caused: "The club, though actually a benefit club, was intended for the purpose of supporting the members in a strike for wages. It had now, in the spring of 1793, about £250 in its chest, which was deemed sufficient. A strike was agreed upon, and the men left their work."

The conditions of labor in this trade were exceedingly bad. A skilled workman, regularly employed, could earn a guinea a week; but regular employment was seldom to be had, and, generally speaking, wages for good workmen, often employed, were never more than eighteen shillings a week, and frequently a good deal less. Unfortunately for the leather breeches makers, the employers made a counter move, which eventually destroyed the strike. They urged their customers to buy stuff breeches instead of those made of leather, and at the same time organized a boycott of all leather breeches makers, whether they were concerned in the strike or not. The Combination Laws theoretically applied to all members of the community, to employers as well as to workmen, but although they were rigorously enforced against workmen, Place, in after life, was unable to discover a single instance of their having been enforced against employers.

First Efforts at Organization.

Although Place was a member and a regular subscriber to the funds of his society, he seldom attended any of its meetings, and he was unaware of the fact that a strike had been decided upon, or that it had actually taken place, until he received his dismissal from one of his employers. The moment he heard of the strike he went to the club house, where he was informed that every man out of work would receive seven shillings a week from the funds. He made enquiries, and learned that there were as many members of the society as there were pounds in the chest, and saw that the funds would be exhausted in three weeks. His genius for organizing began to stir. The stewards of the club had no plans laid. It seemed to them that all that was necessary was to declare a strike and pay out seven shillings a week to the members until the funds were depleted. They hoped that by that time the employers would also be exhausted. Place changed all that. He suggested that those members who were prepared to leave London, undertaking not to return for one month, should receive a week's payment in advance. These men would not receive any further sum. A number of the members accepted the offer because of the custom of the trade that a tramping journeyman should receive a day's keep, a night's lodging, and a shilling the next morning, and in some of the larger towns a breakfast and half-a-crown from country leather breeches makers' shops to help him along until he had obtained work.

When this matter was settled, and the fund was thereby relieved, Place proposed another scheme of an ingenious character, whereby each man remaining in London, instead of receiving seven shillings per week, should make up two pairs of breeches of a particular quality, for which he should be allowed four shillings each pair. These breeches were sold in a shop taken for the purpose, Place being employed as manager for twelve shillings a week. The effect of these proposals was that the fund, instead of being exhausted at the end of three weeks, lasted for three months. The strike, however, was unsuccessful. When the money was expended the men had to return to work on the employers' terms, and those of them, like Place, who had been conspicuous in the strike, were refused employment of any sort by any leather breeches maker. The failure of the strike was due to the facts that the industry was a declining one and that the masters, being few in number, were able to combine with little trouble against their workers.

A Time of Acute Poverty.

To this time of strike organization there succeeded, for Place, a time of acute poverty. For eight months he could not obtain work of any kind. He had expended his small savings during the period of the strike and so was without resources. His only child had sickened of smallpox and died. He and his wife suffered every privation that comes from lack of food and adequate shelter. They had pawned all that they had to pawn, obtaining for this purpose the services of an old woman who lived in the same house; for, though they were actually enduring hunger, neither he nor she would go to the pawnbroker in person. When they could no longer find pledgable goods, the old woman, guessing their state, informed the landlord of the house, and he offered them credit for everything he sold, whilst his wife almost forced them to accept bread, coals, soap and candles. "And at the end of our privation, notwithstanding we were only half fed on bread and water, with an occasional red herring, we were six pounds in debt to our landlord."

When it seemed that the boycott upon him would not be removed, Place decided to leave his trade, and sought employment as overseer of parish scavengers at eighteen shillings a week. He obtained the post, but a few days before he was expected to begin his duties, one of his former employers sent for him. He declined to go, suspecting that this was a trap, such as had already been laid for him, to obtain an admission from him of the existence of a trade club, in order to secure his prosecution under the Combination Laws. Mrs. Place, however, went in his stead, "and in a short time she returned and let fall from her apron as much work for me as she could bring away. She was unable to speak until she was relieved by a flood of tears." He and she set to work, laboring sixteen and sometimes eighteen hours a day. "We turned out of bed to work, and turned from our work to bed again." In a short time they were able to redeem their furniture and to purchase necessaries. They moved to a more convenient home, and so prosperous did they become that Place was able to assist his mother to some extent.

Self-Education.

During this terrible period of his life Place read a great many hard books, "many volumes in history, voyages and travels, politics, law and philosophy, Adam Smith and Locke, and especially Hume's *Essays and Treatises*. . . . I taught myself decimals, equations, the square, cube and biquadrate roots. I got some knowledge of logarithms and some of algebra. I readily got through a small school book of geometry, and having an odd volume, the first of Williamson's *Euclid*, I attacked it vigorously and perseveringly." Prior to this time he had read "the histories of Greece and Rome, and some translated works of Greek and Roman writers; Hume, Smollett, Fielding's novels and Robertson's works, some of Hume's *Essays*, some translations from French writers and much on geography, some books on anatomy and surgery, some relating to science and the arts, and many magazines. I had worked all the problems in the introduction to Guthrie's *Geography*, and had made some small progress in geometry." In addition he had read "Blackstone, Hale's '*Common Law*,' several other law books, and much biography." He obtained these books partly through the good offices of an old woman who acted as caretaker of chambers in the Temple—she borrowed the books from the rooms she cleaned—and partly through hiring them from a book shop in Maiden Lane, Charing Cross, "leaving a small sum as deposit and paying a trifle for reading them."

After a few months of prosperity his work slackened, and again he found himself unemployed. He immediately set about reorganizing the Breeches Makers' Benefit Society, set it up in 1794 as a Tontine Sick Club, himself the secretary at a salary of £10 per annum, and was able to obtain in the spring of 1795, without a strike, the increase of wage which had unsuccessfully been demanded in 1793. This success, apparently, was too much for the members of the society. They seemed to imagine that their labor troubles were for ever at an end, and they dissolved the society, sharing the funds among the members. Place lost his post. For a time he was employed by other trade clubs to draft rules and articles, and was appointed secretary and organizer of the carpenters, plumbers, and other trade clubs. He was now twenty-three years of age.

The State of Europe.

The history of the world at that time was one of change and revolution. Ancient institutions were toppling, and great traditions were dissolving. In America and in France, republics had been established. In England, the old order was speedily giving place to the new: the aristocrat and landed proprietor was collapsing before the plutocrat and factory owner. In Ireland, discontent was about to swell into rebellion. The naturalistic philosophers had dealt stout blows to religion and the divine right of kings—the whole social theory was being revised and restated. The spirit of Voltaire and Rousseau was abroad in England, preparing the way which later on was to be trodden by Byron and Shelley. Thomas Paine had lately published "*The Rights of Man*," the most famous of all the replies

to Burke's "Reflections upon the French Revolution," and a million and a half copies had been sold in England alone. Later came the "Age of Reason," which, shattered Place's Christianity.

It was natural, therefore, that in the great recasting of the world's beliefs which then took place, Francis Place should turn his mind towards those who were identified with the building of a democracy in England. In 1794 he became a member of the London Corresponding Society—"the mother," as Burke called it, "of all the mischief." It was characteristic of Place that he joined the society at a time when many of its members had been frightened into resignation through the persecution of some of its officers. "Many persons, of whom I was one, considered it meritorious and the performance of a duty to become members now that it [the society] was threatened with violence." It seems incredible that this society, with mild intentions, should have so terrified the oligarchy as it apparently did. Its political program consisted of universal suffrage, annual parliaments, payment of members, and its object was to "correspond with other societies that might be formed having the same object in view, as well as with public-spirited individuals." The title of the society led many persons to believe that its function was to correspond with the Government of France: the state of the public mind at that time was so panicky that such correspondence was instinctively assumed to be of a treasonable character. The society, however, had no relationship with the French Government. Its constitution was framed for the purpose of enabling working class organizations throughout the country to communicate with each other by letter without violating the law against the federation of political bodies.

The London Corresponding Society.

In May, 1794, Thomas Hardy, the secretary and founder of the society, together with ten other persons, was arrested for high treason. Place became a member of one of the committees which were formed to arrange for the defence of the accused men. The result of the trial was that the prisoners were acquitted, and instantly there came a great accession to the membership of the society. Place became a person of consequence, generally taking the chair at committee meetings. He began to urge that method of political agitation which remained his method for the rest of his life, and which he practised with singular success. He opposed himself to those who were continually urging that public demonstrations should be held chiefly to scare the oligarchs into granting reforms. Place did not believe in the excessive susceptibility of the governing classes to terror. "I believed that ministers would go on until they brought the Government to a standstill—that was until they could carry it on no longer. It appeared to me that the only chance the people either had or could have for cheap and good government was in their being taught the advantages of representation, so as to lead them to desire a wholly representative government; so that whenever the conduct of ministers should produce a crisis, they should be qualified to support those who were the most likely to establish a cheap and

simple sort of government. I therefore advised that the society should proceed as quietly and privately as possible " His advice at this date was disregarded, and the scaring demonstrations were held; but the oligarchy, instead of frantically passing ameliorative Acts, promptly passed Treason and Seditious Bills, suspended Habeas Corpus, and clapped the agitators into gaol without trial. The effect of this was almost to destroy the society, the more timid members scurrying out of it in that panic which they had hoped would fall upon the governing classes. It lived on in a state of depressed vitality, but Place, finding his advice several times foolishly disregarded, resigned from it, and in 1798, the year of the Irish rebellion, it died.

Attempts to Establish a Business.

While Place was engaged in these political adventures, he was also endeavoring to raise his status from that of a journeyman to that of an employer. He thought of a method of doing this which he calculated would take six years to execute, although, as the event showed, he was able to do it in four years. The success of the scheme depended upon patience, much knowledge of human nature, very hard work and an indomitable will. Place possessed all these qualities. He began to build up a connection by getting a few private customers, and then he set about obtaining credit from drapers and clothiers. "I knew that by purchasing materials at two or three shops, however small the quantities, and letting each of them know that I made purchases of others, each would sell to me at as low a price as he could, and each would after a time give me credit." He did this, and soon found, as he had anticipated, that offers of credit were made to him. "From this time I always bought on short credit; instead of paying for the goods, I put by the money, taking care always to pay for what I had before the term of credit expired. I thus established a character for punctuality and integrity . . . and, as I foresaw, I should, if I could once take a shop, have credit for any amount whatever."

Misfortune in Business.

Unfortunately, his fortune did not flourish as well as he had hoped. His charges were low and his customers were few, and some of them neglected to pay for the goods with which he supplied them. His family, which now consisted of himself, his wife, and two children, began to suffer hardship again, and his wife, whose nerve had been shattered in the bad time that succeeded the strike of the leather breeches makers, urged him to give up his hope of becoming a master and resume his occupation as a journeyman. He steadfastly refused to do this, insisting that he would work himself into a condition to become a master tradesman. During this period, one of "great privation," he displayed that immense strength of purpose which distinguished him always, and which, a little later than this, was to endure a greater trial still. Only a man of unbounded self-confidence would have faced the chilly, grey view which lay before

Francis Place at that time.' Only a man of unquenchable spirit would have thought, when he was half-starved, of learning French so that he might give his children "the best possible education which my circumstances could afford." He propped his French grammar before him while he worked, and learnt it by rote. He spent his evenings in reading Helvetius, Rousseau and Voltaire, and despite his acute poverty, men of advanced views began to seek him out in order that they might talk to him on the topics of the time.

His fortune improved a little, and in 1799 he and a fellow-workman entered into partnership and opened a tailor's shop at 29 Charing Cross. The stock was obtained on credit, and the joint cash funds of the partners on the opening day were one shilling and tenpence! In two years they were employing thirty-six men! It was now, when prosperity seemed to be leaping upon him, that Place suffered his greatest trial. His partner married a woman who could not agree with Place, and, apparently at her suggestion, and on the strength of the promise of a large loan, he forced the business into liquidation and bought the goodwill for himself. Poor Mrs. Place lost her spirit altogether. "She saw nothing before her but destruction. . . . Industry was no use to us, integrity would not serve us, honesty would be of no avail. We had worked harder and done more than anybody else, and now we were to suffer more than anybody else." For the rest of her life she was haunted by the fear of poverty. But this sudden disaster did not destroy Francis Place. He convinced his creditors that he had been vilely served by his partner, and they offered him so much assistance that, in 1801, three months after he had first learnt of his partner's perfidy, he opened a finer and bigger shop on his own account at No. 16 Charing Cross. From this time onwards his affairs prospered, and in 1816 the net profits for the year from his business were more than three thousand pounds. He retired from trade in 1817, his age being forty-six years, and devoted himself to politics.

Place had one very notable quality—the power to concentrate on a particular piece of work—and during the first five years that he was tenant of the shop in Charing Cross, he devoted himself entirely to the task of building up his business. The time, as has been said, was troublous, and the borough in which he lived, that of the City and Liberty of Westminster, was the vent of discontent. By arrangement, the two seats for the borough were shared by the Whigs and the Tories. Radical candidates sought election without success. At the end of five years' tenancy of his shop, Place began to relax his attention from business considerations and revived his interest in politics. At first he found his friends among the well-to-do Whig tradesmen, most of whom were electors of the borough and great admirers of Charles James Fox, Sheridan and Erskine. Place, who "never had any respect for Fox or Sheridan, and not much for Erskine," bantered his friends on their regard for the Whigs, "who cared little for the people further than they could be made to promote their own interests, whether those interests were popular or pecuniary." Indeed, his hatred of the Whigs was almost excessive.

Always they were "the dirty Whigs," the sole difference between them and the Tories being that "the Tories would exalt the kingly power that it might trample upon the aristocracy and the people, while the Whigs would establish an aristocratical oligarchy to trample on the king and the people." About this time Cobbett, for whom Place had very little respect, was endeavoring, in his *Political Register*, to revive the democratic movement, and seeing in the borough of Westminster a likely seat for a democratic representative, he wrote four "Letters to the Electors of Westminster," which were printed in his journal. The last of these letters was published just after Lord Percy, eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, and "a very young man, without pretensions to talents of any kind," had, through a ministerial trick, been returned unopposed for the borough. The letter bitterly reproached the electors for allowing themselves to be hoodwinked as they had been, and it had considerable effect upon those who read it.

Westminster Politics.

But the reproaches of Cobbett were not the only force which set going a movement among the electors to secure independent representation for Westminster. The conduct of the Duke of Northumberland during the sham election was one factor, Sir Francis Burdett was another. The duke ordered his servants, clad in showy livery, to distribute bread and beer and cheese among a number of ruffians who congregated about his house. The servants tossed chunks of bread among these men and women, who were, of course, alleged to be the free and independent voters of Westminster. The spectacle of these people clawing at the bread and lapping up the beer, which had been upset from the barrels and was running through the gutters, filled the electors themselves with disgust. In 1807 Sir Francis Burdett, a very wealthy man, sick of the intrigues of parties, was nominated, almost against his desire, as a candidate for the borough, together with one James Paull, who had polled a respectable number of votes at a previous election. Place, who had begun to extend his circle of acquaintance in the district, took charge of the electoral arrangements, and, despite the fact that the two candidates quarrelled four days before the date of the poll and fought a duel in which they were both seriously wounded, managed to get Burdett elected. Paull's candidature had been dropped. For three weeks Place worked at the committee rooms from seven o'clock in the morning until twelve o'clock at night. The difficulties seemed almost insuperable, and the discouragements offered to the Radicals were enormous. They had decided not to have any "paid counsellors, attorneys, inspectors or canvassers, no bribing, no paying of rates, no treating, no cockades, no paid constables, excepting two to keep the committee-room doors." They simply informed the magistrates of what they were doing, and left the responsibility of keeping the peace to them.

Place had organized this election so remarkably that he was resorted to by all sorts of persons for advice in connection with de-

monstrations, and the Westminster Committee became the recognized political authority in the borough. Sir Francis Burdett, sincerely democratic, was not a very able man, and a few years later he allowed himself to be convinced that Place was a Government spy. The grounds for this charge were too flimsy to bear examination, but for nine years Place and Burdett did not speak; and, owing to the aspersions made upon him, Place withdrew from active association with his former friends, although he always gave his advice to them when they asked for it, which was frequently. What follows explains why.

Imprisonment of Sir Francis Burdett.

It happened in the course of time that Burdett came into collision with the Government in defence of free speech. He had made a speech in the House of Commons protesting against the imprisonment of one John Gale Jones, who had been committed to Newgate for organizing a discussion at a debating society on the action of the Government in prohibiting strangers from the House during the debate on the Walcheren expedition. Burdett printed his speech in Cobbett's *Register*, and this act was held to be a breach of privilege. A motion to commit Burdett to the Tower was carried by a majority of 38, but Burdett, barricading himself in his house at Piccadilly, announced that he considered the Speaker's warrant to be illegal, and that he would resist its execution by force. The soldiers were called out, the mob became agitated, and the City authorities, who were antagonistic to the Government, tried, without success, to convince the Government that their conduct was illegal. A council of war, to which Place was invited, was held in Burdett's house. A number of half-crazy people were present, one of whom had devised a plan for defending the house from the attack of the soldiery. Gunpowder mines were to be laid in front of the house, so that the attacking soldiers might easily be blown to a place where there is neither war nor rumors of war. The common sense of Place was obviously necessary to restrain these wild conspirators. "It will be easy enough," he said, "to clear the hall of constables and soldiers, to drive them into the street or to destroy them, but are you prepared to take the next step and go on?"

They were not prepared to take the next step; they knew that it was impossible for them to do so; and so the crazy scheme crumpled up. Place did not object to the proposal to resist the soldiers by force because it was a proposal to declare civil war, but because it was impossible for the rebellious Radicals to make any sort of a fight. "There was no organization and no arms, and to have resisted under such circumstances would have been madness." All they could do, he urged, with any hope of success was to use the police forces of the City against the Government. For various reasons, the City forces were unavailing, and Burdett was arrested and conveyed to the Tower. Whilst he was in prison, Place was called upon to serve on the jury which inquired into the circumstances in which Joseph Sellis, valet to the Duke of Cumberland, died.

Charged with Treachery.

The duke was very unpopular with the populace, and most people desired that the jury should return a verdict to the effect that the valet had been murdered by his master. Place, having carefully investigated the evidence, came to the conclusion that Sellis died by his own hand, and succeeded in bringing the other jurymen to the same conclusion, although they were all prejudiced against the duke. It was because of his conduct on this occasion that Place was accused of being a Government spy, and through it, with the help of the malicious, he lost the friendship of Burdett. For ten years the word "spy" was the favorite taunt thrown at him by those whom he displeased.

The effect of this on his career was partly good and partly bad: bad, because it led to his abstention from movements in which he would have been of the greatest service; good, because the leisure he now had enabled him to get into contact with men who had other points of view than mere Radicalism. He became acquainted with Thomas Spence, the land nationalizer, and with Robert Owen. Spence was a very honest, very poor, and very single-minded man, who loved mankind in the abstract so passionately that when he contemplated mankind in the concrete he lost his temper. He had fixed his mind so completely on land nationalization that he could not see or think of anything else. He suffered very great privations in propagating his views, getting his living by trundling a barrow about London, from which he sold saloup and pamphlets denouncing landlords and their villainies. He was John the Baptist to Henry George. The nationalization of land meant to him the establishment of the kingdom of heaven on earth and the birth of a new race of men. The man who is optimistic about the future is invariably pessimistic about the present, and it was so with this poor Spence. No man loved humanity so purely as he, and no man lashed his fellows with his tongue so bitterly. He reviled the men about him because they were not the men of his dream Contact with this one-idea'd man sharpened Place's belief that the men of the vision can only be brought to reality out of the flesh and blood of the men of fact.

Robert Owen.

Robert Owen, that curious compound of a man of vision and a man of affairs, came to Place in 1813 with his "New View of Society." He was "a man of kind manners and good intentions, of an imperturbable temper, and an enthusiastic desire to promote the happiness of mankind." Like all men who have discovered the secret of human ills, Owen was convinced that his project, so "simple, easy of adoption, and so plainly efficacious must be embraced by every thinking man the moment he was made to understand it." It is, perhaps, the fundamental defect of the idealist mind that it forgets that human nature is not a rigid, measurable thing, and that the charm of human beings is not in their resemblances, but in their differences. Owen looked upon the world and saw it peopled by

millions of Robert Owens; and, since he knew what Robert Owen desired, he imagined that he also knew what all men needed and desired. Once, after he had seen Owen, Place wrote in his diary: "Mr. Owen this day has assured me, in the presence of more than thirty other persons, that within six months the whole state and condition of society in Great Britain will be changed, and all his views will be carried into effect."

Place also became acquainted with many of the Utilitarian philosophers. James Mill, the father of John Stuart, and Jeremy Bentham became his close friends, and from them he derived an amount of knowledge which he could not otherwise have obtained. James Mill was a man of notable austerity of manner, as those who have read John Stuart Mill's Autobiography will know. He must have been an uncomfortable sort of man to live with, for he could not, as Place could, comprehend the value of idleness. He saw the world as an enormous schoolroom, and all the men and women merely scholars, but he did not appear to see any place in which the knowledge when obtained would be used. Like St. Francis of Assisi, he despised every worldly thing; but, unlike St. Francis, he had no hope of a better place. He simply acquired knowledge for knowledge's sake. Whenever Place visited the Mills, he, like all who stayed with them, was put through his lessons as relentlessly as John Stuart and Willie and Clara Mill. For four hours every day he was compelled to grind at Latin, repeating the declensions afterwards to the inexorable Mill. Out of this tremendous industry, this search for knowledge, there came that spirit which tests and is not afraid to reject. The Utilitarians had for their watchword "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." James Mill did not believe in happiness at all, but he was prepared to make the best of a hopeless case, and so he and his friends set themselves to the task of delivering England from the mess in which they found her.

Malthusianism.

Place saturated his mind with the writings of the political economists, and about this time he got the one bee which he ever had in his bonnet. He read Malthus's "Principle of Population," and became a Neo-Malthusian in theory, for in practice he had fifteen children. Until he died he believed that the redemption of the people from poverty could only be brought about by the limitation of families. Laws wisely administered might do much, but they would only be so much trifling with a great problem. It is astonishing, when one reflects upon the fact that he possessed rather more common sense than is generally given to men, that he should so easily have believed this economic fairy tale. But although he held this belief very firmly, he did not, as the one-idea'd do, preach it exclusively. He saw that Neo-Malthusian doctrines were not likely to impress ignorant and impoverished men, and he set about the work of creating an instructed and prosperous race. There was an enormous amount to be done. The Combination Laws were still in force, and these alone made it impossible for the working class to

improve their status. The theory of individualism at that date had completely gone out of its mind. There were no trade unions, no Factory Acts, no Public Health Acts, no Education Acts, no Workmen's Compensation Acts; the Corn Laws were still unrepealed; the franchise was a limited one; the Poor Law was that of Elizabeth. The agricultural laborer was in a state of frightful demoralization, and the town laborer was little better. There was such a state of affairs in England as should have inspired any self-respecting deity to fury, and have reduced the most optimistic of men to a state of chronic depression. The odd thing about human nature is that it never despairs, and although that terrible time in England seems to us, who stand at this distance from it, to have been one in which obstacles were piled so high in the way of the reformer that progress was almost impossible, the reformers of the day regarded them with as good heart as we regard the comparatively trifling obstacles that lie strewn about the field of endeavor to-day. If Carlyle, who came later, saw men as "mostly fools," Place saw them as "mostly ignorant," and so that this description might no longer be applicable to his countrymen he devoted himself to the business of education.

Elementary Education.

It is commonly alleged by the Church educationists that the system of elementary education in England was started by members of the Established Church. "There is a sense," the *Church Times* says, "in which every Christian is a member of the Church of England . . . but a Quaker is an unbaptized person, and therefore not a Christian at all." In 1798, a young Quaker, named Joseph Lancaster, began to teach poor boys in a shed adjoining his father's house in the Borough Road. Lancaster was one of those men with whom Place frequently came in contact, a mixture of pure genius and pure folly. He could conceive big ideas, but he could not rear them after delivery. Place was the divinely-inspired foster-parent to the ideas of such men. He could not himself conceive large schemes, but he had the rare faculty of knowing a good idea when he saw it, and the still rarer faculty of being able to develop the idea and bring it to adult life. Lancaster was a wild creature, extraordinarily extravagant, somehow convinced that he had only to spend enough money for his difficulties to disappear. He was continually in danger of being committed to the debtors' prison. His proposal was to establish schools in which the pupils should be taught by older pupils—monitors. The whole education theory at that time, so far as working class children were concerned, was very hazy. The idea that the task might be undertaken by the State does not appear to have penetrated even Place's mind: he and his colleagues saw the Lancastrian schools resting for ever on a voluntary basis. In these circumstances, economy was essential. Subscriptions were not likely to be large or many, for a large number of influential persons were opposed to education for the working class. Lord Grosvenor, whom Place approached, "said he had a strong desire to assist the institution, but he had also some

apprehension that the education the people were getting would make them discontented with the Government *we* must take care of ourselves." He did not subscribe. It must not be thought, however, that the necessity for economy was the cause of the monitorial system being employed. Place himself was of opinion that the teaching of children by children was a better way of educating them than having them taught by trained men and women. On this basis the schools were started after a great deal of wrangling between Lancaster and the trustees whom he had persuaded to provide the funds needed. In 1811 the "National Society for the Education of Poor Children in the Principles of the Established Church" was formed, and elementary education, so to speak, found its legs.

The Lancastrian Schools.

The history of the Lancastrian schools is a saddening one. Lancaster quarrelled interminably, and finally he had to be pensioned off. The society was dissolved and a fresh one was formed, Place being a member of the committee. In drawing up the by-laws of the new society he displayed his intense dislike of patronage of poor people. He deleted the words "poor" and "laboring poor" and any expression which "could give offence or hurt the feelings of anyone." He never at any time forgot that he, too, had suffered poverty; and even in connection with his sad, Neo-Malthusianism, he retained undiminished his loyalty to his class. "Mr. Malthus," he writes, concerning "Principle of Population," "denies to the unemployed workman the right to eat, but he allows the right to the unemployed rich man. He says, 'Every man may do as he will with his own,' and he expects to be able to satisfy the starving man with bare assertions of abstract rights. Mr. Malthus is not speaking of *legal right*, for, he says, the poor have a *legal right*, which is the very thing he proposes to destroy. It is an abstract right, which is denied to the poor man, but allowed to the rich; and this abstract, which has no meaning, although dignified with the title of the 'law of nature, which is the law of God,' is to be explained and taught to the poor, who are to be fully convinced."

Place worked with great assiduity for the success of the Lancastrian schools, and endeavored to start a series of higher schools on a similar basis, for which Jeremy Bentham devised a scheme of education. He mapped the whole of London into districts, in each of which there was to be a school to which poor parents could send their children on payment of a penny a week. This payment was to save the pupils from the stigma of charity. But all his educational plans failed. The monitorial system was a bad one; Lancaster was plotting against Place; and, worst of all, the committee began to quarrel among themselves. Place was an atheist, and he made no secret of his disbelief in God. Lancaster wrote to members of the committee, alleging that Place secretly designed to remove the Bible from the schools, and succeeded in creating so much ferment that, although he personally was discredited, Place found it no

longer possible to work with his colleagues, and so he resigned his position.

Joseph Hume.

By this time he was well acquainted with Joseph Hume, whom he supplied with facts and material for argument in favor of reforms in the House of Commons. The combination of talents that here took place was a remarkable one. Hume, a very sincere Radical, had enormous vitality and was absolutely impervious to discouragement. He could not be put out of countenance by anyone. Place was industrious and certain. He could draw up rules and schemes easily. When he presented a document to a member of Parliament, the member could be assured that it contained facts and not fancies. These two men in conjunction, the one in the House, the other outside, both of them the butts of the wealthy and the powerful, between them compelled the oligarchy to do their will. But Place was the greater man of the two. Hume had the sense to do what Place told him, though now and then, as in the case of the Combination Laws, he had to be urged somewhat strenuously to action. When Hume had to speak in the House, he went as a matter of course to Place for instructions, and Place primed him so well that he always made a mark in the debates.

Reference has several times been made in this short sketch to the Combination Laws. During the eighteenth century there had been passed a series of statutes directed against combinations of journeymen in particular trades. The first of the series was an Act of 1721 "for regulating the journeymen tailors within the bills of mortality," and the last the General Act of 1799 "to prevent unlawful combinations of workmen." A unanimous refusal to work at reduced prices was regarded as sufficient evidence of unlawful combination, and the non-acceptance by an unemployed journeyman of work offered to him by an employer in his trade meant liability to undergo a long period of imprisonment or to be impressed into His Majesty's sea or land forces. These laws were the most serious obstacle that lay in the way of labor. So long as they were on the statute book the condition of the working class nearly approached that of slavery. It was to remove them from the statute books that Francis Place worked, and in 1824-5, working almost single handed, he managed to do it. "The Labor Question," wrote Mr Gladstone in 1892, "may be said to have come into public view simultaneously with the repeal, between sixty and seventy years ago, of the Combination Laws, which had made it an offence for laboring men to unite for the purpose of procuring by joint action, through peaceful means, an augmentation of their wages. From this point progress began."

The Combination Laws.

In 1810, the *Times* prosecuted its journeymen compositors for belonging to a combination and taking part in a strike. This is the text of the sentence inflicted upon them by Sir John Sylvester (Bloody Black Jack), the Common Serjeant of London :

"Prisoners, you have been convicted of a most wicked conspiracy to injure the most vital interests of those very employers who gave you bread, with intent to impede and injure them in their business; and, indeed, as far as in you lay, to effect their ruin. The frequency of such crimes among men of your class of life, and their mischievous and dangerous tendency to ruin the fortunes of those employers which a principle of gratitude and self-interest should induce you to support, demand of the law that a severe example should be made of those persons who shall be convicted of such daring and flagitious combinations in defiance of public justice and in violation of public order. No symptom of contrition on your part has appeared, no abatement of the combination in which you are accomplices has yet resulted from the example of your convictions."

Bloody Black Jack thereupon sentenced the prisoners, who had asked for higher wages, to terms of imprisonment varying from nine months to two years.

In the same year that this happened the master tailors tried to obtain an Act of Parliament to put down a combination of their workmen, and Place, who was a master tailor, was invited to join the committee. He refused to join the committee, but they elected him a member of it against his will. He attended one meeting and told the masters as plainly as possible why he would not join them, and why they ought to abandon their project. They declined to do this, and a committee was appointed by the House of Commons to take evidence. Place went before the committee and offered to give evidence, which was accepted, and succeeded in bringing to the ground the proposal to quash the union. He now began seriously to get the laws repealed. He could not hope for assistance from the workmen themselves, who had made up their minds that the laws were irrevocable. Whenever a dispute took place between employers and workmen, he interfered, "sometimes with the masters, sometimes with the men, very generally, as far as I could, by means of one or more of the newspapers, and sometimes by acting as a pacificator, always pushing for the one purpose, the repeal of the laws." He wrote letters to trade societies, sent articles to newspapers, interviewed employers and workmen, and collected as much evidence as possible to assist him in his purpose. He lent money to the proprietor of a small newspaper in order that he might propagate his views in it, and he had copies of the paper distributed among people who were likely to be affected by it. He induced Hume to take interest in the proposal, and in five years had worked up so much feeling on the subject that he began to think the repeal of the laws was now certain. He was too optimistic, however, and it was not until 1822 that Hume gave notice of his intention to bring in a Bill for that purpose. This Bill was mainly intended to be a demonstration. "I was therefore in no hurry to urge Mr. Hume to proceed beyond indicating his purpose. I supplied him with a considerable quantity of papers, printed and manuscript, relating to the subject, advised him to examine them carefully, and promised my

assistance to the greatest possible extent for the next session. These papers were afterwards sent to Mr. McCulloch, at Edinburgh, who was at this time editor of the *Scotsman* newspaper, and he made admirable use of them in that paper. This gave a decided tone to several other country papers, and caused the whole subject to be discussed in a way, and to an extent, which it had never been before "

The Repeal of the Combination Laws.

Unfortunately, a Mr. Peter Moore, member for Coventry, in 1823 produced a rival Bill, which so scared the House of Commons that when Hume introduced Place's measure in 1824 it met with considerable opposition. In view of the temper of the House, Place advised Hume to abandon the Bill and move for a Select Committee to enquire into the working of the laws. The timidity of the general body of the House spread to some of Hume's supporters, who induced him to whittle the motion to nothing. Place began to stir. He lectured Hume at great length, wrote a letter to him to be shown to his wavering friends, and drew up memoranda for Hume's own benefit. The upshot of the affair was that Hume was bullied by Place into moving for the committee, which was appointed. A great deal of publicity was given to the fact that the committee was sitting, and delegates from workmen's societies began to arrive in London from all parts of the country. Place interviewed them all. "I heard the story which everyone of these men had to tell. I examined and cross-examined them, took down the leading particulars of each case, and then arranged the matter as briefs for Mr. Hume, and, as a rule, for the guidance of the witnesses, a copy was given to each." Place had to encounter great difficulties in preparing matter for this committee. The members of the committee would not allow him to assist Hume officially, and they professed great indignation at finding Hume's briefs made out in Place's handwriting. They talked of calling him before them for tampering with the witnesses, a course of action which would have pleased him immensely, but, preserving their sanity, they did not do so. The witnesses, too, were difficult. Many of them had pet theories of their own to expound, and Place was hard put to it to induce them to keep their theories to themselves. All of them expected that wages would instantly rise when the Combination Laws were repealed. "Not one of them," says Place, "had any idea of the connection between wages and population." Presumably Place, who spent three months in arranging the affairs of this committee, did a little unobtrusive propaganda on Neo-Malthusianism on discovering this.

His tactics in connection with the Select Committee seem to have been extremely able. The mere secretarial work which he performed was enough to try the strength of several men; but, in addition to this, he found time to think out the best way of circumventing the upholders of the laws. He had to make it clear to his friends that speechmaking would be a mistake, and that instead of

the committee presenting a report in the customary manner, it would be better to submit their recommendations at first in the shape of resolutions, and then, when argument had been expended and members of the House were tired of the subject, present the report.

This was done, and all went well until the Attorney-General persuaded Hume to allow a barrister, named Hamond, to draft the Bills. Hamond made a sad mess of the business, and the reformers were now in a difficulty. The Bills were not what they wanted, but if they were not careful they might lose even those. The difficulty was surmounted by Place, who simply redrafted the Bills as he desired them to be and said no more about it. Hamond, having received his fee, did not bother further, and in due course the Bills were passed through the Commons without anyone quite understanding what had happened, and, after a period of peril in the Lords, they became statutes. The Combination Laws were repealed and working men were free to combine for their own protection.

After the Combination Laws.

Place, having soaked his mind in the economics of the time (he had too much respect for economists) naturally enough failed to appreciate the necessity for Trade Unions. He imagined that the repeal of the Combination Laws would make them unnecessary. "The combinations of workmen are but defensive measures resorted to for the purpose of counteracting the offensive ones of their masters. . . . Combinations will soon cease to exist. Men have been kept together for long periods only by the oppression of the laws. These being repealed, combinations will lose the matter which cements them into masses, and they will fall to pieces." He had not at that date discovered that the securing of victory is not nearly so important as the maintenance of victory. When the Combination Laws were repealed the country was enjoying great prosperity, and the freed workmen speedily set about demanding a more adequate share in it. Strikes broke out everywhere. A section of the employing class began to agitate for the re-enactment of the laws, and Place, fearful lest this should happen, urged the workmen to desist from striking. But the workmen were not going to be persuaded even by good friends like Place to desist from enforcing their demands. They were profoundly convinced that the law had been used for the purpose of keeping down wages, and they were determined to get them raised, particularly as the cost of living was rapidly increasing. In the cotton trade a great lock-out by the masters took place. The shipbuilders refused to confer with their workmen on the question of grievances, and issued a note to the effect that members of the Shipwrights' Union would not be employed by them. "The conduct of both the sailors and shipwrights was exemplary, no disorderly acts could be alleged against them. But as the shipping interest . . . had the ready ear of ministers, they most shamefully misrepresented the conduct of the men, and represented the consequences as likely to lead to the

destruction of the commerce and shipping of the empire. Ministers were so ignorant as to be misled by these misrepresentations, and were mean and despicable enough to plot with these people against their workmen. The interest of the unprincipled proprietors of the *Times* newspaper was intimately connected with the 'shipping interest,' and it lent its services to their cause. It stuck at nothing in the way of false assertion and invective; it represented the conduct of Mr. Hume as mischievous in the extreme, and that of the working people all over the country as perfectly nefarious, and it urged ministers to re-enact the old laws, or to enact new ones, to bring the people into a state of miserable subjection." It will have been observed by those who read the press carefully during the Railway Strike in 1911 and the Coal Strike of 1912 that capitalist journalism has not changed its character.

Attempt to Re-enact the Combination Laws.

To this agitation there followed something which is one of the most discreditable of the many discreditable things that politicians have done. The shipbuilders, lying hard, induced Mr Huskisson and Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel to give notice of their intention to re-enact the Combination Laws. Huskisson had already solemnly assured Hume that he had no intention whatever of doing this, and Hume, believing Huskisson to be a man of honor, had accepted his word, and so was unprepared to counter his motion for a committee. Fortunately, Huskisson had drafted his motion clumsily. He asked for a committee "to enquire respecting the conduct of workmen." Hume and Place were quick to see that such an enquiry could only be adequately conducted if the persons into whose conduct enquiry was to be made were given an opportunity of rebutting the charges made against them, and, to the astonishment and disgust of Huskisson, they demanded that the workmen should be brought before the committee and examined. Another factor in favor of Hume and Place was that the Easter holidays were approaching and the committee could not meet for at least a fortnight. Place used the time to great advantage. He wrote to the trade societies, urging them to send delegates and to collect money for the payment of parliamentary agents and expenses, he collected money himself; he wrote a pamphlet exposing Huskisson's speech, and had it carefully distributed. He and Hume "nobbled" the Attorney General and succeeded in persuading him to refuse to draft Huskisson's Bill. They filled the passage leading to the committee room with workmen demanding to be examined. Place wrote letters here and letters there, put witnesses through their paces, interviewed members, induced witnesses to demand payment for their services, which had been refused, although it was made to employers without cavil, and annoyed the committee so intensely that they talked of having him brought to the bar of the Commons. He and Hume could not prevent a new measure from being passed, but they were able to mould it to so great an extent that it differed very slightly from the previous measure moved by Hume. In the Commons,

during the committee stage, the ministers attacked them grossly. "Wallace gave loose to invective and was disgracefully abusive. Huskisson became enraged and most grossly insulted Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Hobhouse. Mr. Peel stuck at nothing. He lied so openly, so grossly, so repeatedly, and so shamelessly, as even to astonish me, who always thought, and still do think, him a pitiful, shuffling fellow. He was repeatedly detected by Mr. Hume and as frequently exposed. Still he lied again without the least embarrassment and was never in the smallest degree abashed."

Agitation for Reform.

The repeal of the Combination Laws was not the only service which Place rendered to the cause of democracy, but it was the greatest. He might then reasonably have desisted from his labors, for he was growing old, and had suffered a great loss in the death of his wife, but he was of that order of men for whom there is no rest in life. There was work still to be done which he, better than other men, could do. The entire system of parliamentary representation needed reforming, and Place threw himself into this work with as much vigor as he had displayed over the Combination Laws.

George IV, a man of ungovernable temper, who was likely, said one of his tutors, to be "either the most polished gentleman or the most accomplished blackguard in Europe, possibly an admixture of both," died on January 26th, 1830. He was a god with clay feet, from the point of view of Whigs and Radicals; for his sympathy with Whiggery during the time that he was Prince of Wales was an affectation chiefly for the purpose of annoying his father. The movement for reform, begun in the reign of George III, was opposed, with the King's concurrence, by the ministers of George IV. A few months before he ascended the throne, the massacre of Peterloo took place. He opposed, on religious grounds, the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill until the Duke of Wellington informed him that either he would have to compromise with his religious conscience or make ready for civil war in Ireland. The King compromised. All compromise denotes friction and ill temper, and the circumstances of the time made it inevitable that the conduct of the State should be difficult. The Duke of Wellington, who as a politician lost the reputation he had gained as a soldier, was of the damn-your-eyes type of statesman, a type which, while picturesque, is unpleasant to live under. He rigidly opposed himself to any reform of the parliamentary system, and soon after the accession of William IV he was forced to resign the premiership. The state of Europe was again disturbed. The Three Days Revolution had taken place in Paris, and Louis Philippe, a constitutional monarch, had supplanted Charles X, a despot. This change heartened the reformers in England. A little later came another revolution; Belgium broke away from Holland, but here there was less heartening for the reformers, who feared that the King's ministers, in consort with the governments of Prussia and Holland, might make war on France. Had such an alliance been formed for such a purpose,

there might have been in England a revolution approaching in fearfulness that which took place in France in 1793. Place, indeed, was prepared for this to happen. In the towns the housekeepers were banding themselves together and threatening to refuse to pay taxes should war be declared. In the country the laborers were burning hayricks in thirteen counties. In London, workmen, stirred by Robert Owen and Thomas Hodgskin, the forerunner and inspirer of Karl Marx, were in that mood of sullenness which is the prelude to revolt. Reform had to be, and so the Duke went out of power and the Whigs, under Earl Grey, came in.

The Reform Bill.

The Whigs, always valiant and progressive when the prospect of office was remote, were strangely reticent about their principles when the prospect of office was near. Place conceived it to be his duty to make them voluble again, and so he began once more his old task of organizing agitation. Letters were written here, there, and everywhere; deputations were arranged; public opinion was moulded through the press and from the platform; and at length backbone was put into ministers, who would much rather have been spineless. The Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on March 1st, 1831. It was a better Bill than Place had expected. Its sponsors thought it was worse than he expected, and they were prepared for his rage; but while he proceeded to agitate for more, he was fairly content with what he had received. The Bill received a second reading on March 21st, by a majority of one, which meant that defeat in committee was certain. On April 19th and 21st the Government were defeated, and on April 22nd the King prorogued Parliament, which immediately dissolved. The new Parliament met on June 14th, having a majority of over a hundred in favor of the Bill, which was at once reintroduced. The Tories so successfully obstructed its passage through the Commons that it did not reach the Lords until September 21st. On October 8th the motion for the second reading in the Upper Chamber was rejected by a majority of forty-one. It was now that Place's fighting instinct was thoroughly aroused. On the day following the rejection of the Bill he organized a demonstration in its favor, which was held on October 13th, and was a great success. On Monday he attended four public meetings, and on Tuesday, hearing that the Whigs were likely to compromise over the Bill, he wrote a letter, which he hoped would be shown to the ministers, in which he hinted that a riot would probably take place. He addressed meetings, drew up a memorial to the ministers declaring that if the Bill were not passed in its original form "this country will inevitably be plunged into all the horrors of a violent revolution," and immediately took a deputation to see Lord Grey. The deputation was received by that lord at a quarter to eleven at night in a very hoity-toity manner. "Any disturbances would be put down by military force." Dissensions began to separate the reformers themselves. The middle class reformers were prepared to compromise on the

Bill, they to be included in it, the working classes to be excluded from it. The fury of Place on this occasion was remarkable. He wrote to Grote, the historian, "they [the working-class] proved that they were ready, at any risk, and at any sacrifice, to stand by us. And then what did we do? We abandoned them, deserted, betrayed them, and shall have betrayed them again before three days have passed over our heads . . . We, the dastardly, talking, swag-gering dogs, will sneak away with our tails between our legs."

The amount of work he did was almost as great as he did when he organized the campaign for the repeal of the Combination Laws; and it was as effective, for the Government introduced a new Reform Bill which was as good as, if not better than, the old one. The troubles of the reformers were not yet over, for the Bill had to be forced through the Lords. Before the Bill reached that House there was an outbreak of cholera in England, which made political agitation almost impossible. "The King, under the influence of his wife, his sisters, and his illegitimate children," writes Mr. Graham Wallas, "was now nervous about the Bill, and disinclined to secure ministers a majority by creating peers." The Whigs were ignorant of this, although the Tories were aware of it. On March 26th, 1832, the second Reform Bill was introduced into the House of Lords. Place had drawn up a petition to the peers in favor of the Bill, and this petition, "quietly offensive," was printed in many newspapers. Contrary to expectation, the Lords seemed willing to read the Bill a second time, and this fact caused suspicion to grow in the minds of the reformers that an intrigue to spoil the Bill was being carried on. Place discovered that the intrigue was to substitute a twenty pound franchise for the ten pound franchise in London. On April 17th the Bill was read a second time by a majority of nine, but was wrecked in committee, by a majority of thirty-five, on May 7th. The King declined to create the peers demanded by Lord Grey, who resigned, and the Duke of Wellington was called again to power. This in itself was sufficient to inflame the people. A bishop was mobbed in church and the King was hooted on Constitution Hill. Queen Adelaide was publicly execrated. People made preparations for the revolution which they felt to be at hand, and military men set about drilling the reformers for the fight.

"Go for Gold."

A far simpler means of breaking the opposition than that of bloodshed was found by Place. He caused a number of bills to be posted about the country which bore this legend: To stop the Duke go for gold. The people were advised to draw their balances from the Bank of England and to demand payment in gold. The depletion of the reserve was not a thing to be contemplated by the directors of the bank with equanimity. The King, a poor creature, gave way, Lord Grey obtained his guarantees, and the Bill was safe.

Its passage, however, made small difference to the working class, in whose minds the doctrines of Robert Owen and Thomas Hodgskin began to develop. A new word was added to the language—

Socialism—and in 1833 Owen, with others, endeavored to form a national federation of trade unions. The originators of the movement, which quickly attracted half a million members, proposed to begin their work by declaring a general strike for an eight hours day on March 1st, 1834. This strike, however, did not take place, the funds of the federation having been wasted on a number of sectional strikes, and the movement almost died. On March 17th, 1834, six agricultural laborers were sentenced to seven years transportation for "administering illegal oaths" while forming a branch of the Grand National Trades Union. The declining movement was restored to strength, and strong efforts were made to secure the remission of this brutal sentence, but without success. There followed to this a period of industrial unrest, and then gradually the Grand National Trades Union drooped and died. But if the thing itself was dead, the discontent which caused it to be was still potent.

The Passing of the Reform Bill.

The enactment of the Reform Bill, after a discussion spread over a period of nearly a century, only added half a million persons to the list of electors. Almost the whole of the laboring class was still unenfranchised. On August 14th, 1834, destitution legally became a crime. The new Poor Law, with its principle of deterrence, was the instrument to this end. The Poor Law Commissioners asserted that, in the interests of the independent poor (a phrase without meaning), the condition of the pauper should be less eligible than that of the worst situated independent laborers, on the ground that if this were not so, there would probably cease to be any independent laborers. Two things were then operating on the working class mind: one was the treachery of the middle class, which, with the aid of the working class, obtained enfranchisement for itself, and then refused to assist the working class to similar political freedom; the other was the poverty brought about by the failure of the harvests and the depression of trade in 1837. Dear food, low wages, and scarcity of work made the difficulty of devising a condition of life for paupers which would be less eligible than that of the worst situated free laborer one which the administrators of the Poor Law could not surmount. They did their best, however, and the result was an agitation against the Poor Law, a demand for factory legislation and for political reform. Out of this discontent came Chartism.

Chartism.

In 1838 Francis Place drew up the "People's Charter," in which were set forth the famous six points: Manhood Suffrage, Equal Electoral Districts, Vote by Ballot, Annual Parliaments, Abolition of Property Qualification for Members of the House of Commons, and Payment of Members of Parliament for their services. The Chartist movement in England resembled the Fenian movement in Ireland, in that a great deal of fuss was made about nothing. The proposals contained in the "People's Charter," seem to us to be mild enough, but to the oligarchy of that time they seemed to denote the

end of all things ; and men went into the streets and fought with the soldiers for the sake of the Charter. In 1839 ten men were killed and many were wounded in Newport, Monmouthshire. Three of the leaders were sentenced to death, their punishment being afterwards commuted to transportation. In 1842 there were riots in the northern and midland parts of England, and in 1848 the Chartists scared the wits out of England with a proposal to hold a demonstration at Kennington Common, which demonstration turned out to be as futile as the Fenian invasion of Canada.

Francis Place had little to do with the Chartists. His habit of mind was different from that of Lovett, Vincent, Cleave, and the other leaders of the movement. He was a Malthusian economist, they were Socialists and angry class warriors, and so, although he respected them and maintained friendly relations with them, particularly with Lovett, his association with them was of small account. His chief work was to draft the Charter and to secure the commutation of the death sentences into sentences of transportation. They belonged to the order of pioneers ; he belonged to the order of men who come after pioneers. But though he could not work easily with pioneers, he was fully conscious of their utility. "Such men," he wrote, "are always, and necessarily, ignorant of the best means of progressing towards the accomplishment of their purpose at a distant time, and can seldom be persuaded that the time for their accomplishment is distant. Few, indeed, such men would interfere at all unless they imagined that the change they desired was at hand. They may be considered as pioneers who, by their labors and their sacrifices, smooth the way for those who are to follow them. Never without such persons to move forward, and never but through their errors and misfortunes, would mankind have emerged from barbarism and gone on as they have done, slow and painful as their progress has been."

Old Age and Death.

Place was now an old man. Misfortune closed in on him towards the end of his life. He had married a second time and the marriage was unhappy. He separated from his wife. He lost some of his money ; and then, last scene of all, paralysis fell upon him and his brain became affected. Death came to him quietly in the night, when no one was by. He passed out, almost forgotten. "Can death," wrote Marcus Aurelius, "be terrible to him to whom that only seems good which in the ordinary course of nature is seasonable ; to him to whom, whether his actions be many or few, so they be all good, is all one ; and who, whether he beholds the things of the world, being always the same, either for many years or for few years only, is altogether indifferent ?"

Francis Place was not of that order of democrats who believe that the common man knows more than the rare man. He had not the Chestertonian trust in instinct ; he was an early Victorian Fabian. "We want in public men," he wrote, "dogged thinking, clear ideas, comprehensive views, and pertinacity, i.e., a good share

of obstinacy or hardheadedness." Kind hearts might be more than coronets, but good brains were better than either. On the other hand, he knew enough of rare men to know that they were fallible. Politicians with careers to fashion and reformers who have gone mad on their theories, these were creatures against whom the common man must always be on his guard. He could not suffer fools gladly, but he was not that worst of fools, the fool who will not learn from fools. Spence and Owen were fools in his eyes because they allowed themselves to become obsessed with one idea, but he was not oblivious of the fact that that idea was of value. It was his fortune not to possess a sense of humor; he could not joke. No man who can see the ridiculous can possibly be a leader; no man with a sense of humor can ever head a revolution, for the absurdities of enthusiasm will stand up before him so prominently that he will not be able to see the goal towards which the enthusiasts are marching. Keir Hardie leads men; Bernard Shaw laughs at them. Although Place had spent so many years of his life in pulling strings and had frequently seen men's motives laid bare before him, he did not become cynical. "I take the past," he wrote to Lovett, "and comparing it with the present, see an immense change for the better." In the same letter he wrote: "I saw that to better the condition of others to any considerable extent was a long uphill piece of work; that my best efforts would produce very little effect. But I saw very distinctly that I could do nothing better, nothing indeed half so good." He was full of rare courage and rare faith. I have called him a Neo-Malthusian, although that term did not come into use until the time of Bradlaugh and Mrs Besant, because his views were identical with those who were so named. He propagated his Neo-Malthusianism to his own detriment and loss. It was sufficient for him to believe in a thing to nerve himself to bring it to be; but he had to be convinced that the thing was worth while. He saw men as brains wasted. Great masses of people were born, passed through the world, and died without conferring any advantage on their fellows; not because they were indolent or indifferent, but solely because use was not made of them. It was his desire so to order the world that every man and woman in it could move easily to his or her place. That man is a democrat who believes in a world where the wise man may be wise and the fool may be foolish, and no one will call him out of his name or demand more from him than he can give; who believes in diversity rather than uniformity, knowing that it is the variations from type which make type tolerable. Fools and wise men have their place in the world; the one may be the inspiration of the other. Plato and Aristotle were the fulfilment of each other. Owen and Place made it possible for democracy to be in England.

Bring me my bow of burning gold!
 Bring me my arrows of desire!
 Bring me my spear: O clouds unfold!
 Bring me my chariot of fire!

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land.

So wrote William Blake. If Owen wielded the sword and stretched the bow of burning gold, Place forged the one and made the other. It was that men might know that Place worked without ceasing; he made mistakes, but he had the right vision, and in good time men came to know more than possibly he had expected. It is our vision that matters, not the mistakes we make. We may go forth like Columbus, to discover a new way to the Indies, and fail in our endeavor. But what matter? We may discover the Americas

The only book on the subject is: "The Life of Francis Place, 1771-1854," by GRAHAM WALLAS, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co.; 1898. Published at 12s. and subsequently reprinted at 2s. 6d. Both editions are out of print, and another cheap reprint is under consideration.

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ROBERT OWEN
SOCIAL REFORMER

BY
B. L. HUTCHINS

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ROBERT OWEN, SOCIAL REFORMER.

I have never advocated the possibility of creating a physical and mental equality among the human race, knowing well that it is from our physical and mental varieties that the very essence of knowledge, wisdom, and happiness, or rational enjoyment is to arise. The equality which belongs to the new, true, and rational system of human existence is an equality of conditions or of surroundings which shall give to each, according to natural organization, an equal physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual, and practical treatment, training, education, position, employment according to age, and share in local and general government, when governing rationally shall be understood and applied to practice.—“Life of Robert Owen,” by Himself, p. 111.

ROBERT OWEN is a figure of great significance in the social history of the nineteenth century. It is easy to show the limitations of his educational theories; it is child's play to explode his particular form of Socialism; and it is not difficult to demonstrate that his style was ponderous and he himself something of a bore. Yet, when all these admissions have been made, “whatever his mistakes, Owen was a pathfinder.”*

He was born into a time of crisis and convulsion,

“Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.”

The Industrial Revolution was ignored by some contemporary thinkers, and was a hopeless puzzle, a dark enigma, to others. It is Owen's glory that while still young, with little education, and all the cares of business and commercial responsibility on his shoulders, he saw his way to the solution of some of the most pressing social difficulties and anomalies, and put his ideas in practice in his own factory and schools with astonishing success. There are personalities, such as William Morris, or even Lord Shaftesbury, who in their different ways are more attractive, more affecting, more sympathetic, but the remarkable fact about Owen is that his ideas on social legislation were at once original and practical. Our factory legislation is still based upon his suggestions more than upon those of any other man; and if the unspeakable horrors of child labor under the early factory system have been mitigated, and the disgrace of England in this matter to a large extent removed, it should not be forgotten that Robert Owen showed the way.

Early Life.

Robert Owen was born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, North Wales, on May 14th, 1771, and was baptized on June 12th following. His father, also a Robert Owen, was brought up to be a saddler,

* Helene Simon.

and probably an ironmonger also, the two trades being, in small towns, then often combined. The mother's name was Williams, and she belonged to a respectable family of farmers living near Newtown, where the couple settled on marriage. The elder Owen, in addition to his two trades, filled the office of postmaster, and had much of the management of parish affairs in his hands. There were seven children, of whom the subject of this memoir was the sixth. Two died young. The most characteristic of Owen's reminiscences of childhood is the incident, as related by him, of accidentally swallowing some scalding "flummery" or porridge when quite a little boy, which so damaged his stomach that he was always incapable of digesting any but the simplest food, and that in very small quantities. "This," he remarks, with an optimism all his own, "made me attend to the effects of different qualities of food on my changed constitution, and gave me the habit of close observation and of continual reflection; and I have always thought that this accident had a great influence in forming my character."

The boy attended the school of a Mr. Thucknesse, who appears to have had no very remarkable qualification for his office, but to have been on friendly terms with his pupil, whom (at the age of seven!) he associated with himself as assistant "usher." Owen was a voracious reader, and devoured all the books his father's friends in the town could lend him. Among these were "Robinson Crusoe," "Philip Quarle," "The Pilgrim's Progress," "Paradise Lost," Richardson's and other standard novels. He also read, he says, "religious works of all parties," being a religiously inclined child; but this multifarious reading gave him cause for surprise in the immense hatred and opposition he found between members of different faiths, and also between the different sects of the Christian faith. These studies were diversified by games and dancing lessons, in all which amusements he records complacently that he excelled his companions, adding, rather comically, that "the contest for partners among the girls was often amusing, but sometimes really distressing." He also remarks in this connection that "the minds and feelings of young children are seldom duly considered, and that if adults would patiently encourage them to express candidly what they thought and felt, much suffering would be saved to the children and much useful knowledge in human nature would be gained by the adults." There is, perhaps, here a touch of over sentimentality; but, considering how brutal the treatment of children at this period frequently was, it is interesting to find a man who was himself so signally successful in the discipline and management of children, urging thoughtfulness and consideration upon the adult mind of his time.

Apprenticeship.

The experiences of this baby usher lasted about two years. At ten years old, at his own earnest wish, he was sent to London, to be under the care of his elder brother, who, having worked with a saddler, had settled himself comfortably by marrying his master's

widow and taking over the business. A situation was found for little Robert with a Mr. McGuffog, who had begun life with half a crown, which he laid out in the purchase of "some things for sale," for hawking in a basket. The basket had been exchanged for a pedlar's pack, and subsequently the pack for an establishment at Stamford, "for the sale of the best and finest articles of female wear." Robert was domesticated with the McGuffog family for some years, treated like their own child, "carefully initiated into the routine of the business, and instructed in its detail." "Many of the customers . . . were amongst the highest nobility in the kingdom, and often six or seven carriages belonging to them were at the same time in attendance at the premises." He recalls of his master and mistress that the husband belonged to the Church of Scotland, the wife to that of England; but so placable and tolerant were the two, that they went every Sunday first to the one church, afterwards to the other, and he "never knew a religious difference between them." This observation early inclined him to view dogmatic differences as unimportant.

After a few years he left these good friends, and took a place as assistant in an old-established house on Old London Bridge, Borough side. Being now arrived at the mature age of fifteen, he says, "My previous habits prepared me to take an efficient part in the retail division of the business of serving. I was lodged and boarded in the house and had a salary of twenty-five pounds a year, and I thought myself rich and independent. . . . To the assistants in this busy establishment the duties were very onerous. They were up and had breakfasted and were dressed to receive customers in the shop at eight o'clock—and dressing then was no light matter. Boy as I was then, I had to wait my turn for the hairdresser to powder and pomatum and curl my hair, for I had two large curls on each side, and a stiff pigtail, and until all this was very nicely and systematically done, no one could think of appearing before a customer. Between eight and nine the shop began to fill with purchasers, and their number increased until it was crowded to excess, although a large apartment, and this continued until late in the evening, usually until ten or half past ten, during all the spring months. Dinner and tea were hastily taken—two or three, sometimes only one, escaping at a time to take what he or she could the most easily swallow, and returning to take the places of others who were serving. The only regular meals at this season were our breakfasts, except on Sundays, on which day a good dinner was always provided and was much enjoyed. But when the purchasers left at ten or half past ten . . . a new part of the business began. The articles dealt in as haberdashery were innumerable, and these when exposed to the customers were tossed and tumbled and unfolded in the utmost confusion and disorder, and there was no time or space to put anything right and in order during the day. . . . It was often two o'clock in the morning before the goods . . . had been put in order. . . . Frequently at two in the morning, after being actively engaged on foot all day from eight on the previous morning, I have scarcely been able with

the aid of the bannisters to go upstairs to bed. And then I had but five hours for sleep." This strain and overwork seemed to Owen more than his constitution could bear, and he obtained another situation, in Manchester. Here he found good living, kind treatment, and reasonable hours of work. He received £40 a year, with board and lodging, and considered himself to be "overflowing with wealth."

In Business at Eighteen.

When he was eighteen years old, he heard from a mechanic who supplied the firm with wire bonnet frames that some extraordinary inventions were "beginning to be introduced in Manchester for spinning cotton by new and curious machinery." The maker of bonnet frames after a time succeeded in getting a sight of these machines at work, and told Owen "he was sure he could make and work them," if only he had capital. He thought that with a hundred pounds he could make a beginning, and offered Owen half profits and partnership if he would lend him that sum. Robert immediately wrote to his brother William in London to ask if he could make the advance required, which request was granted. Robert gave notice to his employer and told him he was going into business for himself. So far as we can learn from his autobiography, no one seems to have been particularly astonished at this lad of eighteen starting on his own account. Meantime a large workshop had been obtained, and about forty men set to work making machines, the necessary materials, wood, iron, and brass, being obtained on credit. Of this light-hearted pair of partners, one, Owen, "had not the slightest knowledge of this new machinery—had never seen it at work." The other, Jones, the mechanic partner, knew little about "book-keeping, finance matters, or the superintendence of men," and was without any idea how to conduct business on the scale now projected. Owen's experience in drapery establishments had given him some idea of business management. As he sagely remarks, he knew wages must be paid, and that if the men were not well looked after, the business must soon come to an end. He kept the accounts, made all payments and received monies, and closely observed the work of the different departments, though at this time he did not really understand it. He managed to maintain order and regularity, and the concern did far better than he had expected. The firm made and sold mules for spinning cotton, and did a fair amount of trade, though as Robert confesses, the want of business capacity in his partner caused him some fear and trembling.* After some months of this, a man possessed of a moderate capital offered to join Jones and put some money into the business. They offered to buy out Robert Owen, and he separated very willingly from his partner. By agreement with them he was to receive six mule machines for himself, three of which only were actually handed over, with a reel and a making-up machine.

At this time Arkwright was starting his great cotton-spinning mill, but the manufacture of British muslins was still in its infancy.

Owen says that before 1780 or thereabouts no muslins were for sale but those made in the East Indies, but while he was apprenticed to McGuffog a man called Oldknow, of Stockport, in Cheshire, began to manufacture what he described as "British mull muslin." It was less than a yard wide, and was supplied to Mr. McGuffog 19s. or 9s. 6d., and retailed by the latter to his customers at 10s. 6d. the yard. It was eagerly bought up by McGuffog's aristocratic customers at that price, and Oldknow could not make it rapidly enough. This incident no doubt helped Owen to realize that there were considerable possibilities in the new machines. Although employing only three hands he was able to make about £6 a week profit. A rich Manchester manufacturer called Drinkwater had also built a mill for finer spinning, and was filling it with machinery, but being entirely ignorant of cotton spinning, although a first-rate merchant, was somewhat at a loss to find an expert manager.

Manager of a Large Mill.

Owen, hearing of Drinkwater's dilemma, went to his counting house, and, inexperienced as he was, asked for the vacant situation. The great capitalist asked what salary the youth required, and was amazed at the cool reply, "Three hundred a year." His protest, however, being met by a demonstration that this surprising young man was already making that sum by his own business, Drinkwater agreed to take up Owen's references, and told him to call again. On the day appointed he agreed to the three hundred a year, and took over Owen's machinery at cost price.

Robert Owen was now installed as manager in authority over five hundred men, women, and children, and his predecessor having already left, and his employer understanding nothing of the work, he entered upon his new duties and responsibilities without any instruction or explanation about anything. Much of the machinery was entirely new to him. He determined, however, to do the best he could, inspected everything very minutely, examined the drawings and calculations of the machinery left by Lee, was first in the mill in the morning, and locked up the premises at night. For six weeks he abstained from giving a single direct order, "saying merely yes or no to the questions of what was to be done or otherwise." At the end of that time he felt himself master of his position, was able to perceive the defects in the various processes, and the incorrectness of certain parts of the machinery, all then in a rude state, compared with later developments. Owen was able to greatly improve the quality of the manufacture, and appears to have been very successful in the management of the workpeople. Drinkwater, who cared nothing for personal supervision of his mill, was much pleased to find his responsibilities taken off his shoulders. He raised Owen's salary, and promised to take him into partnership in three years time.

Life at Manchester.

The next three or four years were a time of mental growth and stimulus for this strange lad. He made friends among the staff at

Manchester College, and joined in evening meetings for the discussion of "religion, morals, and other similar subjects." He met Cole-ridge, who had wished to discuss with him, and became a member of the celebrated "Lit. and Phil.," or the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, which gave him an introduction to the leading professional men of the town, especially those of the medical profession. He was shortly afterwards invited to become a member of what he describes as a "club or committee" of this society, which included the celebrated Dr. Thomas Percival as its president, Dr. Ferriar, and others. Dr. Percival invited Owen to speak at a meeting, a suggestion which embarrassed and confused the young man, who succeeded only in stammering a few incoherent sentences. On a later occasion, however, Owen read a paper on the subject of fine cotton spinning, which was well received by the society; and his name appears in 1796 as a member of the Manchester Board of Health, a body formed by Dr. Percival to devise remedies for the evil and unhealthy conditions incidental to factory employment.

His connection with Mr. Drinkwater came to a sudden end. Oldknow proposed to marry Drinkwater's daughter, and wished to be taken into partnership. As he had the reputation of being a wealthy, rising man, Drinkwater was eager to accept him both as a son-in-law and a partner, and asked Owen to abandon the agreement for partnership and remain on as manager at an increased salary. Owen's pride was aroused by this rather shabby attempt to break the previous contract, and he at once resigned, not only the prospect of partnership, but also his existing situation. He received more than one offer of partnership from capitalists who doubtless knew of his technical knowledge and business capacity, and after declining one rather haughtily because its conditions seemed to him not sufficiently favorable, he accepted another, which was, in fact, less advantageous. He became managing director of the Chorlton Twist Company, and had to superintend the building of its new factory and the installation of the machinery.

Marriage.

In the course of a business visit to Glasgow, where his firm had many customers, Owen made the acquaintance of Miss Dale, destined later on to become his wife. Her father was David Dale, owner of the New Lanark Mills, a man of great wealth, and at that time probably the leading merchant in Glasgow. Not only was his worldly position greatly superior to Owen's, but there was a further obstacle to be overcome in his religious opinions. Dale was an extremely pious and narrow-minded Nonconformist; Owen was already a Freethinker, taught by determinism that a man's religious beliefs were irrevocably fixed by his antecedents and circumstances, and therefore could be the subject neither of blame nor praise. Having discovered that the young lady was not unresponsive to his affection, but that her father was unlikely to receive him favorably, Owen determined nevertheless to obtain an introduction to Dale, and, with his usual curious mixture of simplicity and audacity, con-

ceived the idea of calling on him with a proposal to purchase the mills. Dale was somewhat astonished by such a proposal from so young a man, but advised him to journey to New Lanark and inspect them. The previous negotiations that had been going on between the young people subsequently came to Dale's ears, and at first displeased him. Owen was a stranger, an Englishman, and unknown to him. Owen, however, was backed up by his partners, John Barton and John Atkinson, who arrived at Glasgow to go into the matter in person. The upshot of the matter was that their offer was accepted by Dale, who eventually consented also to the marriage of Owen and his daughter. In 1798 or '99 (the dates are somewhat confused in the Autobiography) Owen found himself at twenty-eight manager and part proprietor of the New Lanark Mills and a married man.

At New Lanark.

This event forms the turning point in Owen's career. His extraordinarily rapid success in winning an assured position at an early age was no doubt due in part only to his own ability, since some part of it can be accounted for by the peculiar circumstances of the time, the introduction and development of steam power and machinery having made it possible to obtain profits on a startling scale. But Owen was a junior partner, and his own capital was but small. His first concern was to secure an ample dividend for the firm, this being the necessary condition of liberty to carry out the measures of reform in the works that he was already considering in his own mind. An isolated remark in the Autobiography (which is written in a rambling and unsystematic manner) gives the clue to his cogitations. Early in the time of his association with Drinkwater he "noticed the great attention given to the dead machinery, and the neglect and disregard of the living machinery," or, in plainer language, of the workers employed. Owen's peculiar power of detachment from the merely personal aspect of his affairs preserved him from the egotistic optimism characteristic of many manufacturers of that date, who, having greatly increased their own wealth through the Industrial Revolution, could not see its attendant evils. He had associated with Dr. Percival in Manchester, and had heard of the diseases and other terrible evils that were caused by the herding of pauper apprentices in insanitary dens in the neighborhood of the mills. In some of the mills, especially those in secluded valleys removed from any check of public opinion, little children were made to work night and day, in heated rooms, uncleaned and unventilated, with little or no provision for teaching, care, or education. In the worst cases there were cruel beatings and other brutal punishments, and in most, probably, little thought for means of safeguard against and prevention of terrible accidents from machinery. Owen's intention was "not to be a mere manager of cotton mills, as such mills were at this time generally managed, but to . . . change the conditions of the people, who were surrounded by circumstances having an injurious influence upon the character of the entire population of New Lanark "

The Mills.

A considerable amount of information as to the state of these mills before Owen took them in hand is accessible, but it is not all unanimous. Owen, in his Autobiography, paints a gloomy picture; while visitors, who made excursions to New Lanark, professed themselves impressed by Mr. Dale's liberality to the factory children and his zeal for their morals and education. The discrepancy of evidence is, however, more apparent than real. According to the standard of those days the New Lanark Mills were models. They were kept much cleaner and were far better ventilated than the ordinary cotton mill, and the pauper children, whom Mr. Dale was obliged to obtain from a distance, were, as Owen himself told Sir Robert Peel's Committee in 1816, well fed and cared for. But, in spite of these advantages, Owen, who made himself intimately acquainted with the condition of the operatives, found much that was objectionable. Five hundred children were employed, who had been taken from poorhouses, chiefly from Edinburgh, and these children were mostly between the ages of five and eight years old. The reason such young children were taken was that Mr. Dale could not get them older. If he did not take them at this early age, they were not to be had at all. The hours of work were thirteen a day (sometimes more), including meal times, for which intervals, amounting to an hour and a half in all, were allowed. Owen found that, in spite of the good food and relatively good care enjoyed by the children when out of the mills, the long hours of work had stunted their growth and, in some cases, deformed their limbs. Although a good teacher, according to the ideas of the time, had been engaged, the children made very slow progress, even in learning the alphabet. These facts convinced Owen that the children were injured by being taken into the mills at so early an age and by being made to work for so many hours, and as soon as he could make other arrangements, he put an end to the system, discontinued the employment of pauper children, refused to engage any child under ten years old, and reduced the hours of work to twelve daily, of which one and a quarter were given to rest and meals. He would have preferred to raise the age of full time employment to twelve years and to reduce the hours of work still further, but, being more or less in his partners' hands, he was compelled to initiate these reforms gradually. He soon, however, arrived at a conviction, based on the experience gained by watching his own factory at work, that no loss need be incurred, either in home or foreign trade, by reducing work to about ten hours employment daily. The improvement in health and energy resulting from increased leisure was so remarkable as to convince him that more consideration for the operatives, more attention given to their conditions of work generally, especially shorter hours, so far from increasing expenses, would tend to promote efficiency, and as he also pointed out, would effect a great improvement in the health of operatives, both young and old, and also improve their education, and tend to diminish the poor rates of the country.*

* See Parliamentary Papers, 1816, Vol. III, Peel's Committee, Evidence of Robert Owen

It is, indeed, hardly credible that the schooling which was supposed to be given to the children after their seven o'clock supper till nine, could have been of much use after so many hours at work in the mill. Owen's view was that "this kind of instruction, when the strength of the children was exhausted, only tormented them, without doing any real good; for I found that none of them understood anything they attempted to read, and many of them fell asleep during the school hours."

The Village.

Owen also did a great deal to improve the village houses and streets, and build new houses to receive new families to supply the place of the paupers, and to re-arrange the interior of the mills, and replace the old machinery by new.

"The houses contained at that time no more than one apartment, few exceeded a single storey in height, and a dunghill in front of each seems to have been considered by the then inmates as a necessary appendage to their humble dwelling." Owen rebuilt or improved the houses, and had the streets daily swept and cleansed and refuse removed by men employed for the purpose. The next difficulty was to induce habits of domestic cleanliness, which at first Owen tried to achieve by means of lectures and persuasive talks. Finding more urgent measures were necessary, he called a public meeting and advised the people to appoint a committee from amongst themselves to inspect the houses in the village and report as to cleanliness in a book kept for the purpose. This suggestion at first nearly produced a revolution among the women, but it is stated nevertheless that the measure was put in operation, by Owen's orders, in so conciliatory a manner that hostility soon subsided.* Stores were opened to supply the people with food, clothing, milk, fuel, etc., at cost price. Previously the credit system prevailed, and all the retail shops could sell spirits. The quality of the goods was most inferior, and the charges high to cover risk. The result of this change saved the people twenty-five per cent. in their expenses, besides giving them the best, instead of very inferior, articles.†

It is, however, in his plans for mental and moral improvement that Owen is seen at his most characteristic and singular aspect. The factory population of that date, it must be remembered, was usually imported away from its own place of abode. Prejudice against cotton mills was very strong among the laboring classes of Scotland, who disliked the close confinement and long hours of

* "Owen at New Lanark." By One formerly a Teacher at New Lanark. Manchester. 1839. Pp. 4, 5.

† There are risks in connection with shops run by employers for profit which are now well known, and have been the occasion of many Truck Acts; but in this case the profits of the stores were not taken by Owen, but were used for the benefit of the work people themselves and for the upkeep of the schools, the scheme resembling a consumers' co-operative store rather than a shop for private profit. Compare Report of Peel's Committee, Robert Owen's evidence, p. 22.

labor incidental to factory life. The people working at New Lanark had "been collected from anywhere and anyhow, for it was then most difficult to induce any sober well-doing family to leave their home to go into cotton mills as then conducted."

It is evident that the factory population thus recruited might not be altogether easy people to deal with. Owen says that he had at first "every bad habit and practice of the people to overcome." Drinking, immorality, and theft were general; and Dale, who had given but little time to personal supervision of the mills, had been freely plundered. But Owen was not disheartened. In a curious passage he shows his views on the subject of human nature and his characteristic confidence that with his methods all would be well. "There were two ways before me by which to govern the population. First, by contending against the people, who had to contend against the evil conditions by which, through ignorance, they were surrounded; and in this case I should have had continually to find fault with all, and to keep them in a state of constant ill will and irritation, to have many of them tried for theft, to have some imprisoned and transported, and at that period to have others condemned to death; for in some cases I detected thefts to a large amount, there being no check upon any of their proceedings. This was the course which had ever been the practice of society. Or, secondly, I had to consider these unfortunately placed people as they really were, the creatures of ignorance and vicious circumstances, who were made to be what they were by the evil conditions which had been made to surround them, and for which alone society, if any party, should be made responsible. And instead of tormenting the individuals, imprisoning and transporting some, hanging others, and keeping the population in a state of constant irrational excitement, I had to change these evil conditions for good ones, and thus, in the due order of nature, according to its unchanging laws, to supersede the inferior and bad characters, created by inferior and bad conditions, by superior and good characters, to be created by superior and good conditions." Success in this great undertaking could only be obtained by the knowledge "that the character of each of our race is formed by God or nature and by society, and that it is impossible that any human being could or can form his own qualities or character."

Owen drew up a set of rules to be observed by the inhabitants of New Lanark for the maintenance of cleanliness, order and good behavior. Every house was to be cleaned at least once a week and whitewashed at least once a year by the tenant; the tenants were further required, in rotation, to provide for cleaning the public stairs, and sweeping the roadway in front of their dwellings, and were forbidden to throw ashes and dirty water into the streets, or to keep cattle, swine, poultry or dogs in the houses. There were provisions for the prevention of trespass and damage to the company's fences and other property. A rather extreme view of authority inspired a rule requiring all doors to be closed at 10.30, and no one to be abroad after that hour without permission. Temperance in the us

or liquors was enjoined. Toleration was urged upon the members of different religious sects and the whole village was advised "to the utmost of their power as far as is consistent with their duty to God and society, to endeavor both by word and deed to make everyone happy with whom they have any intercourse."

The "Silent Monitor."

A singular device was adopted by Owen as an aid to enforcing good behavior in the mills, punishment of any kind being contrary to his principles. A four-sided piece of wood, the sides colored black, blue, yellow, and white, was suspended near to each of the factory workers. The side turned to the front told the conduct of that person during the previous day, the four colours being taken as by degrees of comparison, black representing of course bad, blue indifferent, yellow good, and white excellent. There was also a system of registering marks for conduct. The superintendent of each department had to place these "silent monitors" every day, and the master placed those for the superintendent. Anyone who thought himself treated unjustly by the superintendent had the right of complaining to Owen, but such complaints very rarely occurred. With his usual simplicity, Owen attributes much of his success to this quaint little device, which probably, apart from his own character and influence, and the beneficial measures introduced, would have had but little effect. His humanity to the people is illustrated by the fact that at one time, when owing to trade conditions the mills were at a standstill for several months, he expended £7,000 in wages rather than turn the people adrift.

Financial Success.

As a matter of business, the mills were highly successful. From 1799 to 1809, over and above interest on capital at five per cent, a dividend of £60,000 was cleared, which, however, includes the £7,000 spent on payment of wages as just indicated. Owen's partners, however, in spite of this financial success, took alarm at his schemes for social betterment. They came down from London and Manchester to inspect what had been done, expressed themselves highly pleased, listened to his plans, but eventually presented him with a silver salver bearing a laudatory inscription, and decided they could go no further with him. Owen offered to buy the mills of them for £84,000, and they gladly consented. A second partnership, formed to purchase the mills, resulted again in strain and tension. Owen then drew up a pamphlet describing his work at New Lanark, and the efforts he had made and hoped still to make for furthering the cause of education and improving the position of the people concerned, and making an appeal to benevolent and wealthy men to join him in partnership and purchase the business, not only for the sake of the immediate good of the employees, but in order to set up a model of what a manufacturing community might be. Among those who responded to the invitation were Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher, and William Allen, the Quaker

and philanthropist. When Owen had completed his arrangements for taking over the business, and returned to New Lanark, the work-people were so overjoyed to see him that they took the horses out of the carriage and drew him in it home, in spite of his expostulations.

On balancing the accounts of the four years partnership now dissolved, it was found that after allowing five per cent for the capital employed, the concern showed a net profit of £160,000.

A New View of Society.

Owen came before the world as an educational reformer in 1813, when he published his "New View of Society: or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character." Education in England, as most people know, was grossly neglected at this time, especially in regard to the children of the working class. The grammar schools endowed by mediæval piety were appropriated to the instruction of middle-class children, and the charity schools founded in the eighteenth century were, though numerous, utterly inadequate for the needs of a growing industrial society, nor was the education offered in those schools planned on lines that could by any stretch of imagination be called liberal. William Allen, Owen's partner, estimated the number of children in London who were wholly without education at over 100,000. From the very beginning of the nineteenth century education was already a battlefield. The Liberal Nonconformists, led by Lancaster, and the Church party, inspired by Dr. Bell, were each responsible for plans for cheap popular education. Owen gave generous assistance to both, but in the schools he established at New Lanark he went beyond either. The schemes of Bell and Lancaster were little but plans for economising the teacher, that is to say, by setting the older children to teach the younger. Owen distrusted the system of teaching by rote, and laid great stress on the personality of the teacher and the individual attention given to children.

A building was erected at New Lanark, to be used exclusively for school classes, lectures, music and recreation. There were two schoolrooms, one hung round with pictures of animals, shells, minerals, etc., and with large maps. Dancing and singing lessons were given, and the younger classes were taught reading, natural history, and geography. Both boys and girls were drilled, formed in divisions led by young drummers and fifers, and became very expert and perfect in their exercises. The children all wore white garments, given them by Owen, tunics for the boys, frocks for the girls, which were changed three times a week.

Before the shortening of the hours of work, the average attendance at the evening schools was less than 100 a night; but after the reduction on January 1, 1816, the attendance rose rapidly, and was 380 in January, 386 in February, and 396 in March.

The basic principle of Owen's educational system was that man is before all things a social or gregarious being, from which it follows that the happiness of the individual is most intimately bound up with that of the community of which he is a member. The practical

corollary of this principle was the exclusion of all artificial rewards or punishments. No child got a prize for industry and good conduct, none was punished for idleness and disobedience, Owen holding the belief that such incentives are bad for the character, introduce false ideals and erroneous notions, and generally leave the will weak and unfortified against temptation when the artificial stimulus is removed. The scholars were taught to feel that the best incentive to industry is the pleasure of learning, and the best reward for kindness and good behavior the friendly feeling of companionship set up. Instead of being scolded or punished for being untruthful or disobliging, the children at New Lanark were taught that sincerity and good fellowship are the means to a happy life.* A child who did wrong was considered to deserve pity rather than blame. Owen's son, Dale, who was a convinced believer in his father's system, points out that though children educated on the old-fashioned method, "over-awed by the fear of punishment and stimulated by the hope of reward," might appear very diligent and submissive while the teacher's eye is on them, habits formed by mere mechanical inducements would not be rooted in the character, not to mention that obstinacy and wilfulness may even be fostered by feeling that there is something courageous and independent in thus rejecting baits offered to their lower nature and daring to choose the more perilous path. However that may be, there is a general testimony of those who visited the schools that the children were singularly gentle, happy looking, and well behaved; which, indeed, is markedly the case in a school of the present day, run on similar principles, and known to the writer.

Methods of Education.

As regards the teaching itself, every effort was made to make every subject attractive and interesting; to teach as much as possible by conversation and by maps, pictures, and natural objects; and not to weary the children's attention. A special feature of the system was the lecture on natural science, geography, or history, which would be illustrated, as the subject might permit, by maps, pictures, diagrams, etc., and, as occasion might serve, made to convey a moral lesson. Thus a geography lesson would be combined with descriptive detail and made to illustrate Robert Owen's favorite thesis that character is the product of circumstances. These lessons, the value of which obviously would depend mainly on the teacher's personality, seem to have given immense pleasure to the children, and to have greatly interested strangers, who were now visiting New Lanark in increasing numbers.

Instead of reading in a mechanical fashion or learning mere words by rote, the children were questioned on what they read, and encouraged to discuss, ask questions, or find illustrations of what they read. Thus the habit was formed of endeavoring to understand what is read or heard, instead of conning a mere jargon and patter of unmeaning words, which, it is to be feared, make up the

* R. Dale Owen, "System of Education at New Lanark," 1824, p. 13.

idea of "lessons" to many hapless little scholars even up till now. On this point Dale Owen asks pertinently whether a chemist, being anxious that a child should be able to trace and understand some valuable and important deductions, which with great study and investigation he had derived from certain chemical facts, would act wisely in insisting that the child should at once commit to memory and implicitly believe these deductions? The answer is obvious; that any wise man would first store a child's mind with facts and elementary knowledge, and only gradually, as judgment and intelligence became matured, make him acquainted with theory and principle.*

In the training both of the character and of the intelligence, the aim of the school was to awaken the will and observation in the child to act and reflect for himself, rather than drive him by mere mechanical compulsion.

Many were the distinguished strangers who at this time made a pilgrimage to New Lanark. Griscom, an American Professor of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, visited Owen in the course of a tour, and was most favorably impressed with the school. He records that the children appeared perfectly happy and fearless, and would take Owen by the hand or the coat to attract his attention. The Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria) was deeply interested in Owen's experiments, and sent his physician to visit and report upon New Lanark. Many others—statesmen, philanthropists, reformers, and humanitarians, enthusiasts of all kinds—also found their way to the factory and school.

Condition of the People.

About 1815 Owen began to turn his attention to measures of a public character which should improve the condition of the operatives employed in the now rapidly increasing textile industry. He visited many mills in various parts of the country, and was much struck by the wonderful machines employed in these factories and the improvements that were constantly being made in them. But he was also painfully impressed, as he had been years before, by the deteriorating effects on young people of the conditions of employment. He saw that the workers were almost literally the slaves of the new mechanical powers, and later on he asserted that the white slavery of English manufactories under unrestricted competition was worse than the black slavery he had seen in the West Indies and the United States, where the slaves were better cared for in regard to food, clothing, and conditions as to health than were the oppressed and degraded children and workpeople in the factories of Great Britain. It is true that some of the worst evils were tending to disappear, e.g., with the introduction of steam power night work was considerably discontinued; and as employers were no longer obliged to place their factories in out of the way spots for water power, the need for employing parish apprentices had therefore largely ceased. The factories were placed in populous centres

*"System of Education at New Lanark," p 55.

and to some extent at least under the check of public opinion ; whilst the children were living at home with their parents, under more human and natural conditions than the unhappy apprentices who had been lodged at the mills. It also appears that the factories of the new type were larger and better kept than the old, and the operatives of a higher social grade. But, in spite of these influences, which made for good, the evidence before Peel's Committee shows that conditions were still very bad. Children were employed at a very early age, and for terribly long hours. Even the better class manufacturers usually kept the mill open for thirteen hours a day, and allowed an hour off for dinner, breakfast and tea being brought to the children in the mill and snatched at intervals, the machinery going all the time. Sometimes even a dinner interval was not given, and some mills were kept going for fifteen or even sixteen hours a day. Many of the children had to attend for several hours on Sunday to clean the machinery. It was asserted by the manufacturers that these long hours did not really mean the same duration of actual work ; that the children were merely in attendance to watch the machines and piece the broken threads, no physical exertion being required. This description conveniently ignored the fact that the children had practically to stand the whole time, and the bad effects of such long standing and confinement were heightened by the close and heated atmosphere. The finer qualities of yarn, at all events, needed a warm atmosphere, and in many factories the temperature, summer and winter, was kept up to about eighty degrees. Sir Robert Peel told the House of Commons that he employed nearly a thousand children in his cotton mill, and was seldom able to visit it, owing to press of engagements ; but whenever he could go and see the works, he was struck with "the uniform appearance of bad health and, in many cases, stunted growth of the children. The hours of labor were regulated by the interest of the overseer, whose remuneration depending on the quantity of work done, he was often induced to make the poor children work excessive hours and to stop their complaints by trifling bribes."

Factory Children.

In 1815 Owen called a meeting of Scottish manufacturers, to be held in the Tontine, Glasgow, to consider, first, the necessity and policy of asking the Government, then under Lord Liverpool's administration, to remit the heavy duty then paid on the importation of cotton ; and, secondly, to consider measures to improve the condition of children and others employed in textile mills. The first proposal, to remit the import duty on raw material, was carried unanimously. He then proposed a string of resolutions for improving the condition of the workers. In the course of his remarks he pointed out that the cotton manufacture, vast as were its profits, was not an unmingled benefit to the nation, but, under existing conditions, was destructive of the "health, morals, and social comforts" of the mass of the people engaged in it. He urged those present not to forget the interests of those by whom their profits were

made, and suggested a Factory Act. Not one person in the meeting would second the motion. Subsequently Owen published a pamphlet,* dedicated significantly "to the British Legislature," in which he described the position of children under the manufacturing system, and suggested a remedy. "The children now find they must labor incessantly for their bare subsistence. They have not been used to innocent, healthy, and rational amusements. They are not permitted the requisite time, if they had been previously accustomed to enjoy them. . . . Such a system of training cannot be expected to produce any other than a population weak in bodily and mental faculties, and with habits generally destructive of their own comfort, of the wellbeing of those around them, and strongly calculated to subdue all the social affections. Man so circumstanced sees all around him hurrying forward, at a mail coach speed, to acquire individual wealth, regardless of him, his comforts, his wants, or even his sufferings, except by way of degrading parish charity, fitted only to steel the heart of man against his fellows or to form the tyrant and the slave. . . . The employer regards the employed as mere instruments of gain."

The legislative measure he suggested was to limit the hours of labor in factories to twelve per day, including one and a half for meals; to prohibit employment of children under ten in factories; to require that employment of children from ten to twelve should be for half time only; and that no children should be admitted to work in factories at all until they could read and write, understand elementary arithmetic, and, in the case of girls, sew and make their clothes. The arguments used by Owen in support of this suggested measure are such as have been amply confirmed by the experience of those in touch with industry; but they were then new and startling, and, it is to be feared, even at the present day are unfamiliar to many of the dwellers in Suburbia. In regard to the objection then commonly raised that the quantity produced would be decreased by shorter hours, he explained that by making the proposed Factory Act uniform over the United Kingdom, any increase of cost, supposing such to ensue, would be borne by the consumers, not by the manufacturers; but he doubted much whether any manufactory, arranged so as to occupy the hands twelve hours a day, would not produce its fabric nearly, if not altogether, as cheap as those in which work was prolonged to fourteen or fifteen hours a day. Even should this view not prove to be entirely justified, the improved health and comfort of the operative population and the diminution of poor rates would amply compensate the country for a fractional addition to the prime cost of any commodity. "In a national view, the labor which is exerted twelve hours a day will be obtained more economically than if stretched to a longer period. . . . Since the general introduction of expensive machinery human nature has been forced far beyond its average strength, and much, very much, private misery and public injury are the consequence."

* "Observations on the Effect of the Manufacturing System." London. 1815.

The Human Machinery.

In an address to the superintendents of manufactories, written about the end of 1813, Owen thus voices his appeal for the operatives :—

“ Experience has shown you the difference of the results between mechanism which is neat, clean, well arranged, and always in a high state of repair; and that which is allowed to be dirty, in disorder, without the means of preventing unnecessary friction, and which therefore becomes and works much out of repair. In the first case the whole economy and management are good; every operation proceeds with ease, order, and success. In the last the reverse must follow, and a scene be presented of counteraction, confusion, and dissatisfaction among all the agents and instruments interested or occupied in the general process, which cannot fail to create great loss.

“ If, then, the care as to the state of your inanimate machines can produce such beneficial results, what may not be expected if you devote equal attention to your vital machines, which are far more wonderfully constructed? . When you shall acquire a right knowledge of these, of their curious mechanism, of their self-adjusting powers; when the proper mainspring shall be applied to their varied movements—you will become conscious of their real value, and you will readily be induced to turn your thoughts more frequently from your inanimate to your living machines; you will discover that the latter may be easily trained and directed to procure a large increase of pecuniary gain, while you may also derive from them high and substantial gratification.

“ Will you then continue to expend large sums of money to procure the best devised mechanism of wood, brass, or iron; to retain it in perfect repair; to provide the best substance for the prevention of unnecessary friction, and to save it from falling into premature decay? Will you also devote years of intense application to understand the connection of the various parts of these lifeless machines, to improve their effective powers, and to calculate with mathematical precision all their minute and combined movements? . . . Will you not afford some of your attention to consider whether a portion of your time and capital would not be more advantageously applied to improve your living machines? . . . Far more attention has been given to perfect the raw materials of wood and metals than those of body and mind. . . . Man, even as an instrument for the creation of wealth, may be greatly improved. . . . You may not only partially improve these living instruments, but learn how to impart to them such excellence as shall make them infinitely surpass those of the present and all former times.”*

In the course of this campaign for the remission of the cotton duties and for the regulation of child labor, Owen sent copies of his proposals to the members of both Houses of Parliament, and went up to interview the members of the Government. In regard to the first

* Appendix B, Autobiography, p. 250.

proposal he met with a favorable reception from Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but his efforts on behalf of the children were not so immediately fruitful, although they excited considerable interest and sympathy in the minds of some. Sir Robert Peel was asked to take charge of Owen's draft Bill. The choice was an appropriate one, the Act of 1802, for regulating the conditions of pauper apprentices in cotton and woollen mills, having been due to the same statesman's initiative. This Act, the only Factory Act then on the statute book, had become out of date owing to technical and economic changes which had caused the employment of pauper apprentices to be largely discontinued. The new Bill was more comprehensive, and applied to all children in mills and factories. Its main provisions were that no child should be employed in a mill or factory below the age of ten; that no person under eighteen should be employed for more than twelve and a half hours per day, of which only ten were to be given to work, half an hour to instruction, leaving two hours for rest and meal times. The justices were empowered to appoint *duly qualified inspectors* and to pay them for their services. It was explicitly provided that these inspectors were not to be interested or in any way connected with the mills and manufactories they were to inspect, and they were given full powers to enter the mills for purposes of inspection at any time of day they chose.

It is interesting in considering this Bill to recall that the institution of factory inspectors was not effected till 1833, the *ten hours day* did not become law till 1847, and the prohibition of work under ten years old did not come into force until the year 1874.

Peel's Committee.

Nothing more was done in 1815, the Bill having been introduced and published as a tentative measure to evoke discussion and criticism. In 1816, however, Sir Robert Peel returned to the subject, and moved for the appointment of a committee to take evidence and report upon the state of children employed in manufactories. Some of the evidence given before this committee by Owen has already been quoted above. Perhaps the most remarkable point is the hostility shown by some members of the committee to Owen's ideas and proposals, which, so far as the Factory Bill went, would nowadays be considered very mild. When he said he thought it unnecessary for children under ten to be employed in any regular work, and considered instruction and education at that age were enough exertion, he was asked by some moralist, whose name is unfortunately not handed down to fame, "Would there not be a danger of their acquiring by that time (*ten years old*) vicious habits for want of regular occupation?" and replied that his own experience led him, on the contrary, to find that habits were good in proportion to instruction. When he was pressed to explain his contention that a reduction of hours had resulted in a greater proportional output, he showed that a larger quantity might be produced by greater attention or by preventing breakage, and by not

losing any time in beginning or leaving work. This evidently surprised some of the committee, who appeared incredulous that he, "as an experienced cotton spinner, or a spinner of any kind," could think that machines could produce a greater quantity save by the quickening of their movement. Owen again repeated that greater attention by the workpeople in avoiding breakage or waste of time might increase output, and that in his experience the shorter hours work did result in closer attention.*

The Factory Act, 1819.

The Factory Bill was delayed for some reason till 1818, when Sir Robert Peel introduced it again. The second reading was carried in the Commons by *ninety-one to twenty-six*, but the Bill was again delayed by the action of the House of Lords, who professed themselves not satisfied that the need for any such legislation had been demonstrated. They appointed a committee of their own, which took evidence during 1818 and 1819. A great deal of evidence was produced, which was intended to show that factories were ideally healthy and the death-rate much below that in ordinary places; that England's place in the markets of the world would be endangered; that wages must be reduced in a proportion equal to or greater than the proposed reduction of hours; that the morals of the "lower orders" must be deteriorated by so much free time. Doctors were found to testify, e.g., that it need not hurt a child to work at night, or to stand twelve hours a day at work, or to eat their meals while so standing! The evidence of 1816, however, had not been forgotten, and other evidence was produced before the Lords' Committee which amply proved the conditions to be highly injurious to the children's health. The Bill became law in the summer of 1819, but, in order to conciliate the millowners and the House of Lords, the original provisions were deprived of much that was valuable. Woollen, flax, and other mills were omitted, the Act applying to cotton only; the age limit for child labor was fixed at nine years instead of ten; the hours of labor were to be twelve instead of ten or ten and a half hours. Worst of all, the provision for inspection in Owen's draft was deleted and nothing was put in its place, the supervision of factories being left, as before, in the hands of the justices, although it was perfectly well known that they had not enforced the Act of 1802.

Owen's direct influence on the development of English factory legislation thus suffered a check. The fact nevertheless remains that the Act of 1819, mutilated and imperfect as it was, was the first real recognition of responsibility by the State for industrial conditions. The Act of 1802 had been merely an extension of the State's care for Poor Law children; the Act of 1819 recognized the

* The present writer has been told the same by several manufacturers. One of these remarked that "in nine hours the girls had done all the work it was in them to do," and that the attention could not be satisfactorily maintained longer. Another remarked that overtime in the evening generally meant bad work next morning. See also instances described in "History of Factory Legislation," Hutchins and Harrison, Chapter VII.

employed child as such. It was not until 1833 that an effective measure was placed upon the statute book, and the guidance of this movement had long before this passed out of Owen's hands. But he it was who first compelled the State to recognize the changes made by the growth and concentration of capital; he it was who tried practical experiments in the way of shorter hours and improved conditions; and, much as he had done himself as a model employer, it was he who recognized the fact that, under the conditions of modern industry, State intervention was necessary, because the forces of competition are too much for the manufacturer, single and unaided, to resist, save in especially favorable circumstances.

International Agitation.

Owen was also fully conscious that in years to come the problem of social reform would have to be faced internationally. In 1818 he addressed a memorial, on behalf of the working classes, "to the Allied Powers assembled in Congress at Aix-la-Chapelle." This document is characterized by extraordinary optimism and a pathetic conviction that society was, in actual fact, moving rapidly to a state of harmony and co-operation. It also shows a curious ignorance of recent history in assuming that child labor was but a recent introduction, whereas we know now from other sources that child labor had been general, and in some cases excessive, in textile industry carried on under the domestic system. In spite of these misconceptions, the document makes some valuable and important points. It shows that by the introduction of machinery and the factory system an enormous increase in productive power had been achieved. By the aid of science Great Britain could now produce many times as much wealth in a given time as she could previously. This surplus of wealth might be either wasted in war, dissipated in competition with the nations, or applied directly to improve her own population. Moreover, the existing productive power was but trifling compared with that which might be obtained in the future. Capital and industry were unemployed or misapplied which might be used to create more wealth. "Already," said Owen, "with a population under twenty millions, and a manual power not exceeding six millions,* with the aid of new power, undirected, except by a blind private interest, she supplied her own demand, and overstocks with her manufactures all the markets in the world to which her commerce is admitted. She is now using every exertion to open new markets, even in the most distant regions; and she could soon, by the help of science, supply the wants of another world equally populous with the earth. . . . The grand question now to be solved is, not how a sufficiency of wealth may be produced, but how the excess of riches which may be most easily created may be generally distributed throughout society advantageously for all, and without prematurely disturbing the existing institutions or arrangements in any country." Owen's estimates were based on manufacturing

* This figure is arrived at by comparison with the era before machinery. The exact figure is unimportant. The increase of productive power is an undoubted fact.

industry, and he did not give sufficient weight to the consideration that mechanical science was not likely (so far as we can see) to effect so rapid and startling an increase in the production of food or other necessaries obtained from the soil itself.* The really important point made by Owen here and elsewhere is his insistence on the problem of distribution. It is still the case that much wealth which might be used to enrich life is squandered in the war of armaments and the war of competition. There is no way of avoiding that destructive waste save by co-operation and mutual control.

Owen died in 1858. It might seem that his life was a failure, his immediate efforts having been sorely disappointed over the Factory Act of 1819, and his wonderful forecasts of universal peace and prosperity having been sadly falsified by events. But the real results of Owen's work are to be seen in the long series of factory legislation, which, slowly and imperfectly, it is true, has yet built up a system of protection for the worker, and in the efforts which, in the twentieth century, have at last achieved some beginnings of success for international regulation of labor. In 1900 the "Union Internationale pour la Protection légale des Travailleurs" was formed. Through its initiative, influence, and suggestion, conventions have already been accepted by a large number of the leading Powers, under which the night work of women is forbidden and the use of white phosphorus, a deadly poison, formerly employed in matchmaking with great dangers to the workers, is prohibited. Other measures with regard to the night work of boys and the control of other industrial poisons are being considered. This is a work which is as yet in its infancy, but is likely to be fraught with great results in the future.

Conclusion.

It is difficult in a few words to sum up the singular career and personality of Robert Owen. The so-called "usher" of seven, the boy who, with powdered hair, waited on his master's customers in the old warehouse on London Bridge, has a curious old world air, which clings to him even when a dozen years later finds him face to face with the intricate problems of the modern industrial world. It will not have escaped readers of the extracts given above from Robert Owen's works that he wrote a painfully long wadded style, and that his thought is often uncritical and obscure. In a candid passage his son, R. Dale Owen, reminds us that Owen was without any real educational or scientific training. As a child he managed to read a good many books, but had neither time nor opportunity to be a student. "In this way he worked out his problems for human improvement to great disadvantage, missing a thousand things that great minds had thought and said before his time, and often mistaking ideas that were truly his own for novelties that no human being had heretofore given to the world." †

* Podmore, I, p. 261.

† "Threading My Way," p. 66 *et seq.*

Owen's personal temper and character appear to have been of unusual sweetness. His "ruling passion," his son records, "was the love of his kind, individually and collectively." An old friend said of Owen, jokingly, that "if he had seven thousand children instead of seven, he would love them all devotedly." He was, in fact, to his own children a most affectionate and careful parent, but had none of the selfish narrowness that sometimes goes with strong domestic instincts. The whole human race was to him the subject of warm, even indulgent, affection. He simply brushed aside the impression then general that the best way to manage children was to bully them, and the best way to get work out of factory operatives was to keep them incessantly at it. He did not believe in sin and wickedness, and saw in the sinner only the victim of untoward circumstances. He was sometimes misled by the illusion, characteristic of many eighteenth century thinkers, that the human race, if surrounded by a healthy and comfortable environment, and properly instructed in the advantages of social, as opposed to anti-social, conduct, must inevitably go right of itself, and he left out of account the whole array of inherited weaknesses of character and constitution, the strength of passions (which probably his own temperament left him almost unaware of), and the temptation to greed and tyranny offered by almost any known form of organized social life. It is easy to indicate the limitations of his thought. The fact remains that within those limits there is an immensely fruitful field for the application of his ideas, as he proved by the almost startling results of his training and influence on a set of operatives and their children who were by no means picked members of society to start with.

The importance of Owen's life and teaching does not lie in his social philosophy, which was crude and already somewhat out of date, but in the practical success of his experiments as a model employer, and in his flashes of social intuition, which made him see, as by inspiration, the needs of his time. Leslie Stephen said of him that he was "one of those intolerable bores who are of the salt of the earth," but it is evident that he must have possessed a large measure of the undefinable attribute known as "personal magnetism." Thus we find him achieving an entrance into good posts early in life with little aid from capital or influence, able to control and manage workpeople in the factory, to banish drunkenness and disorder, to win the affection of the children in the schools, to persuade the teachers to adopt his new and unfamiliar methods, and to excite the active sympathy and interest of men, like the Duke of Kent, greatly above him in social station. Owen could see and act far better than he could think, and his views have been justified by events. His *Life*, by Frank Podmore, is a great book, one of the most fascinating of English biographies, but perhaps even Mr. Podmore hardly does justice to the clearness of Owen's vision in the human side of economics. Owen found the politicians and economists obsessed by a mechanical conception of industry. An hour's work was an hour's work, and in the debates and pamphlets of the time there is an

almost entire omission of any reference to the personality of the worker, or to the possible effect of his health, strength, and efficiency on the output. Manual labor was then taken as a constant quantity, the only means of augmenting the output being by increasing the hours or by improving the machinery. Later economists have given more attention to the personality of the operative, and modern scientific investigation has shewn that Owen's conception of industry is a true one, solidly based on the facts of life. There is much evidence now accessible to show how eminently susceptible to influences the human worker is, and how shortsighted it is to regard him or her as a mere pair of hands. Better food, better air, more rest, teaching, and recreation, improve the human machine, even regarding him merely as a machine. From the point of view of the State or the community it is hardly necessary to say the case is tenfold stronger. The State can by no means afford to have its citizens, actual or potential, endangered by unhealthy, dangerous, or demoralizing conditions of work. This statement is becoming almost a truism now, though its full implications have not yet been adopted as part of practical politics. But the measure of recognition it has obtained, both at home and abroad, is a measure of the greatness of Robert Owen, the pathfinder of social legislation, who had a vision for the realities of modern industrial life when they were as yet dim, strange, and unknown to his contemporaries. No one has yet done so much as he did to show that man must be the master of the machine if he is not to be its slave.

NOTE.—Robert Owen, disappointed in his scheme for social reform through the State, turned his attention to the formation of communities in which, as he hoped, his theories might be carried out. This part of his life, which is very distinct from his services to social reform, will be treated in a separate paper.

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**WILLIAM MORRIS &
THE COMMUNIST IDEAL**

By **MRS. TOWNSHEND**

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WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE COMMUNIST IDEAL.

Boyhood.

WILLIAM MORRIS was born in 1834 and died in 1896. His working life therefore fell in the latter half of the nineteenth century, exactly the period when Commercialism was most rampant. It was a time of peace and prosperity. Manufacturers were raking in profits from the great discoveries of the beginning of the century, railways and steamships had given fresh impetus to trade. The long reign of a virtuous and narrow-minded sovereign favored the growth of vulgar self-complacency. It was a smug age, an age of rapidly increasing wealth ill-distributed and ill-spent.

Morris was a member of a well-to-do middle class family. His childhood was spent in a large house on the edge of Epping Forest, looking over a great stretch of the pasture land of Essex, with the Thames winding through the marshes. He passed a happy boyhood in a peaceful, old-fashioned, essentially English home. At fourteen he was sent to Marlborough. He entered but little, however, into the life of the school, took no part in school games, and is remembered by his school-fellows as a strange boy fond of mooning about by himself and of telling long stories "full of knights and fairies." He was "thickset and strong-looking, with a high color and black curly hair, good-natured and kind, but with a fearful temper." He was fond of taking long walks and collecting birds' eggs, and he was always doing something with his hands, netting if nothing else.

Like man like boy! The strangely diverse characteristics of this remarkable man were already noticeable, a poet without a poetic temperament, patient and industrious, kindly and gentle yet hasty and choleric, a lover of solitude for all his abounding sympathy with mankind. It was not at school but at home that he found congenial surroundings "I am sure you must think me a great fool," he writes to his sister, "to be always thinking about home, but I really can't help it, I don't think it is my fault for there are such a lot of things I want to do and say."

Oxford Life and Friendships. Cult of the Middle Ages.

But though it is easy in his later life to trace the influence of his peaceful home between the forest and the plain, it was at Oxford that his genius found or formed the channels it was to flow through. At his own college (Exeter) and among the undergraduates of his own year he was fortunate enough to find a man with whom he was able to share his inmost thoughts. The tie between Morris and Burne-Jones was no ordinary college friendship. It lasted till death and affected the lives of both, but though (or perhaps because)

Morris was the greater of the two men the intercourse between them had more important results on his career than on that of his friend.

At twenty Morris, full of vitality and with many markedly diverse characteristics, would have been singled out as a man certain to make his mark in the world, but the kind of work that lay before him would have been hard to foretell. Like his friend, he was destined for the Church. Both alike had felt the influence of that wave of mystical theology which had swept over the dry bones of Anglican Christianity, and both alike suffered a severe disillusionment during their first year at Oxford. Their readings in theology served to extinguish gradually in both the fire of religious enthusiasm, and to kindle in its stead a devotion to ideal beauty, curiously remote and exotic. It was associated with a passion for the Middle Ages and for the particular types and forms of Art that flourished in them, and of course with a contempt and loathing for contemporary life with all its seething confusion of industrial progress. In these quiet Oxford days, spent in poring over ecclesiastical poetry, mediæval chronicles and church history, it was no wonder that these youths should look at the world through a narrow peep-hole: the wonder is that in the case of one of them the peep-hole was never widened throughout a long industrious life of artistic production. Morris was too big a man to have his outlook on the world permanently circumscribed in this way, but in the output of his early years, and indeed in the artistic work—whether literary or plastic—of his whole life, we find the narrowing influence of his first introduction to the world of thought and emotion, and of his lifelong intercourse with Burne-Jones and the school to which he belonged.

Morris was by nature an artist. He was full of enthusiasm and vital energy, quick to see and to feel, eager to create. The pre-Raphaelite movement, with its worship of beauty and its atmosphere of rarity and remoteness, influenced him, not by making him an artist, but by cutting him off from the life of his day and generation, the true source of inspiration for living art. His life is the story of a pilgrimage out of a world peopled by shadows into the daylight world of his fellow-men. Unfortunately, his dearest friends continued to live in the world of shadows, and from time to time they drew him back into it.

Poetry.

The impulse towards self-expression found vent first in poetry, and, to the end, painter and craftsman though he was, his chief gift was literary. The gift seems to have been a sudden discovery during college days. Canon Dixon gives an amusing account of how he and Price went to Exeter one night to see the two friends. "As soon as we entered the room, Burne-Jones exclaimed wildly: 'He's a big poet!' 'Who is?' asked we. 'Why, Topsy'—the name which he had given him. We sat down and heard Morris read his first poem, the first that he had ever written in his life. It was called 'The Willow and the Red Cliff.' As he read it, I felt that it was something the like of which had never been heard before. . . . I

expressed my admiration in some way, as we all did, and I remember his remark: 'Well, if this is poetry, it is very easy to write.' From that time onward he came to my rooms almost every day with a new poem."^{*}

He was rapid and prolific, and his poems filled many books. The best known is, perhaps, the long series of stories in verse called "The Earthly Paradise." "In all the noble roll of our poets," says Swinburne, "there has been since Chaucer no second teller of tales comparable to the first till the advent of this one." The stories, told sometimes in verse, sometimes, and even better, in prose, continued to pour forth from his fertile brain right on to the end of his life, with the exception, as we shall see, of seven years that were devoted to sterner work.

Choice of a Vocation.

But though his strongest and most enduring impulse was towards-imaginative writing, it is not as a writer that his light shines before men. If he had poured the full stream of his creative vitality into this one channel, England might have added a new name to the list of her great poets, but there are things that the English of to-day need more than poetry. They need to learn that sordid labor degrades not merely those who perform it, but those who reap the fruits of it; that to enjoy cheap machine-made luxury is as degrading as to produce it; that a brutalized laboring class is sure to have for its master an unrefined, uncivilized plutocracy. These are the things Morris made clear to those who would look and listen. He could not have learned and taught them if he had sat in studious leisure producing poetry. His activity was many-sided, and he put heart and brain into it all. The real significance of his life story is that he created a fine career, a splendid personality out of the every-day experiences that come to all of us. He saw the outside world, the works of men and God, not with half-shut eyes and sleepy indifference as we most of us see them, but with vivid curiosity and wonder. Friendship and love, the home-building impulse and the sense of universal brotherhood visited him in turn as they visit every decent human being, but he received them not sluggishly, still less with stubborn resistance, but with alert and whole-hearted enthusiasm. Each new stage of experience was marked by a new departure in activity; but, and this was the most remarkable characteristic of all, the new enterprise did not supersede the old. In a prose romance, written while he was at Oxford, he has given us some suggestive touches of autobiography. "I could soon find out," says the hero, "whether a thing were possible or not to me; then, if it were not, I threw it away for ever, never thought of it again, no regret, no longing for that, it was past and over to me; but if it were possible and I made up my mind to do it, then and there I began it, and in due time finished it, turning neither to the right hand nor the left till it was done. So I did with all things that I set my hand to."[†]

^{*} "Life of William Morris," by J. W. Mackail, Vol. 1., pp. 51, 52.

[†] "Frank's Sealed Letter." "Oxford and Cambridge Magazine," I.

Architecture.

This was Morris's ideal, and this, too, was his practice. It describes the tenor of his whole life, as well as the bent of his character, although the bare recital of these early years might convey a very different notion. We have seen that his intention of taking orders did not long survive his first term of study and discussion at Oxford, and that Art in various forms, and especially the Art of the Middle Ages, began to fill the horizon of his mind. In the glow of enthusiasm roused by the cathedrals of northern France, where he spent two delightful holidays, it was natural enough that he should choose architecture to replace the Church as his future profession, the work by which he should earn his living. Though his apprenticeship to Street was of short duration, and though he never became an architect, yet the purpose that underlay this change of profession never altered. His business through life—a business pursued with unflagging industry which reaped a substantial worldly success—was to make modern houses worth living in. All the crafts that he turned his hand to—painting, furniture-making, dyeing, weaving—all were subservient, and consciously subservient, to this end: all with the one exception of the printing of books, the beloved Benjamin of his industries, which grew, not so much out of his life-long love of the house beautiful as out of a passion equally enduring for literature—the thoughts and words of men.

Painting.

It was under the influence of Rossetti, whose strange power of fascination altered many lives, that Morris took to painting, first as a pastime, then, dropping architecture, as his regular profession. "Rossetti says I ought to paint," he writes soon after his move from Oxford to London, in his twenty-fourth year; "he says I shall be able. Now, as he is a very great man, and speaks with authority and not as the scribes, I *must* try. I don't hope much, I must say, yet will try my best . . . not giving up the architecture, but trying if it is possible to get six hours a day for drawing besides office work. One won't get much enjoyment out of life at this rate, I know well; but that don't matter: I have no right to ask for it, at all events—love and work, these two things only. . . . I can't enter into politics, social subjects, with any interest; for, on the whole, I see that things are in a muddle, and I have no power or vocation to set them right in ever so little a degree. My work is the embodiment of dreams in one form or another."* In this land of dreams Morris lived for a year or two, in daily intercourse with those inveterate dreamers who were his friends; but it was not to such a world that he really belonged, and he was restless and unsatisfied. "He has lately taken a strong fancy for the human," says one of his companions at this time; and not long after, in his twenty-sixth year, marriage and the need of making a home brought him back into touch with the life of the world.

* Mackail, vol. I., p. 107.

House Decoration.

The act of becoming a householder was for him a new departure, and the building and garnishing of his home a kind of sacrament. He could not endure base surroundings. A fair orderly garden, a house wisely planned and solidly built, and within it chairs, tables and utensils that were a pleasure to make and to use—these were to him the necessary background of a decent life. His friend Philip Webb could build the house for him, and there were others among the younger architects who were of the true faith, but where was he to turn for his furniture and his wall-hangings? The domestic arts were extinct—killed by the factory system, by machinery, by steam and by industrial enterprise. Clothes, jewellery and all kinds of household gear were made, not for use, but for profit. They gave pleasure no longer either to those who fashioned them or to those who used them, but only to the hucksterer who made money out of transferring them from the one to the other, and whose interests it was that they should be cheap and showy and flimsy. All this was borne in on Morris just as he was beginning to feel sure that he was not meant for a painter any more than for an architect, and it helped him to find work that he *was* suited for, work that he could earn his bread by, and that needed doing.

How Morris became Tradesman and Manufacturer.

"The first thing that a man has to do," Ruskin had written ten years earlier, "is to find out what he is fit for. In which enquiry he may be very safely guided by his likings, if he be not also guided by his pride. People usually reason in some such fashion as this: 'I don't seem quite fit for a head manager in the firm of — & Co., therefore, in all probability, I am fit to be Chancellor of the Exchequer'; whereas they ought, rather, to reason thus: 'I don't seem to be quite fit to be head manager in the firm of — & Co., but, I daresay, I might do something in a small greengrocery business: I used to be a good judge of pease'; that is to say, always trying lower instead of trying higher until they find bottom. . . . I do not believe that any greater good could be achieved for the country than the change in public feeling on this head which might be brought about by a few benevolent men, undeniably in the class of gentlemen, who would, on principle, enter into some of our commonest trades and make them honorable." When Morris and his friends started a firm of decorators as Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Co., it was not with any such benevolent motive. The undertaking was nevertheless destined to become even more important to the cause of social progress than to that of Art. It began quite humbly, with a ridiculously small capital, but Morris threw himself wholeheartedly into the work, for which he was extraordinarily well fitted. "From the first the firm turned out whatever anyone wanted in the way of decorative material—architectural adjuncts, furniture, tapestries, embroideries, stained glass, wall-papers and what not. The goods were first-rate, the art and the workmanship excellent, the prices high. . . . You could have the things such as the firm chose

that they should be, or you could do without them. . . . There was no compromise. Morris, as senior partner, laid down the law, and all his clients had to bend or break."* We cannot here pursue the fascinating story of the firm through its early struggles to the financial success that crowned them, and of the long list of industries undertaken, first at Queen Square and then at Merton, in which Morris was not merely manager but working foreman, giving to each in turn the insight of the artist, the skill of the craftsman, and the patience and industry which were so peculiarly his own, and which combined so strangely with his boyish vehemence. The mere amount of work he got through is amazing. We read of days spent in designing wall-papers and chintzes, and contriving how they ought to be printed, in watching over dyeing vats, and working at looms, and reinventing the lost art of tapestry weaving, while all the time, in moments of leisure, the stream of poetry flowed on, and yet his friends agree that he always had time for talk and laughter and for little feasts and holidays. Many new and delightful glimpses into his home life are to be found in Miss Morris's introduction and notes to the fine edition of his works now in course of publication. Of any little family festival he was the centre and mainspring, and to any public cause that seemed to him important he was always ready to give time and energy. His love of fun was as strong as his love of work, and his knowledge of common things and interest in them was unflinching. He was a clever cook, and enjoyed an opportunity of proving his skill. "I always bless God," he once said, "for making anything so strong as an onion."

"A Master Artizan."

If one wants to understand Morris, and especially the path that led him to Socialism, one must realize how much he identified himself with his shop, and especially with his factory. This was the work that he faced the world with—his "bread-and-cheese work," as he called it. In an intimate letter he speaks of himself as "a master artizan, if I may claim that dignity." That it was no empty claim one may gather from such passages as this from his letters: "I am trying to learn all I can about dyeing, even the handiwork of it, which is simple enough; but, like many other simple things, contains matters in it that one would not think of unless one were told. Besides my business of seeing to the cotton printing, I am working in Mr. Wardle's dye-house in sabots and blouse pretty much all day long." And again: "This morning I assisted at the dyeing of 20 lbs. of silk for our damask in the blue vat. It was very exciting, as the thing is quite unused now, and we ran a good chance of spoiling the silk. There were four dyers and Mr. Wardle at work, and myself as dyers' mate. The men were encouraged with beer, and to it they went, and pretty it was to see the silk coming green out of the vat and gradually turning blue. We succeeded very well as far as we can tell at present. The oldest of the workmen, an old fellow of seventy, remembers silk being dyed so long ago. The vat, you

* "D. G. Rossetti: His Family-Letters." With a Memoir by W. M. Rossetti. Vol. I., p. 219.

must know, is a formidable-looking thing, 9 feet deep and about 6 feet square, and is sunk into the earth right up to the top. To-morrow I am going to Nottingham to see wool dyed blue in the woad vat, as it is called." His toil at the dye vat was not in vain. There is plenty of testimony that he became an expert dyer. "When he ceased to dye with his own hands, I soon felt the difference," writes a lady who embroidered very skilfully for the firm. "The colors themselves became perfectly level and had a monotonous prosy look; the very lustre of the silk was less beautiful. When I complained, he said: 'Yes, they have grown too clever at it. Of course, it means they don't love color, or they would do it.'"

The Germ of Morris's Socialism.

That a man should put his heart into his work, and that the work should be of a kind that he can care about: this was a fixed belief with Morris, and it lay at the root of his Socialism. Of himself it was true right through every detail of his many crafts. "Lord bless us," he breaks out, when he had been worried by having to write tiresome letters, "how nice it will be when I can get back to my little patterns and dyeing and the dear warp and weft at Hammersmith." His work was done for the love of it, but there was nothing amateurish or unpractical about it. "I should very much like," he writes, "to make the business quite a success, and it can't be unless I work at it myself. I must say, though I don't call myself money-greedy, a smash on that side would be a terrible nuisance. I have so many serious troubles, pleasures, hopes and fears that I have not time on my hands to be ruined and get really poor above all things, it would destroy my freedom of work, which is a dear delight to me." It is noticeable that the work he is thinking of here is not the "bread-and-cheese work," but that "pleasure work of books" that never ceased, for he goes on to lament that for the moment he was doing nothing original, and to express the hope that he was not going "to fall off in imagination and enthusiasm"* as he grew older. He need not have feared, for it was only in later life that he entered fully upon the inheritance of northern story and legend that inspired his best work. It was a curious case of discovered kinship. His hatred of modern civilization was part cause and part result of his passion for the early sagas. He saw in them a picture—far enough, no doubt, from the actual facts at any period, near or remote—of the brotherhood of man that he longed for. He was strangely out of place in artificial modern society, and the comradeship, the adventure, the freedom of these tales were like the breath of life to him, and one cannot doubt that they served to fan the smouldering sense of revolt that flamed out later into open rebellion against the sordid slavery of the workers as he knew them.

"I had been reading the Njala in the original before I came here," he writes from Leek, where he was busy among his dye vats. "It is better even than I remembered; the style most solemn. All men's children in it, as always in the best of the northern stories, so

* Mackail, vol. I. p. 291. Letter, dated Feb. 11th, 1873.

venerable to each other and so venerated and the exceeding good temper of Gunnar amidst his heroism, and the calm of Njal: and I don't know anything more consoling or grander in all literature (to use a beastly French word) than Gunnar's singing in his house under the moon and the drifting clouds. What a glorious outcome of the worship of courage these stories are!"*

Already in the "Earthly Paradise" we can perceive the hold they had on his mind. There is a zest and glow in "The Lovers of Gudrun" that are not to be found in the other tales. But it is in "Sigurd the Volsung," his most important literary achievement, that the influence of the north finds full expression. It was in the year 1876, when he was forty-two, that this great epic was written. One realizes the extraordinary vigor and many-sidedness of the man at this middle period of his life when one remembers that it was the very time when, as we have seen, his craft work seemed to occupy every scrap of leisure. But this was not all. Great as he had proved himself as poet and craftsman, he was greater yet as man, too great to be shut in by study or workshop. Courage, energy, and patience personified, he was certain to come out into the open when the time was ripe and take his share in shaping events. It was not until middle life that the moment came. Two causes called him. In the one case the response came from his profound and growing sense of human solidarity, in the other from his reverence for the past and the work of the great men who were dead and whose art had died with them.

The "Anti-Scrape."

Indignation against the ruthless tide of restoration which was fast submerging the last traces of noble mediæval architecture finds expression again and again in the private letters transcribed by Mr. Mackail. At last, when one of the ancient parish churches that he loved so well close to his own country home was threatened, and just afterwards the beautiful Minster of Tewkesbury, indignation found vent in action. He wrote a letter to the *Athenæum*, explaining the urgency of the need, and begged all thoughtful people to join him in trying to meet it. "What I wish for is that an association should be set on foot to keep a watch on old monuments, to protest against all 'restoration' that means more than keeping out wind and weather, and by all means, literary and other, to awaken a feeling that our ancient buildings are not mere ecclesiastical toys, but sacred monuments of the nation's growth and hope." The appeal was not in vain. Within a month the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (the Anti-Scrape as he nicknamed it) was founded, with Morris for its secretary. Until his death his zeal for the cause never waned. He wrote for it a prospectus, a model of terse and simple English, which was translated into French, German, Italian, and Dutch; he poured out freely both time and money; and he gave in its interests the first of those public lectures which, fine as they were, never became a really congenial task.

* Mackail, vol. I., p. 335; 1877.

“Bulgarian Atrocities.”

This was in the spring of 1877, a few months before Morris had been roused to his first political utterance by the terrible accounts of cruelty in Bulgaria and the dread lest England might take up arms against Russia in support of Turkey. “I who am writing this,” he wrote in a letter to the *Daily News*, “am one of a large class of men—quiet men—who usually go about their own business, heeding public matters less than they ought, and afraid to speak in such a huge concourse as the English nation, however much they may feel, but who are now stung into bitterness by thinking how helpless they are in a public matter that touches them so closely . . . I appeal to the working men and pray them to look to it that if this shame falls on them they will certainly remember it, and be burdened by it when their day clears for them and they attain all and more than all they are now striving for.”*

I have quoted from this letter because it represents, together with the Manifesto to the Working Men of England issued a few months later, when war seemed imminent, Morris's first public utterance of Socialism. It is interesting to see that it was already tinged with distrust of a central representative government. The movement into which he threw himself with so much vigor was, however, Liberal, not Socialist, in its origin. Some leading Socialists, Hyndman for one, were indeed in the opposite camp. Long afterwards he described his surprise on meeting Morris in 1879 for the first time. “It was many years after I had enjoyed his poetry and mocked a little, as ignorant young men will, at his aesthetic arm-chairs and wallpapers that I met the man himself. . . I imagined him as a refined and delicate gentleman, easily overwrought by his sentiments. That was not his appearance in the flesh, as we all know. Refinement undoubtedly there was in the delicate lines of the nose and the beautiful moulding of the forehead. But his hearty voice, his jolly, vigorous frame, his easy, sailorlike dress, the whole figure, gave me a better opinion of the ‘atrocitv mongers,’ as I considered them, than anything I have seen before or since.”†

But though the Eastern question led him to act for a time with the Liberal Party, it served also to show him that it was not an organization to which the welfare of the workers could be trusted. “Working men of England,” he writes in the Manifesto already mentioned, “one word of warning yet. I doubt if you know the bitterness of hatred against freedom and progress that lies at the hearts of a certain part of the richer classes in this country. . . . These men cannot speak of your order, of its aims, of its leaders, without a sneer or an insult. These men, if they had the power (may England perish rather!) would thwart your just aspirations, would silence you, would deliver you, bound hand and foot, for ever to irresponsible capital.”

* Letter to the *Daily News*, October 26th, 1876, signed William Morris, Author of “The Earthly Paradise”

† *Justice* for October 6th, 1896.

Every word of the Manifesto proves that he had become a Socialist by conviction, as he had always been one by temperament, and we shall do well to pause a moment in this brief narrative of his life in order to reckon up the debt we owe to the greatest Englishman who has passed away out of our ranks.

What Socialism Owes to William Morris.

When our children's children recall the great names of the Victorian Age, there is not one will kindle a warmer interest than that of *William Morris*. They will remember him for his stories and poems and for his pioneer work in the revival of handicraft, but above all for the vigor and charm of his personality. He was the sort of man who impressed his friends so strongly that the impression survives, a man who excelled the ordinary man in almost every direction of human activity and was typical nevertheless of his race and his country. He was a man of genius, but his genius irradiated not merely his craftsmanship and his poetry, but everything he turned his hand to. He was an expert not merely in literature and manufacture, but in life. A robust power of enjoyment was his most marked characteristic. He insisted on enjoying things. The very utensils in his house must give joy in the using or he would not use them. Work that brought no joy was fit only for slaves. It is this abundant vitality, this love of life and the world; it is the fact that he had eyes to see and ears to hear and a heart to perceive; it is, in short, because he was an artist and a genius, that his contribution to Socialism is of outstanding value, although he proved himself but a shortsighted leader and never grappled closely with the problems we have to face. Economic reasoning was not in his line, nor details of administration, but he knew a great deal about the world we live in and how to use it to the utmost advantage. The sense of brotherhood was strong in him, and it was illumined by insight and sympathy. We can learn, therefore, far more from the story of his approach to Socialism, of the way in which he was driven to adopt it as the only hope, than from any formal statement that he ever made of its doctrines.

The Path to Socialism.

That approach can best be traced in his popular lectures on Art, which began in the year 1877. In these lectures his sympathies are with the craftsman. He recognizes no essential difference between the artist and the workman. As a contrast to the modest ideal of a 20s., or even a 30s. minimum wage, there is something delightfully inspiring in his claim that the hire of the workman should include "Money enough to keep him from fear of want or degradation for him and his, leisure enough from bread-earning work (even though it be pleasant to him) to give him time to read and think, and connect his own life with the life of the great world; work enough of the kind aforesaid, and praise of it, and encouragement enough to make him feel good friends with his fellows; and, lastly, not least (for 'tis verily part of the bargain), his own due share of Art,

the chief part of which will be a dwelling that does not lack the beauty which Nature would freely allow it if our own perversity did not turn Nature out of doors." "I specially wished," he writes, in answer to a complaint that he had strayed beyond the question of "mere Art," "to point out that the question of popular Art was a social question, involving the happiness or misery of the greater part of the community. The absence of popular Art from modern times is more disquieting and grievous to bear for this reason than for any other, that it betokens that fatal division of men into the cultivated and the degraded classes which competitive commerce has bred and fosters; popular Art has no chance of a healthy life, or indeed, of a life at all, till we are on the way to fill up this terrible gulf between riches and poverty. . . . It may well be a burden to the conscience of an honest man who lives a more manlike life to think of the innumerable lives which are spent in toil unrelieved by hope and uncheered by praise; men who might as well, for all the good they are doing their neighbors by their work, be turning a crank with nothing at the end of it. . . . Over and over again have I asked myself, why should not my lot be the common lot? My work is simple work enough; much of it, nor that the least pleasant, any man of decent intelligence could do if he could but get to care about the work and its results. Indeed, I have been ashamed when I have thought of the contrast between my happy working hours and the unpraised, unrewarded, monotonous drudgery which most men are condemned to. Nothing shall convince me that such labor as this is good or necessary to civilization."* It was this "burden on his conscience," growing heavier as experience and character ripened, that drove Morris to Socialism. That very insight into the happenings of human life, into joy and grief and desire which inspired his stories, enabled him to see society as in truth it was

To him the vulgar luxury of the rich was even more hateful than the squalor of the poor. "Apart from the desire to produce beautiful things," he says, "the leading passion of my life has been and is hatred of modern civilization. . . . What shall I say concerning its mastery of and its waste of mechanical power, its Commonwealth so poor, its enemies of the Commonwealth so rich, its stupendous organization—for the misery of life; its contempt of simple pleasure, which everyone could enjoy but for its folly; its eyeless vulgarity, which has destroyed Art, the one certain solace of labor?" "The hope of the past times was gone," he goes on, telling the story of his conversion; "the struggle of mankind for many ages had produced nothing but this sordid, aimless, ugly confusion; the immediate future seemed to me likely to intensify all the present evils by sweeping away the last survivals of the days before the dull squalor of civilization had settled down on the world. This was a bad lookout, indeed, and, if I may mention myself as a personality and not as a mere type, especially so to a man of my disposition, careless of metaphysics and religion, as well as of scientific analysis,

* Letter to the *Manchester Examiner*, March, 1883.

but with a deep love of the earth and the life on it, and a passion for the history of the past of mankind. Think of it! Was it all to end in a counting-house on the top of a cinder-heap, with Podsnap's drawing-room in the offing, and a Whig Committee dealing out champagne to the rich and margarine to the poor in such convenient proportions as would make all men contented together, though the pleasure of the eyes was gone from the world and the place of Homer was to be taken by Huxley! Yet, believe me, in my heart, when I really forced myself to look towards the future, that is what I saw in it; and, as far as I could tell, scarce anyone seemed to think it worth while to struggle against such a consummation of civilization. So, then, I was in for a fine pessimistic end of life, if it had not somehow dawned on me that, amid all the filth of civilization, the seeds of a great change, what we others call Social Revolution, were beginning to germinate. The whole face of things was changed to me by that discovery, and all I had to do then in order to become a Socialist was to hook myself on to the practical movement."*

Avowal of Socialism. The S.D.F.

This "hooking on" took place in the autumn of 1882, when Morris, at the age of forty-eight, joined the Democratic Federation (which became subsequently the Social Democratic Federation, and eventually took the title of the British Socialist Party). "For my part, I used to think," he writes to a friend who remonstrated with him at this time, "that one might further real Socialistic progress by doing what one could on the lines of ordinary middle-class Radicalism. I have been driven of late into the conclusion that I was mistaken; that Radicalism is on the wrong line, so to say, and will never develop into anything more than Radicalism—in fact, that it is made for and by the middle classes, and will always be under the control of rich capitalists: they will have no objection to its *political* development, if they think they can stop it there; but, as to real social changes, they will not allow them if they can help it." †

"The contrasts of rich and poor," he writes, again to the same friend, a few days later, "are unendurable and ought not to be endured by either rich or poor. Now it seems to me that, feeling this, I am bound to act for the destruction of the system which seems to me mere oppression and obstruction. Such a system can only be destroyed by the united discontent of numbers: isolated acts of a few persons of the middle and upper-classes seeming to me (as I have said before) quite powerless against it: in other words, the antagonism of classes, which the system has bred, is the natural and necessary instrument for its destruction." ‡

There was nothing half-hearted in Morris's acceptance of Socialism. He threw all his vigor, all his enthusiasm into propaganda, though it was not a kind of work that gave scope for the rarest

* "How I Became a Socialist." W. M. Reprinted from *Justice*.

† Letter to Mr. C. E. Maurice, June 22nd, 1883. See "Life of William Morris," vol. II., p. 103.

‡ *Ibid.*

powers of his mind and heart. It is pathetic to hear how he schooled himself to study Marx and tried to grasp economic problems, for it is only now and then, when he uses his gift as seer, that his Socialist writings spring into life and are of lasting value. His friends were grieved, naturally enough, that the poet should be lost in the lecturer, especially as he had no gift for oratory, but he made light very characteristically of any possible loss to the world. "Poetry goes with the hand-arts, I think," he says to an intimate friend, "and, like them, has now become unreal. The arts have got to die, what is left of them, before they can be born again. You know my views on the matter—I apply them to myself as well as to others. This would not, I admit, prevent my writing poetry, any more than it prevents my doing my pattern work, because the mere personal pleasure of it urges one to the work, but it prevents my looking at it as a sacred duty. . . . Meantime the propaganda gives me work to do which, unimportant as it seems, is part of a great whole which cannot be lost, and that ought to be enough for me."*

The Socialist League.

But it was not only the toughness of economic theory that made his new duties distasteful. From the first there were dissensions in the camp. "I find myself drifting," he says, "into the disgraceful position of a moderator and patcher up, which is much against my inclination." Worse still was to follow. The patching up was unsuccessful, and Morris found himself, in the beginning of 1885, the leader of a small body of seceders who took the name of the Socialist League.

For six years he gave much time and money to the internal management of the League, as well as to the revolutionary propaganda, which was its avowed object, and which was carried on chiefly by means of the *Commonweal*, first a monthly and afterwards a weekly paper, edited † and to a large extent written by Morris. Surely no Socialist paper can show a record so brilliant. "The Dream of John Ball" and "News from Nowhere" appeared in it as serials, and a long poem, "The Pilgrims of Hope," of which some portions stand high among his finest work—"Mother and Son," for instance, and "The Half of Life Gone."

In addition to these weightier contributions, few numbers are without some paragraph from his pen, all the more arresting from its simple familiar wording, that brings us directly into touch with his views on life and events.

Take this explanation, for instance, of the revolutionary attitude of the League from the first weekly issue, May 1st, 1886.—

"We believe that the advanced part of the capitalist class, especially in this country, is drifting, not without a feeling of fear and discomfort, towards State Socialism of the crudest kind; and a certain school of Socialists are fond of pointing out this tendency

* Letter to Mr. C. E. Maurice. See "Life of William Morris" vol II, pp. 106, 107.

† E. Belfort Bax was joint-editor with William Morris.

with exultation. . . . But there is another thing besides bourgeois stumbling into State Socialism which shows which way the tide is setting, and that is the instinctive revolutionary attempts which drive them into these courses. What is to be said about these? They are leaderless often and half blind. But are they fruitful of nothing but suffering to the workers? We think not; for besides the immediate gain which they force from the dominant class as above said, they are a stern education for the workers themselves. . . . The worst thing that we have to dread is that the oppressed people will learn a dull contentment with their lot. . . . The rudest and most unsuccessful attempts at revolution are better than that." "The real business of Socialists," writes Morris in another number, "is to impress on the workers the fact that they are a class, whereas they ought to be society. If we mix ourselves up with Parliament, we shall confuse and dull this fact in people's minds, instead of making it clear and intensifying it"* And again, under the heading "Unattractive Labour": "It is no real paradox to say that the unattractiveness of labor, which is now the curse of the world, will become the hope of the world. As long as the workman could sit at home working easily and quietly, his long hours of labor mattered little to him, and other evils could be borne. . . . But now that labor has become a mere burden, the disease of a class, that class will, by all means, try to throw it off, to lessen its weight, and in their efforts to do so they must of necessity destroy society, which is founded on the patient bearing of that burden. . . . True, their masters, taught prudence by fear, will try, are trying, various means to make the workers bear their burden; but one after the other they will be found out and discredited. Philanthropy has had its day and is gone, thrift and self-help are going; participation in profits, parliamentarianism and universal suffrage, State Socialism will have to go the same road, and the workers will be face to face at last with the fact that modern civilization, with its elaborate hierarchy and iron drill, is founded on their intolerable burden, and then no shortening of the day's work which would leave profit to the employer will make their labor hours short enough. They will see that modern society can only exist as long as they bear *their* burden with some degree of patience; their patience will be worn out, and to pieces will modern society go."

After a visit to Leeds and Bradford he writes: "The constant weight of drill in these highly organized industries has necessarily limited the intelligence of the men and deadened their individuality, while the system is so powerful and searching that they find it difficult to conceive of any system under which they could be other than human machines." † Elsewhere we find the same idea condensed into an epigram. "Individual profit makers are not a necessity for labor, but an obstruction to it." ‡

* "Socialism and Politics." Supplement to *Commonweal*, July, 1885.

† *Commonweal*, May 8th, 1886.

‡ *Ibid*, July 2nd, 1887.

Speaking of "Education under Capitalism" he says: "My heart sank under Mr. McChoakumchild and his method, and I thought how much luckier I was to have been born well enough off to be sent to a school where I was taught—nothing, but learned archæology and romance on the Wiltshire Downs."*

Under the heading "How We Live and How We Might Live" he writes: "Often when I have been sickened by the stupidity of the mean, idiotic rabbit warrens that rich men build for themselves in Bayswater and elsewhere, I console myself with visions of the noble Communal Hall of the future, unsparing of materials, generous in worthy ornament, alive with the noblest thoughts of our time, and the past embodied in the best art which free and manly people could produce; such an abode of man as no private enterprise could come near for beauty and fitness, because only collective thought and collective life could cherish the aspirations which would give birth to its beauty or have the skill and leisure that could carry them out." †

Popular Control of Administration.

These cuttings from the *Commonweal* show that the views of the League were definitely revolutionary, and this is clearly stated in its Manifesto. There was to be no tinkering, no half measures; the basis of society was to be changed. "No number of merely administrative changes, until the workers are in possession of all political power, would make any real approach to Socialism." "By political power," Morris goes on to explain, "we do not mean the exercise of the franchise or even the fullest development of the representative system, but the direct control by the people of the whole administration of the community whatever the ultimate destiny of that administration is to be." ‡

Communism.

One seeks in vain in the Manifesto for any definite suggestions as to the method in which this "direct control" was to be exercised, but Morris's lectures throw some light on the ideal of social organization that he had formed. "Those who see this view of the new society," he says, "believe that decentralization in it would be complete. The political unit with them would be not a nation, but a commune. The whole of reasonable society would be a great federation of such communes. . . . A nation is a body of people kept together for purposes of rivalry and war with other similar bodies, and when competition shall have given place to combination the function of the nation will be gone." "I will recapitulate," he continues, "the two views taken by Socialists as to the future of society. According to the first, the State—that is, the nation organized for unwasteful production and exchange of wealth—will be the sole possessor of the national plant and stock, the sole

* *Commonweal*, June 30th, 1888

† *Ibid*, July 2nd, 1887

‡ Manifesto of the Socialist League. A new edition, annotated by W. Morris and Belfort Bax. 1885.

employer of labor, which she will so regulate in the general interest that no man will ever need to fear lack of employment and due earnings therefrom. . . . According to the other view, the centralized nation would give place to a federation of communities, who would hold all wealth in common, and would use that wealth for satisfying the needs of each member, only exacting from each that he should do his best according to his capacity towards the production of the common wealth. . . .

"These two views of the future of society are sometimes opposed to each other as Socialism and Communism; but to my mind the latter is simply the necessary development of the former, which implies a transition period during which people would be getting rid of the habits of mind bred by the long ages of tyranny and commercial competition, and be learning that it is to the interest of each that all should thrive. When men had lost the fear of each other engendered by our system of artificial famine, they would feel that the best way of avoiding the waste of labor would be to allow every man to take what he needed from the common store, since he would have no temptation or opportunity of doing anything with a greater portion than he really needed for his personal use. Thus would be minimized the danger of the community falling into bureaucracy, the multiplication of boards and offices, and all the paraphernalia of official authority, which is after all a burden, even when it is exercised by the delegation of the whole people and in accordance with their wishes."*

Any detailed scheme of State Socialism roused ire and repugnance in Morris, though one does not deny that towards the end of his life he was brought in a chastened spirit to bow his neck to the Fabian yoke. Still, his submission had the unreality of a death bed repentance. The creed was, in truth, alien to his nature. His hopes and wishes for the future were dominated by the glorious visions of free human activity, of pride and joy in the work of one's hands and brain, which he associated, rightly or wrongly, with the past. It was not only capitalism which he hated. The tameness and elaboration of modern mechanical production would be just as odious to him if the plant were in State ownership and the management in the hands of Government officials. His delightful rural idyll, "News from Nowhere," was written, Mr. Mackail tells us, as a protest against the apotheosis of centralization and of urban life held up as the social ideal by Mr. Bellamy in his "Looking Backward." Characteristically enough the land of Morris's prevision was a Utopia for the worker rather than for the consumer. The production of wealth interested him more than its enjoyment, the joy of making more than the joy of spending.

"Mr. Bellamy worries himself unnecessarily," he wrote in the *Commonweal* for June, 1889, "in seeking, with obvious failure, some incentive to labor to replace the fear of starvation, which is at

* "The Labor Question from the Socialist Standpoint." W. MORRIS. (One of a Course of Lectures on "The Claims of Labor.") Edinburgh Co-operative Printing Company, Limited. 1886.

present our only one, whereas it cannot be too often repeated that the true incentive to useful and happy labor is, and must be, pleasure in the work itself." How to preserve, or rather how to recover, that incentive is for Morris the problem of problems; but it is one that the orthodox Socialist is apt to overlook, although the man in the street, that much underrated critic, is always ready to remind him of it. It is the old story once more of being led astray by that mythological person, the economic man. The social reformer constructs, or rather designs, an organization of industry which threatens to totter as soon as it is built for want of just this foundation stone, the significance of which was instantly apparent to the eye of the poet, though to the economist it seemed a negligible detail. And here we come upon the real mission of William Morris to his generation, his special function in the Socialist movement. A craftsman himself, he thought of the worker not as an abstraction, but as a comrade, with motives more or less like his own. This vital sympathetic outlook led him, no doubt, into blunders from time to time, especially in his dealings with individuals, but it preserved him from some serious and common errors. His view of the future, of the new social structure for which we are all working, may have been one-sided, but the side he saw was the side unseen by men immersed in questions of administrative reform or in organizing the class war. Fabians and Social Democrats were alike in this. They were apt to leave out of their calculations the humanization of the worker in and through his work, of bringing home to him the realization of his own place in the social economy. A decent life for the workman, the recognition on his own part of the dignity of his work, seemed to Morris not merely the end for which we were striving, but the only means of attaining it. "It is necessary to point out," he writes, "that there are some Socialists who do not think that the problem of the organization of life and necessary labor can be dealt with by a huge national centralization, working by a kind of magic for which no one feels himself responsible; that, on the contrary, it will be necessary for the unit of administration to be small enough for every citizen to feel himself responsible for its details and be interested in them; that individual men cannot shuffle off the business of life on to the shoulders of an abstraction called the State, but must deal with each other; that variety of life is as much an aim of true Communism as equality of condition, and that nothing but an union of these two will bring about real freedom; that modern nationalities are mere artificial devices for the commercial war that we seek to put an end to, and will disappear with it; and, finally, that art, using the word in its widest and due signification, is not a mere adjunct of life which free and happy men can do without, but the necessary expression and indispensable instrument of human happiness."*

Distrust of Political Action.

In his own day Morris stood almost alone among Socialists in his distrust of political action, of a "huge national centralization working

* Review of "Looking Backward" in the *Commonweal* for June, 1889, by W. M.

by a kind of magic." It is true that there were in England two antagonistic types of Socialism, but their opposition was one of method rather than of aim. Both intended to capture the Government of the country, in the one case by revolutionary, in the other by more insidious methods. Morris, on the other hand, was inclined to throw the government of the country to the winds and to scorn the notion of a democratic control of industry exercised by means of a parliamentary vote. He never committed himself, so far as I know, as to the actual means by which any other kind of control by the "useful classes" was to be brought into being, but there seems little doubt that, if he were alive now, we should find him in the Syndicalist camp. A deep distrust of salvation by means of the vote would lead him there, and a profound belief that revolutionary activity in the working class can be more effectively evoked and fostered by bringing home to them the sense of their social responsibility as workers than as parliamentary constituents. In the one case interest is focussed on party politics, usually in their crudest form, and the lesson learned by the worker is a lesson in docility: he is taught to function smoothly as a wheel in the party machine. In the other case he is brought face to face with the actual problems of industrial production and organization; he learns to be resourceful and self-reliant and to take his place consciously and intelligently in the great enterprise of providing for the needs of mankind. I have said that Morris never committed himself as to the method in which this direct connection between the worker and the organization of industry was to be effected, but a private letter of his, written in 1888, gives a naive and vivid picture of industrial society as he visualized it in the future and the supersession of government: "Our present representative system," he writes, "is the reflection of our class society. The fact of the antagonism of classes underlies all our government, and causes political parties. . . . The business of a statesman is to balance the greed and fears of the proprietary class against the necessities and demands of the working class. This is a sorry business, and leads to all kinds of trickery and evasion, so that it is more than doubtful whether a statesman can be a moderately honest man. Now, the control of classes being abolished, all this would fall to the ground. The relations of men to each other would become personal; wealth would be looked upon as an instrument of life and not as a reason for living, and therefore dominant over men's lives. Whatever laws existed would be much fewer, very simple, and easily understood by all; they would mostly concern the protection of the person. In dealing with property, its fetish quality having disappeared, its use only would have to be considered, e.g., shall we (the public) work this coal mine or shut it up? Is it necessary for us to lay down this park in wheat, or can we afford to keep it as a place of recreation? Will it be desirable to improve this shoemaking machine, or can we go on with it as it is? Will it be necessary to call for special volunteers to cultivate yonder fen, or will the action of the law of compensation be inducement enough for its cultivation? And so forth. . . ."

"To return to our government of the future, which would be rather an administration of things than a government of persons. Nations, as political entities, would cease to exist. Civilization would mean the federalization of a variety of communities, great and small, at one end of which would be the township and the local guild, and at the other some central body whose function would be almost entirely the guardianship of the *principles* of society. . . . Between these two poles there would be various federations, which would grow together or dissolve as convenience of place, climate, language, etc., dictated, and would dissolve peaceably when occasion prompted. Of course public intercourse between the members of the federation would have to be carried on by means of delegation, but the delegates would not pretend to represent anyone or anything but the business with which they are delegated, e.g., 'We are a shoemaking community chiefly, you cotton spinners. Are we making too many shoes? Shall we turn, some of us, to gardening for a month or two, or shall we go on?' And so forth. . . . To my mind the essential thing to this view . . . is the township, or parish, or ward, or local guild, small enough to manage its own affairs directly. And I don't doubt that gradually all public business would be so much simplified that it would come to little more than a correspondence 'Such are the facts with us; compare them with the facts with you. You know how to act.' So that we should tend to the abolition of all government, and even of all regulations that were not really habitual; and voluntary association would become a necessary habit and the only bond of society."*

It will be noticed that Morris differs both from Kropotkin with his "groups" and from most of the modern Syndicalists with their industrial guilds in localizing the communities that are to constitute his social framework. Notwithstanding his conviction that men must be organized as producers, his home loving nature refused to conceive a society which made light of the ties of neighborhood, of growth in a common soil. England was very dear to him as a land, though not as a nation; and still dearer was the corner of England where he was born and bred. If we understand Morris and his attitude towards the future, we shall see that his Socialism was revolutionary and uncompromising just because he was conservative at heart. The transition period, as he called it, of State Socialism was distasteful to him because it seemed to substitute a dull uniformity for the detail and variety of the past. He admitted eventually that it was bound to come, he saw that it was coming by means of humdrum agitation followed by humdrum legislation, but he could never feel any enthusiasm about it.

Education towards Revolution.

We have seen that the split with the Social Democratic Federation, in so far as it was not due merely to personal misunderstandings, was a protest against circuitous and indirect methods of

* Letters on Socialism by W. Morris to Rev. G. Bainton London. Privately printed. 1894. (Only thirty-four copies.)

advance. His desire was to found a Socialist Party which should begin to act at once not by permeating cultivated people, nor by gaining representation in Parliament, but by raising a standard of revolt to which the oppressed could rally. His one encouragement in making a new attempt had been the signs of discontent among the masses. To focus this discontent and render it articulate was his purpose in forming the Socialist League. A passionate hatred had grown up in him of a society which seemed to him "mere cannibalism," "so corrupt, so steeped in hypocrisy, that one turns from one stratum of it to another with hopeless loathing." In one direction only did he see hope, the road to revolution; but that road, as he saw it, was gradual and arduous. To educate a strong party of workers in the aims of Socialism, so that when the seething forces of popular discontent could no longer be restrained, leaders should be forthcoming among the people to tell them what to aim at and what to ask for. An aimless revolt, leading to counter revolution, seemed to him a threatening calamity. Looking back to that period, a quarter of a century ago, we see that Morris over estimated the danger of a premature upheaval. Society was not ripe for it. Education was needed not merely to guide, but to produce that impatience of injustice and oppression which must be the motive power in such an upheaval. He believed that the new birth of society was at hand, and that the work for Socialists was to strive to help it forward, so that it might come with as little confusion and suffering as might be. "Education towards revolution seems to me," he said, "to express in three words what our policy should be." It was a policy which separated him on the one hand from Parliamentarians and Opportunists, and on the other from Anarchists ready for all risks of immediate revolution; and so it came about that the League grew but slowly, and steered with difficulty between Scylla and Charybdis. Morris held the helm as long as he could, but from the first the road to revolution that he saw had little attraction for most of his comrades. After a few years a policy of high handed robbery, of bombs and barricades, came to be openly advocated by many voluble members of the League, and in 1889 these views were so much in the ascendant that Morris was actually deposed from the control of the *Commonweal*, dependent as it still was on him both for matter and money. He continued to write for it until November, 1890, when he published in it a final statement of his views under the title "Where Are We Now?" After reviewing the seven years that had elapsed since Socialism had "come to life again," he goes on to describe the two lines on which the "methods of impatience" profess to work, the line of "palliation" and the line of "partial inconsequent revolt," and then explains his own policy, which differed as much from one as from the other. "Our business," he concludes, "is the making of Socialists, i.e., convincing people that Socialism is good for them and is possible. When we have enough people of that way of thinking, they will find out what action is necessary for putting their principles in practice."

This dignified protest was ill received by the majority of the members of the League, and Morris had no choice but to sever his connection with a body whose policy he disapproved.

Hammersmith Socialist Society.

After his withdrawal it struggled on for eighteen months, and then ended dramatically with the arrest of the printer and publisher of the *Commonweal*. Meanwhile Morris and the little group who shared his views organized themselves as the Hammersmith Socialist Society, and issued a circular drafted by Morris to the provincial branches of the League explaining their action.

The membership was very small at first, and never became large. Mr. Emery Walker was secretary and Morris treasurer, and the meetings took place in Kelmescott House.

Until the end of his life Morris relaxed no whit in enthusiasm for the cause, and his opposition towards Anarchism grew stronger rather than weaker. "It is not the dissolution of society for which we strive," he writes in December, 1890, "but its reintegration. The idea put forward by some who attack present society of the complete independence of every individual, that is, of freedom without society, is not merely impossible of realization, but, when looked into, turns out to be inconceivable."*

Seven Years of Peaceful Work.

But though his belief in Socialism was as strong as ever, he became convinced, as time went on, that the active work immediately called for was work unsuited to his taste and to his powers.

"In all the wearisome shilly shally of parliamentary politics I should be absolutely useless, and the immediate end to be gained, the pushing things just a trifle nearer to State Socialism, which, when realized, seems to me but a dull goal, all this quite sickens me. Also I know that there are a good many other idealists (if I may use that word of myself) who are in the same position, and I don't see why they should not hold together and keep out of the vestry business, necessary as that may be. Preaching the ideal is surely always necessary. Yet, on the other hand, I sometimes vex myself by thinking that perhaps I am not doing the most I can merely for the sake of a piece of 'preciousness.'"[†]

To make use of Morris for organizing meetings and speaking at street corners was to dig with a damascened sword blade. He was here to show how life, even in the nineteenth century, could be full of variety and delight. The revival of the lost art of printing, the engrossing occupation of his latest years, was a return to the true work of his life. We are glad to remember that the seven years of stress and turmoil, when he fought so nobly for the ideal that lay always before him, were succeeded by seven years of serene and happy work, which has left the world richer in all the crafts that subserved the making of books.

* Manifesto of the Hammersmith Socialist Society.

† Letter to Mrs. Burne-Jones, dated July 29th, 1888, quoted in Mackail's "Life of William Morris," vol. II, p. 206.

To the last, however, he went on lecturing from time to time on Socialism. On October 30th, 1895, just a year before his death, he gave an address to inaugurate the Oxford Socialist Union. A few months later he was present at the New Year's Meeting of the Social Democratic Federation, and made there a short but noble and touching speech on behalf of unity. Two days afterwards he gave his last Sunday evening lecture at Kelmscott House, again on the same subject, the title being "One Socialist Party."

One more year marked by failing strength but unflinching industry was spent in seeing through the press the greatest of his printing achievements, the Kelmscott Chaucer, and in composing the last of his long series of stories, "The Sundering Flood."

He died on October 3rd, 1896, aged 62, and was buried in the little churchyard at Kelmscott. The body was borne to the grave in an open haycart, festooned with vines, alders, and bulrushes, and driven by a countryman.

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The Collected Works, edited by Miss MAY MORRIS, are in course of publication by Longmans and Co., in 24 volumes, at £12 12s. the set. The volumes are not sold separately.

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JOHN STUART MILL.

BIOGRAPHICAL.

A CROSS the bleak desert of intellect which coincides with the first fifty years of the reign of Queen Victoria there run numerous uncertain pathways, all starting from the Temple of Mammon. These pathways meet and mingle in all sorts of unexpected, complicated fashions, and the majority of them lead nowhere. One, known as Carlyle, for example, appears ever to be getting more distant from the Temple, but in the end goes no farther than Chelsea. Another, called Ruskin, leaves the Temple of Mammon with a grand blazing of trumpets, but, going a little way, stops before a Gothic Temple, and the call of the trumpet is converted to the dronings of an organ. Of all the pathways, Mill is perhaps the clearest. It sets out from the front parlour of a man, Bentham, of whom more will be said; it leads down a steep precipice called the Wages Fund Theory (where danger notices have been but lately erected), it traverses a bit of boggy ground which is marked on the maps as the Law of Population; it turns a few curious corners, when, lo, the Promised Land is in sight.

Now, as to this man Bentham. About 1800 there was in existence a body of philosophers who believed that the purpose of all human effort should be the increase of the sum total of human happiness; with real, perfervid energy and emotion they sought, in their own words, "the greatest good of the greatest number." Of these Bentham was the founder, and when he died, in 1832, he left a particularly unpleasant prison at Westminster (the Millbank Penitentiary) as a monument to his endeavours to increase human happiness. In 1808, when Bentham was sixty years of age, he made the acquaintance of a rigid and logical Scotsman named James Mill. Mill sat at Bentham's feet, assimilated his doctrines, made them a shade more rigid, and finally became Bentham's lieutenant. And Mill dedicated his (at that time) only son, John Stuart, that the youngster, who was only born in 1806, should be a worthy successor to the two friends, and should continue to proclaim the truths of Utilitarianism to all the world. The history of the intellectual life of J. S. Mill is contained in his efforts to escape from the narrow individualistic creed of his progenitors, real and spiritual, and his gradual approach towards Socialism.

We need not close our eyes to the fact that Bentham was a power, that he profoundly influenced the evolution of the law and of public administration, to be nevertheless extremely critical of his influence upon J. S. Mill. At this distance from the Benthamites it is difficult to realize how starkly intense was their individualism. "Laissez faire" with them was more than a theory; it was a faith. Bentham, who wrote on almost everything, produced a small

"Manual of Political Economy," from whose dark, unfathomed depths the following gem has been extracted: "With the view of causing an increase to take place in the mass of national wealth, or with a view to increase of the means either of subsistence or enjoyment, without some special reason, the general rule is that nothing ought to be done or attempted by government. The motto or watchword of government on these occasions ought to be—*Be quiet.*"* He died in 1832, at the age of eighty-four, leaving behind him one hundred and forty boxes of manuscript. For many years his life had been that of a tabulating machine with a mania for neologizing. He invented, for example, seven classes of "Offences against the positive increase of the National Felicity."† These include the heinous crimes of offending against epistemo-threptic, antemblematic and hedomonarchic trusts. He is at present probably tabulating and renaming the numerous varieties of asbestos.

The Misfortunes of Mill: His Father.

But long before his death James Mill, observing that the mantle of Bentham was in danger of being soiled by continual dragging through the muddy waters of the elder's verbiage, took it from his shoulders and placed it upon his own. (This is no mere figure of speech; for the unpruned language of Bentham's later days was incomprehensible to the public, and so his notes had to be edited and his books written by his disciples.) With James Mill there is little need for us to tarry. He is best remembered by his character and his eldest son.

James Mill came to London from Scotland, and having for some years earned a precarious living by journalism, proceeded to write a History of India. It appeared in 1817, the result of nine years hard work. That he had no first hand knowledge of his subject was, he considered, all to the good. It permitted full play to the objective attitude. But the three substantial resultant volumes of conscientious drought brought him a reward. Established as an authority on the country he had never seen, he succeeded in obtaining a post in the office of the East India Company. In 1836, the year of his death, he was drawing a salary of £2,000.

The Misfortunes of Mill: His Upbringing.

In the intervals of his journalistic work, and, later, in the leisure accorded by his official duties, James Mill educated his son. The course of instruction prescribed and administered by this, the most ruthless of all parents, was encyclopædic in its scope and devastating in its character. John Stuart Mill, while yet infant and amorphous, was destined by his father for leadership and educated accordingly. In his "Autobiography" (p. 3) he says, "I have no recollection of the time when I began to learn Greek; I have been told it was when I was three years old." At the age of seven he had read the first six dialogues of Plato, and subsequently acted as teacher to his younger brothers and sisters. Such inexorability as his

* Works, Ed. Bowring, 1843.

† "Principles of Morals and Legislation," Chap. XVI.

father's in teaching young minds to shoot would lead many to suicide. There is little need to detail. The practice of long walks with his father, in which instruction was combined with exercise, was perhaps the principal reason for J. S. Mill's physical survival. Intellectually, his persistence to years of discretion must be credited to his heredity. Of boyhood he had none. Says Mill: "He was earnestly bent upon my escaping not only the corrupting influence which boys exercise over boys, but the contagion of vulgar modes of thought and feeling; and for this he was willing that I should pay the price of inferiority in the accomplishments which school-boys in all countries chiefly cultivate."* It is astonishing that this system did not convert his brain into a sort of *pâté de foie gras*. But he survived. The worst efforts of his father failed to affect the stability of his marvellous brain. Having left his childhood with his cradle, he proceeded to absorb all that there was to be absorbed of Greek and Latin, mathematics, history, both ancient and modern, and the remaining subjects prescribed by convention and his father's views. At the age when, nowadays, he might be qualifying for a Boy Scout, Mill took to philosophy, psychology and logic. In 1823 (age 17) his father obtained him a clerkship in the India House, where he remained until 1828. About this time he began to write for the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews*. In 1825 he "edited," in manner aforesaid, Bentham's "Rationale of Judicial Evidence," much to his own edification.

The Strenuous Life.

Of this period of his life, when the rigidity of parental control had been somewhat relaxed, it would have been not unreasonable to expect that Mill, like Richard Feverel, might have rebelled against the "system." Far from it; the process had been too thorough. Mill never sowed any wild oats of any species whatsoever; he did not even cut down the familial apple-tree. At the age of twenty he virtually founded the "London Debating Society," which seems to have been something like the Fabian Society would have been if it had no Basis and no external objects. To this belonged, amongst others, Macaulay, Edward Bulwer Lytton, a large number of incipient reputations, and the *élite* of the Oxford and Cambridge Unions. Concurrently with the existence of this society, Mill and Grote, the future historian, formed a study circle which met twice a week at the latter's house for the discussion of Economics. When this subject contained no more unexplored regions, the circle took up Logic and Analytical Psychology. In all the meetings extended over five years, giving Mill an additional stratum upon which to base his subsequent work. As one result of these meetings, we should note the "Essays on Unsettled Questions in Political Economy," which was written about 1830-31, but not published until 1844.

Throughout this whole period Mill was a frequent contributor to the *Reviews*. His literary output previous to 1843 was voluminous, but consisted almost entirely of criticism. In that year he published his first classic, "A System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive; being

a connected view of the principles of evidence and the methods of scientific investigation." To this portentous work belonged all the characteristics enumerated above of his father's "India"; it was perhaps the most important book of its time, and its merits were such that eight editions were exhausted in the author's lifetime. Having completed this, Mill shortly turned his attention to his next classic work, which appeared in 1848. Of this, the "Principles of Political Economy," more will be said later, when some of its points will be examined. These two books are Mill's most substantial contributions to human thought. Of those of his smaller works with which we shall be concerned the most important are the "Representative Government" and the "Subjection of Women." These each contain, roughly, the full development of a single idea, and, although by no means trivial, are scarcely entitled to rank with his "classic" works. Before allowing his books to speak for themselves, the outstanding features of the remainder of his life must be stated.

His Marriage.

In the first place, as to Mill's marriage. At the age of twenty-three Mill became acquainted with a Mrs. Taylor, wife of a City drysalter. He sat at her feet some sixteen years, when she became a widow, and two years afterwards Mill and she were married. He continued to sit at her feet for seven more years, until 1858, when she died. Of her he writes throughout in terms of extreme admiration, which, coming from a man of Mill's dispassionate temperament, approach rhapsody. For example, in dedicating his "Liberty" to her, the year following her death, he concludes with these words: "Were I but capable of interpreting to the world one half the great thoughts and noble feelings which are buried in her grave I should be the medium of a greater benefit to it than is ever likely to arise from anything that I can write, unprompted and unassisted by her all but unrivalled wisdom." Mill's biographers, Leslie Stephen and Bain, are somewhat sceptical. Bain writes, "Grote used to say 'only John Mill's reputation could survive such displays.'"* There is no point in endeavouring to estimate the accuracy of such declarations; we must take Mill's word and leave it at that, perhaps with the added comment that a woman capable of inspiring such depths of feeling would also be capable of affecting the quality of Mill's work; of improving it without necessarily herself touching it.

In the year of her death the East India Company ceased to exist. The Indian Mutiny had convinced the Government that it was, on the whole, inadvisable to run an empire by private enterprise, and the business of administering India was nationalized. The Company, of course, was unwilling, and resisted the divestment of its interests. It fell to Mill, by this time virtually in command at India House, to draft the Company's petition for reprieve, in a document which was pronounced by Earl Grey "the ablest State paper he had ever read."† But all in vain; the India Office superseded the India House, and Mill was retired on a pension of £1,500.

* Bain, "J. S. Mill: a Criticism," p. 167.

† Bain, p. 96.

M.P. for Westminster.

Then Mill went into Parliament. The story of his election, which took place in 1865, is strikingly characteristic of Mill's tenacity of opinion and undeviating pursuit of whatever path of conduct he held to be right. In these days the term "principle" is in danger of obliteration, save only in so far as it enters into the adjective "unprincipled," and Mill's own account of the election has a distinctly humorous touch. Westminster was the favoured constituency. He writes, for example, "I was convinced that no numerous or influential portion of any electoral body really wished to be represented by a person of my opinions. . . . It was, and is, my fixed conviction that a candidate ought not to incur one farthing of expense for undertaking a public duty. . . . I felt, therefore, that I ought not to seek election to Parliament, much less to expend any money in procuring it"* Authors are not generally gifted with such a degree of self-effacement, not to mention politicians. However, a body of electors came and asked Mill to stand, and he, having "put their disposition to the proof by one of the frankest explanations ever tendered, I should think, to an electoral body by a candidate,"† consented. A well known "literary man was heard to say that the Almighty himself would have no chance of being elected on such a programme."‡ The result of this amazing election was that Mill secured a majority of 700 over W. H. Smith, his Conservative competitor. He attached himself to Gladstone, but in fact retained his independence, and not infrequently opposed his own party. He remained in Parliament for three years, during which he took a prominent part in the troublous passage of the Reform Bill of '67, and otherwise. It was on an occasion connected with this Reform agitation that the Hyde Park railings were pushed down. Mill appears to have mediated between the demonstrators and the Government with the result that serious collisions were prevented. It was not to be expected that the miracle would happen twice; Mill was not re-elected. He himself does not seem to have greatly regretted losing his seat.

The Last Years.

So he went back to his books and to Avignon, to pass the remaining years of his life near his wife's grave. He there wrote the "Subjection of Women," and planned a book on Socialism, which was left unfinished. These and voluminous replies to correspondents appear to have been the principal occupations of the years 1868-73. In the latter year he died, at Avignon, as the result of a local epidemic disease.

This is but the briefest sketch of Mill's life. The four aspects of his work most likely to interest Socialists will be studied separately. Until his work has been discussed it is useless to attempt framing an estimate of his influence. Moreover, we shall not be dealing at all with some of perhaps his most important aspects. As a Rationalist and as a Philosopher he takes a high place amongst the world's thinkers, but we need only study him in his relation to society.

* "Autobiography," p. 160.

† *Ibid.*, p. 161.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

In 1865, the year Mill went into Parliament, he published his substantial "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy," a work from which most Englishmen drew their philosophy for the subsequent decade. He had already (1863) published "Utilitarianism," wherein the opinions of Bentham and his father were rendered with more qualification than sympathy. "On Liberty" (1859), in which he and his wife collaborated, is a fine piece of writing, but curiously inconsequent, and does not advocate anything more exciting than non-interference, and not always that.

Mill was an honourable, upright man, capable of commanding firm friendships and the greatest respect. "Saint of Rationalism" was the title bestowed on him by Gladstone. Herbert Spencer gives many instances of Mill's generosity, and wrote an almost emotional obituary notice.* His was a noble, unselfish life, and with it passed perhaps the greatest purifying force of the last century.

ECONOMIST.

Economics in 1836.

Roughly speaking, Mill's work as an economist may be summed up by saying that he found economics a body of doctrines and left it a body of doctrine. For the first time the mass of theories evolved by and since Adam Smith were integrated into a coherent and, on the whole, a moderately consistent statement. Adam Smith popularized economics; that is to say, for all practical purposes he founded it. A little later Malthus added the theory of population with considerations arising therefrom. Sir Edward West introduced the notion of the margin of cultivation. Ricardo stated the idea of economic rent. Nassau Senior evolved the quaint "abstinence" theory—abstinence being "a term by which we express the conduct of a person who either abstains from the unproductive use of what he can command, or designedly prefers the production of remote to that of immediate results."† They took this sort of thing very seriously in 1836. It will be readily understood therefore that the seventy years following the publication of the "Wealth of Nations" (1776) had literally made a hash of economics. It had appeared with certain pretensions to be a science; it had degenerated into a gallimaufry. Hence the importance of Mill's work.

The Perils of Population.

Yet the result was not altogether satisfactory. Mill's unfortunate education was to blame. He had started life upon a Ricardian diet, and absorbed Malthus with depressing avidity. Hence he was incapable of seeing facts for himself: he could squeeze out the full content of other writers' syllogisms, but himself refrained from stating new premises. To the end of his days he was haunted by the bogey of population; he despaired of ever achieving a state where the distribution of wealth should be equitable; multiplication

* See Appendix G. Spencer, "Autobiography," Vol. II.

† Senior, "Political Economy," p. 58.

would hinder division. It is seldom that philoprogenitiveness was dealt with as severely as by this son of a philoprogenitive father. Sinking for a moment his accustomed humanitarianism, he descends to the level of a hardened official of the Charity Organization Society. "Poverty," he declares, "like most social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts without due consideration." In a footnote he adds: "Little improvement can be expected in morality until the producing of large families is regarded with the same feelings as drunkenness or any other physical excess."* His whole attitude towards social reforms is tempered by the fear that, perhaps, they would only increase man's unfortunate liability to be born; that generosity would merely induce generation.

Hence Mill's condemnation of a *minimum* wage, legal or moral. "If nothing more were necessary than a compulsory accumulation (*i.e.*, of money to be available for wages), sufficient to provide employment at ample wages for the existing numbers of the people, such a proposition would have no more strenuous supporter than myself. Society mainly consists of those who live by bodily labour; and if society, that is, if the labourers lend their physical force to protect individuals in the enjoyment of superfluities, they are entitled to do so, and have always done so, with the reservation of a power to tax those superfluities for purposes of public utility, amongst which purposes the subsistence of the people is the foremost. Since no one is responsible for having been born, no pecuniary sacrifice is too great to be made by those who have more than enough for the purpose of securing enough to all persons already in existence." † All of which shows how Mill's progress towards Socialism was turned aside by an optical illusion. He could not realize, as Sadler had already realized, that comfort was a very potent preventive check, and that Malthus, whose anxieties were justifiable at the time he wrote, would be disproved by the lapse of time.

Wages and Welfare.

Of Trade Unions and their future development Mill does not seem to have had much idea. On the first occasion when he refers in his published works to unions, in a pleasantly amusing letter to Carlyle, written from Paris, he slightly jests at their expense. On the authority of an "impartial" person, he states of French Unions, that "their object is not so much more money as to elevate their rank in society, since at present the gentlemen will not keep company with them, and they will not keep company with the common labourers." † That was in 1833. In later years his views were softened. He could never recognize that trade unions were of much positive utility, even though he would not admit they were actually harmful. But Mill's keen sense of justice made him actually befriend the unions, without admitting their efficiency. Wages, he believed, were settled for the individual by competition between masters and workers. So long as the masters could do as they pleased in order

* "Principles," Book II., Chap. XIII.

† "Principles," Book II., Chap. XII.

‡ "Letters," p. 74.

to lower wages, so long was it unjust to forbid workers to combine in order to raise wages. He inveighs against combination laws, "laws enacted and maintained for the declared purpose of keeping wages low," because "such laws exhibit the infernal spirit of the slave master, who, to retain the working classes in avowed slavery, has ceased to be practicable."* He goes even further. "The best interests of the human race imperatively require that all economical experiments, voluntarily undertaken, should have the fullest licence, and that force and fraud should be the only means of attempting to benefit themselves which are interdicted to the less fortunate classes of the community." This last passage was added in the third edition of the "Principles" four years after the original appearance of the book, and illustrates Mill's advancing views.

Holding, as he did, the Malthusian theory of population, it would have been illogical on Mill's part to have definitely gone over to the support of trade unionism. For, this theory held a corollary, the wages fund theory, and the two were inseparable: vicious doctrines have extraordinary powers of cohesion. We need not excite ourselves over the esoteric aspects of this particular dogma. Briefly and exoterically they are as follows. Malthus and his followers believed that overpopulation was the cause of most misery, as a quotation made above has illustrated. From this it was permissible to deduce, subalternately, that overpopulation was the cause of low wages. Hence there was supposed to be a connection between population and wages, and the more there was of one, the less there would be of the other. A step further, and we have the idea stated, to quote Senior, "that wages depend" on "the extent of the fund for the maintenance of labourers, compared with the number of labourers to be maintained" This is the celebrated Wages Fund theory, to which Mill was a subscriber. In these enlightened days, when everybody disbelieves in Malthus's theory, but is hyper-Malthusian in his practice, the sister doctrine of the Wages Fund is no longer with us. Moreover, it has been pointed out that wages are not paid out of a fund earmarked, as it were, for that purpose. Wages are paid out of the produce of labour, which can be increased indefinitely until the point is reached when all human wants are satiated and machinery can do no more to stimulate desires, either by producing things cheaper or by producing anything at all that man has not got, but would like to have if he saw it.

Holding this theory, Mill could not but believe (1) that if any body of workers succeeded, by means of a trade union or otherwise, in raising their wages, it could only be at the expense of other workers; (2) that any permanent improvement in the wage position of all the workers must await the time when their rate of multiplication would be considerably decreased. †

* "Principles," Book V, Chap. X., § 5.

† For full discussion of the Wages Fund Theory see Cannan, "A History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776 to 1848," *passim*; Marshall, "Principles of Economics," Appendix J; Taussig, "Wages and Capital, an Examination of the Wages Fund Doctrine"; and Webb, "Industrial Democracy," Part III, Chapter I.

It was a distinctly uncomfortable theory and so plausible that it was universally believed. Lassalle's "Iron Law of Wages," emanating from a fervent Socialist, is a restatement of the theory, before which Socialists, as well as the orthodox, were forced, in default of an alternative theory, to prostrate themselves. Mill's is the glory of upsetting the car of Juggernaut, although Frederic Harrison had already noted the fallacy. In a review of a work of Thornton, a fellow economist, in the *Fortnightly Review* in May, 1869, the theory was solemnly stated, examined, and disproved. Economics was never the same after this inroad into its hitherto unquestioned sanctities. Mill himself died shortly afterwards, and it was left to others, notably to Jevons, to collect the tattered fragments of political economy; and by the publication of the "Theory of Political Economy" in 1871, with an exposition of his theory of marginal utility, once more to give the science an appearance of respectability, not to say probability.†

The Future of Labour.

There are discrepancies between the first and second halves of the "Principles." Mill began as an individualist advocate of peasant proprietorship, converted himself as he went on, and ended almost as a Socialist. But, as nobody held out to the end of the book, and very few got beyond the first half, its influence was in favour of peasant proprietorship.

No essay upon the economic principles of Mill is exempted from referring to Book IV, Chapter VII, of his "Principles." For that bears the title "On the Probable Futurity of the Labouring Classes." In 1817 the House of Commons appointed a "Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders." In 1848, in his chapter on the "labouring classes" (the term itself shows an advance), Mill says he uses the term in the conventional sense, as "I do not regard as either just or salutary a state of society in which there is any class which is not labouring, any human beings exempt from bearing their share of the necessary labours of human life, except those unable to labour, or who have fairly earned rest by previous toil" (§ 1). The interest of this passage lies in the change of attitude indicated, not the change which had taken place between 1817 and 1848, but the expressed possibility of social transformation. And this possibility is presented in a description which, if it suffers somewhat from Malthusian squint, yet also contains something of a prophet's vision. The relation between rich and poor is to vanish. Just as feudalism is now dead, so must the poor of to-day emerge from their tutelage. Independence is the key to the future of the workers. "Whatever advice, exhortation, or guidance is held out to the labouring classes must henceforth be tendered to them as equals, and accepted by them with their eyes open." Then he proceeds briefly to survey profit sharing. The results have sometimes been favourable, but the capitalist is not eliminated; in fact his hold is strengthened over his

† See Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," edition Ashley, Appendix O. Longmans, 1910.

employees. "The form of association, however, which, if mankind continue to improve, must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, but in . . ." (§ 6), and Mill proceeds to narrate the history and the results of co-operative production. Here the prophet's voice was speaking. The future of co-operation is hidden from us, but who knows how far it will evolve? Once the great mass of the people begin to produce the necessaries of life for themselves without the needlessly insinuated mediation of predatory capital, the future state will evolve with a swiftness and a certainty unprecedented in the annals of civilization. With the displacement of the capitalist will come, not the millenium, but at the least a society whose basis is not that of our own, capital needlessly deviated from production to advertisement, advertisement, and ever more advertisement. Mill's great position as an economist does not rest, as he considered it to rest, upon a discovery of his concerning distribution, nor, as other persons have considered, upon his treatment of value. It rests upon his humanity and the introduction of the element of humanity into economics. He attempted to apply to what others had regarded as an art, to be treated entirely for art's sake, the saving grace of human fellowship.

FEMINIST.

The abuse of power and the detrimental effects of involuntary subordination are themes which recur more frequently in Mill's work than any other. It is because he objects to the dominance of capital that he becomes so nearly a Socialist. It is because government by the few is a system too apt to ally itself with tyranny that he is so strong a democrat. It is because he realizes the peculiar evils which arise from the subjection of women that he is a feminist.

There are two species of prophets. One is the man who utilizes the historical method, the inductive method, or what not, and foretells a fragment of the events of the coming year, or perhaps of the next few years—he sees, but has no vision. The other species has no use for the inductive method, and regards a telescope as an anachronism. He sees far ahead and is emphatic. Isaiah belonged to this class, Marx to the former. Mill we may class with Marx in this respect, save only in a single direction. Where the future of women is concerned he ceases to rely on the creaking machinery of the syllogism, and with no thought of inconsistency, speaks the truth that is in him. Although "The Subjection of Women," his most extended statement on the subject, was the last work to be published in his lifetime, yet in every one of his earlier works he had dwelt on the subject, wherever opportunity arose, with insistence, with indomitable iteration. He wished to see the status, legal, political and social, of women raised to that of men, but concentrated on endeavouring to obtain for women the vote on the same terms as men had it, claiming throughout that as men had no abstract right to decide for women, women should be put into a position to decide for themselves. In a letter to Florence Nightingale, written in 1867, he says: "I will confess to you that I have often stood amazed at what has

seemed to me the presumption with which persons who think themselves humble set bounds to the capacities of improvement of their fellow creatures, think themselves qualified to define how much or how little of the divine light of truth can be borne by the world in general, assume that none but the very élite can see what is perfectly clear to themselves, and think themselves permitted to dole out in infinitesimal doses that daily bread of truth upon which they themselves live, and without which the world must come to an end"*

The Truth about Women.

His "Liberty" bears as its text a quotation from Humboldt's "Sphere and Duties of Government," concluding with "the absolute and essential importance of human development in its richest diversity." The whole case against the present position of women was just that this diversity of development was prohibited, and that even undiversified development was stunted. In a diary he kept for a few months in 1854, wherein Mill inscribed a curious mixture of platitude and epigram, he states his "deliberate opinion that any great improvement in human life is not to be looked for so long as the animal instinct of sex occupies the absurdly disproportionate place it does therein," and that firstly, in order to attain any improvement, "that women should cease to be set aside for this function, and should be admitted to all other duties and occupations on a par with men."† He develops in this place, in fact, an epigram he had put to paper three weeks before, that "What is called morality in these times is a regulated sensuality"‡ Sex is an accident, and should not be a determinant. In the drama of life it is illogical that women should never enact more than a secondary rôle—especially to Mill, who believed that they are usually "of far greater versatility than men"§ Sex is considered "as entirely irrelevant to political rights as difference in height or in the colour of the hair."|| Again, "The ideas and institutions by which the accident of sex is made the groundwork of an inequality of legal rights, and a forced dissimilarity of social functions, must ere long be recognized as the greatest hindrance to moral, social, and even intellectual development."¶ To the objection (how tenacious are these barnacles!) that women are as a matter of fact unequal to men in the character of their achievements, that history, novels, art, etc., proceed from men alone, for all practical purposes, Mill had the reply that women are going along the same paths as men; they have not yet left their leading strings. They have always had men's works set before them; when they cease to copy them, your objections will fall to the ground and you will see that, after all, sex is an accident. Besides, "how many of the most original thoughts of male writers came to them from the suggestion and prompting of some woman."** The same case is stated in great

* "Letters," Vol. II., p. 104.

† Ibid, Vol II, p 392

‡ Ibid, Vol. II., p. 376.

§ "Principles," Book I, Chapter VIII, § 5.

|| "Representative Government," Chapter VIII.

¶ "Principles," Book IV., Chapter VII, § 4.

** "Letters," Vol. II, p. 381.

detail in "The Subjection of Women." In brief, it may be summarized: "Women's work is not, at present, equal to men's work. But women have never been allowed to be original. Release them from their subjection, and the consequences will prove whether or not women are essentially inferior. But don't punish them for their inferiority before they have had a chance to demonstrate their relative worth. And, my dear sir, if I may be permitted to express a personal opinion, I should not be at all surprised if your own morals did not benefit somewhat by such a demonstration."

So much for Mill's attitude. Now as to his acts.

The Invasion of Westminster.

In 1866 Gladstone introduced a Reform Bill, was defeated on it, and resigned. Lord Derby formed a Conservative Government, and Disraeli became the Leader of the House of Commons. In due course he, too, introduced a Reform Bill to enfranchise the small town householder and the lodger. Long and tiresome were the debates, and countless amendments marked the tortuous, serpentine progress of the Bill to the Statute Book. Here Mill had his opportunity. Woman Suffrage was no longer to be a thing unuttered in Parliament. On May 20th, 1867, he moved an amendment to omit "man" and insert "person" in place thereof, and so to make the Bill apply to both sexes. Mill made a long and eloquent speech, which, perhaps, suffered from lack of precedent. He was not to be contented with the mere verbal substitution, but proceeded to dilate on the position of women, economic and legal, to describe the educational disadvantages under which they lived, in short, to give a lecture on the Woman Question. The following is an example; it illustrates his somewhat ponderous style no less than his matter: "The notion of a hard and fast line of separation between women's occupations and men's—of forbidding women to take interest in the things which interest men—belongs to a bygone state of society which is receding further and further into the past. We talk of political revolutions, but we do not sufficiently attend to the fact that there has taken place amongst us a silent domestic revolution—women and men are, for the first time in history, really each other's companions."* The result was the usual one. There were the immemorial asseverations adduced in opposition, that the amendment, if carried into law, would set a premium upon spinsterhood, that the law was not really unjust to women on the whole ["If an hon. gentleman married a widow with ten children, he had to support every one of them," said one of the hon. gentlemen], that God never intended women to vote, and so on. A "great man who flourished about 500 years before Christ" and the court of Dahomey were brought up and used in evidence against Mill. Gladstone was asked to express an opinion. He said nothing, but voted against the amendment. Seventy-three voted in favour and 196 against. True to posterity, a Lord something Hamilton voted against the proposal. But, including pairs and tellers, at least eighty Members of Parliament forty-five years

* "Hansard," 30 Vict., 1867, Vol. III., p. 821.

ago found themselves in favour of Woman Suffrage. It was not a triumph, but a highly successful initiation. The London Woman's Suffrage Society was started, and Mill's motion developed into a movement.

A Summary.

It is no easy task to collect and integrate all Mill's scattered dicta on women. Nor indeed would much interest be attached to the performance, for many of the evils, against which he stormed with his greatest energy, have been lessened, if not eradicated. Property rights have been granted, and the law has generally receded from its former implicit tenet that women form a criminal class. Custom (call it convention, if you will) no longer holds women in thralldom to the extent of forbidding any voluntarily undertaken remedy for economic dependence. It is permitted to women to become educated. Previously, curious as it may appear, women had only been permitted to educate. The self-supporting woman of the middle class is no longer the mid-Victorian governess, anæmic and, perhaps excusably, ready to descend upon the marriageable younger sons of her employers, pictured in many novels of the period. To what extent these changes may be attributed to Mill is only conjecturable. Whatever may be said to minimise his work, it cannot be disputed that he has been the inspirer of progressive women in every country where there are such women to a degree untouched by any predecessor*.

Generally speaking, Mill's attitude was a very simple one. The well-worn metaphor of the ivy twined lovingly about the sturdy oak was no doubt picturesque and the rights of publication were enjoyed by a thousand minor poets. But the ivy is a parasite, and nobody but a decadent sentimentalist can extract much pleasure from the contemplation of parasitism practised upon a national scale. Let the law treat men and women as equals, and all the rest will follow. Writing on divorce, for example, he says, "I do not think that the conditions of the dissolubility of marriage can be properly determined until women have an equal voice in determining them, nor until there has been experience of the marriage relation as it would exist between equals. Until then I should not like to commit myself to more than the general principle of relief from the contract in extreme cases."† Let women be admitted to qualifying examinations for occupations on the same basis as men, then it will be seen whether women are capable of practising as doctors, lawyers, and the like. If they are found incapable, not much harm has been done; presumably there would be few women anxious to enter a profession, knowing that their predecessors in that profession had been unsuccessful by reason of their inherent and ineradicable sexual qualities. But, on the other hand, if they are successful, then the sources are doubled of the supply of skill, of knowledge, of energy to produce necessary services, to alleviate sufferings, and to add to the positive

* See Dr. Stanton Cott's introduction to the 1909 edition of the "Subjection of Women."

† "Letters," Vol. II., p. 212.

goods of life. They are more than doubled, for the introduction of fresh skill will be accompanied with a new and keener competition waged between equals and beneficial in its outcome. With the improvement in the position of women, men too would gain. Then and then only will it be possible to imagine an ideal liberty, a state where the vague aspirations of to-day would be translated into achievements and facts enduring and powerful.

DEMOCRAT.

There are persons to whose mental eyes democracy best presents itself as a great quasi-religious service. Such are Whitman, Carpenter and their followers. The conception lends itself to criticism because to attain good government it is highly undesirable that all the governed should worship at the same shrine; dissent is the very life-blood of harmony in things political. There are other persons, such as Mr. Asquith, for whom democracy is a limited liability affair, with an undistinguished coat of arms, bearing for its device a registration official, couchant, except in the first fortnight of July. Both these conceptions are sincerely held by a large number of excellent people, who firmly believe that the sovereign power resides in the people, and that it is desirable that it should continue to reside there.

It is, however, possible for a man to be a staunch democrat and yet to have the greatest possible detestation for the numerical majority—the “compact majority” at which Ibsen jibes so vigorously. England is, from a numerical point of view, governed to-day by the working classes. The working classes allow government to be conducted along lines which, frequently enough, are detrimental to their own interests, and, as we all believe at times, to the country’s interests.

The distinction between the general idea of democracy and Mill’s lies in this: by democracy is generally meant one active and combined majority, while Mill preferred to regard it as an agglomeration of minorities.* The problem of democracy was to him, how to provide for the adequate expression of the different minorities. The greatest minority of all was, and still is, the women. The next greatest minorities were, then more than now, the several sections of the manual workers; and, after that, there were the numerous political minorities for whom the exigencies of parliamentary government prohibited representation in Westminster. For, to Mill, the free and unrestricted discussion of ideas was all-important. A person might hold any opinions under the sun—he might conceivably be a mad eugenicist favouring unnatural selection in the form of mating by *ad hoc* state officials—but it was not for any man or any institution to forbid the discussion of such ideas.

Labour Representation.

It has just been mentioned that Mill held views on Labour Representation. *Indeed, they circumstanced the genesis of the Labour Party. Mill had always maintained the friendliest relations with the

* See Chapter VII., “Representative Government.”

trade union leaders of his time, especially with George Odger. In 1857 we find that he was encouraging and aiding Holyoake to put up one of the first parliamentary candidatures of a working man * John Bright was of opinion that Parliament was above classes and represented all; that the introduction of a labour element would add a class spirit of an unfortunate description. It was all very well to have extreme Radicals, who preached revolution, republicanism, etc., and were at times even punished for treasonable behaviour. But Bright knew very well that Horne Tooke, John Wilkes, and the rest were middle-class men (and Charles James Fox was an aristocrat!), whose sentiments, even in their most vehement moments, were not those of the multitude, and at times shared equally with Burke a certain academicism. Holyoake stood for the Tower Hamlets, but withdrew before the polling took place.

Mill realized, too, that government would not remain as it then was, a hobby of the wealthier class. "We are now, I think, standing on the very boundary line between this new statesmanship and the old, and the next generation will be accustomed to a very different set of political arguments and topics from those of the present and past." † The representation of the unrepresented was all-important. The presence of working men in the House of Commons seemed to him "indispensable to a sufficient discussion of public interests from the particular point of view of the working classes." ‡ The policy he favoured was one of "keeping the Liberal out." In a letter written to Odger in 1871, when the latter was standing for Southwark, Mill says: "The working men are quite right in allowing Tories to get into the House to defeat this exclusive feeling of the Whigs (then in office), and may do it without sacrificing any principle. The working men's policy is to insist upon their own representation, and, in default of success, to permit Tories to be sent into the House until the Whig majority is seriously threatened, when, of course, the Whigs will be happy to compromise and allow a few working men representatives in the House." § Well has experience justified this advice.

The Heritage of Hare.

As to smaller minorities, for them he strongly supported a plan of proportional representation invented by Thomas Hare, in which Mill found the salvation of "independent opinion." "I saw in this great practical and philosophical idea the greatest improvement of which the system of representative government is susceptible, an improvement which, in the most felicitous manner, exactly meets and cures the grand, and what before seemed the inherent, defect of the representative system. . . . This great discovery, for it is no less, in the political art, inspired me, as I believe it has inspired all thoughtful persons who have adopted it, with new and more sanguine hopes respecting the prospects of human society; by freeing

* See A. W. Humphrey, "A History of Labour Representation," and Holyoake's Biography (McCabe) and Autobiography.

† "Letters," Vol II., p. 56

‡ Ibid., p. 268

§ Webb's "History of Trade Unionism," p. 272.

the form of political institutions towards which the whole civilized world is manifestly and irresistibly tending, from the chief part of what seemed to qualify or render doubtful its ultimate benefits. Minorities, so long as they remain minorities, are, and ought to be, outvoted; but under arrangements which enable any assemblage of voters, amounting to a certain number, to place in the legislature a representative of its own choice, minorities cannot be suppressed. . . . The legislature, instead of being weeded of individual peculiarities and entirely made up of men who simply represent the creed of great political or religious parties, will comprise a large proportion of the most eminent individual minds in the country, placed there, without reference to party, by voters who appreciate their individual eminence.* This much-belauded plan was a simple variant of the proportional representation idea: to secure election only a quota of votes are necessary, the remainder polled by a successful candidate are transferable to another candidate whose name the voter might himself put on the ballot-paper. Any elector is at liberty to vote for any candidate in any part of the country. These are the main provisions of the scheme. Mill's conversions to new ideas were always of the thoroughgoing nature. He appears to have preached the new invention in season and out of season, and, no doubt, made himself unpopular thereby.

Proposed Improvements.

Mill subjected the entire Parliamentary system to a fairly searching analysis, both in his "Representative Government" and in a pamphlet "Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform." It must be confessed that he placed rather too high an estimate on the values of various points in the electoral machine. He believes that voting should be public and opposes the ballot. "The *spirit* of an institution," he comments, "the impression it makes on the mind of the citizen, is one of the most important parts of its operation." † Money payments of any sort should not be required of the candidate; they should be borne by his constituents. Members of Parliament should not be paid. If a Member is poor and requires pecuniary aid, his constituents should subscribe for the purpose. Perhaps the most curious of his efforts to tinker with the legislative machine is his recommendation that plurality of votes should be given, "not to property, but to proved superiority of education." This recommendation, however, he pathetically admits, did not meet with widespread approval. "As far as I have been able to observe, it has found favour with nobody." ‡ Possibly even Mill had his doubts about it, for he says it was a suggestion "which I had never discussed with my almost infallible counsellor, and I have no evidence that she would have concurred in it." Another suggestion was that Parliament should not be burdened with the details of law making. "Any government fit for a high state of civilization would have as one of its fundamental elements a small body, not exceeding

* "Autobiography," p. 148.

† "Representative Government," Chapter X.

‡ "Autobiography," p. 148.

in number the members of a Cabinet, who should act as a Commission of legislation, having for its appointed office to make the laws. . . . The Commission would only embody the element of intelligence in their construction; Parliament would represent that of will.* Parliament was to issue instructions (presumably in the form of general resolutions), the Commission was to draft a Bill accordingly, which Parliament could either accept, reject, or refer back for amendment. Similarly Mill wished to separate the executive and administrative functions. "Instead of the function of governing, for which it is radically unfit, the proper office of a representative assembly is to watch and control the government." †

These suggestions—or, at any rate, some of them—may be considered as of nugatory importance and hardly worth discussing. But although their intrinsic worth may be nominal, they afford an excellent insight into the spirit inherent in all Mill's theories. The mental attitude of the bulk of mankind, so far as it has any, on the subject of democracy is, granted amiability and the absence of political discord, "There are wonderful things latent in democracy. May they remain so" Experimentation in democracy is now inextricably connected with the name Pankhurst. Pressed on the subject, the Bulk of Mankind develops distrust and party views. Mill is different. Believing, too, that there are wonderful things latent in democracy, he wishes them to be made patent. To secure this object no possible method is too minute, too circuitous. To develop every personality to its utmost was his ideal, and democracy was the most obvious of the many means by which that ideal was to be attained. The rights of the individual soul arose with Bentham; Mill adapted the patriarch's ideas to the requirements of his age.

SOCIALIST.

In the course of its century-old career, the word Socialism has continually been changing its connotation. But, whatever might be its precise meaning about the time when Mill wrote his "Principles of Political Economy," there can be no possible doubt that the revolutions of 1848 gave the word a popular meaning synonymous with the terms applied to political behaviour of the most abominable character. And the sister-term Communism shared the opprobrium. Yet Mill, who always sought the truth, gave the schemes of Fourier, Saint-Simon and Louis Blanc careful attention in his "Principles of Political Economy"; and when the 1852 edition appeared the following extraordinary expression of opinion was included in his study of Communism: "If, therefore, the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost

* "Representative Government," Chapter V.

† *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

nominal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this or Communism were the alternative, all the difficulties, great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."* It is almost necessary to remind oneself that the writer was the son of James Mill, and the spiritual heir of the individualists.

On the subject of State enterprise he maintains silence, although, generally speaking, he is opposed to any extension of government interference, on the grounds that a multiplicity of functions must lead to inefficiency. Yet he is always anxious to learn by experiment; on no account will he have an experiment hindered because it does not fit in with his views. Writing to Edwin Chadwick in 1867 he says: "I think there is a chance that Ireland may be tried as a *corpus vile* for experimentation on Government management of railways."† In 1898 the Fabian Society published Tract No. 98, "State Railways for Ireland." In 1910 the Vice-Regal Commission on Irish Railways declared by a bare majority in favour of nationalization. The mills of God grind slowly.

The Individual and the State.

Mill was for ever insisting upon the necessity for a moral as well as an economic improvement. Writing to Auberon Herbert the year before his death, Mill said: "My idea is (but I am open to correction) that, for some time to come, politics and social and economic questions will be the absorbing subjects to most of those working men who have the aspirations and the mental activity to which the appeal would have to be made. . . . You wish to make them feel the importance of the higher virtues. I think this can be most effectually done by pointing out to them how much those virtues are needed to enable a democracy, and above all any approach to Socialism, to work in any satisfactory manner."‡

It is not unfair to suggest that, before the last few years of his life, when Mill made a special study of Socialism, he was by no means clear as to what Socialists wanted, and whether or not he was one of them. The following passage, for example, while it teems with the utmost philanthropy, at the same time reveals a curious indecision. It refers to Mrs. Mill and himself: "While we repudiated with the greatest energy that tyranny of society over the individual which most Socialistic systems are supposed to involve, we yet looked forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat will be applied not to paupers only, but impartially to all; when the division of the produce of labour, instead of depending, as in so great a degree it now does, on the accident of birth, will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice; and when it will no longer either be, or be thought to be, impossible for human

* "Principles," Book II, Chapter I, § 3.

† "Letters," Vol. II, p. 194.

‡ "Letters," Vol. II, p. 328.

beings to exert themselves strenuously in procuring benefits which are not to be exclusively their own, but to be shared with the society they belong to. The social problem of the future we considered to be how to unite the greatest individual liberty of action with a common ownership in the raw material of the globe, and an equal participation of all in the benefits of combined labour."* He consistently affirmed what he denied, and it is difficult to place him with absolute accuracy.

Reference has already been made to a work on Socialism planned by Mill in his last years. Of this only four chapters came to be actually written, and were first published in 1879 in the pages of the *Fortnightly Review*. Mill begins by showing that the gradual arrival of manhood suffrage in all countries would lead sooner or later to the thorough discussion of the subject of property. In fact, the Labour Congresses and the "International Society" (probably the International Working Men's Association) were already discussing the subject, and so formulating the future courses of action of the working classes of the different countries of Europe. He then proceeds to study the Socialist indictment. It is curious that he makes neither here nor elsewhere any mention of Marx or the Communist Manifesto.

The Socialist Indictment.

The Socialist indictment constitutes, he admits, "a frightful case, either against the existing order of society or against the position of man himself in this world." He believes that Socialists generally placed too much emphasis on the evils of competition, without noticing its beneficial consequences. Nevertheless, on this subject "Socialists have really made out the existence not only of a great evil, but of one which grows and tends to grow with the growth of population and wealth." He then himself gives at some length some of the less obvious evils of fraud, bankruptcy, etc., but thinks that in production fraud could be largely "overcome by the institution of co-operative stores." Yet, having examined the expressions of Socialists, and convicted them of exaggeration, he admits that that by no means settles the whole matter, and concludes a chapter with the words, ". . . the intellectual and moral grounds of Socialism deserve the most attentive study, as affording in many cases the guiding principles of the improvements necessary to give the present economic system of society its best chance." It is instructive to make an analysis, paragraph by paragraph, of his final summing-up. It is then seen that the favourable and unfavourable dicta alternate in an uninterrupted sequence throughout. The conclusion is as follows: "The result of our review of the various difficulties of Socialism has led us to the conclusion that the various schemes for managing the productive resources of the country by public instead of private agency have a case for a trial, and some of them may eventually establish their claims to preference over the existing order of things, but that they are at present workable only by the *elite* of mankind, and have yet to prove their power of training

* "Autobiography," p. 133.

mankind at large to the state of improvement which they presuppose." As to taking over the whole land and capital of the country and centralizing its administration, that is "obviously chimerical." The revolutionary plan of taking over everything by one blow meets with no grace whatever.

But this does not conclude Mill's survey. He realizes that the root of the matter is the conception of property. He agrees that the right of holding property, and to a still larger extent of transmitting it, is conferred and maintained by the State. Hence this conclusion: "A proposed reform in laws or customs is not necessarily objectionable because its adoption would imply, not the adaptation of all human affairs to the existing idea of property, but the adaptation of existing ideas of property to the growth and improvement of human affairs. . . . Society is fully entitled to abrogate or alter any particular right of property which, on sufficient consideration, it judges to stand in the way of the public good. And assuredly the terrible case which, as we saw in a former chapter, Socialists are able to make out against the present economic order of society, demands a full consideration of all means by which the institution may have a chance of being made to work in a manner more beneficial to that large portion of society which at present enjoys the least share of its direct benefits."

What does all this come to? It may at first sight appear feeble, tentative, undirected. But before pronouncing a final judgment, a glance at Mill's material will be instructive. This consists mainly—almost exclusively—of the visions of Owen, the far-fetched schemes of Fourier, and the aspirations of Louis Blanc.

Yet, in all this amorphous and inchoate matter, Mill was able to discern many of the stable elements. He exclaims against centralization just as he had doubted the possibility of any great growth of joint stock enterprise merely because he could not foresee the extent of its future development. But he sees behind all the cloudiness of the Socialists of 1848 something substantial, something real. He is able to sketch something very near the actual line of the future evolution of Socialist thought. Had he lived another ten years he would almost certainly have been amongst the founders of the Fabian Society.

Back to Mill.

The Socialist movement to-day, or rather, the evolutionary section, stands far from the field of combat selected by its progenitors. To-day many ideas are regarded as of secondary importance, or nugatory or actually wrong, which a generation ago were held as dogma, beyond criticism or attack. And the evolutionary Socialist of to-day may find himself opposed to land nationalization, or even to any accepted *ad hoc* nationalization. He may be opposed to the multiplication of State officials; he may support or he may, on the whole, oppose the Labour Party, preferring to throw in his lot for the attainment of his ideals with a party until recently unanimately denounced as bourgeois capitalist. And even then he will, and does, sincerely believe himself to be a Socialist. The idea of what

constitutes Socialism and a Socialist is changing. What is the direction of the change? It appears well within the bounds of probability that the attitude of the evolutionary Socialist upon matters connected with society (granted some few exceptions) is approximating to that of Mill. To the present writer it seems probable that the history of the next few years of the Socialist movement will accentuate the changing attitude. It is almost safe to predict the development of the movement. The next few years of its history will be marked by the augmented value attached to the "moral factor," which will be used by Socialists as a touchstone in matters of legislation. The co-operative movement will meet with support from Socialists, and will probably extend its scope. The Socialist programme will shrink to the dimensions of a single session's possibilities, and will refuse to discuss the nationalization of any services not already, as it were, upon the list. A larger share of attention will be given to problems specially affecting women. These are but a few of the salient probabilities: their derivation is obvious. And long before they emerge as things accomplished Mill will have received his rightful share of recognition as one of the moulders of modern Socialism and the future State.

Conclusion.

Perhaps the most important point about Mill is his attitude. He was the son of his father in more senses than one. There is an extraordinary parallelism between their works. The father wrote an "Elements of Political Economy," the son wrote the "Principles of Political Economy, with Some of their Applications to Social Philosophy." The father wrote an essay on "Government," the son an "Essay on Representative Government." The father wrote "An Analysis of the Problems of the Human Mind," the son wrote his "Logic" as a sort of introduction and the "Examination of Hamilton" as a sort of supplement. As we have seen, both hereditary and environmental influences were applied in the most thorough manner possible. The mental attitude of J. S. Mill therefore is individual only so far as it differs from his father's. Very largely the broadness of his views, even when they appear opposed to his father's, is simply to be ascribed to the gradual exploitation of the elder's theories. But to whatever degree his work is put down to paternal influence, there can be no doubt that J. S. Mill exerted a wonderfully broadening effect over English political thought. Mill translated the notion of police, as held by Bentham, into the notion of a polity. The study of the affairs of the State was held to be the study of the means of attaining the greatest cheapness. Mill changed the idea of economy into the idea of economics. In Mill's childhood the greatest importance was attached to the study of the humanities; he made the greatest importance attach to the study of humanity. It is as a broadening influence that he is most important, infusing the doctrines of Liberalism with something more approaching liberality, and directing, for the first time, to the claims of labour a substantial portion of public attention.

Another point is worth briefly discussing. There are two lines along which changes in the body politic may arrive: by gradual evolution and by cataclysmic revolution. The method of evolution is slow, sure, and unattractive. The other method is attractive because of its pyrotechnic qualities, and windy philosophies will ever sway the imagination of the politically uninstructed. Mill is noteworthy principally as an excellent doubter. He had no originality; he hesitates always. But out of his hesitations come great things. If his direction be zigzag, nevertheless he marks a path; and in his case, at any rate, his end was worth more than his conclusions.

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY. .

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THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

"THE workers of Germany have always looked to the English working class for example and inspiration, and we hope that our teachers are now satisfied with their pupils" In these words Herr Hermann Molkenbuhr, secretary of the German Socialist Democratic Party and one of the 110 Socialist members of the Reichstag, responded to a vote of congratulation passed at the British Labor Party Conference at Birmingham, in January, 1912. on the occasion of the striking victories of his party at the general election for the Reichstag then just completed. This flattering tribute to the influence on the masses in Germany of English ideas and methods in political and industrial organization should afford lively gratification to the workers of this country, for it was tendered by one of the leaders of the most efficiently organized political party in the whole world. In both the spheres of politics and industry the German workman has adopted the principle of combination evolved in England, adapting it with the patience and persistence characteristic of his race to the peculiar conditions of his own land, and by its means he has attained results which are astounding when the enormous difficulties to be contended with are taken into account.

These results cannot be fully and accurately estimated by simply studying the statistics of the growth of the twin movements of Social Democracy and Trade Unionism, striking and eloquent though these statistics are. Behind the giant numbers there is a powerful feeling of solidarity among the working classes, coupled with a strong sense of responsibility for the moulding of their own future, both created by the unceasing agitation and education of the two movements. The disciplined faith and self-confidence, together with the multifarious opportunities for practical activities, given by the Socialist and Trade Union organizations have prevented their members from becoming mere vague and dreamy idealists or purely destructive critics. Although apparently still believing in the coming of the great day prophesied with magnificent fervor in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 when capitalism will be overthrown at one blow, in reality the German Social Democrat relies on no economic or political miracle for the attainment of his ultimate aim, but steadily, day by day, toils at the task of underpinning the foundations of the present individualistic social order, and replacing them bit by bit with Socialist material preparatory to the gradual rebuilding of the whole superstructure.

The Founders.

The German Socialist movement possesses the great advantage of having for its founders the two great personalities, Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx. The names of these two men have become the banners and battle cries of the organized masses, giving to their movements the glamor and appeal that comes from historic associations. Lassalle, in the words of one of their songs, forged the sword of the German workers; Marx taught them the purpose for which the weapon should be used.

Ferdinand Lassalle was born in 1825 at Breslau. His father was a prosperous Jewish merchant, who desired that his son should also be a man of commerce. Lassalle, however, declined to follow in his father's footsteps, and decided to enter upon a career of academic training. He studied at the university of his native city and Berlin, passing his examinations with distinction. At the early age of twenty he impressed his friends and acquaintances, including Alexander von Humboldt and Heinrich Heine, with his brilliant intellectual powers and dominating will. During the revolutionary year of 1848 he became acquainted with Marx, and contributed to a newspaper edited by him. In 1849 he was arrested and tried for urging the people to offer armed resistance to the autocratic Prussian Government, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The speech he had prepared for his defence, which was not delivered in court owing to the action of the judges in excluding the public from the trial, but published afterwards, earned for him considerable reputation owing to its logical force and telling rhetoric.

During the fifties he dropped out of public life, but kept up a correspondence with Marx, now exiled for ever from his native country. He resumed his philosophical and literary studies, the outcome of which included the completion of a learned book on Heracitus begun in his student days; a big book entitled "System of Acquired Rights"; and a historical drama of indifferent merit. In these and other writings he showed himself to be a thorough disciple of Hegel, especially in his attitude towards the State, expressing the great philosopher's view "that the State is the march of God through society" in equally strong but less theological language. In this close adherence to Hegelianism he differed strongly from Marx, who, though heavily indebted to Hegel for the dialectic of which he was both master and servant, was dogmatically materialist in his philosophy.

Lassalle's Agitation.

In 1862 Lassalle left his study for the platform in response to an invitation to lecture to a Berlin Liberal Club. He was now completely out of sympathy with the Liberals, or Progressists, as they were then called, owing to their want of courage and enterprise. He chose for his theme the timely subject of "The Nature of Constitutions." The King of Prussia was at that moment endeavoring to rule without a Parliament, because that body had proved itself, for a German legislative assembly, remarkably intractable and

insubordinate to the royal authority. This lecture, given in two parts, was repeated three times. It annoyed the Progressists exceedingly, mainly because it laid down the doctrine that questions of constitutional right are questions of power, and that if the Progressists wished to defeat the King and his Government it was no use merely arguing about the justice of their position and the illegality and injustice of that of the monarch and his ministers. Action was necessary. The Parliament, he contended, ought to refuse to meet until the King consented to behave constitutionally. This would compel him either to surrender or to rule as a despot; the latter course the sovereign would not dare to adopt. The conservative and reactionary elements were delighted with the disappointment and disgust of the Progressists at Lassalle's derision of their futility; but the Government, displeased with the bold advice given in the second part of the lecture, confiscated it at Königsberg when it appeared in pamphlet form. No proceedings, however, were taken against the author.

Brought into public notice again, Lassalle received a request to lecture to another Berlin audience of a different type—the members of an artisans' club. He complied, and described the subject of his address in a ponderous title containing twelve words, which was afterwards shortened to "The Workers' Program." This lecture, although almost unnoticed at the moment, had great propagandist influence later, when published as a pamphlet, and was, moreover, the direct cause of Lassalle undertaking his famous agitation among the working classes.

"The Workers' Program."

"The Workers' Program" sets forth in a manner suited to the time most of the ideas of the Communist Manifesto. Its economic doctrines, its view of history, its presentation of the fourth estate—the proletariat—as the revolutionary factor in society, as the class whose interests would dominate the future, are almost pure Marxism. But Lassalle does not keep consistently to the materialist conception of history; and in his insistence that the true function of the State is "to help the development of the human race towards freedom," he breaks entirely with Marxian political philosophy. He attacked the *laissez faire* Liberal view, the "night watchman" idea of the State, that it should be nothing more than a protector of property from robbery and housebreaking. But the true function of the State could only be fulfilled by a State which adequately represents the interests of all; in a word, by a State based on the will of the majority operating through equal and universal suffrage.* Economic change, the invention of machinery, and the growth of the factory system had made the wage earners potentially the most powerful class in the modern State: the next necessary step was to make them legally the most powerful by instituting complete democracy. By achieving this the legal recognition of the revolution which had already taken place would be secured. The French Revolution of

* Manhood suffrage was called universal suffrage at this period.

1789 was the revolution of the middle class against the feudal aristocracy, of trade and industry against landed property. The revolution which began in 1848 is the revolution of the proletariat against the rule of the capitalist. The victory of the proletariat, unlike previous class victories, will be the victory of all mankind; the freedom obtained will be the freedom for everyone. Lassalle closed his address with the impressive exhortation: "The great world-historical importance of this mission must absorb all your thoughts. The vices of the oppressed, the idle dissipation of the thoughtless, even the harmless frivolities of the unimportant must find no place in your lives. You, the proletariat, are the rock on which the Church of the present must be built."

It is easy to find errors in Lassalle's presentation of the economic situation in Germany in the early sixties and to point out that the development of capitalist industry had not reached the stage when it could be said that capitalism on a grand scale was dominating politically a vast, potentially powerful proletariat. It is true that in Prussia half the population were then engaged in agriculture; the town workers were largely employed in handicrafts, and only ten per cent. of the whole people were dependent on wages earned in factories. Lassalle made the assumption that the capitalistic industrial, and social conditions then rapidly ripening in England were at the same advanced stage in his own country, and the assumption was of course wrong; hence the small immediate results of his campaign among the workers. But taken as prophecy, the substance of his lecture was remarkably correct; for the astonishing industrial and commercial growth of modern Germany, the beginnings of which were then causing politicians and social students to take thought, has indeed largely created, with the aid of the teachings of Lassalle and Marx, a great and ever increasing army of the proletariat in disciplined revolt against organized capitalism.

Lassalle and Schultze-Delitzsch.

On the publication of "The Workers' Program" the Berlin police suppressed it and instituted criminal proceedings against Lassalle for "exciting the non-possessing classes to hatred and contempt of the possessing classes." He was sentenced to four months imprisonment in spite of his trenchant and able defence, in which severe castigation was meted out to the court and the prosecuting counsel. On appeal the punishment was reduced to a fine, but the confiscation of the pamphlet was upheld. Nevertheless a new edition was printed in Switzerland and circulated among the working classes.

It was issued at an opportune moment. The growth of industrialism, relatively small though it was, had produced the crop of social problems common on capitalist soil, together with the usual well meant philanthropic proposals for their solution. Among the methods popular with Liberals and Progressists of the period for the improvement of the material conditions of the wage earner was that of voluntary self-help associations for production and distribution,

coupled with free competition, advocated by Herr Schultze-Delitzsch. Although he had a considerable following, especially among small masters whose existence was threatened by the factory system, numbers of thoughtful workmen were not enamored of this rather dull and chilly gospel. Moreover, they were desirous of having a direct share in political activity, and were urging the middle class Progressists to admit the workers to full membership of the Progressist Union. The response to their request was that "all workers might consider honorary membership of the Union as their birth-right," that is to say, "they might have the honor to remain outside it."* The chief centre of this movement was Leipzig. In that city a local Workmen's Association had appointed a committee to undertake the task of establishing an association on national lines and to summon a conference at Leipzig for that purpose. This committee, struck with the ideas formulated in "The Workers' Program," invited Lassalle to express in any form he might think fit his views of the movement and the policy it should pursue, and of the value of the Schultze-Delitzsch proposals. They had no doubt that "other ways and means than those put forward by Schultze-Delitzsch might be suggested for attaining the ends of the working class movement, namely, the political, material, and intellectual improvement in the condition of the workers"; and as Lassalle's pamphlet had met with great approval in their ranks, they would be thoroughly able to appreciate further communications from him on these points.

The Universal Workmen's Association.

With Lassalle's reply, on March 1st, 1863, to this invitation begins the actual Socialist agitation which led ultimately to the formation of the present German Social Democratic Party. In his letter known as the "Public Reply" he laid down definitely and concisely the policy a working class movement should adopt. The question had been discussed whether the supporters of the Workmen's Association should abstain from politics altogether or join the Progressists. Lassalle advocated a third course: they must concern themselves with politics, but as a separate, independent Labor Party. Voluntary co-operation, thrift, and self-help on the Schultze-Delitzsch plan would inevitably fail because of the iron law which keeps the worker down to the bare minimum of existence. The only way of overcoming this law was to get rid of the capitalist by establishing a system of co-operative production, and thus secure to the actual worker the gains of the entrepreneur. But no industrial undertaking in modern days could succeed without large capital, and it was hopeless for the worker to expect to secure this absolute necessity by adopting the principles of Schultze-Delitzsch. Where could the capital be obtained? Lassalle's answer was, from the State. The State could lend the required funds at the normal rate of interest, and the workers could then compete with private

* "Ferdinand Lassalle," E. Bernstein, p. 14.

capitalists on equal terms. How was this State credit to be ensured? By the workers becoming the dominating factor in the State through the conquest of political power. Let them form an association throughout Germany on the analogy of the English Anti-Corn-Law League, with the sole object of achieving universal suffrage. With every workman in possession of a vote it would be easy to acquire State aid for the establishment of productive co-operative societies and thus abolish the iron law.

The publication of Lassalle's letter of counsel roused a veritable storm of indignation and resentment in Progressist circles. The struggle of the Prussian Diet with the Government seemed to be reaching a revolutionary stage, and Lassalle's advice "to split the progressive forces" appeared to the Liberals to be that of a traitor. They denied the validity of the iron law; but Lassalle, with a tremendous display of economic learning, defended it brilliantly in spite of its fallaciousness. Defeated in argument, they turned round and maintained that the iron law was a natural law which nothing could alter. Again Lassalle scored an easy victory in debate. In May, 1863, he delivered two great speeches in support of his policy to a conference of Workmen's Associations held at Frankfort-on-the-Main and attended by thirteen hundred delegates. He carried his audience with him in face of strong opposition from the followers of Schultze-Delitzsch, and a resolution was passed in favor of forming a new organization with the Lassallean program. On May 23rd, 1863, at Leipzig the Universal Working Men's Association was formed. Lassalle was elected President, with dictatorial powers. He was now launched on his career as working class leader and agitator.

An Unpromising Beginning.

The new association grew but slowly. Lassalle had expected that the issue of his "Public Reply" would have an effect similar to that produced by the nailing of Luther's theses to the door of the Church at Wittenberg; but, to his keen disappointment, the working classes remained indifferent. Three months after its foundation there were scarcely nine hundred members of the Association, and Berlin, of which Lassalle had had great hopes, refused to be stirred. His energy, although tremendous, was spasmodic. After six weeks of intense activity he left Germany for three months, continuing his work for the Association, however, by means of correspondence. On his return he undertook a campaign on the Rhine, addressing great meetings at Barmen, Düsseldorf, and other towns. He was now at the height of his power as an orator; his speeches, full of fiery, passionate rhetoric, added to his fame as the evangelist of democracy. He then concentrated on Berlin, but the antagonism of the Progressists, at that time all powerful in the Prussian capital, and the action of the police in rendering it impossible for him to obtain halls for meetings and in confiscating his pamphlets, made the situation overwhelmingly difficult. Twice he was prosecuted; on one occasion the charge was high treason. But although these actions were the cause of much worry and waste of time, they nevertheless

assisted Lassalle considerably in his agitation. The law court was his element. His carefully prepared speeches in defence, or rather defiance, were splendid propaganda; and his knowledge of the law, learned in long legal battles, enabled him to triumph over prosecuting counsel, judges, and juries. The charge of high treason resulted in an acquittal; the other process ended in a sentence of imprisonment which Lassalle did not live to serve.

The Progressist hatred of Lassalle was heartily reciprocated by him. He attacked them mercilessly, contrasting their feeble flabbiness with the stern resolution of their adversary Bismarck. At this period he began negotiations with the Iron Chancellor, which gave grounds for further suspicion that he was playing the game of the reactionaries. Lassalle no doubt hoped to win Bismarck's support for his scheme of universal suffrage and State credit for productive co-operation. The Progressists were then securing good majorities in the Prussian Diet in spite of the undemocratic, indirect, three class electoral system (which obtains to this day), and had therefore no strong desire for a reform of the franchise. What actually took place at the interviews between Lassalle and Bismarck remains a matter of conjecture. Years afterwards the Chancellor, challenged to explain the remarkable acquaintanceship, declared that there were no political negotiations because Lassalle had nothing to offer. He, Bismarck, was glad to have met such a man of genius, who was highly gifted and exceedingly ambitious, "a great man, with whom one might be delighted to converse." But whether there were negotiations or not, Lassalle in his speeches declared more and more positively that the Prussian Government would grant universal suffrage, and wrote of Bismarck as being "my plenipotentiary," whom he thought to use only so long as he should be useful. Three years later, in 1867, when the Reichstag of the North German Confederation was established, Bismarck insisted, in opposition not only to Conservative but also to Liberal politicians, that manhood suffrage should be its basis.*

Lassalle's Romantic End.

In May, 1864, Lassalle went on his last tour of agitation. He chose again the Rhine district, which had proved highly favorable soil for the seed of his propaganda. His progress was a continuous triumphal procession. Workmen greeted him with such enthusiastic jubilation that he wrote, "The impression made upon me was that such scenes must have attended the founding of new religions." But his speeches during this final campaign were not on the same high level of quality and power as those of the previous year. They are marked by a tendency to demagoguery, hitherto held under control, and a strain of egoistic self-praise. On May 22nd, at Ronsdorf, he gave his last address, the most sanguine and extravagant of all. He concluded with a dramatic appeal to his hearers not to let the great movement fall with him. Three months later, on August 31st, he died from the effects of a shot received in a duel.

*"Cambridge Modern History," Vol. XI, p. 459.

The strength and glamor of Lassalle's magnetic personality keep for him the first place in the gallery of German Socialist leaders. The intellectual contribution of Marx to the movement is undoubtedly greater than his. Indeed, Lassalle himself owed no small part of his economic theories and his insight into modern social and industrial conditions to the man who shares with him the veneration of millions of German workmen. But it was through Lassalle's overpowering will, titanic energy, and inspiring influence as a man of action that the thoughts of Marx became embodied in the aims of a great party. The profound intellectual and personal devotion of Marx to the cause of the masses has earned for him the deep reverence of the German Socialists. His writings are still conned by many of them as the Covenanters conned the Scriptures. He remains the philosophic father of German Socialism, although his authority weakens as the movement broadens. But while Marx is honored as a great thinker, Lassalle is adored as a great leader. His striking figure and meteoric career have made a deep impression upon the hearts and minds of the organized masses; his romantic, though foolish, end, his human failings, even his egoism, endear him to them. They have enshrined his memory in poetry and song, while it appears to be as impossible for them to be lyrical over Marx as it is to set "*Das Kapital*" to music.

Marx and the International.

At Lassalle's death the Universal Workmen's Association had a membership of between four and five thousand. The leadership of this small body passed into the hands of Bernhard Becker, who had been nominated by Lassalle as his successor. He was an incompetent and ineffectual person. Through his mismanagement the Association lost ground until, in 1867, he was replaced by Jean Baptista von Schweitzer, who had been largely responsible for the issue, in 1865, of the *Sozial Demokrat*, the first journal of the organization, the forerunner of the present multitude of German Socialist organs. The paper began with an able staff of contributors, including Marx, Frederick Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Georg Herwegh, but most of these severed their connection with it on the publication in its columns of a series of articles glorifying Prussia and Bismarck. Von Schweitzer, who had been intimately acquainted with Lassalle, was a man of considerable ability. He revived the Association, and remained at its head until 1871, when he retired. He was expelled the following year on a charge of treachery. By this time a rival body, the Social Democratic Workmen's Party, founded on Marxian principles, had arisen, which, after many storms and quarrels with the Association, amalgamated with it in 1875, and formed the existing German Social Democratic Party.

The Social Democratic Workmen's Party was the outcome of the International Working Men's Association, known as the "International," inaugurated in 1864 at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre, London. Karl Marx, an exile from Germany since 1849, when he was thirty-one years old, had taken a prominent part in the formation of

the International and soon became the most powerful influence in its counsels. At the first conference of the organization, held at Geneva in 1866, the statutes and program drawn up by Marx were adopted. The program, like that of Lassalle, was an adaptation of the Communist Manifesto of 1848. It called to the workers to unite internationally in order to become masters of their economic destiny through the conquest of political power. But Marx, unlike Lassalle, appeared to have had faith in the possibility of raising the condition of the workers even under a capitalist régime. This is expressed in his inaugural address to the International, where he speaks of the Ten Hours Act as being, "not merely a great practical result, but the victory of a principle. For the first time the political economy of the bourgeoisie has been in clear broad day put in subjection to the political economy of the working class." He further declared that the success of co-operation had spread the hope that wage labor was a transitory form, destined to be replaced by the associated labor of free men, and it was the aim of the International to promote this hope.

The Social Democratic Workmen's Party.

In Germany the ground had been prepared for the Marxist gospel. In 1863, very soon after the foundation of Lassalle's Universal Association, a number of workers' educational societies—in reality political bodies—combined into a league to support Schultze-Dehltzsch and oppose Lassalle. The headquarters of the league were at Leipzig, and one of the most important members was August Bebel, then working in that city. Wilhelm Liebknecht, an exile of 1848, who had lived in London for thirteen years, and become an ardent disciple of Marx, learned to know Bebel and helped to win him over to Socialism. In 1868 they succeeded in persuading the annual congress of the league to accept the main items of the program of the International. They received an accession of strength from a number of dissentients from the Universal Association who were dissatisfied with von Schweitzer's policy and rule. In 1869, at Eisenach, the league dissolved, and, after a vain attempt at union with the Universal Association, formed the Social Democratic Workmen's Party, which became known as the Eisenach, or "honorably," Party, and which declared itself, as far as the law allowed, affiliated to the International. Meanwhile both sections scored their first electoral victories by returning, in 1867, seven members to the North German Reichstag, of whom Bebel and Liebknecht and two others represented the Marxian section.

The Union of the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans.

Bitterness between the two groups increased owing to difference of attitude in the Reichstag towards the Franco-Prussian War. The Eisenachers, true to their international principles, voted against supplies for the German army; the representatives of the Universal Association, or Lassalleans as they were now called, more nationalist in spirit, took the opposite line. When France was defeated, Bebel

and Liebknecht urged that peace should be made on generous terms, and without annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. For this they were denounced as traitors, tried, and sent to prison for two years and nine months and two years respectively. The Lassalleans violently attacked the Eisenachers in the streets of Leipzig, thereby reflecting the general sense of outraged patriotism aroused by the conduct of Bebel and Liebknecht.

The tremendous wave of self-conscious national sentiment which followed the German triumph over France naturally swept back both currents of the Socialist movement. To the first Reichstag of the newly created German Empire only two Socialists were elected, of whom one was Bebel. But in a few years the patriotic tide had ebbed, and the working classes were suffering through the economic crisis that arose after the war. The discontent of the masses renewed the strength of the Socialists, who secured ten seats at the Reichstag elections of 1874, of which seven were held by Eisenachers. These successes roused the Government to repressive action, and it declared the organizations of both sections illegal. Attacked in this fashion, the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers drew together, and, as already related, they combined in 1875. The fusion took place at a Congress held at Gotha in May. The official figures of the membership of the two sections at the time of the unification, eleven years after Lassalle's death, appear tiny compared with the mighty host enrolled to-day under the banner he was the first to unfurl. The Lassalleans numbered 15,322, and the Eisenachers 9,121.*

Unity, as usual, was only obtained by compromise. Included in the program of the new combination was Lassalle's proposal for State-aided productive associations, but under democratic guarantees. This and other "unscientific" and crude demands and principles called forth strong opposition from Marx, who considered the program "utterly condemnable and demoralizing." He contended characteristically that common action was of far greater importance than a *common creed or program*; but if one were adopted, it should not be theoretically unsound and otherwise unsatisfactory. In other words, it should be Marxian or nothing. But the Eisenach leaders were wise enough and strong enough to disregard the advice of their imperious mentor. They replied that it was impossible for him to judge the situation aright from London, and that, although they had great respect for his opinion, they were unable to follow it in this instance. Further, in order to prevent Marx's communication from being used by either section as a means for preventing unity, they decided to treat it as confidential, and it was not laid before the Congress. Marx's inflexible temper was roused to fury at the rejection of his counsel, and he was exceedingly bitter towards Liebknecht, his special pupil. Later, however, he acknowledged he had been mistaken, and that Liebknecht, Bebel and the other Eisenachers had acted rightly in sacrificing orthodoxy to united action.

* The name taken by the unified party was Die Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei (The Socialist Workmen's Party). The title Social Democratic Party was adopted in 1890.

Although Marx objected so strongly to the compromise program, the spirit of his doctrine prevailed therein. On the other hand, Lassalle's organizing genius embodied in the Universal Association brought to the combined party the stern discipline and the knowledge of the importance of incessant agitation, well ordered finances and constant attention to detail which are to-day the outstanding features of the German Social Democratic Party.

The Period of Persecution.

The effect of the union of the two sections was soon apparent. In the Reichstag elections of 1877 the Socialist vote reached nearly half a million, an increase of 40 per cent. on that of 1874. This rapid growth naturally stimulated the reactionary forces to further repressive efforts. The civil law was stretched to the utmost in the attacks made by the Government upon the Socialist movement. The support given to the Government in its anti-Socialist campaign was not confined to the Conservative politicians. The Progressists, weak and pusillanimous as ever, were terrified at the spread of Socialist views, and fled in masses to the camp of reaction. The conduct of German Liberalism completely justified the Marxian principle of *Klassenkampf* (class struggle), and explains the weak position the Liberal parties have since occupied in the politics of the Empire. Among the measures used by the Government to dam back the "red flood" was the issuing of a letter to employers of labor advising them, for their own good, to employ no persons who were suspected of being Social Democrats. In 1876 the party was solemnly declared to be dissolved for offences against the Coalition Laws; but, as individual members could not be suppressed under the existing legal code, exceptional legislation was decided upon. The Government was assisted in its designs by two foolish attempts, made early in 1878, on the life of the Emperor. The perpetrators were obviously lunatics, but the opportunity was too good to be missed. Although there was not the slightest evidence that Socialists were concerned in these feeble outrages, the Government spread the report that the madmen were Social Democrats. Between the dates of the two attempts repressive proposals were laid before the Reichstag, but they were thrown out. A few days after the second attempt the Reichstag was dissolved, and the ensuing election resulted in a majority in favor of the Government's desires. The Social Democratic vote fell for the first time in the history of the party.

The Exceptional Law.

The Exceptional Law against Social Democracy passed in October, 1878, was of the most drastic character. It rendered illegal any association having Socialist aims. Any meeting which displayed Socialist tendencies was to be summarily disbanded, and those which indicated by their purpose that they were likely to promote such tendencies were forbidden. Collection of funds for Socialist purposes was prohibited. No meetings of any kind were allowed without the previous permission of the police, excepting election meetings for the

Reichstag and for the Diets of the various German States. Socialists could be forbidden residence in places where the police considered their influence to be dangerous. All literature or printed matter with Socialist tendencies was interdicted, and persons discovered circulating newspapers or documents of this nature could be deprived of the right to distribute any literature whatever, either by way of business or otherwise. Punishments for breaking the law ranged from fines of £25 or three months' imprisonment for minor offenders to long terms of imprisonment for leaders. The law was to run for three years but successive Parliaments prolonged it, with slight alterations, until October, 1890.

Owing to the enormous powers possessed by the German police, the Exceptional Law was in reality far more harsh than even its draconian provisions indicate. An executive, subject to hardly any checks, could and actually did use these powers to their fullest extent and with very little regard to precise details of legality. Knowing that the authorities were hoping that the Socialists would be driven to desperation, the Social Democratic leaders warned their followers against committing acts of violent resistance and to avoid unnecessary infringements of the law. The Socialist journals dropped their propagandist note, and became mere recorders of news and facts. But the police were not to be foiled. They judged the newspapers by their past, and suppressed all except two of the fifty which were then published. The minor state of siege was declared in Berlin, and sixty-seven prominent Socialists were banished from the city one month after the law had been promulgated. Similar steps were taken in other large towns, including Leipzig, Frankfort and Hamburg. All open agitation and organization was, of course, entirely suppressed, and the movement was driven underground, where, in spite of the keen watchfulness of the all-powerful police, propaganda was carried on quite effectually, chiefly by the means of cleverly arranged secret distribution of newspapers and other literature printed abroad and smuggled over the borders of the Empire. Persecution and imprisonment failed to intimidate the growing multitude of grimly earnest disciples of Lassalle and Marx; instead of daunting them, it spurred them on to greater activity and higher ingenuity in spreading their views.

Futile Sops to Cerberus.

Bismarck's openly confessed attempt to reconcile the working classes to the loss of the small amount of political freedom they had possessed by granting doles of social reform in the shape of measures of State Insurance was equally unsuccessful. It is true the Socialist vote in 1881 fell again, and more heavily than in 1878; but in 1884 and 1887 it grew with extraordinary rapidity, rising in the latter year to over three-quarters of a million. In 1890 it jumped up to nearly a million and a half. It was now evident that the law had been not only an iniquitous crime but a colossal blunder. Instead of destroying the Social Democrats, its blows had hammered and welded the political and industrial discontent of the masses into a solid and ten-

acious Socialist movement. The party had been tried as by fire, and had stood the test magnificently. During the twelve years of brutal coercion its members, including the chief leaders, had suffered in the aggregate 831 years imprisonment, not to mention fines, banishments and other forms of persecution. Yet the Socialist vote had more than trebled itself and the representation in the Reichstag had grown from nine to thirty-five. Still more important, there had been created in every industrial centre a nucleus of determined men who had proved by suffering their devotion to the Socialist cause and who were prepared to give the best of their tried capacities to its service. The experiment in Russianizing Germany had brought about the very conditions its authors had sought to prevent. When Bismarck was dismissed in 1890 by the present Kaiser the Exceptional Law went with him. An attempt was made in 1895 to revive it in a new form, but it was defeated in the Reichstag. Since that date no distinctively anti-Socialist legislation has been put forward by the Government, although Conservative politicians still clamor for strong measures against the "Red Peril."

Although the Socialist movement flourished in defiance of the Exceptional Law, it went through many internecine conflicts and encountered many internal difficulties which could not be fought out or overcome until the law had lapsed. The extreme elements demanded militant action, and when their agitation met with no response, the leaders, as is usual under such circumstances, were charged with cowardice and with being corrupted by futile and enervating parliamentarism. But after 1890, when annual congresses could again be held on German soil without police interference, frank discussion of the situation ended in a complete vindication of the old leaders Bebel, Liebknecht and Singer, and the final overthrow of their critics. In 1890 the organization of the party was reconstructed as far as the Coalition Laws would permit, that is to say, in a very restricted fashion. Then, in 1891, at Erfurt, the present program of the party, in which Marxian principles have swept the remnants of the Lassallean proposals for State-aided co-operation off the field, was drawn up and agreed upon.

The Erfurt Program.

But although the Erfurt Program is binding upon the party as a whole, and influences very largely its political policy, there is a wide divergence in the ranks with regard to the significance to be attached to its various parts. The orthodox section, who cling with passionate intensity to the Marxian prelude as though it were an inspired document which should determine the actions of the party for ever, have constantly to meet the criticisms of another section, heterodox and opportunist, who, while recognizing to the full the greatness of Marx, are not prepared to allow the dead hand of a fallible philosopher to guide them in new and unforeseen circumstances. This section is known as the Revisionists, while the strict Marxists are called Radicals. The two groups have always existed in the party, and they are the products of differing social, industrial, and

political conditions. In Prussia, the home of unbending, autocratic, and able bureaucracy, the Radical section naturally flourishes, for there the *Klassenkampf* theory appears to be absolutely in accord with facts. Contempt for democracy is the prevailing element in the stifling, police ridden atmosphere. The masses are shown on every possible occasion how little the governing class cares for their opinions or respects their wishes. Reforms, social or otherwise, when granted are given in the shape which pleases the authorities and are administered in a manner which arouses keen resentment among thoughtful, self-respecting people. Hence any suggestion of enlarging the power of the present bureaucratic State, even for useful purposes, is looked upon with distrust and suspicion by the Socialists of Prussia as likely to lead to further unwarrantable limitations of personal liberty. The lamentable history of North German Liberalism has also helped to strengthen the hard, uncompromising spirit of the Radical section, and has prevented any successful working agreement between Socialists and Liberals for securing popular control of the Government.

The Revisionists and the Radicals.

Revisionism has its home in South Germany, where industry is less developed and political and social life is far more free and democratic. Georg von Vollmar, the leader of the Bavarian Social Democrats, has always declined to accept the dogma of the inevitable concentration of the ownership of capital and land in fewer and fewer hands, especially with regard to the latter. Furthermore, he has maintained that the party should drop its irreconcilable attitude and endeavor to win immediate reforms, contending that by doing so it would win support from the agricultural population of small proprietors, who naturally find nothing attractive in the Marxian view that they must first be ruined before they can be helped.

The Revisionist School received a great impetus when, in 1899, Eduard Bernstein published "*Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*,"* in which he criticized Marxian economics and philosophy, and denied that Socialism was dependent upon economic necessity, or that it was necessary to found it solely on materialism. He pointed out that the German Social Democratic Party had grown great through acting in opposition to the theoretical basis of its program, and urged that it should openly declare itself to be what it really is, a democratic socialistic reform party. It is interesting to note in passing that just as "*Das Kapital*" was the result of Marx's studies in England, so the intellectual basis of Revisionism was formulated by Bernstein during his stay in this country when banished from Germany on account of his Socialist activities.

Although the struggle between the Revisionist and Radical wings of the party is still undecided, there can be no doubt that the influence of the former has gained ground in recent years. This is

* Translated and published by the Independent Labor Party under the title of "Evolutionary Socialism."

shewn in the greater emphasis now laid upon the practical side of the Erfurt Program and the tacit abandonment of the idea that nothing short of the Social Revolution can prevent "the increase of the insecurity of the existence of the proletariat, small masters and peasants, and the intensification of misery, oppression, slavery, humiliation, and exploitation" under capitalism. The contradiction between the theoretical argument of the program, which propounds the fatalistic view that the present social order offers no hope of improvement for the masses, and the demands which follow for immediate political and social betterment provides ample justification for the position of the Revisionists. The logic of circumstances and the illogicalness of the strict Marxists are factors on their side. Trade Unionism, formerly held to be useless in face of the iron law of wages, has refused to accept the validity of the law, and has grown so tremendously that the party has been compelled to admit the need for and efficacy of industrial combination, and gradually to concede it equal importance with political organization. Fortunately this attitude was adopted in time; otherwise antagonism would most probably have arisen between the two movements. With a wise indifference to consistency, the party has encouraged the formation of fighting Trade Unions, the *Freie Gewerkschaften*. Most of the leaders of these bodies are well known Social Democrats, chiefly of the Revisionist school. There is a close connection between these so-called Social Democratic Unions, which now have a membership of close upon two and a half millions, and the party itself; and frequent consultations take place between the heads of the two organizations, although the unions are not allowed by law to take part in politics. Further, the growth of co-operation has been aided by the party, and the great bulk of the members of distributive societies are now Social Democratic in opinion.

Compromise and Compacts.

In the political sphere the Social Democrats began to practise very early in their history the art of compromise, which is decidedly out of keeping with their revolutionary phraseology. It had been decided at the Congress held in 1887 at St. Gall, during the period of the Exceptional Law, that Social Democrats should vote for no Reichstag candidates except those run by the party. But in 1890 the party leaders issued instructions in connection with the elections of that year, that, in the absence of Social Democrats, candidates of parties pledged to oppose the renewal of the Exceptional Law were to be supported. This advice was bitterly attacked by the ultra-revolutionary elements, the "*Jungen*," who soon after 1890 split off, developed Anarchistic tendencies, and died of them. Since then the party has voted in second ballots for various other parties. For instance, in 1907 it supported its most able and bitter opponent, the Centre (or Catholic) Party, because for the moment, and for the moment only, the Centre had gone into opposition. In the election of 1912 it threw its weight on the side of Liberalism, and the Executive Committee even went so far as to instruct its members in six-

teen constituencies, where there were second ballots between Social Democrats and *Freisinnige* (Liberals), not to be too enthusiastic in support of their own candidates, and to let the *Freisinnige* win, thereby securing Liberal aid in thirty-one other constituencies for Social Democrats who were fighting Conservatives or Catholics. Naturally this daring order, although successful, in that it probably gained seats for the party, caused considerable resentment among the Radical section, but it was endorsed afterwards at the party congress.

In Bavaria have occurred still greater departures from rigid adherence to the principle that all "bourgeois" parties being capitalist in origin must be equally opposed. There being no second ballots for the State Parliament, the Bavarian Social Democrats, in 1912, made a compact with the Liberals for a division of the constituencies, and agreed that there were to be no opposing candidatures, but mutual support. This glaringly opportunist alliance excited only a few murmurs of reproach from the stern cohorts of North Germany. On the other hand, the recent action of the Social Democrats in the Parliaments of South Germany in voting for the State budgets has been condemned by the party congress; but, nevertheless, the offenders have openly stated that in this question they intend to be guided by their own State organizations rather than by the congress.

Other Aspects of Revisionism.

Another change has taken place in the party which may be considered to be of a Revisionist character, namely, in its attitude towards nationalism. It is no longer the general opinion that under the present capitalist system it is a matter of indifference to the workers whether their capitalist masters and rulers are German, Russian, or English. Even Bebel has declared that he is prepared to fight for his Fatherland in a defensive war, and the party congress of 1907 refused to censure another Socialist member of the Reichstag for an even more militant patriotic declaration. Here the spirit of Lassalle has conquered Marx. While still distinguished for its efforts to maintain peace and goodwill among the nations and its opposition to militarism and the demand for a larger German navy, the party has become, if not less international, less cosmopolitan in its outlook, especially during the last decade.

The stress now laid by the party on immediate reforms is nowhere so pronounced as in the domain of local government. There are over 10,000 Socialist members of town and village councils acting, not merely as propagandists, but as administrators with a practical program of municipal Socialism. To their efforts are due, as their opponents sometimes admit, much of the rapid extension of municipal activity and the remarkable improvements which have taken place in the big cities of the empire. Here the Social Democrats have found a valuable and almost inexhaustible field for their energies, and one which is increasingly engaging their attention. A special organ, *Kommunale Praxis*, is published by the party to

educate and inform its members on subjects appertaining to municipal and other forms of local government.

The Strength of the Party.

The conflicts of various currents and differing opinions as to policy and tactics within the party, leading often to fierce literary and vocal battles, have not prevented the rapid continuous increase either of the Social Democratic vote or of the Socialist organization. Industrialism, in its swift advance during the last fifteen years, has drawn huge numbers of workers from the rural regions to urban areas, converting small quiet centres into large and important manufacturing cities. Free from the tyranny of the Prussian Junker, the despot of the countryside in North Germany, the mass of this new population quickly comes under the influence of the ceaseless agitation of the Socialists, who claim support for the party as the only one that demands for the people those political rights which in England are either the achievements or the program of ordinary Liberalism. No other party can be relied upon to defend the workers' industrial organizations from attack or to advocate further extensions of the right of combination. Moreover, all other political groups stand more or less for a continuance of the present policy of Protection, which has brought about a big increase in the cost of living. The disunited remnant of German Liberalism, which at one time aspired to be the voice of democracy, suffers from a chronic inclination to bolt to the enemy at the slightest encouragement or patronizing attention from the Kaiser's ministers. Hence the workmen and even middle-class democrats have come to look upon the Social Democratic Party as the only faithful champion of their interests and aspirations.

Since the expiration of the Exceptional Law in 1890 the party has gained nearly three million votes, securing four and a quarter millions in January, 1912, over one-third of the total number cast. The Social Democratic Party in the Reichstag has grown in the same period from 35 to 110, and is now the largest group in that chamber, which has a membership of 397. The organization has developed even more remarkably. In 1875, when the party was formed by the fusion of the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers, it had, as we have seen, barely 25,000 members; in 1912 it could boast of a membership roll of 970,112, of which 130,371 were women, though they were only in 1906 permitted by law to belong to it. In 1890 the income of the Executive Committee was about £5,000; in 1912 it had risen to close upon £100,000. These figures do not, of course, include the incomes of the local organizations existing in nearly every constituency, which together make up a far larger sum. These local organizations are of tremendous strength in the large cities and other thickly populated areas. In six mammoth constituencies there are organizations each with over 20,000 paying members namely, Hamburg III., 42,532; Teltow (near Berlin), 32,885; Leipzig-Land, 32,219; Berlin VI., 31,408; Berlin IV., 25,267

Nuremberg, 20,118.* The yearly incomes of these several bodies, made up chiefly of monthly subscriptions of about fourpence per member, each attain the respectable sums of five to seven thousand pounds. These financial statistics are all the more noteworthy when it is remembered that the money is given entirely for political purposes and, in most cases, in addition to contributions paid to trade unions.

The Social Democratic Press.

The party possesses 91 newspapers and journals, of which 86 appear daily. All but eight are printed in establishments owned by the party. The total circulation of the Social Democratic press in 1912 was about one and a half million. The income derived from sales and advertisements amounted in the same year to nearly £800,000. The central organ, *Vorwärts*, published in Berlin, has a daily circulation of 170,000, costs about £98,000 per annum to produce, and yielded a net profit to the party of £15,000 in 1912. The humorous, illustrated party journal, *Der Wahre Jacob*, has a circulation of close upon 400,000, costs about £14,000 per annum to produce, and earned a profit of £2,500 in 1912. *Die Gleichheit*, the women's journal, has a sale of 107,000, costs £3,500 to print and publish, and made a profit of £500 in 1912. The more or less academic weekly review, *Die Neue Zeit*, circulates to the extent of 10,000, costs £3,000 per annum, and, unlike most party reviews has a balance to the good amounting in 1912 to £160.

In addition to the party newspapers and journals, of which one appears daily in every large German town, the numerous local party presses issue countless books, pamphlets and leaflets, especially during election times. For the electoral agitation of 1912 it is estimated that eighty million copies of Socialist leaflets were printed and distributed. In the same year the central press at Berlin alone issued seventy different publications, ranging from complete editions of Schiller and Heine and other books to tracts and leaflets of a few pages, amounting in all to 2½ million copies.† The turnover of this department reached £40,000 in 1912, with a profit of £2,500.

Organization and its Results.

Since 1905, when the Coalition Laws were amended to allow greater freedom of political combination, the organization of the party has been placed upon a firm foundation. The basis is the local organizations in the Reichstag constituencies. These are linked up into twenty-nine district federations, and the district federations into

* The Reichstag constituencies are all single member divisions, and they vary tremendously in size, from Teitow, with 338,798 electors, to Bückeberg, with 10,709. The Government refuses to redistribute the seats because it fears this would lead to a large increase in the Social Democratic representation.

† As an instance of Social Democratic publishing enterprise it may be mentioned that the *Partei Vorstand* commissioned Herr M. Beer, until recently London correspondent of the *Vorwärts*, to write an exhaustive history of British Socialism, which was issued in one large volume in January, 1913, under the title of "*Geschichte des Sozialismus in England*."

State organizations in the various States of the Empire. The chief authority is the annual Congress, which consists of delegates from the local organizations, the number from each depending upon the size of membership, together with the Social Democratic members of the Reichstag and the members of the Executive Committee. The Congress elects annually the Executive Committee, which consists of the *Partei Vorstand* (comprising a chairman, vice-chairman, a treasurer, six secretaries, one of whom must be a woman, and two assistants) and the *Kontroll Commission*, or Committee of Control, consisting of nine members. The *Vorstand* are mainly paid officials; nearly all of them devote their whole time to party business. They are responsible for the heavy detail work of the party, and have a large clerical staff at their disposal. In order to assist the Executive in arriving at decisions on political policy and other important matters a Council, consisting of representatives from the executive committees of the various district federations, was instituted in 1912. This was done, it was said, "to check the growing bureaucratic tendencies" of the *Partei Vorstand*. There are now forty-nine paid secretaries of district and state federations and eighty-four paid secretaries of local organizations.

There is no doubt as to the efficiency of this ably officialized organization. The rank and file members are not allowed to remain mere passive payers of subscriptions. They are expected to be active in the distribution of literature, in making converts by constant argument and discussion among their workmates, and in sharing the heavy toil of electioneering and the organizing of meetings and demonstrations. In the big industrial regions at election times the Social Democratic battalions work like a machine. Hence in Berlin and Greater Berlin, with its eight Reichstag divisions, there is now only one which has not gone "red," and that, the West End division, in which are situated the Kaiser's palace and the houses of the wealthy, was only saved to the Liberals in 1912 by nine votes on a poll of over 11,000. In the seven other constituencies at the same election the Social Democratic vote was 559,678 out of a total of 805,730, or nearly 70 per cent. In the purely working class divisions of these seven the proportion reached 80 per cent. Results almost equally startling were obtained in other big centres of population, including Munich, Hamburg, Leipzig, Dresden, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Cologne, Hanover, Frankfurt, Königsberg, Strassburg, Breslau, and the like. With few exceptions every large German city throughout the empire has now a Social Democrat representing it in the Imperial Parliament.

Socialism and Philosophy, Science and Art.

The political sphere, however, is not the only one to which the party devotes time, energy, and money. "We German Socialists," says Engels, "are proud of our descent not only from Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, but also from Kant, Fichte, and Hegel. The German Labor movement is the heir of German classical philosophy." Lassalle claimed that he wrote every line armed with the

entire culture of his century. These proud boasts have doubtless helped to inspire the Social Democrats to become the bearers of art, philosophy, and science to the masses. One of the most active branches of the organization are the education committees, which have been established in 317 localities. Of these the greater number are formed in conjunction with the trade unions. There is also a central education committee, whose duty is to promote and assist the local committees. The expenditure of these bodies amounted to more than £32,000 in 1912. They arranged about 2,000 lectures on economics, history, literature, art, socialism, philosophy, co-operation, trade unionism, political science, and technical subjects; and innumerable concerts, entertainments, and dramatic and operatic performances. These are, of course, in addition to the ordinary propaganda and election meetings, of which about 30,000 were held. The musical and dramatic performances are carried out on a large scale. Theatres, with complete companies of actors, actresses and orchestras, are engaged to perform plays of Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller, as well as modern dramas of a propagandist type. The Education Committee of Hamburg reports successful renderings of Beethoven's symphonies to large audiences of working men, and the Cologne Education Committee found that Bach can secure good attendances from working class members of the party. The cinematograph has also been brought into the service of Socialist instruction.

One of the most interesting institutions connected with the educational work of the party is the Socialist School or College at Berlin. Here every year 31 selected men and women of various ages are given instruction in general, social, and constitutional history; political economy; history and theory of Socialism; social and industrial law; the art of speaking and writing; journalism; and other subjects. Each scholar is allowed a full maintenance grant during the school period. By this means a steady supply of trained agitators and officials is provided for the party. The cost of the School is £2,000 per annum, of which £1,000 is spent in maintenance grants.

Socialist Women and Young People.

A special department, the Women's Bureau, deals with the work of the 130,000 women of the party. One day a year, May 12th, the Social Democratic Women's Day, is specially devoted to demonstrations and meetings to demand the extension of the suffrage to women. Special pamphlets, leaflets, and other publications are prepared for the agitation among women, and a special women's conference is held just before the annual congress of the party. A valuable social service is carried on largely by the women of the movement through the medium of Committees for the Protection of Children. These purely voluntary bodies are established in 125 localities. They seek to prevent breaches of the various laws to protect children, especially those connected with child wage earners; and they are said to be more effective than the State factory inspectors.

Although young persons are forbidden by law to belong to the Social Democratic organization, steps are taken by the party to provide means for keeping them in touch with Socialist ideas. Committees for this purpose exist in 574 localities, through which a special journal, *Arbeiter Jugend*, is sold to the number of over 80,000 copies. Libraries for young persons are also provided in 138 districts. The committees, in 1912, held 3,500 lectures and 1,623 concerts and entertainments, and organized 384 visits to museums and picture galleries and the like, and 4,682 walking and other excursions. In these various functions many tens of thousands of young people took part. The Central Bureau, which directs these activities, issues special literature for the young. In 1912 about 650,000 copies of various books, pamphlets and leaflets of this nature were published. The local committees have powerful enemies in the various organizations established by religious and other societies to protect youths and girls between fourteen and eighteen years of age from Socialist infection; but, in spite of all opposition, the recruiting to the army of the "Reds" grows at a pace that strikes terror to the hearts of the anti-Socialists, who, in their panic-stricken attacks upon the Social Democrats, descend to the lowest depths of misrepresentation and vituperation.

The Party and the Trade Unions.

It will be readily understood that the manifold operations of the Social Democratic organization require in every city quarters of no inconsiderable magnitude. In most large German towns, and in some of the smaller ones, the Socialists and trade unionists have joined hands and built splendidly equipped offices and meeting-places for the two movements. These *Gewerkschaftshäuser* or *Volkshäuser*, as they are called, are notable features of Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Chemnitz and other big centres. In their erection many thousands of pounds, subscribed by the organized workers, have been invested. The *Volkshaus* usually contains the offices of most of the trade unions and other labor organizations of the city, halls for large meetings, a restaurant, recreation and reading rooms, and sometimes lodging rooms and baths for trade unionists travelling in search of work. In Berlin the Social Democratic activities are so numerous and extensive that a separate establishment has always been required for them. In 1911 the *Partei Vorstand* acquired, at a cost of £225,000, four large blocks of buildings in Lindenstrasse, one of the main thoroughfares of the capital. Here in due course will be housed all the central agencies of the party: the executive committee, the central committees of the education, women's and young persons' departments, the party school, the archives, the *Vorwärts's* printing and publishing works, and the book store. These new headquarters will be worthy of the mighty and marvellously organized movement to which they belong. It is interesting to note that, by a curious stroke of irony, among the present tenants of the buildings now paying rent to the hated Social Democrats are two strongly Conservative newspapers.

Equipment for Conquest.

The secret of the extraordinary achievements of the German Socialists lies in their remarkable combination of idealism and practicality. Though their heads are sometimes among the stars, their feet are always on the solid earth; though many of them still believe in the early Marxian myth of a final collapse of capitalism from which Socialism will rise in full splendor, they never use the plea "that nothing but Socialism is of any use" in order to shirk the task of grappling with immediate problems. So multifarious are the ways in which they are equipping themselves for the conquest of political power, and so intent are they on the making of their organization equal to the great mission which Lassalle declared destiny had laid upon the working classes, that to many thousands, as to Eduard Bernstein, "the movement is everything, the ultimate aim is nothing." The movement is a constant, many-sided struggle for political, economic and social emancipation in which, more and more, experience is replacing abstract theory as a guide. And the training and discipline induced by the ceaseless battling of the movement with opponents and obstacles of all kinds is producing a self-respecting, self-confident and purposeful democracy which, when it does attain political power, will have learned to use it soberly and with judgment in the tremendous task of changing the German Empire into the German Co-operative Commonwealth.

PROGRAM OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GERMANY.
(ADOPTED AT THE ERFURT CONGRESS, 1891)

From "German Social Democracy," by Bertrand Russell, and "Modern Socialism,"
by R C K Ensor

The economic development of bourgeois society leads necessarily to the disappearance of production on a small scale (*Kleinbetrieb*), the principle of which consists in the workers owning the means of production. This economic development separates the worker from his means of production, and transforms him into an unpropertied proletarian, while the means of production become the property of a comparatively small number of capitalists and great landlords.

Hand in hand with the monopolizing of the means of production goes the supplanting of scattered small businesses by colossal businesses, the development of the tool into the machine, and a gigantic growth of the productivity of human labor. But all the advantages of this change are monopolized by the capitalists and great landlords. For the proletariat and the declining intermediate classes—small masters, peasants—it betokens growing increase of the insecurity of their existence, of misery, oppression, slavery, humiliation, and exploitation.

Ever greater grows the number of the proletariat, ever more extensive the army of surplus workers, ever sharper the contrast between exploiters and exploited, and ever bitterer the class warfare between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which divides modern society into two hostile camps, and is the common characteristic of all industrial countries.

The gulf between propertied and unpropertied is further widened through the crises, rooted in the essence of the capitalistic method of production, which constantly become more far-reaching and more devastating, which make general insecurity into the normal condition of society, and furnish the proof that the productive powers of modern society have outgrown its control, that private property in the means of production is irreconcilable with the due application and full development of those powers.

Private property in the means of production, which was formerly the means of securing to the producer the possession of his own product, has to-day become the means of expropriating peasants, handicraftsmen, and small producers, and of putting the non-workers, capitalists, and great landlords in possession of the product of the workers. Only the conversion of capitalistic private property in the means of production—land, quarries, and mines, raw material, tools, machines, means of communication—into common property, and the change of the production of goods into a Socialistic production, worked for and through society, can bring it about that production on a large scale, and the ever growing productiveness of human labor, shall develop, for the hitherto exploited classes, from a source of misery and oppression, into a source of the highest well being and perfect universal harmony.

This social change betokens the emancipation, not only of the proletariat, but of the whole human race, which is suffering under the present conditions. But it can only be the work of the working classes, because all other classes, in spite of conflicts of interests among themselves, take their stand on the ground of private property in the means of production, and have, for their common aim, the maintenance of the foundations of existing society.

The struggle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is of necessity a political struggle. The working class cannot carry on its economic contests, and cannot develop its economic organization, without political rights. It cannot bring about the transference of the means of production into the possession of the community without acquiring political power.

To give to this fight of the working class a conscious and unified form, and to show it its necessary goal—that is the task of the Social Democratic Party.

The interests of the working classes are the same in all countries with a capitalistic mode of production. With the extension of the world's commerce, and of production for the world market, the position of the worker in every country grows ever more dependent on the position of the worker in other countries. The liberation of the working class, accordingly, is a work in which the workmen of all civilized countries are equally involved. In recognition of this, the Social Democratic Party of Germany feels and declares itself to be one with the class conscious workmen of all other countries.

The Social Democratic Party of Germany does not fight, accordingly, for new class privileges and class rights, but for the abolition of class rule and of classes themselves, for equal rights and equal duties of all, without distinction of sex or descent. Starting from these views, it combats, within existing society, not only the exploitation and oppression of wage earners, but every kind of exploitation and oppression, whether directed against a class, a party, a sex, or a race.

Proceeding from these principles, the Social Democratic Party of Germany demands, to begin with :

1. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage, with secret ballot, for all elections, of all citizens of the Empire over twenty years of age, without distinction of sex. Proportional representation and, until this is introduced, legal redistribution of electoral districts after every census. Biennial legislative periods. Holding of the elections on a legal holiday. Compensation for the elected representatives. Abolition of every limitation of political rights, except in the case of legal incapacity.

2. Direct legislation through the people, by means of the rights of proposal and rejection. Self-determination and self-government of the people in realm, state, province, and parish. Election of magistrates by the people, with responsibility to the people. Annual voting of taxes.

3. Education of all to bear arms. Militia in the place of the standing army. Decision by the popular representatives on questions of war and peace. Settlement of all international disputes by arbitration.

4. Abolition of all laws which limit or suppress the right of meeting and association.

5. Abolition of all laws which place women, whether in a public or a private capacity, at a disadvantage as compared with men.

6. Declaration that religion is a private matter. Abolition of all expenditure of public funds upon ecclesiastical and religious objects. Ecclesiastical and religious bodies are to be regarded as private associations, which regulate their affairs entirely independently.

7. Secularization of schools. Compulsory attendance at the public national schools. Free education, free supply of educational materials, and free maintenance in the public schools, as well as in the higher educational institutions, for those boys and girls who, on account of their capacities, are considered fit for further education.

8. Free administration of justice and free legal assistance. Administration of the law through judges elected by the people. Appeal in criminal cases. Compensation of persons unjustly accused, imprisoned, or condemned. Abolition of capital punishment.

9. Free medical attendance, including midwifery, and free supply of medicines. Free burial.

10. Graduated income and property tax for defraying all public expenses, so far as these are to be covered by taxation. Obligatory self-assessment. Succession duties, graduated according to the amount of the inheritance and the degree of relationship. Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other economic measures, which sacrifice the interests of the community to those of a privileged minority.

For the protection of the working classes, the Social Democratic Party of Germany demands immediately :

1. An effective national and international legislation for the protection of labor on the following principles :—

(a) Fixing of a normal working day, which shall not exceed eight hours.

(b) Prohibition of the employment of children under fourteen.

(c) Prohibition of night work, except in those industries which, by their nature, require night work, from technical reasons or for the public welfare.

(d) An unbroken rest of at least thirty-six hours in every week for every worker.

(e) Prohibition of the truck system.

2. Inspection of all industrial establishments, investigation and regulation of conditions of labor in town and country by a central labor department, district labor bureaus, and chambers of labor.

3. Legal equality of agricultural laborers and domestic servants with industrial workers. Abolition of the special regulations concerning servants.

4. Assurance of the right of combination.

5. Taking over by the Imperial Government of the whole system of working people's insurance, though giving the working people a controlling share in the administration.

6. Separation of the Churches and the State.

(a) Suppression of the grant for public worship.

(b) Philosophic or religious associations to be civil persons at law.

7. Revision of selections in the Civil Code concerning marriage and the paternal authority.

(a) Civil equality of the sexes, and of children, whether natural or legitimate.

(b) Revision of the divorce laws, maintaining the husband's liability to support the wife or the children.

(c) Inquiry into paternity to be legalized.

(d) Protective measures in favor of children maternally or morally abandoned.

GROWTH OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC VOTE IN GERMANY.

Year.	Social Democratic vote (First Ballot)	Percentage of total vote.	Social Democrats Returned.
1871	124,655	3	2
1874	351,952	6.8	10
1877	493,288	9.1	13
1878	437,158	7.6	9
1881	311,961	6.1	13
1884	549,990	9.7	24
1887	763,128	10.1	11
1890	1,427,298	19.7	35
1893	1,786,738	23.2	44
1898	2,107,076	27.2	56
1903	3,010,771	31.7	81
1907	3,259,020	28.9	43
1912	4,250,329	34.8	110

The Reichstag is composed of 397 members. If the Social Democrats were represented in proportion to their vote of 1912 they would have 138 members.

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**PROFIT-SHARING AND
CO-PARTNERSHIP: A
FRAUD & A FAILURE?**

By EDWARD R. PEASE.

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PROFIT-SHARING AND CO-PARTNERSHIP : A FRAUD AND A FAILURE ?

THE capitalist employer as a factor in the machinery of production is a comparatively modern phenomenon. The English landlord is as old as England: the princely merchant venturer appeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but he was a buyer and seller of goods and not in the main an employer of labor. It was only about a century ago that the capitalist manufacturer, the wealthy owner of huge works employing thousands of "hands," began to emerge, with the steam engine which was the author of his being.

And the curious thing is that no sooner had he made his appearance than the best of our social thinkers set themselves to discover how he could be eliminated. Nobody really welcomed him: nobody wholly admired him: whilst the thinkers and dreamers began to devise schemes for getting rid of him altogether.

Robert Owen, himself one of the foremost of the cotton-capitalists, spent his later years in planning, crudely and vaguely, his ideal communities at New Harmony, Queenwood, and elsewhere, whose basic principle was the production of wealth without the intervention of the employer—organized communities which should own their capital in common, and where the profit on the capital employed would go to those who did the work.

Co-operative Associations of Producers.

After him, in England, came the Christian Socialists, Maurice, Kingsley and Ludlow, whose ideal was a sort of peaceful Syndicalism, a society composed of co-operative producers, groups of men living the individual life of citizens but all possessing shares in the machines they worked, whereby the interests of capital and labor would be completely harmonized, because the laborer would always be a capitalist and the capitalist a laborer. All these projects were plans for eliminating the capitalist and distributing his profits, obviously vastly in excess of the value of his services to society, amongst the workers, who again were as obviously underpaid for their all-important share in the process of production. Owen and the Christian Socialists were at any rate whole-hearted in their plans for the reform of the system of distribution; their intentions were excellent; they failed because they did not recognize that the capitalist director of industry performs a necessary function—labor by itself is in practice insufficiently supplied with capital and is inexpert in the art of management. Co-operative productive societies had the advantage of magnificent advertisement, but this did not compensate for inadequate capital and a form of organization extremely difficult to manage. The employer, driven by the competition of his rivals, must make profits his

first concern. He can dismiss inefficient workmen ; put his men on short time or order wholesale discharges when business is slack, and, subject to the risks of a strike, reduce wages when profits decline. For the manager of a co-operative production concern (and *à fortiori*, of any Communistic community), who is the servant of the men he superintends, such drastic measures, at times vital for commercial salvation, are well-nigh impossible.

Hence co-operative production, organized on the basis of an association of producers, is a feeble plant, and half a century of active propaganda leaves it as incapable as ever to cope with the other forms of industrial enterprise.

The Advent of Profit-Sharing.

Realizing this difficulty, a new idea presented itself to certain well-meaning capitalists, who recognized the social defencelessness of their position and sought some way of salvation which should not lead to commercial destruction.

Let the capitalist keep his control and provide the capital as of old ; but let him share out a part of his surplus profits, voluntarily, as an act of grace, amongst the workpeople who create his wealth. Here surely is a solution to the age-long antagonism of labor and capital. Let one side contribute capital and organizing ability and in return receive interest at a reasonable rate, and an agreed sum as wages of management ; let the other get their weekly wage for their work as of old ; when times are reasonably prosperous there will still be a balance left, which can be divided, on terms to be arranged, between owners and workers. All will then be partakers in the profits of industry ; industrial warfare will be replaced by industrial peace ; and the paternal employer surrounded by his contented and loyal workpeople will reproduce in the industrial world the happy picture of the kindly landlord and devoted tenantry which existed or was supposed to exist throughout Merrie England in the good days of old.

Profit-Sharing Good for Employers.

But the introduction of this millennium had to be set about in a different manner from that appropriate to co-operative undertakings. Owen and Maurice had to convert the working classes ; the re-organisation of society was to grow up from below. Well-intentioned friends might help, but the workers themselves were to act. In profit-sharing, on the other hand, the employer takes the lead ; it rests with him to formulate the scheme ; the profits are his, and he alone can consent to share them. Therefore the appeal must be attuned to his ears, and the trap baited with lures which will attract his appetite. Hence we find that the promoters of profit-sharing make haste to explain that the capitalist employer has everything to gain and nothing whatever to lose by the new panacea. He is to share out his profits amongst his men, no doubt, but all the bread he casts upon the waters of labor will come back to him forthwith bearing abundant increase.

"It is related that when John Marshall of Leeds was showing Robert Owen over his mills he remarked, 'If my people were to be careful and avoid waste they might save me £4,000 a year.' Owen replied, 'Well, why don't you give them £2,000 to do it? and then you would be richer by £2,000 a year.'"^{*} That is the key-note. Share the profits with the men, but see that they themselves produce extra profits which will more than cover their "shares."

The picture drawn in all innocence by the advocates of profit-sharing is in truth most alluring to the intelligent capitalist. By a neat re-arrangement he is to get :—

1. Additional profits on his capital, since only a *part* of the savings of extra zeal and care is to be returned as dividend on wages to the workpeople.
2. His hands are to be loyal, contented, diligent, trustworthy and better paid, and this last, according to modern economics, is in itself a source of profit. Good pay means good work.
3. The trade union agitator is to be kept outside the door: no strikes, no organized demands for shorter hours, better wages, improved working rules. All chance that his men will go out on a sympathetic strike, a catastrophe the good employer justly fears and excusably resents, is averted. No labor unrest will disturb his oasis of industrial peace.
4. A saving of supervision, and reduction of all those worries incidental to bad work, waste of material, and industrial inefficiency. The employer is often an artist in production; quite apart from mere profits, he prefers to see his work done properly; waste annoys him for its own sake; complaints from customers of bad work touch his sense of honor as well as his pocket. All these will be averted when every workman is a foreman to his fellows, each interested in saving material, in devising little plans for doing things better and cheaper, and each on the look out that no one of the scores or hundreds of co-partners wastes the time for which he is paid and so diminishes the margin of profit in which all alike are to share.

All these advantages will yield the profit-sharing enterprise profits substantially in excess of what otherwise would have been earned. Part only need be ceded to the workers; the other part falls to the employer as the reward of his enlightened self-interest.

Surely here is a project for making the best of both worlds! Let us now consider its history.

Statistics.

"Co-partnership in Industry," by Charles Carpenter, Chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company,† gives a chronological list of "over two hundred notices of attempts in the direction of improved relations between capitalist and laborer. . . . Most of the schemes

^{*} D. F. Schloss, "Methods of Industrial Remuneration," 3rd edn., 1898, p. 255 n.

† Co-partnership Publishers, 79 Southampton Row, London. 1912. 6d net.

have come to an end. In some cases the business has ceased to exist or has [changed hands]. Sometimes the scheme has failed because the workmen failed to see its possibilities . . . the great majority of failures are in connection with cash bonus schemes. . . ." The prefatory note adds more about the failures and their causes which we have not space to quote, but adds not a word about the successes!

The first recorded scheme dates from 1829. Three were started in 1831-2, two in the fifties, one in 1864, sixteen in 1865-7, and then any number up to half a dozen yearly till 1889, when the active propaganda of Professor Sedley Taylor and the industrial unrest of the dock strike period brought the yearly total to twenty or more. By 1893 the boom was exhausted, and only three cases are recorded, and the good trade years 1905 and 1906 yield not a single case. Since then the movement has been looking up, though the crop of 1911 is no more than five.* If we take the Board of Trade 1912 List for the period 1865-1896, that is from the beginning (omitting an Irish scheme started in 1829) up to 15 years ago, 177 schemes have been started, of which 134 have come to an end, whilst 43 remain in operation, and the fate of 2 is unknown. In the four years 1889-1892, when profit-sharing had a boom, 87 schemes were started, of which 66 have stopped, 2 cannot be traced, and only 19 are known to exist still. The average duration of the 76 schemes formed between 1867 and 1890 inclusive which have ceased and of which precise particulars are known was about 9 years and 9 months.

What is the explanation of this slow progress constantly dogged by failure? Why does this attractive scheme, apparently beneficial to all concerned, end so constantly in disappointment? Where is the flaw in the reasoning? How is it that ardent advocacy of benevolent enthusiasts such as Sedley Taylor, the blessings of the economists—the professorial exponents of the science seem nearly all to regard profit sharing with approval†—and the active propaganda of the Labor Co-partnership Association, whose annual meeting of 1908 for example was addressed by the Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Christopher (later Lord) Furness, and Professor A. C. Pigou, all come to so little?

What is Profit?

In order to answer this riddle we must more closely examine exactly what is meant by profit-sharing. In the first place, what is profit? The answer to this is, in effect, under the modern industrial system, whatever you please. The return on capital embarked in industry is quite properly divided into two parts, the first called interest, say three to four per cent., the rate which the investor can obtain from safe securities, and which is therefore the minimum he

* Since this was printed the Board of Trade Report on Profit-sharing and Labor Co-partnership (Cd. 6496, 1912) has been published, which gives a list of 133 schemes in operation, 164 abandoned schemes, and 3 doubtfuls. The list includes nearly 100 cases omitted by Mr. Carpenter, and should be consulted if more complete figures are desired.

† An exception is Professor J. W. Ashley of Birmingham: see his Preface to Edward Cadbury's "Experiments in Industrial Organization." Longmans. 1912.

expects from any enterprise; and next, the amount, whatever it may be, in excess of this sum, which capital embarked in risky enterprises—and all business is risky—obtains. The latter is profit in the narrower sense. But there are two sorts of capital commonly dealt with in business. The one is the actual things, whether money or machinery or goods, which are used in any enterprise. These are the tangible assets of a company and this is the capital which earns the profit. The other is the nominal capital, usually, but not always, considerably in excess of this amount, either because the company has purchased the tangible assets as a going concern, along with the goodwill, and often has paid a price, in shares, far in excess of its actual cost, or because there are promotion expenses, legal expenses, commissions, discounts, and services of all kinds, which may be greatly in excess of the genuine minimum. In one sense this does not greatly matter to anybody. The capital of a company is, in many cases, no more than a method of determining at what rate the profits shall be divided. After the company is started it makes little difference whether a profit of £1,000 is paid away to the owners of 10,000 £1 shares, earning ten per cent., or 10,000 £2 shares, earning five per cent. But since the shareable profit is calculated according to the rate and not according to the amount, it makes all the difference in the world in the case of a company which shares with its workpeople everything over four per cent. If the company is capitalized at £10,000, the profit over four per cent. in which the workers share is £600: if it is capitalized at £20,000, the shareable profit is only £200. Now it may be positively stated that there is no definite basis whatever on which a going concern turned into a company should be capitalized. Occasionally the owners of a business have sold it to the public at much below its true value, so that the shares (as those of Bryant & May, Limited, for example) have stood at a very large premium ever since the day of issue. More often company promoters sell at too high a price, so that the shares quickly drop to a discount and remain there ever after. But if the workers are to share in the profits after a minimum rate of dividend is paid, they will want to be satisfied in every case that the nominal capital of the company is not in excess of its real value; and, on the other hand, should profit-sharing become, as its promoters hope, a widespread custom, a real factor in the industrial system, any business man who desired to conform to the letter of the principle whilst escaping its consequences, has only to capitalize his company on such a generous scale as to avoid making profits above the minimum rate, and so to escape the obligation of sharing anything with his employees.

What is "Sharing" ?

If profits are difficult to determine, "sharing" is equally vague and shifting. The varieties in the method of sharing might be described as infinite, if the total number of cases were sufficient to justify the appellation.

The essence of the whole thing is that it is a gift from the employer to the employed; and obviously the gift may take any form that commends itself to the employer, may be in cash or in shares, or in a provident fund, or an old age pension, payable at once or on departure, to all employees or only those who have served a minimum period; may be dependent on non-membership of a trade union or on contracting for a term of service; may be forfeited by a strike, and so on.

Then as to the amount payable, we find there is no fixed plan. There is usually a minimum rate of interest on capital before the shareable profit is reached, depreciation is usually provided for, and sometimes reserves to whatever amount the employer thinks fit!*

The minimum interest may be cumulative (i.e., payable out of good years if passed in bad ones) or it may not. Finally, there is no fixed proportion in which the surplus, whatever it be, is divided between the workers. Profit-sharing is, in fact, the antithesis of collective bargaining. The profit shared out is a gift horse, and the workmen have no right to look it in the mouth. Clearly, then, with so diverse and elusive an arrangement, the causes of failure may be innumerable; and the thing itself may vary from a genuine and generous scheme by which an employer hands over to his work-people everything above a legitimate salary to himself as manager—there have been such cases—to the dishonest dodge of a clever hypocrite for getting bigger profit from his hands in exchange for promises that never materialise.

Co-partnership.

The early profit-sharers adopted the crude and unsuccessful method of cash bonus, that is a percentage of profits payable in cash. But it seemed a pity to let good money go out of the concern. Why not keep the money, encourage thrift, turn the workpeople into small, very small, shareholders, and, in addition, drop the old name, with its melancholy associations, and call the new variety Co-partnership?

This novel plan involves, it is true, some concession to the work-people. They are to be placed, after a fashion, on a level with the proprietors; they are to have a voice, if only a small one, in the management; they may even be allowed a director or two on the board. On the other hand, their alliance with the company is cemented more firmly than ever. The cash bonus is soon paid and soon spent. The slowly acquired share is a stake in the concern which cannot be pulled up without effort. With every workman tied up to such a stake, industrial rebellion is improbable, and even labor unrest will fail to disturb.

* A famous scheme, Henry Briggs, Son & Co.'s Collieries, which divided £40,151 amongst its employees in nine years to 1874, was terminated partly because the men struck against a reduction of wages and partly because in 1873 £30,000 was taken from profits for the purchase of a new mine, and large sums were placed to reserve, in all of which the workers considered themselves entitled to share. (Report, etc., Cd. 6496, pp. 43-6.)

It must here be remarked that the term co-partnership is nowadays applied to two other forms of industrial enterprise with which this paper is not concerned. The housebuilding companies of co-partnership tenants are schemes whereby persons combine as tenants to erect and then purchase collectively out of their savings the houses they occupy. This industrial device is, in fact, a species by itself, altogether distinct from the profit-sharing co-partnership dealt with in this paper, and equally distinct from the "self-governing workshop," which used to be called a co-operative productive company, and is now frequently classed as co-partnership. When the capital of a company is owned, in whole or to a substantial extent, by the workers in the establishment, and the control of the concern is vested in them and their elected delegates, the profits belong to them to share amongst themselves in such a manner as by their rules they determine.

The self-governing workshop has its merits and demerits, which are not considered in this paper. But although it is often classed as co-partnership, it is, in fact, a very different sort of industrial enterprise, and to describe by one term the South Metropolitan Gas Company and some little group of struggling operatives formed into a co-operative society to make boots or bind books simply leads to confusion of thought.

The pioneer of co-partnership profit-sharing was

The South Metropolitan Gas Company.

The strange history of this company's relations with its men sums up the pros and cons of profit-sharing. The matter was one of acute controversy at the time and is so, in a sense, still. We cannot therefore be accused of unfairness if we quote at length the account of it given by Mr. Aneurin Williams, Hon. Treasurer of the Labor Co-partnership Association, in his pamphlet "A Better Way."*

Speaking of cases in which the workman becomes a shareholder, he says :

"Certainly the most striking example of this kind of partnership is to be found in the South Metropolitan Gas Company in London, a business with a capital of £8,325,340, and employing some 5,459 workmen; and there can hardly be a better introduction to the subject than the history of what that company has done.† It will be remembered how, in the winter of 1889-90, it was engaged in a life and death struggle with the National Union of Gasworkers and General Laborers. It was just at that time that the organizations of unskilled labor in this country were beginning to feel their strength and to try, no doubt in a somewhat blind and desperate way, to gain for their members some of those advantages which had been so successfully won during the preceding generation by the great unions of skilled workers. The

* Labor Co-partnership Association, 6 Bloomsbury Square, London, n. d. ? 1911, price 2d.

† See also Sir George Livesey's "Paper on the Profit-Sharing Scheme of the South Metropolitan Gas Company" (London: Labor Co-partnership Association.)

late Sir George Livesey, for so long chairman of the South Metropolitan Gas Company, has given more than one graphic account of the danger the company found itself in, of losing altogether control over the management of its own business. The company, upon the initiative of Sir George (then Mr.) Livesey and of his father before him, had over a considerable period of years adopted various schemes for the special benefit of its employees, and had also considered some scheme of profit-sharing. In 1889, therefore, the directors decided to carry out this idea, with a view to more closely identifying the workers' interests with those of the company, and of avoiding the friction and great losses to which they found themselves more and more subject. They therefore offered the workers a profit-sharing scheme under certain conditions. By law, the amount of profit which this company may distribute to its shareholders rises as the price at which it sells gas to the public falls. When gas is 3s. 1d. per 1,000 cubic feet, the company may pay, if it earns it, a dividend equal to ten per cent. per annum upon its old unconverted stock, or four per cent. on its present converted stock. For every penny per 1,000 cubic feet which the price of gas is reduced below 3s. 1d. the rate of dividend which may be paid rises 2s. 8d. per cent. on its converted stock. Thus, at 3s. per 1,000, £4 2s. 8d. per cent. may be paid: at 2s. 6d. per 1,000 £4 18s. 8d. per cent., and so on. Thus the interests of the public and the shareholders both lie in cheapening the selling price of gas. The company now offered to its employees of every class a similar arrangement, which, as since modified, is that for every 1d. the price of gas falls below 3s. 1d. per 1,000 cubic feet a bonus of 15s. per cent. is paid on their wages or salaries. This, however, was subject to the condition, among others, that each person accepting the profit-sharing scheme should sign an agreement to serve the company for one year. These agreements were to be dated on different days, so that a strike would become practically impossible, inasmuch as the workers could only strike all together by an illegal conspiracy to violate their agreements. To these agreements the trade union took violent objection, saying at the same time, however, that they did not object to a scheme of profit-sharing under fair conditions. The result, as is well known, was a great strike, its end being a complete victory for the company. The places of the strikers were supplied by new men, and the best terms they could get in the end were that they would be taken back if and as vacancies arose. I may mention, incidentally, that the Labor Co-partnership Association, for which I am now writing, offered its friendly services during this lamentable conflict, and I am told all terms might have been, if indeed they were not, satisfactorily arranged, except the question of reinstating the strikers and dismissing the newcomers. This was a point of honor on one side and the other, and an absolute split took place.

"When, however, the strike was all over, it might have been hoped that things would settle down into harmony. Unfortun-

ately, the most prominent labor leader concerned made a speech in which he threatened that the next time the men would not give notice, but would lay down their tools on the minute. The company retaliated by posting a notice that no member of the trade union concerned would be employed, though Sir George Livesey told the Labor Commission this notice had not been strictly adhered to. However, every workman accepting the profit-sharing scheme was, until 1902, required to declare himself not a member of that trade union. Thus, and from other causes, the feud between the company and the trade union was continued. In 1902, however, the company at the suggestion of the Labor Co-partnership Association withdrew this restriction. It is no part of my duty here to try to apportion the blame for this lamentable state of affairs continuing over so many years. The company, no doubt, felt it absolutely necessary to keep control of its business, and to provide against the public calamity of South London being some night reduced to darkness, and thereby delivered over a prey to the worst elements of its population. On the other hand, in the absence of any other form of efficient protection (whether by the action of the State or otherwise), the trade union no doubt felt that to prevent the workers striking if necessary, and to prevent them joining the union of the trade, was to deliver them over helpless into the hands of their employers.

"It will be seen, therefore, that the South Metropolitan Gas Company is not in every respect a good instance of those better relations between capital and organized labor which we desire. It must, however, be carefully noted that, as between the company and those employed since the strike, the relations have left nothing to desire in the matter of good feeling. The ill feeling has been solely between the company and the trade union and its sympathisers. It should be pointed out also that though two unions were concerned in this quarrel, the company never denied the principle of trade unionism.

"For several years simple profit-sharing on the basis I have described went on. The workers were encouraged to leave their bonus on deposit with the company at four per cent. About one half of the money was so left, but by less than one half of the men. In 1894 the company was so satisfied with the results that it made a move forward, and offered to increase the rate of bonus by one half (i.e., from one per cent. to one and a half per cent. per penny on the price of gas) to those workmen who would agree to leave half their profit as shares in the company. For carrying out this plan trustees were appointed to purchase shares represented by the total of the small sums belonging to the employees. Each man became an independent shareholder when his stake in the company reached a nominal value of £5 stock,* costing at that time about £13, and yielding at that price about five per cent. to the investor. This development

* That is, old unconverted stock, equivalent to £12 10s. nominal of the present stock.

also was a great success, and in the years 1896-1897 the company took a further step and sought and obtained power from Parliament to add to its board of directors representatives of its employees. This power was somewhat later carried out: the manual workers who are shareholders now elect two directors, and the salaried staff who are shareholders one, while the ordinary shareholders elect six. Of course this gives the employees (who now hold shares and deposits to the value of about £401,038), an amount of representation on the directorate very largely in excess of the proportion of their shares. It was, however, felt that while shareholding must be a condition precedent to a voice in the affairs of the company, it was not the only interest of the employees which ought to be represented on the directorate. In addition to the partnership arrangements, and partly growing out of them, there are other arrangements, for a conciliation board, for social purposes, for enquiries into such accidents as occur, for provident purposes, and so forth, in which the representatives of the company and of the employees act together for their mutual advantage. Sir George Livesey declared again and again that the large sum of money (£427,000) which had been paid over the period of eighteen years in the form of profit to the employees has not meant a penny reduction of profit to the shareholders, inasmuch as the workers have more than earned it by their better and more economical working. It should be clearly understood that the worker shareholder remains just as liable to dismissal and in every way just as subject to the officials of the company as ever he was under the wage system pure and simple.

"This is by far the biggest experiment in partnership between capital and labor which has been carried out in this country, and it is certainly a highly successful one, in spite of the deplorable conflict between the company and the trade union."

Co-partnership in Gasworks.

The example of the South Metropolitan Gas Company has been followed, slowly at first, and rapidly in recent years, so that in 1912 there were 33 companies working on this system. But there is a strange and very obvious reason why co-partnership succeeds in gas concerns and in gas alone. All gas companies are established by Act of Parliament, and all are regulated by the peculiar sliding scale system already mentioned. The Act fixes a basic price, in the case of the Gas Light and Coke Company of London of 3s. 2d. per 1,000 feet in 1910. The company is forbidden by law to increase its dividend above the minimum unless it reduces the price to the customers. For every penny reduction in the price of gas the shareholders may receive an extra quarter per cent. dividend.

The effects of this are complicated. The company is always apt to be loaded up with profits which it cannot make use of. Money is 'sometimes' no object to it. When profits grow large enough, roughly speaking four fifths of them have to be conceded to the con-

sumer in reductions of price and only one fifth can be paid to the shareholders. What above all things the company desires is reductions in the cost of production, which will allow the price to be reduced and the dividend to be increased. Moreover, in view of this arrangement, the law takes very good care that there is no hocus pocus about the capital account. There is no chance for the shareholders to get allotments of valuable stock for less than the market price, and anything like "watering" the capital is out of the question. If a gas company wants more capital, it must notify the local authority, advertise in the local press, and sell the new stock at public auction. The whole business must be carried out under the public eye, and full returns rendered to the Government of every pound of capital received and every penny of dividend paid.

The Gas Light and Coke Company of London, probably the largest gas company in the world, pays a bonus to its men on the price of gas, which corresponds to the dividend payable, thus

Price of Gas	Bonus	Dividend
3s 2d	nil	£4 0 0 per cent per annum
3s 1d	$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent	£4 2 8† " "
3s	1 per cent	£4 5 4† " "

And so on, the bonus increasing at a higher rate till it reaches

2s 6d	5 per cent	£4 17 4 per cent per annum
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which is the figure at present

Lastly, in the gas industry, the operatives are by law virtually compelled to give long notice of any proposed strike. For reasons of public safety Parliament enacted, at a time when gas was the sole illuminant, that for gasworkers to leave work in breach of their contract of employment and without due notice should be a criminal offence punishable by as much as three months hard labor.

Gas companies and their employees are therefore in a very peculiar legal position, and it is probably owing to this, together with the legal monopoly which frees them from the risks of competition and makes regular profits virtually a certainty, and also to their necessary geographical isolation, that profit-sharing has, for the moment at any rate, succeeded in this industry and in this alone.

"The Treaty of Hartlepoons." †

The most famous of recent co-partnership schemes was started in the autumn of 1908 by the late Lord (then Sir Christopher) Furness in his Hartlepoons Shipyards.

Annoyed by what he regarded as needless friction with trade unions, he made a public offer either to sell his works to the unions

* "Watering" by Act of Parliament does not matter. The Gas Light and Coke Company has £14,451,145 of "water" in its £28,632,925 capital, but the amount is recorded in every balance sheet for the information of all concerned.

† These figures are temporarily modified by a special provision for redemption of stock.

‡ See *The Magazine of Commerce* (Souverei Co-partnership Edition), December, 1908, 155 Cheapside, E C.

or to establish the following scheme in the Middleton and Harbour Dockyards of Irvine's Shipbuilding and Dry Docks Company, Limited

He proposed to create 50,000 four per cent preference shares, with a first charge on the profits of the company, to be called Employees' Shares, and to be held by persons employed in the yards. These were to be allotted to employees, and paid for by a five per cent deduction from wages and by capitalizing the dividend. Profits, after providing for this preference interest, were to be allocated to pay a five per cent cumulative dividend on ordinary capital, and the directors were to have a free hand to put away reserves, depreciation and development funds. Anything left was to be divided pro rata on the ordinary and the employees' capital.

Anybody leaving the service of the company "would be able to sell his shares" at an assessed price, or at the market value, to other employees only.

The wages and conditions of labor were to remain matters of negotiation between trade unions and the directors, and the holders of employees' shares were to have no voice at all in the management of the company and no right to attend the shareholders' meetings.

But a Works Council was established, consisting of delegates of the employers and employeeds, with power to advise on anything in dispute; and a proposal was even made, not very definitely, that trade union officials from outside might be co-opted to this council as aldermen.

The whole scheme involved a complete recognition of trade unions. The treaty was referred to the unions concerned, discussed by them, and finally accepted by a vote, in the aggregate, of ten to one.

It was tried for a year and then it failed. The men resolved, by a decisive vote, to abandon it. What precisely weighed with them in coming to this decision must necessarily be a matter of conjecture, but the chief complaint appears to have arisen from the fact that although shipbuilding is a very irregular trade, and men constantly change from one firm to another, by this scheme each move from the Furness yards involved the sale of Furness stock.

Moreover, apart from the Works Council, which had no essential connection with the co-partnership scheme, it is difficult to see what there was particularly attractive in the proposal. The men were kindly permitted to purchase out of their wages a four per cent preference stock at par, with the chance of a further dividend, if earned, but with no voice in the management of the business. It is, to say the least, doubtful if the company could have raised capital so cheaply in the market or, in other words, if the market value of the stock offered would be as high as the price asked for it.*

* The Irvine Shipbuilding Company is a subsidiary company in the Furness, Withy, & Company combine. The latter paid ten per cent in 1905, fifteen per cent in 1906, ten per cent in 1907, five per cent in 1908, 1909 and 1910 (during which the scheme was in operation) and seven and a half per cent in 1911.

We do not suggest that the scheme was, in fact, a dodge for getting cheap capital, but undoubtedly it was not anything in the nature of a gift to the workmen. They were asked to pay full value for what they got. The only concession was in the form of a method of purchase by small instalments, which was no doubt troublesome and expensive to the company.

Anyway, the scheme, in spite of the glamor of its inception and the ability and good faith of its founder, was quickly added to the long roll of co-partnership failures.

A Limited Sphere.

Destitution cannot be remedied by doles, and almsgiving is no cure for poverty. But it does not follow from this that no one should help a neighbor in distress or that the squire should be blamed if he gives Christmas gifts to the laborers on his estate.

Profit-sharing is no remedy for the poverty of the workers, and offers no solution of the problems of modern industry, no sleeping-draught for industrial unrest. None the less, it cannot be said that all profit-sharing is bad, far less that all employers who adopt it are pious frauds. It is essentially a gift, and when an employer resolves to give his workpeople a supplement to their regular wages calculated on a fixed basis, no one can complain, provided that it is a genuine gift taken from his legitimate profits and not earned by their own excess of labor and, above all, that it does not destroy their class solidarity. This last condition bars out all staple and all organized trades. Few trade unionists do, and none should, countenance any such proposal. Cotton and coal and iron workers should have nothing to do with such schemes. But the case is otherwise with unskilled employees in some isolated works, say a jam factory in a remote village, or the laborers on a farm, where trade unionism is, apparently, impracticable.

The desire of the idealist, that the worker should take an interest in his work, and feel himself to be not a mere hand employed by a master but a co-partner, a part owner of the concern, is well founded, and indeed is largely the root of all industrial co-operation. To this extent the idea of profit-sharing is sound, and appeals to every intelligent student of social conditions. Provided, then, that the share of profit given by the employer is a genuine gift for which no return is asked either in extra exertion or in "loyalty," and that the solidarity of labor is not broken, the benevolent employer may properly adopt this method of benefitting his workpeople, just as the landlord may properly distribute blankets and beef to the cottagers on his estate. But neither of them must pretend that his beneficence is a solution of any social problem.*

* The statistics of profit-sharing in all the concerns in which it has been tried are significant. The "profit" shared (after the deduction of rent, interest on capital, wages of management depreciation and reserves) has averaged about 10 per cent of the amount given in wages; and the worker's share has been, on an average, just about 5 per cent. addition to his wages, or about a farthing an hour! Out of a total national income in 1912 of about 2,100 millions, the total of wages was under 800 millions. Universal profit-sharing might have made it 840 millions out of 2,100.

The Causes of Failure.

Probably if the truth be known profit-sharing schemes have failed because the workmen have studied too carefully the publications of the advocates of the system. The fraud on the workers is too palpable. The men have found out that they are like the dog fed off his own tail. They earn the bonus (if there is any), and their employer returns them a fraction of what they have produced. Moreover they may easily earn it and yet receive none of it. Profits depend on the trading skill of the employer and the chances of the market, even more than on the special diligence of the men. The return they receive for their extra exertions is determined by factors over which they have no control. One or two miscalculated contracts may deprive them of all the profits for which they have labored. They properly object to let their remuneration depend on the skill or luck of the heads of the business.

Working Class Solidarity.

But the final and conclusive objection to profit-sharing is that it necessarily tends to working-class disintegration. Wherever the capitalist system continues, dividing society into private employers on one side and private employees on the other, the employer and workman must be armed for a fight, even if, like the Great Powers of Europe, they maintain cordial relations for generations. Organization alone places the worker on the same plane as his employer. All intelligent workmen recognize that industrial solidarity is the basis of all working class progress; and profit-sharing is, intentionally or incidentally, destructive of this solidarity. The workers must be free to combine in trade unions and in federations of unions in whatever manner they think fit, and must be able to strike as a trade, as an industry, or indeed as a class, as often as is necessary for the protection and advancement of their interests. Profit sharing splits up trades and industries into coteries of privileged workers, each group with interests different from, and perhaps antagonistic to, the others. In some cases, as has been already indicated, profit-sharing and co-partnership schemes have been adopted deliberately with the object of smashing up trade unionism; in other cases it has been recommended to employers because of its value for this purpose; in all cases it has this effect, unless there is no solidarity to disintegrate, no unionism to destroy.

The employees of a profit-sharing firm are bound to their employer more closely than to their fellows. It is their interest to stand aloof from the industrial combat, because they have privileges to lose or a tiny share of capital to consider.

Collective bargaining, the common rule, trade union wages and conditions, are the protection of the workers against sweating and oppression in all their forms; and in these safeguards lie their hope for material advances in wages, and ultimately an increase in their share in the product of industry and their control over its management.

Profit-sharing and co-partnership may be properly called a "piffing palliative," which assumes the permanent continuance of the antithesis between employer and employed. This relation is out of date and no longer in accord with our sense of the fitness of things. There can be no true fellowship between the employer and his hands, the master and his men. We have come to see the truth in the old command, "Call no man master." In the industrial organization of the future there will be no master, but all will be servants one of another, and yet all owners of the wealth which together they create.

That is the fellowship of the future, which, as Morris said, is life.

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The Nationalization of Mines and Minerals Bill.

BY

HENRY H. SCHLOESSER.

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THE NATIONALIZATION OF MINES AND MINERALS BILL.

THE following draft Bill for the Nationalization of Mines and Minerals, prepared by the writer of this Tract on the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, was adopted by the Annual Conference of that body at its meeting at Swansea in October 1912, and subsequently introduced by the Labor Party in the House of Commons.

As the first Bill prepared by a Trade Union for the "Nationalization" of its industry, the measure is one of no small interest. The Fabian Society accordingly publishes it in a convenient form, with the consent of the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation, for public information.

The Bill is the Bill of the Labor Party and the Miners' Federation; the Fabian Society is responsible only for the notes which have been added for convenience of reference.

A Bill to Nationalize the Coal Mines and Minerals of the United Kingdom and to provide for the National Distribution and Sale of Coal.

WHEREAS it is expedient that the coal mines and coal of the United Kingdom should be taken into the possession of the State.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1.—MINISTER FOR MINES.

(1) There shall be a Minister for Mines to be appointed by His Majesty and to hold office during the pleasure of His Majesty.

(2) The Minister for Mines shall at the same time be capable of being elected to and of sitting in the Commons House of Parliament, and his office shall be deemed to be an office included in

Schedule H of the Representation of the People Act, 1867; Schedule H of the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868; and Schedule E of the Representation of the People (Ireland) Act, 1868.

(3) The Minister for Mines shall take the oath of allegiance and official oath, and shall be deemed to be included in the First Part of the Schedule to the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868.

(4) The Minister for Mines shall appoint one secretary, such assistant secretaries, and such other officers and servants as the Minister for Mines may with the sanction of the Treasury determine.

(5) There shall be paid to the Minister for Mines, out of money provided by Parliament, a salary at the rate of two thousand pounds a year, and to the secretary, assistant secretaries, officers, and servants such salaries or remuneration as the Treasury shall from time to time determine.

(6) All expenses incurred by the Minister for Mines under this Act, to such amount as may be sanctioned by the Treasury, shall be paid out of money provided by Parliament.

(7) The Minister for Mines shall have an official seal, which shall be officially and publicly noticed, and such seal shall be authenticated by the Minister or the secretary or one of the assistant secretaries, or some person authorized by the Minister for Mines to act on his behalf.

(8) Every document purporting to be an order, licence, or other instrument issued by the Minister for Mines, and to be sealed with his seal, authenticated in manner provided by this Act, or to be signed by the secretary or by one of the assistant secretaries, or any person authorized by the Minister for Mines to act on his behalf, shall be received in evidence and be deemed to be such order, licence, or other instrument without further proof, unless the contrary be shown.

(9) A certificate signed by the Minister for Mines that any order, licence, or other instrument purporting to be made or issued by him is so made or issued shall be conclusive evidence of the fact so certified.

(10) There shall be transferred and attached to the Minister for Mines such of the persons employed under any Government department in or about the execution of the powers and duties transferred by or in pursuance of this Act to the Minister for Mines as the Government department may with the sanction of the Treasury determine.

These are the usual formal clauses required for the establishment of a new Ministerial office. The salary (£2,000) proposed to be assigned to the Minister for Mines is the same as that now paid to the President of the Board of Education, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and the First Commissioner of Works and Buildings. It is less than that paid to the Postmaster-General (£2,500), and much less than that (£5,000) paid to the various Secretaries of State, the President of the Board of Trade, and the President of the Local Government Board.

2.—TRANSFERENCE OF COAL MINES AND MINERALS TO MINISTER FOR MINES.

On and after the appointed day :

- (a) Every colliery and coal mine, whether in actual work or discontinued, or exhausted, or abandoned, and every shaft, pit, level, or inclined plane in course of being made or driven for commencing or opening any such colliery or coal mine, including every patent fuel plant, coke oven, coal washery, railway rolling stock, and all other works belonging to or connected with such colliery or coal mine, and every house belonging to the owners of any such colliery or coal mine which is occupied by workmen employed at such coal mine (all of which are herein included in the expression "coal mine") and ;
- (b) All coal, anthracite, lignite, or other mineral used for fuel, whether at present being worked or not worked, or connected or not connected with any coal mine, beneath the surface of the ground (all of which are herein included in the expression "minerals")

shall be vested in and held by the Minister for Mines in his corporate capacity and his successors.

This "vesting" clause enables the Minister for Mines to enter into possession on the appointed day (see clause 18), without waiting to obtain separate conveyances from all the owners of all the various interests. For the compensation to owners, see clauses 4 to 7, and for its distribution among them, see clauses 7 and 11.

3.—PURCHASE OF COAL MINES.

The Minister for Mines shall purchase the coal mines of the United Kingdom (other than those which are the property of the Crown at the time of the passing of this Act) at the price and in the manner provided by this Act. Provided always that the value of any minerals or right to work minerals or mineral way leave shall not be taken into account in computing such price, for all of which no compensation shall be paid.

According to the recent Commission on the subject, the coal supplies thus acquired are estimated to last 100 years in the North of England, and in the rest of the United Kingdom 250 years.

The owner of minerals, mineral rights, or mineral way leaves, would be compensated only in so far as he was also the owner or part owner of a colliery, which was either working, or had ceased working, or was in course of preparation for working (see clause 2 a); but it is probable that practically all persons owning minerals, mineral rights, or mineral way leaves, other than surface way leaves, are also interested in collieries, past, present or future.

The annual income from mining royalties (i.e., "rights to work and way leaves"), which is, however, not all from coal, was, in 1911-12, £8,768,916, on which sum the Mineral Rights Duty (an additional income tax of one shilling in the pound) was paid (House of Commons Returns, Nos. 190 and 817 of 1912). Of this total, perhaps four-fifths is in respect of coal. This estimate agrees with that of Mr. T. Mardy Jones in the *Economic Review*, 1908.

On the Continent, royalty rents are practically non-existent. In France the surface owner of the land does not own the minerals beneath his property. French law does not recognize any private ownership of minerals which are not the subject of a lease or concession.

The State may grant a concession to a person for a nominal royalty to work minerals, and in this case the concessionaire may have to pay a small royalty to the surface owner, but the amount of the royalty is fixed by the State and is fixed permanently in the first instance, the amount, which is small, being determined by custom and local usage. Similar systems obtain in Belgium, Germany, and Spain.

In early years in England it was doubtful whether coal belonged to the Crown or private individuals. It was held, however, in 1568 that gold and silver mines belonged to the Crown, but "base" metals to the landowner—*Barnbridge*, "Law of Mines and Minerals."

The growth of the value of royalty rents may be illustrated by the following case. In 1748 the Marquis of Bute leased to Anthony Bacon eight miles of mineral property at Merthyr for 97 years at an annual royalty of £100. In 1848 the same property was re-leased at £20,000 a year.

4.—MINES COMMISSIONERS.

(1) For the purposes of assessing the purchase price of coal mines it shall be lawful for His Majesty, by warrants under the sign manual, to appoint ten commissioners, to be styled the Mines Commissioners (herein called the Commissioners) of whom one, appointed by His Majesty, shall be Chairman.

(2) Three of the said Commissioners shall be nominated by the Mining Association of Great Britain, three of them shall be nominated by the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, and two of them shall be nominated by the British Trade Union Congress.

(3) At the expiration of twelve months from the passing of this Act, in the event of a majority of the Commissioners failing to agree as to the purchase price of a particular coal mine, it shall be lawful for the Chairman himself to fix the purchase price of such coal mine, but, save as herein expressly provided, the finding of the Commissioners as to the purchase price of coal mines shall be final and conclusive and binding on all parties.

(4) It shall be lawful for the Minister for Mines to remove any Commissioner for inability or misbehavior. Every order of removal shall state the reasons for which it is made, and no such order shall come into operation until it has lain before the Houses of Parliament for not less than thirty days while Parliament is sitting.

(5) The Commissioners may appoint and employ such assessors, surveyors, valuers, clerks, messengers, and other persons required for the due performance of their duties as the Treasury on the recommendation of the Minister for Mines may sanction.

(6) There shall be paid to the Commissioners and to each of the persons appointed or employed under this section such salary or remuneration as the Treasury may sanction; and all such salaries and remuneration and the expenses of the Commission incurred in the execution of their duties, to such amount as may be sanctioned by the Treasury, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament.

5.—VALUATION OF COAL MINES.

(1) The Commissioners shall, as soon as may be after the passing of this Act, cause a valuation to be made of all coal mines in the United Kingdom, showing respectively the total ascertained value of the coal mine and its profitable rights, and the total ascertained

value of the coal mine exclusive of such rights ; and the owner of every coal mine and any person receiving any rents, interest, or profit from any coal mine, on being required by notice by the Commissioners, shall furnish to the Commissioners a return containing such particulars as the Commissioners may require as to his property, rent, interest, or profits in such coal mine.

(2) The Commissioners may likewise cause any coal mine to be inspected, require the production of documents, or do any other thing which may in their opinion be necessary to fix the purchase price of the coal mine.

The powers given to the Commissioners under this clause resemble those which are now possessed by the Land Valuers under the Finance Acts.

6.—ASCERTAINMENT OF PURCHASE PRICE.

(1) The purchase price of the coal mine shall be computed by ascertaining, and on the basis of the average annual number of tons of minerals actually raised during the five preceding years, provided that in no case shall the maximum purchase price be taken to be more than the following :

When 100,000 tons or less have been raised per annum on the average during the five preceding years, a capital sum equal to one such year's output at	s.	d.
When more than 100,000 tons have been raised per annum on the average during the five preceding years, a capital sum equal to one such year's output at	12	0 per ton
	10	0 per ton

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1) of this section, the Commissioners in arriving at such computation shall also have regard to the actual gross and net profits which have been made in the coal mine during such years and to the amounts which may have been set aside from time to time for depreciation, renewals, or development, and to the probable duration of the life of the mine, and to the nature and condition of such coal mine, and to the state of repairs thereof, and to the coke ovens, washeries, and other works and houses which may for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be a part of the coal mine, and to the liabilities of any coal mine undertaking existing at the time of purchase which are transferable to the Minister for Mines under section 11 of this Act.

(3) Provided further that where a coal mine, in the opinion of the Commissioners, has not been fully developed, the amount which would be raised under full development shall be taken as the average annual number of tons raised, and the maximum purchase price in such case shall be taken to be a capital sum equal to the product of such number of tons and 12s. or 10s. per ton respectively, for the purpose of ascertaining the maximum value per ton under sub-section (1) of this section.

The purchase price is to be based, in the main, on the annual output of each colliery ; and ten or twelve shillings per ton of such output is named as the maximum price. This is a common method of valuing colliery property. Thus, when the late

Sir George Elliott proposed that all colliery owners should unite in one great National Coal Trust, the basis of which they were to come in was fifteen shillings per ton of annual output. He considered in 1893 that all the collieries in the country could be converted into one concern at a capital cost of £120,000,000. For present assessment purposes, the rateable value is based upon the gross vend and selling price of the usually preceding year.

The average annual output for the years 1906-10 was 261,726,945 tons, so that the maximum purchase price would be (at ten shillings per ton) about £130,868,475, say £140,000,000, that is £20,000,000 more than Sir G. Elliot's estimate of twenty years ago, a difference which would include the cost of colliers' houses, etc., taken over by the Bill.

7.—ISSUE OF COAL MINE STOCK.

(1) The purchase price of coal mines, as ascertained under the provisions of this Act, shall be paid by the Minister for Mines in Coal Mines Purchase Stock to the persons who in the opinion of the Commissioners have established their title to such stock. Provided that an appeal shall lie to the High Court from the decision of the Commissioners as to the title of any such persons, but for no other purpose.

(2) For the purpose of paying such purchase price the Treasury shall, on the request of the Minister for Mines, by warrant addressed to the Bank of England, direct the creation of a new capital stock (to be called "Guaranteed Three Per Cent. Coal Mine Stock") and in this Act referred to as "the stock," consisting of perpetual annuities, yielding dividends at the rate of three per cent. per annum on the nominal amount of capital.

(3) The annuities shall be payable by equal half yearly or quarterly dividends at such times in each year as may be fixed by the warrant first creating the stock.

(4) The stock shall be redeemed at the rate of one hundred pounds sterling for every one hundred pounds of stock at such times and in such amounts and manner as may be fixed by the Treasury.

(5) The stock may be issued at such times and in such amounts and subject to such conditions as the Treasury may direct.

(6) The dividends on the stock shall be paid out of the income of the Coal Mines Fund, and if that is insufficient shall be charged on and paid out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom and the growing produce thereof.

(7) The stock shall be transferable in the books of the Bank of England in like manner as other stock is transferable under the National Debt Act, 1870.

Payment is to be made in Three per Cent. Government Stock at par. The exact terms would doubtless be settled according to the state of the market at the date of passing the Bill. At the present price of Consols, it may be doubtful whether £100 of such stock would sell for more than 85.

The annual profits of all sorts of mines averaged during the five years ending March, 1910, £11,697,120; and of this it is estimated that eleven twelfths, or £10,500,000, is from coal mines (Sir A. Markham). The interest on £140,000,000 at three per cent under the Bill would amount annually to about £4,200,000. A sinking fund which would redeem the capital debt in twenty years would amount to £5,000,000 annually.

There would be a surplus of £7,900,000 in the hands of the Minister for Mines if the £6,000,000 a year now paid to the royalty owners, which the Bill proposes to terminate, be added to the £1,900,000 saved in interest after £5,000,000 for redemption has been paid.

The difficulty of distributing the compensation by the Commissioners is greatly lessened by the fact that the great bulk of the capital held in mines is held in companies, where the respective rights of shareholders are easily ascertainable. The following calculations show that, in fact, only one-fifteenth of the total capital held in mines is held by private individuals. The capital value (of all the individual, non-company property interests in all sorts of mines) passing by death in 1909-10 (there being 128 such estates) was £560,424 net, the value being taken at thirteen and two-fifths years' purchase. (Fifty-fourth Report of Commissioners of Inland Revenue, Cd. 5838 of 1911.)

Assuming that one-twentieth of the total property passes each year by death, the aggregate capital value of all kinds of property in all sorts of mines in the United Kingdom not owned by joint stock companies is, on this Government valuation, which is accepted by the owners for taxation purposes, about £11,200,000. That of coal mines alone must, of course, be less, perhaps, four-fifths of these totals—*i.e.*, about £10,000,000, or only one-fourteenth of the total capital held in mines.

Evidence of the extent of company ownership is also shown by the fact that the total number of separate coal mines at work in the United Kingdom is about 8,500. The number of separate firms or companies is, of course, much smaller: it has been estimated at 1,500.

8.—WORKING OF COAL MINES AND SALE OF COAL BY MINISTER FOR MINES.

(1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, it shall be lawful for the Minister for Mines on behalf of His Majesty, to open and work coal mines and generally to carry on the business of coal mining and vending in all its branches, together with all other industries usually carried on in connection therewith. Provided that it shall not be lawful for the Minister for Mines to lease any mine or mines to any person.

(2) The Minister for Mines may compulsorily purchase land or acquire such rights over land as he may require for the purpose of this Act, and shall have, with regard to the compulsory purchase of land, all the powers of purchasers acting under the Land Clauses Acts.

(3) For the purposes of this section the Minister for Mines may from time to time, in such manner and on such terms as he thinks fit:—

- (a) Appoint managers, engineers, agents, workmen, and servants; and
- (b) Construct, erect, or purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire, buildings, plant, machinery, railways, tramways, hulks, ships, and other fixed or movable appliances or works of any description, and sell or otherwise dispose of the same when no longer required; and
- (c) Sell, supply, and deliver coal and other products the result of coal-mining operations; and
- (d) Enter into and enforce contracts and engagements; and
- (e) Generally do anything that the owner of a coal mine might lawfully do in the working of the mine, or that is authorized by regulations under this Act.

(4) In addition to the powers conferred on the Minister for Mines by the last preceding sub-section he may, in such manner as he thinks fit, work any railway, tramway, hulk, ship, or other movable appliance acquired by him for the purpose of supplying and delivering coal

The Minister for Mines is to work the mines by his own staff. Coal mines are worked by the State in Germany, Austria, Sweden, Russia, and several other countries in connection with their military and ordnance departments.

The German Government owns eleven coal mines in Westphalia, employing about 5,000 men. The coal is used for the State railways and navy.

New Zealand and Australia provide the only instances where coal mines have been nationalized, and are worked by the State for the supply of community needs. In New Zealand, in 1912, of 271,629 tons of State coal, 60,847 were sold for State purposes and 184,412 tons to the public.

The Victoria State Railway Department owns the Plowett coal mine and sells coal to the Melbourne Metropolitan Board, and whatever can be spared to the public.

In this country a number of municipalities own coal mines, as also do the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but in every instance the mines are leased out to private companies.

The power to purchase land is necessary in order to enable the Minister for Mines to open new coalfields. As mineral rights, under the Bill, are to lose their value, the compensation awarded under the Lands Clauses Acts would of course not take account of this particular right. The recent Royal Commission on Coal Supplies estimated the available supplies of British coal at a depth of 4,000 feet in unproved coalfields at about 40,000,000,000 tons, compared with about 100,000,000,000 tons in proved coalfields.

9.—ACCOUNTS.

(1) The Minister for Mines shall cause full and faithful accounts to be kept of all moneys received and expended under this Act, and of all assets and liabilities and of all profits and losses, and shall annually lay such accounts before Parliament.

(2) The Minister for Mines shall annually cause a balance sheet of accounts to be made, including a capital account and a profit and loss account for each mine worked under this Act.

(3) Such balance sheet and statement shall be so prepared as to show fully and faithfully the financial position of each such mine, and the financial result of its operations for the year.

10.—COAL MINES ACCOUNT.

(1) All moneys raised under the authority of this Act shall, as and when raised, and all other moneys received hereunder shall, as and when received, be paid into a separate account called "The National Coal Mines Account."

(2) All moneys withdrawn from the National Coal Mines Account constituted under this Act shall be withdrawn only by the order of the Minister for Mines or such other person as the Minister may from time to time appoint, countersigned by the Treasury.

(3) All moneys in the National Coal Mines Account, or payable into that account by any person whomsoever, and also all moneys owing by any person under this Act, are hereby declared to be the property of the Crown, and recoverable accordingly as from debtors to the Crown.

11.—TRANSFERENCE OF EXISTING ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

(1) There shall be transferred to the Minister for Mines all the existing assets and liabilities of coal mine undertakings, other than liabilities for royalty rents, wayleave rents or any other underground rents or charges, payable or due at the time of the passing of this Act to any person.

(2) On the passing of this Act, there shall be ascertained by the Commissioners the amount of all moneys due to or from all coal mine undertakings, and the finding of the Commissioners as to the amount of such moneys shall be binding and conclusive on all parties.

(3) The net amount of all moneys due to any coal mine undertaking, after all debts due from any such undertaking have been deducted, as ascertained under sub-section (2) of this section, shall be paid by the Minister for Mines to the persons to whom in the opinion of the Commissioners such debts are due and shall be deemed to be expenses incurred under this Act. Provided that an appeal shall lie to the High Court from the decision of the Commissioners as to the title of any such person but for no other purpose.

The sums now payable as royalty rents, way leave rents, and other underground rents or charges will cease to be payable as from the appointed day.

12.—PAYMENTS OUT OF MONEYS PROVIDED BY PARLIAMENT.

(1) All sums expended or payable under this Act in the construction, erection or acquisition of buildings, plant, machinery, railways, tramways, hulks, ships or other appliances or works, or for other expenses required for the working of any mine, shall be payable out of moneys provided by Parliament.

(2) Provided that moneys received under this Act in respect of the sale or supply of coal (including the moneys received from the Government Departments) may be directly expended in or towards carrying out the purposes of this Act.

The effect of paying out of "moneys provided by Parliament" is to make parliamentary criticism more effective than if such expenses are paid out of the Consolidated Fund.

13.—PAYMENT OUT OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.

(1) After full provision has been made for all outgoing, losses, and liabilities for the year (including interest on securities created and issued in respect of moneys raised as aforesaid, and on moneys paid out of the Consolidated Fund), the net surplus profits then remaining shall be applied in establishing a sinking fund and, subject thereto, in establishing a depreciation fund in respect of capital expended.

At present, taking the average of twenty prosperous companies, ten per cent. of the net profit is set aside annually for depreciation and development.

Assuming the profits, after interest and redemption have been met, to amount to about £9,500,000, about £1,000,000 should be allocated annually to the depreciation and development fund.

14.—MANAGEMENT.

Every coal mine worked under this Act shall be managed and worked subject to the provisions of the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1908, the Coal Mines Act, 1911, and any other Act regulating the hours, wages, or conditions of labor in coal mines.

The "Eight Hours Act," the various Acts regulating labor in mines consolidated in the Coal Mines Act, 1911, and the "Minimum Wage Act," 1912, are formally unaffected by this measure. It may be assumed that the responsibility of the Minister for Mines for casualties, etc., in mines will be made far more direct and effective than is that of the Home Secretary at the present time. Thus in 1909 over 150,000 men and boys were seriously injured in mines, in 1910 nearly 160,000. In 1910, 1,769 persons were killed in mines. Under this Bill, for all these deplorable accidents the Minister for Mines would be answerable to Parliament. In New Zealand in 1911 only four fatal accidents occurred in State coal mines, having an output of 281,525 tons.

15.—TRADE UNIONS. PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS.

Notwithstanding anything in any Act or Order any society of workers employed in a National coal mine may be registered or constitute themselves as a Trade Union, and do anything individually or in combination which the members of a Trade Union or a Trade Union may lawfully do. Provided further that notwithstanding any regulation to the contrary, it shall be lawful for any person employed under this Act to participate in any civil or political action in like manner as if such person were not employed by His Majesty.

The persons employed under this Act are to be free to join trade unions—a right not expressly, though often in fact, denied to other Government employees—and they are expressly not to be subject to the political disabilities to which, for instance, the employees in the Customs, Inland Revenue and Post Office Departments are, whether by custom or departmental regulation, now subjected. The freedom from political disability does not extend to *legal* as distinguished from *customary* disability. Thus, notwithstanding this clause, it would be as illegal for an employee of the Minister for Mines as for any other civil servant to sit in the House of Commons.

16.—REGULATIONS.

(1) The Minister for Mines may, from time to time, make such regulations as he thinks necessary for any of the following purposes:—

- (a) The management of coal mines under this Act;
- (b) The functions, duties, and powers of all persons acting in the management and working of coal mines under this Act;
- (c) The form of the accounts to be kept and the balance sheets to be prepared in respect of coal mines under this Act;
- (d) The mode in which the sinking funds and other funds connected with coal mines under this Act shall be held and administered;
- (e) Generally any other purpose for which, in the opinion of the Minister for Mines, regulations are contemplated or required.

(2) The Minister for Mines, before making or altering any of such regulations or conditions of employment, including wages, as

affect workmen engaged in the mining industry, shall consult with the duly accredited representatives of the workmen, and, in the event of such representatives and the Minister for Mines failing to agree, the matter in dispute may be referred to arbitration on such terms as may be mutually agreed.

17.—DUTY OF MINISTER FOR MINES TO SUPPLY COAL.

It shall be the duty of the Minister for Mines to ensure that there is a sufficient supply of coal at reasonable prices throughout the United Kingdom, and for this purpose it shall be the duty of the Minister for Mines to establish stores and depôts and to employ vehicles and to use all other necessary means for the selling of coal within the area of every local authority, and further for this purpose it shall be the duty of the railway companies of the United Kingdom to provide such facilities for the conveyance of coal as the Minister for Mines may deem necessary to enable him to carry out the duties imposed upon him by this section at rates not greater than such railway companies are now entitled to charge for the conveyance of coal.

Clause 17 "nationalizes" the wholesale, retail, and export trade in coal, besides giving the Minister for Mines a monopoly in the getting of coal. This is a novel provision of far-reaching scope. Provision is made in Clause 8 for the Minister for Mines to take over the premises, stocks of coal, and business arrangements of existing coal merchants, exporters, dealers, retailers and hawkers.

In the reign of George II. the price of coal in Manchester and its environs was fixed for forty years at 4d. per cwt. Under this clause the State would once again fix the price of coal.

Under the existing system the very poor pay for their coal anything from 7s. to 10s. above the current rate for larger quantities; that is, in the aggregate, nearly half as much again as the wealthier classes. There is also much overlapping in distribution. In London alone there are 420 coal merchants; their average profit is considerable.

In the country the profits and prices are both greater. In Dearham, a mining village, the miners now pay 1s. 2d. per cwt; 85 years ago, in the same place, the price was 5d. per cwt. According to Councillor Phillips, of Manchester, the working class families of this city are paying 10½d per cwt., or 17s. 6d. per ton. In the same town the Corporation buys superior coal for 12s. per ton.

The present average selling price of coal at the pit-head may be taken at 8s. to 5s. per ton for small and dust, 10s. for best steam, and 11s for best household. The Government Coal Tables give an all-round average for 1910 of 8s. 2½d. per ton.

According to Sir Hugh Bell, the price realized for one ton of coal being 100d. (8s. 4d.), the cost would be distributed as follows:—Royalty, 4½d (according to other authorities, 6d.); wages, 56d.; administrative expenses, 2d.; railway dues, taxes, cottage rents, 27½d. If £2,300,000, approaching one third of the sum of royalty rents, were placed to the reduction of the price of coal, the pit-head price would be reduced to about 8s. per ton average. Working on this pit-head minimum, the economies of distribution, and saving of overlapping and middlemen's profits might further reduce the average price to the consumer.

Five shillings out of the present price of 25s. coal in London is to be ascribed to middlemen's expenses, apart from wagon hire and railway rates. According to Mr Hylton Dale, the wastage due to retransferring coal and reweighing is about 20 cwt. to the truck of ten tons. "After the coal arrives in London," he says, "it is necessary to add an average of 5s. a ton to its price for general expenses before any profit is seen by the merchants."

In New Zealand, before the State acquisition of mines, the average price of coal was 35s. per ton; it is now as low as 25s. In Germany the Westphalian Syndicate,

which is partially under Government control, has abolished the dealer and vends to the public direct at a low price.

18.—TRANSFERENCE TO MINISTER FOR MINES OF POWERS AND DUTIES OF HOME SECRETARY.

There shall be transferred to and be vested in the Minister for Mines all the powers and duties of the Secretary of State imposed upon him by the Coal Mines Regulation Act, 1908, the Coal Mines Act, 1911, or any other Act regulating or affecting coal mines or the hours or conditions of labor therein.

The Nationalization of Mines may be expected to entail a revision of minimum wages under the 1912 Act.

Trustworthy estimates put the average earnings of all the workers in the coal mines at 28s. per week per adult man, making a total wage-bill for the 1,067,218 persons employed (both above and below ground, and including boys and women) of about £60,000,000. In New Zealand in 1911 the average wage per person employed in a State coal mine was £140 per annum, or 17s. per day shift.

To ensure a minimum wage to every adult male worker in or about coal mines of 80s. per week would involve an increase on the present wage bill of about £4,000,000, or more than half the sum now paid in royalties. This £4,000,000, together with £2,800,000 spent in reducing the price of coal (clause 17), and £1,000,000 in depreciation (clause 18), and £5,000,000 in redemption (clause 7), could all be paid out of the annual profits, which amount to £16,500,000 (£9,500,000 existing profits and £7,000,000 saved in royalty).

19.—TITLE AND COMMENCEMENT.

This Act may be cited as the Nationalization of Coal Mines and Minerals Act, 1912, and this Act and the Coal Mines Regulation Acts, 1887 and 1908, and the Coal Mines Act, 1911, may be cited together as the Coal Mines Acts, 1887-1912, and shall come into operation on the first day of the sixth month after the passing of this Act, and all valuations, purchase, and transference of coal mines and minerals to the Minister for Mines and all other arrangements for the carrying out of this Act shall be concluded on or before the first day of the fifth year after the coming into operation of this Act.

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What about the Rates?

Or,

Municipal Finance and Municipal Autonomy ..

By **SIDNEY WEBB.**

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WHAT ABOUT THE RATES?

OR

Municipal Finance and Municipal Autonomy.*

WHAT is it that to-day most hinders municipal progress? I am afraid that most elected persons would say that it is the ratepayers' fear of any increase in the burden of rates. It is this fear that damps the ardor and hinders the work of the enthusiastic reformer who has been elected to a town or district council. What is even more important, it is this very real feeling that strengthens the hands of those members of every council who are anyhow not enthusiastic for social change.

The Rising Rates.

It seems to us always as if the rates were perpetually "going up" and never coming down! And in the large and growing cities and urban districts this is, in the main, true. We expect a great deal more from our local government in the way of the amenity of life than ever before. The sanitation and the paving and lighting, the provision for the sick and the care of the children, all cost more. But it is a mistake to suppose that rates were never so high at any previous time. In many a country district in the South of England the rates are to-day actually lower than they were a hundred years ago, when the average rate of all the Sussex parishes was 8s 7½d. in the pound, and that of all the Monmouthshire parishes was 7s. 11¾d. in the pound. I wonder what the Manchester citizen would say to-day if he were asked for two successive rates of five shillings in the pound within not many weeks of each other, as happened in the Manchester of 1796.† Even to-day there are towns in which the rates in 1912-13 were over

Ten Shillings in the Pound

for the year. We are few of us quite so hard hit as the ratepayers of Ilkeston and East Ham, who had to pay 10s; those of Lowestoft, 10s. 1d; Merthyr Tydvil, 10s. 2½d., Stoke, an average of 10s 6d.; West Ham, 10s. 6d.; and Norwich no less than 10s 7d in the pound † In a few of the London districts, such as Poplar and Ber-

* Enlarged from a paper read at the Conference of Socialist and Labor Elected Persons, held at Manchester on Good Friday, 1913, under the auspices of the Joint Committee of the Fabian Society and Independent Labor Party.

† See "The Parish and the County," by S. and B Webb, p 73, "Grants in Aid," by S Webb, pp 12, 13.

‡ Table by Mr. James Carter, Borough Treasurer of Preston, in *Municipal Year Book* for 1913, p. 1044.

mondsey, the total rates often exceed 12s. in the pound, in spite of large subventions from the wealthier parts of London under the Equalization of Rates Act.

Nevertheless, as we are only too painfully aware, the rates have risen, and progress is hampered thereby. The fact that any new service, even any improvement in an existing service, would raise the rates still more, stands in the way of our getting more done for the public good.

The Electors Must Pay.

Now, let me say at once, we must not delude ourselves with the hope that we can ever get rid of this obstacle to reform. It seems to me inevitable that the electors should have to feel that, whenever any new or increased expenditure is to be incurred, it is they themselves who will have to pay. This is the price that we pay for local self-government. It would be very nice if we could have, without check or limitation, the pleasure of spending public money on all sorts of desirable improvements: wide streets, lighting, cleansing, and paving up to the very pitch of perfection; the best schools and school clinics, meals for all the hungry children, and a broad highway to the highest education for all who were capable for it, complete provision for the sick, the orphans, the widows, and the aged; and the wisest possible treatment of the unemployed. But if we are going to have all these things in our own city, and to manage them ourselves as we think fit, the citizens of our own locality must be made to feel their responsibility for the expenditure. **We cannot have local autonomy without local finance.**

We Cannot Stop the Grumbling!

Nor can we prevent the ratepayers from grumbling, even if we reduce their present burden. There was just as much grumbling when the education rate was only twopence or threepence as there is now when it is anything between ninepence and two and ninepence. There is just as much complaint of the "extravagance" of the education committee in towns where the amount spent on education is only fifteen or eighteen pence in the pound as there is at Hull, where it is 2s. 2d; at Crewe and Norwich, where it is 2s. 2½d; at Rotherham, Swansea, and Merthyr Tydvil, where it is 2s. 3d.; at East Ham, where it is 2s 4½d.; or at West Ham, where it is 2s. 8½d.* Even if it were possible, by finding some new sources of revenue or otherwise, to arrange matters so that the ratepayer only paid half what he now pays, he would, the very next time that there was any increase of his lower rate, grumble just as much as he does now at any increase on the present high rate. The only way to satisfy the ratepayer and prevent him from grumbling would be to arrange that there should never be any increase in his rates. This would mean that the local council would never be able to advance beyond the present position. My first proposition, accordingly, is that it is impossible, consistently with a continuance of local self-government,

* *Ibid.*

ever to get rid of the ratepayers grumbling at every increase of the rates.

But, even if we cannot hope to get rid of the ratepayers grumbling at every new development of local services, may we not expect to get some immediate relief from the present burden? There is, first of all, as some will say, the profit to be derived from municipal enterprises.

Municipal Trading.

Some municipalities make a large profit on their gasworks, or on their tramway service, or on their electric lighting concerns; and they devote this profit to keeping down the rates. For instance, in 1912-13 Manchester made £50,000 profit out of gas; Leicester, £32,000; Nottingham, £31,183; Leeds, £25,000; whilst even smaller places like Chorley made £2,469; Colne, £2,500, Nelson, £3,532; and Stafford, £3,500. Out of tramways Manchester made £100,000; Leeds, £60,000, Liverpool, £38,244; Salford, £20,000; and Sheffield, £19,238. From electricity Liverpool drew £25,000; Manchester, £24,500; Leeds, £15,000; Nottingham, £14,850; and even such a smaller town as Chesterfield, £1,000; and Luton, £800.

Profits in Relief of Rates.

Altogether, in relief of the rates, from these and similar sources, Manchester drew no less than £188,500, Liverpool, £167,399, Leeds, £115,235; Nottingham, £85,713; and Leicester, £62,807. The greatest reduction in the rate made by these means was at Dewsbury and Wallasey, where the ratepayer benefited to the extent of no less than 1s 8½d. in the pound; Nottingham, where it was 1s 6½d.; Macclesfield and Darlington, where it was 1s 6d.; Halifax, 1s. 5½d., Stockport, 1s. 5d., Stafford, 1s. 4½d.; Yarmouth, Warrington, and Burnley, 1s. 4d.; Leicester, 1s. 3¾d.; Bolton, 1s. 2¾d.; Lancaster, 1s. 2½d.; and Carlisle, 1s 2d. The Manchester Corporation, for all its large profits, lowered the burden to the ratepayers by only 10¾d. in the pound.

A Doubtful Boon.

What are we to think of municipal profit making to this extent? There may be something to be said for the policy up to a certain point. The municipality may fairly take for the common good such part of its trading profits as arise from the fact that they are derived from monopoly. But this is usually a very small part, often indeed no more than a necessary margin between receipts and expenditure. Where the Town Council (as in the towns mentioned) makes a large profit out of its gasworks, or out of its tramway service, or out of its electrical installation, it is almost always getting that profit unfairly at the expense either of its employees or else of its customers. It is unfair to pay bare subsistence wages to the corporation employees, and work them long hours, and subject them to degrading conditions of labor, merely with the object of earning a profit for the relief of the ratepayer.

Sweating the Worker.

I was shocked to find some years ago, when I visited one of the great gasworks of the Manchester Corporation, that nothing whatever seemed to have been done, after a whole century of municipal ownership, with the object of making the Manchester gasworker into a Manchester citizen. It was not merely that he seemed to be paid no better and to be worked no shorter hours than if he were serving a joint stock company. What was even more startling was that he seemed to be treated by the foreman or manager with no more consideration, to be thrown every summer out of work as callously, to be granted no more holidays on full pay, to be accorded no greater sick leave or superannuation, to be given no more opportunity for changing his clothes and taking a bath, to be allowed no more comfort and amenity in the places where he had to work and wait and eat his food—in a word, provided with no more of the conditions of civilized life than the gasworker under the ordinary capitalist company. And what seemed to me even more grievous was that nobody on the gas committee, nobody on the corporation, nobody in Manchester even, thought that there was anything wrong in this.* It does not seem to occur to a municipal gas committee that they are open to criticism for treating their employees, as regards the amenity of their lives, and especially as regards the regularity of their employment, no better and no worse than private employers. I assert that it is the duty of every public authority to take care that all the conditions of employment of all its wage earners are such as, not only to permit of, but also actively to promote, a decently civilized life, before it takes a penny of the so-called profits of its enterprises in relief of the ratepayer.

Taxing the Gas Consumer.

Moreover, there is no sense in charging an unduly high price for any public service in order merely to benefit the ratepayer. For instance, when the Manchester or Leicester Town Council makes, year after year, a large profit out of its gasworks, it is really taxing the consumers of gas, in proportion to their consumption of gas, for the benefit of the owners and occupiers of house property roughly in proportion to their wealth. For we must remember that whenever

* A brief newspaper report of this statement seems to have made the chairman of the gas committee very indignant, so that we have, by 1913, perhaps made a little progress! In an interview (*Manchester Courier*, March 26th, 1913) he declared that the criticism was "rubbish", that the Manchester laborers were paid [26s. a week] as well as any others; that there was "no earthly reason why the 1,100 or 1,200 men working for the department should receive treatment better than that received by their fellow citizens or ratepayers."

But apparently social compunction is at work even here, because the Manchester Gas Committee, we are told, has just completed (*at one only of its works*) "one of the finest suites of dining rooms, lavatories, etc., for the use of the men", far superior to the accommodation afforded to many of their fellow citizens or ratepayers in private employment. Without questioning the chairman's consistency, I am contented to hope that, before the next critic visits Manchester, equally satisfactory accommodation will have been afforded to *all* the men in the employment of the gas department of the corporation, irrespective of the fact that many capitalist employers do not afford such civilizing amenities!

we give any relief to the rates we necessarily give most relief to those who inhabit the largest houses, or who own the greatest amount of house property, and who therefore need it least. Moreover, a very large part of the benefit goes to the railway companies, who now have to contribute to the rates on assessments based mainly on their local traffic, and whom we should thus be subsidizing at the expense of the gas consumers. The consumers of gas in any large city are now, for the most part, either the industrial users of power gas (which is usually supplied at a specially low price very little above cost), or else the tens of thousands of small homes unable to afford the electric light, or using gas for cooking, often by the "penny in the slot" machine. Why tax these in order to make the rates lower for the more opulent ratepayer and for the shareholders of the railway companies? It is even a short-sighted policy to charge an unnecessarily high price for gas when a great many of the smaller homes are not yet up to the gas level, and—to the profit of the private capitalist—still use coal and petroleum. It does not seem sensible for one department of the Manchester Corporation to be trying to diminish the smoke nuisance, whilst another department of that same corporation is, by charging unnecessarily high prices for gas, actively promoting the use of coal fires. And it is a short-sighted policy, as well as a narrow-minded one, to penalize the use of gas in a great city. The opportunities for municipal expansion in the popular use of gas—notwithstanding all the encroachments of the electric light—are still great. The gas committee ought to be playing for the enlargement of its business, until not a single family is left unsupplied. We ought therefore everywhere to urge a reduction in the price of gas—better still the free grant of greater facilities for its use by small consumers—rather than any reduction of rates out of gas profits.

A Tax on Tramway Rides.

And it is much the same with tramway profits. Any large profit derived from a tramway service for the relief of the rates means usually that the tired girls and women, boys and men, who throng the cars night and morning are being charged threehalfpence or twopence for a journey that they might have been allowed to take for a penny. We might even have, as in London and Glasgow, halfpenny fares. We must here remember that the fact that the tram fares are thus unnecessarily kept up means that the railway and omnibus companies are able also to keep their own fares up on all the competing routes. We thus put money into the shareholders' pockets at our own expense!

Sweating the Tramwaymen.

On the other side of the question we find the humbler workers in the municipal tramway service, such as the washers or cleaners—together with the women employed at the manager's office, and even some of the younger clerks—are still far below a thirty shilling wage. The "spare hands" or relief men, whose occasional services are of the greatest use to the management, are paid only for the trips they

take without any consideration of how they and their families are to live on the days when there is no job for them; and even the motormen and conductors, who are in most towns taken on at the rate of sixpence an hour only (rising gradually to sevenpence-halfpenny) find their hours so cut up by separate turns as to make it difficult for them to have any home life. The Liverpool Town Council, which makes the third largest profit out of tramways in relief of the rates, still works its tramwaymen as much as 60 hours per week, and allows no extra pay for Sundays or holidays; whereas the Glasgow tramwaymen work only 51 hours a week; and those of Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and many other towns work only 54 hours a week. Manchester, which makes actually more profit out of its tramways than any provincial city, gives its tramwaymen various privileges, but it takes the motormen on at no more than sixpence an hour (27s. for a full week), and advances them to no higher maximum than seven and a third pence per hour, with no extra rates for Sunday or holiday work. The Manchester Tramways Committee, instead of putting so much money into the pockets of the Manchester property owners, might well copy Cardiff, Dover, Leith, and Swindon, which give "time and a half" for Sunday work, or the many towns which give "time and a quarter"; whilst it would be a graceful concession to imitate Chester, Doncaster, Lincoln, Leeds, Huddersfield, and other towns, which give "double time" on Christmas Day and Good Friday. Above all, it is not very generous in a corporation making £100,000 a year net profit, that it should be taking on motormen at lower rates than Leeds (7d); Sheffield, Leicester, and Huddersfield (6½d); Stockport, Sunderland (6¼d.); Birmingham (6 44d.); or Burnley, Rotherham, Birkenhead, and Liverpool (6¼d); or that its maximum for such men (7'33d) should be below those of Liverpool and Birmingham (7'55d.), and Huddersfield, Leeds, Sheffield, and Darwen (7½d.). Similar invidious comparisons might be made as regards conductors and inspectors. Are the Manchester ratepayers morally justified in reducing their own rates in this way?

What Ought to be Done with the Profits.

My conclusion therefore is, that whilst it is usually advantageous for a local authority to own and work as many public services as it can efficiently manage, and whilst it is practically necessary to have the balance on the right side in each case and thus make even a pecuniary profit of this municipal trading, we ought not to look to this source for any substantial relief of the rates. Such municipal profits ought to be devoted first to the really just and generous treatment of all the corporation employees, not only in respect of wages—not even principally in respect of wages, except as regards the lowest grades—but mainly in respect of proper consideration of their circumstances and needs as human beings, and of the security, comfort, and amenity of their lives. These matters are of even more importance than the rate of wages. Secondly, there should come the improvement of the service itself, for the maximizing of the public convenience, especially as regards the mass of the people.

Thirdly comes the reduction of the prices charged for the service, especially all the irritating extra charges, such as gas meter rents, stove rents, payments for connections or installations, and so on; and especially also those which (like the charge for "penny in the slot" gas and tramway fares) amount, in the main, to taxation of the incomes of the families existing below a decent standard of civilized life. There is accordingly no substantial relief of the rates to be looked for out of the profits of municipal trading. The object of "municipal trading" is not profit, but the service of the public, on the one hand; and, on the other, such a collective control of the means of production as to prevent them being used either to oppress the workers or tax the consumers.

The Transfer of National Taxes.

It is a vain dream to expect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will impoverish himself by handing over any national taxes—the Inhabited House Duty or what not—merely in order to benefit the local authorities. Why should he? We, at any rate, have no grounds on which we can ask for this most unsatisfactory and most undesirable step. So long as any tax remains on sugar and tea and coffee and cocoa and currants, at any rate, any proposal for a transfer of national taxes for the relief of the local ratepayers means continuing to tax the children's food, in proportion to consumption, for the benefit of the occupiers of the largest houses, the railway companies, and the property owners, roughly in proportion to their wealth.

New Local Taxes.

If we look for any relief of the rates by new local taxes, I am afraid that we shall be equally disappointed. All the fancy taxes that imagination can suggest—taxes on advertisements, taxes on cats, licences for this or that trade, percentages on the takings of picture palaces and music halls, and all the rest of them—are, in my judgment, illusory. If we could examine each of them in detail, we should find that their actual yield in cash would be so small, so unevenly distributed between town and town, so uncertain, and so inconvenient and costly to collect, that it would not be worth undertaking. There is, of course, the possibility of a local Income Tax or local Death Duties, but here again we find ourselves up against a dead wall.

Why a Local Income Tax is Impossible.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—even a Socialist Chancellor of the Exchequer—is not likely to allow any town council to be a competitor with him in this rich field. Moreover, a local Income Tax, locally assessed and locally levied, presents difficulties in our own complicated country which seem to me insuperable. Our present Income Tax is successful because no less than four-fifths of it is not assessed directly on the payers, and not collected from them where they happen to live, but is assessed and collected at the source, and is thus stopped by deduction from the income before this is paid over.

With a local Income Tax this would be impossible, and the Finance Committee of the Manchester Town Council would have to do what the Chancellor of the Exchequer cannot do, namely, get separately and directly at each Manchester citizen, and ask him to make a correct return of all his income. But who, for this purpose, would be a Manchester citizen? Where is the local Income Tax, where are the local Death Duties, to be paid of all the crowd of rich men who throng the Manchester Exchange or the Liverpool Flats? They have tiny offices at high rents near their daily haunts, but ninety per cent. of them sleep outside the cities in which they make their money. Moreover, *where* do they make their money, at the factory or at the office in the city? Is the Income Tax on the Liverpool millionaire or the Manchester magnate to be enjoyed by the picturesque village in Cheshire or Derbyshire in which he has the mansion in which he sleeps? If so, what does Manchester or Liverpool get out of it? Is it suggested that he can be made to pay on all his income at each of all his many houses? Moreover, what Income Tax would be collected from each of the "multiple shops," in which gigantic companies are now carrying on the sale of meat, groceries, clothing, boots, and what not, in many hundreds of towns and villages? How could it possibly be estimated how much of the profit of the company—profit which comes mainly from its capacity to manufacture and distribute on a large scale—was made at each of its retail shops? Is it suggested that the whole of the company's profits could be taxed by every local authority in whose district it had a shop? The same sort of difficulty arises with the railway and canal companies, who are "occupiers" in practically every parish and borough of their own parts of the kingdom; with the great banks and their tens of thousands of branches; and indeed with all businesses carried on in more than one place. Are all these to be let off, or are they to be charged everywhere on the total income of the concern as a whole, or how can their profits be allocated among the districts of the different taxing authorities? It is of no use saying that *something called a Local Income Tax* exists in other countries, unless we are prepared to answer these questions. In my own judgment, the only way in which we can, in this complicated country, get relief for local taxation out of Income Tax or Death Duties is to assess and collect them nationally—perhaps as an addition or surtax on the imposts already levied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and then to distribute the aggregate proceeds among the local authorities according to some deliberately settled scale. To this proposal I shall return later.

We Must Not Sell Our Local Liberties.

I pass over the despairing suggestion that local authorities should be "relieved" of some of their duties by the National Government; that they should give up their schools or their high roads, their police or their hospitals, or their asylums, to a centralized Government department. Let us leave such proposals to the enemy. It is curious that it is always the Socialists who have

to stand up for liberty against central government. We, as Socialists, must cherish local government, and aim always at its expansion, not at its contraction.

Tax the Rent.

Let us now consider the subject from the standpoint of economic theory. The view of the best economists is that the source from which the greater part of the cost of public services should be drawn is the annual rent or, as the German Social Democrat would call it, "surplus value" of the community. This does not mean merely the rent of land, but all that part of the product of industry which would otherwise be taken by the owners of the factors of production superior to the worst in use. For instance, the mills in which Horrocks's longcloth is made are more profitable than the ordinary mills; the owners of that flourishing business get what is really economic rent. The factories at Lancaster in which Lord Ashton makes the floorcloth for the world are more profitable than the ordinary factory. Lord Ashton draws a huge sum in economic rent. Now the economist, as I have said, points out that this differential advantage in production, whether due to superior land, superior plant, or to any kind of monopoly, cannot be got in higher wages by the operatives concerned however strong may be their trade union, or however effective may be a minimum wage law. It necessarily goes as tribute to the person who owns these differentially advantageous factors of production. This tribute of economic rent to private owners, as the economists point out, is not necessary to the continuance of industry. It arises only after full remuneration at the market price has been paid for every man's labor by hand or brain. Theoretically, the whole of it could be skimmed off without interfering with the normal return to every person who co-operates in production, whether as manager or inventor or operative. These swollen profits, which make up, the statistician tells us, something like one third of the total national income, ought to be specially drawn upon for the expense of managing the country in the way which alone makes them possible. This is the view of the orthodox economic professor, though he usually shrinks from putting it so plainly. It is also the Socialist view, because here, as elsewhere, the Socialist is only telling the world what the economist preaches in more involved language.

Taxation of Rent must be National.

Now the only equitable and practicable way that can be recommended for getting at economic rent, whether it be rent of specially advantageous pieces of land, or the rent of other specially advantageous factors of production, is by national ownership or national taxation. You cannot have Manchester levying its own tax on its own site values without throwing back all the districts less favorably situated upon their own inferior resources. Is even Manchester prepared to forego its equitable share in the still more advantageous factors of production? Is it prepared, for instance, to give to South

Wales all the profits of the anthracite coal mines, and to the inhabitants of London all the monopoly value of that supremely advantageous position for taxing the world? It is plainly inequitable, as well as politically impracticable, to get at the economic rent except nationally.

Grants in Aid.

Thus we come back to Grants in Aid as the really practicable and effective source of relief to the ratepayers' burden. At present these Grants in Aid amount to only about 30 millions a year towards a local expenditure which is rapidly approaching 100 millions. They are at present given in the most foolish way, with the least possible consideration of either economy or efficiency, or even equality of relief to local burdens. I have described in a little book, called "Grants in Aid," which any councillor can get for five shillings, and which he can ask his council to buy for public use, both what the system now is and what, in my opinion, it ought to be. I will only say that now that Old Age Pensions, like the prisons, have become a national charge, there ought to be grants for each of the five great local services: for (1) education and all that is done for children; for (2) sanitation, including drainage, and the whole provision for the sick and infirm, including that now under the board of guardians; for (3) police and all the expenses of justice; for (4) all the cost of lunacy and the provision for the feeble minded; and for (5) streets and highways, including paving. These grants should be payable, not as lump sums, or in proportion to ratable value or to population, but (like the old Police Grant) *in proportion to the actual expenditure on the service*. And, in order not to interfere with the National Budget, the aggregate amount of all the grants might be fixed, and revised only every seven years, only the fixed sum being annually apportioned among the local authorities according to their several expenditures on the different services. I should like to see the aggregate fixed at one half of the present local expenditure on the services to be aided.

Taxation of Site Values.

This is where the Taxation of Site Values comes in. As an economist I do not myself limit the proposal to the special taxation of exceptional land, and I should wish to see it extended, as far as practicable, to all those factors of production which, by their superiority over those at the margin of cultivation, yield an "economic rent" or surplus value. Even simpler would it be for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to put a "surtax," or addition for local purposes, on the Income Tax and Death Duties, which now yield him eighty millions a year. To make the Grants in Aid one half of the cost of the services recommended above would involve—with all the existing exemptions and abatements—a "surtax" of nearly fifty per cent. On the other hand, with such a surtax, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, no longer having to find the existing Grants (thirty millions a year) out of his ordinary revenue, might abolish the Tea and

Sugar Duties and greatly reduce the Income Tax rate. But it is not our business here to-day to trouble much about the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budget, or the source from which he will pay the Grants in Aid. To the local authorities it matters not whence the Grant comes. All we want is the Grants themselves

Danger of Reducing Rates.

But we must bear in mind that although we want to facilitate additional expenditure, and perhaps—just by way of greasing the wheels—to effect a small reduction in the hardest cases, we ought not to try generally to reduce the local rates to any great extent. Whatever may be the truth as to the real incidence of rates, nothing is more certain than that any great reduction benefits the landlord, and the landlord almost exclusively. Reduce the rates in Ancoats by twenty-five per cent. and the laborer in the Ancoats slum will pay not a farthing less for the weekly rent of his wretched hovel—the slum owner will get the whole benefit of the reduction. Reduce the rates on agricultural land, as the Conservatives and Tariff Reformers are always proposing—does anyone suppose that the agricultural laborer will pay less for his cottage, or get a rise of wages? Reduce the rates in the coal mining districts, so that the colliery companies have to pay less on the miners' cottages—is there any reason to suppose that the miner will be charged a lower rent, or that he will get a higher price per ton for hewing? A reduction of rates may help the peasant proprietor or the man who owns a freehold house. But so long as we are nearly all in the position of having to pay rent to a private landlord or house owner—especially where, as is the case with regard to more than half the population (and the poorest half), the rent is collected weekly—to expect that the wage earner will benefit by reducing the charge made on the owner is like looking to get butter out of a dog's mouth. The wage earners should demand Grants in Aid to facilitate municipal progress, not in order to reduce existing rates.

The Real Profit of Municipal Enterprise.

Thus, my final conclusion is that we must meet the ratepayer face to face and educate him on the question. Courage and clear thinking, and some capacity for popular explanation, must remain a necessary part of the equipment of the elected councillor. The ratepayer, after all, gets far more in return for his rates than he does for any other part of his expenditure. If you won't pay an adequate Education Rate, you will have to pay a higher Poor Rate and Police Rate. If you won't pay a proper Public Health Rate, you will certainly pay tenfold in Sickness Rate and Death Rate. Mr. Chamberlain successfully fought his municipal battles at Birmingham forty years ago on the war cry of "Higher Rates and a Healthy City." Can anyone doubt that this policy has been proved to "pay" at Birmingham, to pay even the Birmingham ratepayer and the Birmingham property owner? What city is going to own that it is less enlightened than Birmingham?

Fabian Tract No. 173.

Public versus Private Electricity Supply.

By C. Ashmore Baker,
A.M.I.E.E.

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THE FABIAN RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

devotes itself to the collection of information and the investigation of economic and social problems. For convenience, it has its own separate offices (37 Norfolk Street, W.C.) and staff, and its expenses are defrayed entirely by the donations made for its special work. Membership is open to all members of the Fabian Society, whilst other persons willing to help in the work may be co-opted for particular researches as Consultative Members.

An example of the work undertaken is the *Report on Land and Rural Problems*, prepared by a special Committee (H. D. Harben, Chairman). This is published, complete and with appendices, by Constable and Co. (2s. 6d. net).

The Report of the Committee on the Control of Industry (Mrs. Sidney Webb, Chairman) is now in preparation, and will be published in 1914.

It is proposed to form a Committee on Industrial Insurance.

PUBLIC v. PRIVATE ELECTRICITY SUPPLY.

ONE of the most remarkable economic developments of modern times has been the rapid growth of what is called municipal trading, and perhaps few economic questions have been discussed with more rancour and ignorance on both sides; for it is seldom that even the supporters of the movement advance much in the way of argument beyond sentiment, or vague generalities for the faith they profess.

The general ignorance on the subject is the less pardonable in view of the great mass and ready accessibility of the material available by which the success or failure of the movement may be gauged.

Can a public service be provided better by a public body than by a private enterprise? And how are we to define "better"?

Many defenders of municipal trading argue their case on ethical and even on æsthetic grounds, but the man who has to foot the bill requires something more concrete, and asks: Can a municipality supply as good an article at as low a price as can, say, a public company; and if so, how can we be sure of it both in regard to price and quality?

Now in many fields of activity it is difficult to compare the results produced under the two rival systems we are considering. This difficulty arises frequently from the absence of generally accepted criteria of "goodness."

One party insists on cheapness regardless of economy, another on efficiency regardless of cost, and so on; and there is heard

"Great argument
About it and about."

What is required at the moment is a comparison based on the production of some definite commodity whose value and cost can be readily and accurately gauged.

Now a Board of Trade unit of electricity is a pretty definite thing from a commercial point of view. It cannot be adulterated; its quality cannot vary much from definite standards; it can be accurately measured; and whether we buy it from a company or a town council we can be fairly certain of obtaining an identical article.

Here also we have an article the cost of production of which, by the judicious investment of twopence at any railway bookstall, can be ascertained in the case of a large number of separate undertakings, both publicly and privately owned.

The *Electrical Times* publishes in nearly every issue tables showing the analysed yearly returns of some 300 of the statutory undertakings, and as these returns are made out in a form prescribed by Act of Parliament they are readily comparable.

In addition to the above, the publishers produce an annual reprint of these tables, usually containing in addition to the figures relating

to the separate undertakings group analyses giving the results produced by the companies as a whole and by the municipalities as a whole. Let us see what these figures have to say to us.

TABLE I.

	Local Authorities.	Companies.
Capital Expenditure per Kilowatt of Maximum Load	£ 96	£ 153
Working Expenses per Unit sold ...	0 80d.	1 27d.
Average Price charged per Unit ...	1 70d.	2 52d.
Amount provided for Depreciation and Reserve per £ 100 of Capital ...	—	£ 1 32
Amount provided for Sinking Fund per £ 100 of Capital	£ 3 15	—
Load Factor*	20·68 %	18 53 %

Table I. gives us the position of affairs as shown in the last (1910-11) issue of these annual tables, and the figures crudely as they stand appear to present an overwhelming case for the municipalities.

Thus, as regards capital expenditure, for each kilowatt of maximum load (that is to say, for a given capacity for meeting the demand for energy at any time) the companies have expended in cash or credit 60 % more than have the municipalities. In working expenses they spent 59 % more per unit sold; their consumers paid them on an average 48 % more per unit.

And here arises one of the loudest and most persistent of the charges levelled against municipal economics. "They are living on their capital," say the objectors; "in a few years their plant will be obsolete or worn out, and notwithstanding this they will still be obliged to go on paying interest on the capital invested, while new loans will have to be raised for the renewal of their machinery."

Now, if this is true, in what a parlous condition must be the electric supply companies in view of the fact that whereas the municipalities are hastening to perdition on sinking funds averaging 3 15 %, not to mention any additional reserves they may be accumulating, the companies are only providing 1 32, or less than half the amount set aside by the municipalities for the protection of their capital, and this notwithstanding the fact that whereas the companies' statutory powers are virtually terminable at the end of forty-two years, those of the local authorities are to all intents and purposes perpetual.

And yet the companies' shares and debentures are readily saleable at quite substantial prices!

Many other voices are raised in refutation of the evidence crudely set forth in Table I. "The municipal undertakings are much larger than those owned by companies, wherefore they work more cheaply."

The municipalities make large paper profits by selling energy to themselves for street lighting, etc., at exorbitant prices. They charge working expenses to capital account. They sweat their workers.

* Ratio of actual to possible output of units by the plant installed.

They pay extravagant wages for the purpose of vote catching. They have invented a whole calendar of new crimes in addition to the old ones doubtless practised by such enterprising local authorities as may have ruled those "Cities of the Plain."

These things obviously want looking into. Let us make an investigation in order to ascertain what of truth may be in them.

The first of these charges has an appearance of reason, inasmuch as the biggest yearly loads of the municipalities' undertakings averaged 2,000 kilowatts, while that of the companies averaged only 1,440 kilowatts during the year we are considering. We must therefore compare our undertakings size for size.

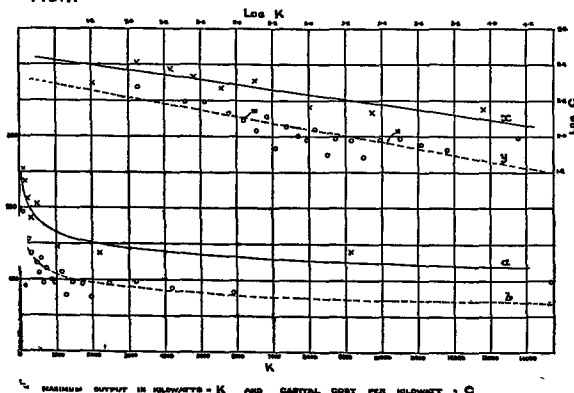
If the list of authorities given in the *Electrical Times* table be taken, and each group (municipal and company) arranged, not in alphabetical order, but in a table commencing with the largest undertaking (as measured by its maximum load) and ending with the smallest, and if we plot on squared paper the figures given, the abscissæ representing the size of the undertaking and the vertical ordinates any other column of figures, such as the total cost of production per unit or the capital expenditure per kilowatt of maximum load, we shall find that we get a series of dots distributed like the tail of a comet about a mean curve.

What we want is to find the mean trend of that curve.

N.B.—The exposition here following of the method of analysis used is not necessary to the main argument; it is given in order that anyone sufficiently interested to do so may verify for himself the results obtained.

A higher degree of regularity may be obtained by further sub-dividing our towns into groups of ten each, and again plotting our co-ordinates, they now fall into a much more orderly arrangement, but it is still not easy to draw a curve which shall represent their mean. (See Fig. 1.)

FIG. 1.



or to express our formula numerically: $C = \frac{140}{K^{0.179}}$ from which formula we can calculate the mean curve for our co-ordinates already plotted. (Fig. 1, *a*.) The full line *a* is the corresponding logarithmic line for companies, and gives us the formula $\text{Log } C = .763 - (\text{Log } K \times .0136)$, or $C = \frac{420}{K^{0.136}}$ as shown in *b*, Fig. 1.

Although these formulae represent hyperbolas it is not to be argued therefrom that the relation between the size of an undertaking and the cost of its installation or working follows a true hyperbolic law. All that is claimed in the present paper is that for the purposes of comparison, and within the limits of the data available, the mean relation is sufficiently nearly an hyperbola to render any departure from such law negligible.

It will be observed that in curves *a* and *b*, Fig. 1, most of the co-ordinate points are grouped at one end of the diagram, that is to say in the region of the most usual size (1,000 to 2,000 kilowatts). In order to make our comparison clearer it will be well to draw our diagrams in such a way that the mean of the ascertained co-ordinates (as represented by circles and crosses respectively) comes nearer the middle of the diagram, while at the same time the extremes are included in the picture. This can be done by graduating our abscissae in such a way that equal distances represent equal proportions instead of equal quantities, that is to say by making our horizontal scale a scale of logarithms as in Fig. 2, which represents the same curves as are shown in Fig. 1. (Compare Figs. 1 and 2.) The abscissae of this and the succeeding figures, with the exception of Figs. 9 and 12, are graduated in this way, not with any ulterior motives of lanky-panky but for the sake of clearness only.

The method of analyses above described has been followed in all cases in the following curves with the exceptions of that representing "Rent, Rates and Taxes" and of the graph illustrating the relations between "price" and "user," Fig. 12.

Having obtained a means of comparing the results size for size of publicly and privately owned undertakings, let us proceed to make our comparisons and discover what is to be learned therefrom and what justice may be in the accusations brought by its opponents against municipal trading in electricity.

Fig. 2, as already stated, represents capital expenditure per kilowatt of maximum load; the full line being the curve for companies and the dotted line that for municipalities.

It is obvious from these curves that, in the matter of capital expenditure at least, public bodies have proved on the average better buyers than companies, and not merely for large undertakings but better size for size from one end of the scale to the other.

This result was of course to be expected to some extent, inasmuch as the municipal capital contains no water, and moreover a public body can raise money at a cheaper rate than can a limited company who have not the guarantee of public rates behind them. It was hardly to be anticipated, however, that the difference would be so great, averaging as we have already seen 60 %.

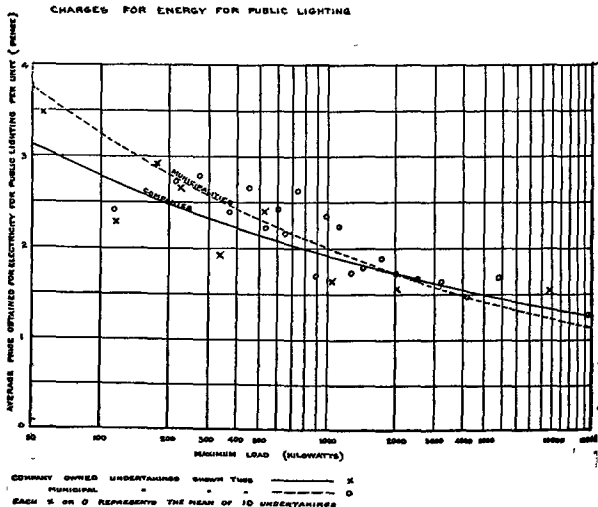
Could this result have been obtained if it were to any marked extent customary for those in control of municipal undertakings to burden their capital accounts with items properly chargeable to revenue? The answer is self-evident.

Now what about those dearly bought units applied to public lighting by means of which the ratepayers' money is siphoned for the purpose of bolstering up moribund municipal funds?

Fig. 3 tells us something about this, and what it tells us is that there is "not much in it." The companies' charges are lower by a small percentage for the smaller undertakings and higher for the larger ones, the two curves crossing at a point representing a maximum load of 2,000 kilowatts.

If therefore the ratepayers are badly off under the municipal régime as regards the cost of electricity for public lighting, they are on the average very seldom better and generally worse off under the companies; moreover, inasmuch as the municipal undertakings pro-

FIG 3



duce at a considerably lower price than do the companies, much of the cost of public lighting must obviously come back to them in the form of profit or in reduced charges for general supply.

Fig. 4 gives us the respective wages curves for the two classes of undertaking, and we must decide from these curves whether "sweating" or "extravagance" is to be charged against the municipalities.

The municipal curve lies somewhat higher than the company curve up to about 350 kilowatts, and above this limit follows a lower trend, so that of the two counts sweating perhaps more nearly fills the bill. But is it not at least arguable that wise expenditure of capital and able management have resulted in a saving in the

FIG. 5.

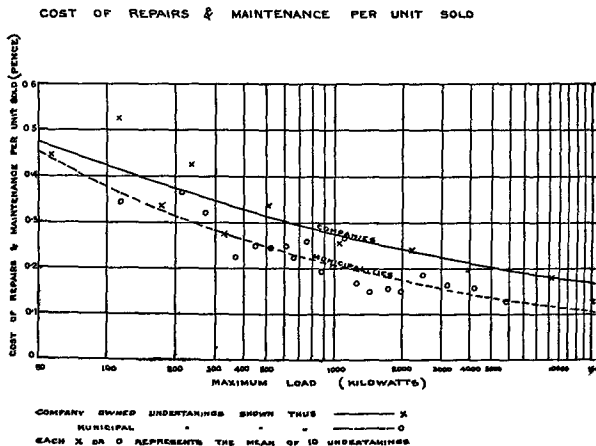


Fig. 6 shows the relative cost of coal per unit sold for the two classes of undertaking. It is only fair to the engineers of the companies to point out that the difference in this case is not in reality as great as would appear from the diagram, and that the apparent difference is largely though not entirely due to the fact that a larger relative percentage of the municipal undertakings is situated in the coal areas.

In Fig. 7 are given the relative amounts spent on management and establishment charges.

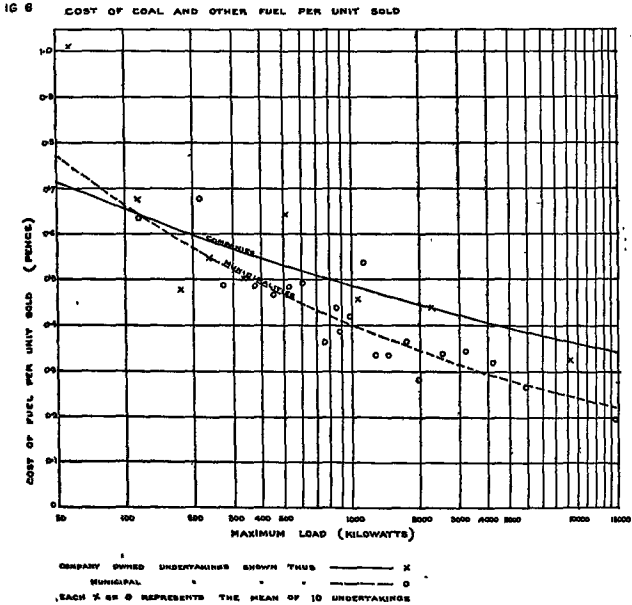
What can be the explanation of the extraordinary divergence between these curves? Why should companies have to pay, on an average, anything from 75 % to 300 % more for the management of their undertakings than have the municipalities?

The answer to this question probably lies in the realm of psychology.

The municipalities sweat their officials? Probably they do; certainly the average pay of municipal electrical engineers is extremely low. But it is open to the economist of the cynical "Manchester school" to retort, "If we can get the best men for the rates we pay, why pay more?" and in view of what has gone before, the rejoinder can scarcely be made that the service obtained is of the "nasty" as well as of the "cheap" variety. The general result produced by the municipal engineers is of itself a magnificent testimonial to their efficiency.

The companies have directors' fees to meet? This is, of course, true. You cannot get brains or energy for nothing when your object is private profit. The municipalities, on the other hand, do get the services of their "boards of directors" for nothing; and this brings us to a fundamental proposition of the highest importance in the psychology of public service, namely, "*that men will do better work at a cheaper rate when working for the public good than when working for private gain.*" If the figures I am quoting prove anything at all, they prove this.

Figure 8 is rather remarkable for the fact that, as it indicates, the cost of water, oil, and stores like that of coal is, other things being equal, little, if at all, less in the case of the municipalities than in the case of the companies, phenomena so unusual that one feels compelled to look about for an explanation.



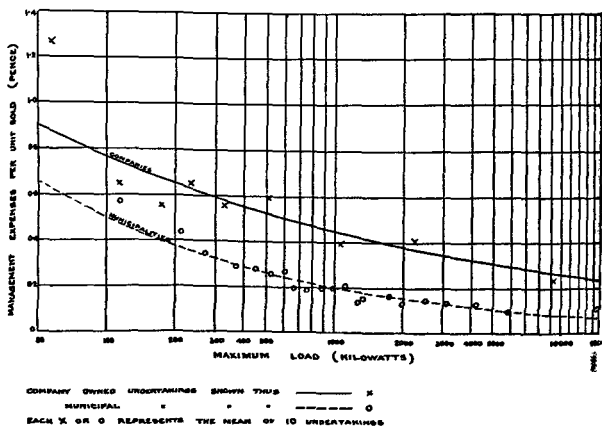
This will probably be found in the fact that where technical as apart from financial matters are concerned there is probably not much to choose between the two classes of undertakings. The companies' engineers would doubtless produce quite as good results as their municipal brethren under equally favorable economic conditions. It is obviously in the board room that the chief differences between public and private trading arise.

Rents, rates, and taxes are presented in Fig. 9, and here will be found some possible explanation of the often heard complaint that the companies are not fairly treated in the matter of rating. The item in question does not appear to follow any law analogous to those governing output and cost under other heads of expenditure (or, indeed, any law at all, except such as under providence may guide the inscrutable workings of the minds of the assessment authorities). They commence equally at or about 0.15d. per unit, and rise and fall respectively to about 0.2d. per unit in the case of the companies and about 0.1d. per unit for the municipal undertakings.

A large proportion of the item in question is due to local rates, which are of the nature of an income tax; and inasmuch as the companies charge far higher prices for their energy than do the municipalities, it is reasonable to expect their rateable value to be correspondingly higher.

FIG 7

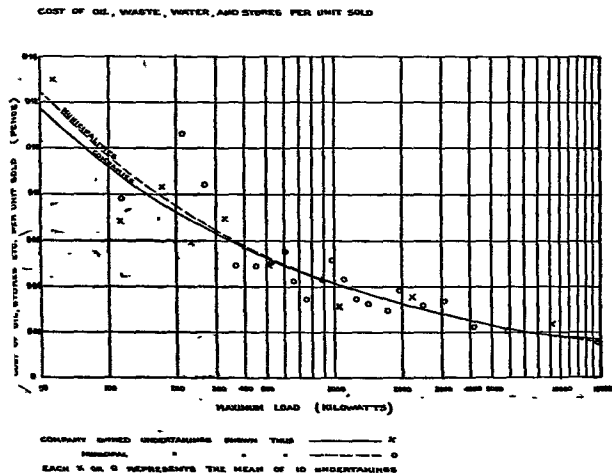
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The remainder of the difference is probably to be accounted for by the obviously superior economic efficiency which the municipalities evince, on the whole, throughout their operations.

In Fig. 10 we have curves representing the grand totals of the preceding curves, and it is an interesting check on the method of

FIG. 8.



analysis employed to find that the respective values of these curves agree to within about 2% or less with the sums of the preceding curves for items of working cost. Beyond this observation Fig. 10 requires no further comment.

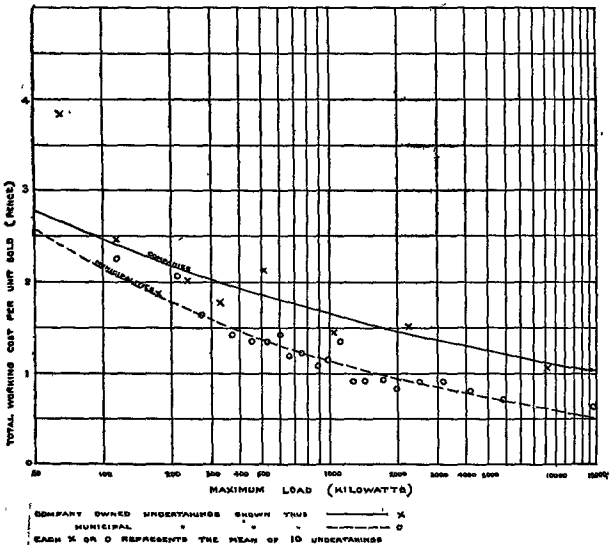
The consumers' point of view is touched upon in Fig. 11, which shows the average price received per unit for publicly and privately owned undertakings respectively of various sizes. It is obvious from these curves on which side the consumers' bread is buttered.

Having, as I submit, effectively shown that the figures given in Table I, present a true comparison between the respective results of public and private ownership, and that they are not to be whittled away by the criticisms with which I have dealt so far, let us return to the consideration of this table. The four essential points in the economics of electricity supply are here presented, and in all of these the municipalities make a far better showing than do the companies. But for the purpose of making a more simple comparison these may be combined into one figure for each class of undertaking.

If we take nett profit as the basis of comparison, still keeping the two classes of undertaking on an equal commercial footing, the greater success of the municipalities from the purely commercial point of view becomes still more strongly marked.

Thus, accepting the companies' provision for depreciation and reserve as a sufficient allowance in both cases (and there is no commercial reason why if it is sufficient in the case of the companies whose powers are terminable it should not be sufficient in the case of the municipalities who have perpetual powers), we find the nett

FIG. 10.
TOTAL WORKING COST PER UNIT SOLD



profits are 13.53 % in the case of the municipalities, and 4.95 % in the case of the companies; the former figure being about two and three fourths times the latter.

If, then, the two systems are compared on the usual basis of profit, it is evident that the municipalities have beaten the companies by the handsome margin of nearly three to one.

So far the municipalities have been on their defence, but we now come to a set of facts justifying a prompt and vigorous attack upon

That for December, 1911, shows the following results :

TABLE II.

	Companies.	Municipalities.
Capital per 1,000 cubic feet of gas sold per annum	16s.	12s. 7d.
Working expenses per 1,000 cubic feet sold	31'86d.	28'1d.
Revenue per 1,000 cubic feet sold ...	42'56d.	38'5d.

Thus, on the basis of equal conditions as before, the gross profits of the municipalities would have been 1s. 2½d. on a capital of 12s. 7d., or 9'58 %, as compared with the gross profit of 5'57 % earned by the companies

In addition to the above, the municipalities have provided sinking funds, etc., to the amount of nearly a third of their capital. It would be interesting to know what proportion of their capital the companies have written off.

Here also it is interesting to note that whereas the sales in the case of the companies increased to the extent of 2'7 %, in the case of the municipalities they increased by nearly 3'3 %, i.e., the municipalities' business is growing 20 % faster than that of the companies

In electric traction also the municipalities compare advantageously with the companies. Thus, in the *Electrical Times* annual tables for the year 1910-11 the following figures are given :

TABLE III.

	Companies.	Local Authorities.
Capital cost per mile of track ...	£15,000	£16,100
Traffic revenue per car mile ...	9'90d.	10'58d.
Operating cost per car mile ...	6'00d.	6'52d.
Operating cost per passenger ...	'79d.	'64d.
Average fare per passenger ...	1'30d.	1'05d.
Depreciation and reserve ...	£1'43	£2'70
Nett profit per £100 of capital...	£5'58	£6'66

These figures are not strictly comparable, inasmuch as the districts served by the municipalities are usually better suited to tramway traction than those served by the companies.

There can be no doubt, however, that under level conditions, the economic laws which render other categories of municipal enterprise so much more successful commercially than the corresponding private enterprises would in a few years tell as markedly in favor of the municipal traction undertakings as they have already done in the case of municipal electricity and gas supply.

Doubtless the figures I have quoted and the conclusions I have deduced therefrom will be met by the protest (that final refuge of the destitute controversialist), "Statistics can be made to prove anything"; but I have not much fear that statistics (real statistics) can

be produced which will suffice to refute my proposition that our municipalities can "beat to a frazzle" the private companies working in the same fields of enterprise.

The question here suggests itself, in what fields of commercial activity is private enterprise likely to succeed better than public enterprise?

It is not the province of the present paper to discuss the relative merits of the two rival systems from the sociological or politico-economic aspects. These have been and will continue to be dealt with by other pens. My object has been to clear the field of some of the more common and immediate misconceptions and superstitions concerning municipal enterprises which are still widely believed in, and I must now leave it to my readers to judge how far this object has been successfully attained.

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CHARLES KINGSLEY AND CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

The Christian Socialists.

"ALL great poets," says Kingsley's Chartist hero, "are by their office democrats." Perhaps it may be said with equal truth that all real Christians are by their profession Socialists. The vital religions never have fought shy, and never can fight shy, of the social problem. The existence of poverty and evil is contrary to the religious ideal, and is in continual opposition to the religious doctrines. The founders of the Christian Church were very clear on this point. The poor and oppressed were in a special sense God's children, and their presence in society indicated a state of affairs which the Church was foremost in denouncing and in seeking to correct. Maurice, the originator of modern Christian Socialism, never hesitated to affirm the necessity for the co-operation of Church and State in any sound scheme of social reform, and his teaching lays stress on the "radical affinity" between the principles of religion and the practice of Socialism. More, he believed in the direct action of the Church in politics and industrial regulation. That the Christian Socialist Movement has exercised considerable influence in both directions is beyond dispute.

Before considering the position of Charles Kingsley in this movement and his special influence, it will be well to give, first, some idea of the movement itself, and then a short account of the man whose teaching and personality led to its formation—Frederick Denison Maurice.

English Socialism and the Co-operative Idea may be regarded as of twin birth. The work of Robert Owen has been already dealt with in this series; it is not necessary here to describe his theories and reforms in detail. The wonderful, almost quixotic, romance of the New Lanark mills, raised wages, reduced hours, free education and amusements, cheap provisions, and habitable dwellings—all this is well known, and so are Owen's magnificent schemes for the general organization of industries and the free instruction of the whole community. Had the more reasonable of Owen's proposals been peacefully and persistently urged, it is likely that democratic advance during the first half of the last century would have been much more rapid. Unfortunately, the democratic cause fell into the hands of O'Connor and his "physical force" Chartists, and with the fiasco of April 10th, 1848, when the Charter was trundled to its doom in a hackney cab and its heroes dispersed by the householder constables, it seemed as though the rights of the people had suffered a crushing defeat. But this was not so. Stimulated largely by the success of the Rochdale experiment, the co-operative

schemes again came to the fore, and plans for industrial and social reform were both voiced by the new movement, which, a year or two later, was known as Christian Socialism. Realizing the finer elements of Chartism, and deeply conscious of the suffering of the people, a group of devoted workers gathered round their leader, Maurice, and by means of an extremely vigorous propaganda, untiring personal labor, and the launching and financing of co-operative concerns, sought to "assert God's order," and to establish a system of brotherhood and mutual help.

The Christian Socialists were by no means revolutionary. They were in some respects conservative—Kingsley always asserted the value of an aristocracy—and believed rather in a restoration than in a reformation of society. They did not seek to reconstruct society, but to avail themselves of the resources of the existing society, which they considered as a divine institution, soiled and corrupted by the evil practices of men, and above all by the spirit of competition. Their strength lay in the noble ideals which they set before the working men. Their weakness lay in the obvious limitations of their dogma, and perhaps also in their conception of the natural goodness of men and in a false theory of society. By 1850 they had already promoted twelve co-operative associations, all of them in trades which were then untransformed by the use of machinery—tailors, shoemakers, builders, piano-makers, printers, smiths, and bakers. It should be pointed out that the Christian Socialist theory of co-operation differed from the Rochdale plan in its fundamental principle. The Rochdale co-operatives adopted the Owenite "elimination of profit" scheme, and formed an association of consumers, with benefits according to the amount purchased, the Christian Socialists advocated the association of producers, with benefits according to labor. The commercial failure of their enterprises was mainly caused by the fact that in small co-operative concerns run on these lines it was impossible to destroy the competitive element.

The idea of the movement was the application of the religious principle to economic problems, with special emphasis on *the supreme importance of individual character*. The life of the movement was short. After some four years of admirable and heroic effort, and the sacrifice in some cases of health and fortune, they were compelled to abandon their schemes for the regeneration of industry. But although they had failed as a working organization, they had set an example which profoundly influenced the trend of English Socialism and has yielded a richer harvest than any of them could have foreseen. And it may be questioned whether, continuing their individual efforts independently, they did not accomplish more than they could have done had they remained united, and possibly restricted, in close association.

Taken from the religious standpoint, they differed from the great Anglican Revival—the Oxford Movement—in this respect: that instead of bringing the people to the Church, they were concerned rather with bringing the Church to the people.

The literature of the Christian Socialists will be dealt with in the course of this essay ; it is time now to give attention to their leader and prophet.

F. D. Maurice.

Frederick Denison Maurice has been described as "certainly the most typical theologian of the nineteenth century." In addition to his great theological and metaphysical learning, he possessed what was then a rather unusual thing in a clergyman—a sturdy democratic spirit. His literary career began early. When a Cambridge undergraduate in 1825 he edited a paper, called the *Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine*, with his friend Whitmore. Most of the contributors were fellow undergraduates, and among them John Stuart Mill, who wrote an attack on *Blackwood's Magazine*, under the title of "The New School for Cockneyism." The *Metropolitan* ceased publication after four issues. After having contributed to the *Athenaeum*, he became editor, in 1828 (at the age of twenty-three), but resigned the following year. By 1830 he had completed a novel, "Eustace Conway," which was published about four years later. It was at this period that he removed to Oxford and made the acquaintance of Gladstone, who was then an undergraduate. In 1834 he took orders, and was soon drawn into the pamphleteer controversies which characterized the theological history of that period. "Subscription No Bondage" was written in 1835. From this period he broke away from the Oxford School. Pusey's writings contained "everything he did not think and did not believe," and Pusey, on his part, was "exceedingly angry" with Maurice's tract on Baptism, published in 1837. This year he married Miss Anna Barton, the daughter of General Barton, of the 2nd Life Guards.

In 1838 began a bitter warfare on the part of the religious newspapers, which continued, with little intermission, during his entire lifetime. Carlyle's influence was at this period affecting all ranks of intellectual society. Maurice attended his lectures, but his agreement with Carlyle was only partial, and he sometimes denounced his words and manner as "wild pantheistic rant." The inefficiency of the Church saddened him. "The Church is in a sad state ; we all know that—little light, little life." In 1840 he edited the *Educational Magazine*. He became Professor of Theology at King's College and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn in 1845. The following year he was visited by Ludlow, who sought his aid in a scheme "to bear the leisure and good feeling of the Inns of Court upon the destitution and vice of the neighborhood," a phrase which leaves one in doubt as to its exact meaning. He was active in the establishment of Queen's College, and was assisted by Kingsley, at a later stage, on the committee.

Politics for the People, the first periodical issued by the new Socialists (the term Christian Socialist was not currently employed until two years later), was first published under Maurice's direction on May 6th, 1848. It ran through three months of publication, and came to an end in July, having reached a weekly circulation of two

thousand copies. Maurice now held meetings of his friends once a week at his house in Queen Square; he also organized bible classes and night schools. Ludlow had persuaded the Chartist tailor, Walter Cooper, to hear Maurice preaching at Lincoln's Inn, and this, in April, 1849, led to his first meeting with Chartist working men at the Cranbourne tavern. These meetings were continued and were attended by several clergymen. The period of full activity was about to commence. "The time had come in my father's life," writes his son, "when it was certain that a movement of which he would be the leader must begin."

The little band of workers were formally organized as the Christian Socialists in 1850, and the first number of their organ, the *Christian Socialist*, with Ludlow as editor, was published on November 1st. Maurice's contributions were not numerous.

Both Maurice and his friends were subjected to a wild and bitterly unjust attack from the pen of one Croker in the *Quarterly* for September, 1851. In spite of its manifest exaggeration and open malignity, it did much to inflame public opinion against the Socialists. During the great Iron Trades Strike of 1852 the Christian Socialists were energetic on behalf of the men. The strike was a failure; the men were forced to return to work at the old terms and to abandon their union.

After a prolonged discussion, Maurice was expelled from King's College in 1853 (November), owing to certain opinions expressed in his "Theological Essays"—a publication which could not fail, at such a juncture, to provoke controversy. The whole affair gained a wide publicity. The opinions of the press wavered. Maurice was condemned on the one hand and applauded on the other; to the Broad Churchmen he was a victim, to the High Churchmen a heretic. From conscientious motives he resigned his position at Queen's College the following month—a position to which he returned, in reply to the solicitation of the entire Council, three years later. The survey of his last years must be condensed. He was particularly interested in the instruction of women of the working classes and in the Working Men's College. A series of "Tracts for Priests and People" was written by Maurice and his friends during 1861-2, and published in the latter year. At the same time, after many years of labor, his great work on "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy" was printed. Towards the close of his life he became more and more absorbed in polemical and theological discussions and in every kind of doctrinal controversy. He died in 1872, at the age of sixty-six.

Maurice possessed a vast personal influence over the men with whom he was brought into contact, and especially over the leaders of the Christian Socialist Movement, who were in turn led by his unanswerable resolution, his loyalty, and his calm endurance. For example, he was able to suppress Lord Ripon's pamphlet on Democracy ("The Duty of the Age") by the mere weight of his objection, even after the pamphlet had been printed and was ready to be distributed. He was the intellect and the scholar of the move-

ment ; his disciple, Kingsley, humanized his ideas and set them in a form "understood of the people."*

Charles Kingsley—Early Years.

Descended from men who had fought at Naseby and Minden, the son of a country gentleman whose mismanaged fortune was the cause of his entering the Church, Charles Kingsley was born at Holne Vicarage, in Devonshire, on June 12th, 1819. His father was a man of many talents and a keen sportsman, and it was from him, doubtless, that Kingsley inherited that open-air temperament which was always so characteristic. Kingsley's child-play seems to have been divided between the Army and the Church. He was either engaged upon fortification work or he was preaching in his pinafore to an imaginary congregation. His first poem, a very solemn reflection on human mortality, was written at the age of four years and eight months. It is not possible to give his boyhood in detail, but one episode must certainly be dwelt upon.

When a lad of twelve he was sent to school at Clifton, and it was here that, to use his own words, he "received his first lesson in social science." The Bristol riots had begun in the autumn of 1831, and it was in the following year that Kingsley, fascinated, as schoolboys are wont to be, by the horror and excitement of a "row," evaded supervision and went forth to see for himself. It was a nauseating affair. Demos, in true Caliban mood, had broached casks of spirit upon the paving-stones, had defied the soldiers, who sat motionless, orderless on their horses, the blood streaming from their faces; had plundered, burned and violated in full sight of trembling and hesitating authority. The flames from a burning house ignited the spirit in a gutter, in one instant a blazing torrent of fire rushed down upon the drunken wretches and left behind it a line of blackened corpses—Demos, to the accompaniment of outrage and suicide, continuing his frenzied debauch. The scene produced the one possible effect on a questioning and intelligent mind. "That sight," he said, "made me a Radical."

College Days and Curacy.

After a two-year's course as a day student at King's College (his father at that time having the living of Chelsea), he gained a scholarship—much to his own surprise—at Magdalene, Cambridge. He was extremely popular with his fellow-undergraduates of every description. Like all imaginative men, he found enjoyment in all kinds of society. His life was one of extraordinary mental and physical activity, though, in the academic sense, he never distinguished himself. In Kingsley, a young man possessed of a vehement and challenging spirit, the restlessness of his age became at times a veritable fever. The Tractarian Movement was in full force. It was a period of fierce and disquieting controversies. His sense of religion

* Unlike Kingsley, Maurice was never at his ease when talking to individuals of the manual working class. His manner on such occasions was timid and conventional.

was overclouded. To escape from the strain of his own searching and wearing thoughts he "went in for excitement of every kind"—horses, duck-shooting, fencing, boxing, boating, and so forth. His acquaintance, through his writings, with Carlyle and his philosophy helped to ballast his unsteady and wavering opinions. It is probable, too, that friendship with another undergraduate, Charles Mansfield, proved a good influence.

The story of Mansfield's short life is particularly touching. He possessed an unusual brilliance of conversation, the most intense faith that right was might, and that there was indeed a God in the heavens. He was a student of chemistry, and became so distinguished in this science that men saw in him the successor of Faraday. In due time he became one of the Christian Socialists, and his death, which occurred as the result of an accident in the laboratory, was a grievous loss to the movement, and especially to Kingsley. From Mansfield Kingsley acquired that zeal for sanitary reform and for the institution of a sound national hygiene which became pronounced in his later activities.

Kingsley had at one time considered the law as a profession, but in 1841 he decided upon entering the Church. In striking and very significant words he announces his devotion to "the religion which I have scorned," begins a course of desperately hard reading for his degree, cramming three years' work into six months of unceasing labor, emerges from the trial with a first in classics and senior optime in mathematics, reads for Holy Orders, and is ordained in the July of 1842. During this period of preparation, and, indeed, ever since the summer of 1839, when he first met her, Miss Pascoe Grenfell, the lady who was to be his wife (a *summum bonum* which he then despaired of), was the confidant of his thoughts, hopes and perplexities, and the kind admonitress of his troubled spirit. It was she who introduced him to the writings of Carlyle, Coleridge, and Maurice; it was she who consoled and strengthened him in the midst of doubt; and we may be pretty certain that it was for her sake that he worked so hard and so manfully when once the clear road lay before him. During the interval between leaving Cambridge and entering upon his curate life, he began his "Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary," illustrated with his own drawings. "It was not intended for publication, but as a gift to his wife on his marriage day, if that day should ever come." On July 17th he first ministered in Eversley Church—the church which was destined to be his for more than thirty years.

He seems to have found the parish of Eversley in a lamentable condition. The population were traditional smugglers and poachers. The squire had been a Prince Regent's man—a hard-riding, hard-drinking person, and "a strict game preserver." Of Kingsley's rector I can learn little. Available records are silent. Perhaps we may form a sufficient judgment of his character from the fact that he absconded in 1844. Kingsley's manliness, his plain speaking and preaching, and his skill at fisticuffs rapidly gained him the friendship and respect of the villagers. The poacher and the poet, two

democratic products, have always fraternized in spirit. Here was a parson who was some good at last—the empty church began to fill.

At the end of 1843 Kingsley took leave of his bachelor quarters at the corner of Eversley Green, having been offered the curacy of Pimperne. In January, 1844, he married Miss Grenfell, and, the living of Eversley becoming unexpectedly vacant, he received the appointment, and the newly married pair took up their abode in Eversley Rectory.

The Working Classes in 1844.

It is by no means unimportant that we should try to form some idea of the industrial and rural conditions of this period. Chartism was rampant. The strikes of 1842, when wheat stood at sixty-five shillings a quarter, and sabotage and violence were general, had ended, but now (1844) a fierce dispute was in progress between the masters and men of the northern collieries. The men were beaten, but their defeat led to the enlistment of 30,000 as physical-force Chartists. The misery of the industrial workers was almost beyond belief. The treatment they received from their employers was so barbarous and so overbearingly despotic that the facts read like some black and impossible fantasy of the imagination. A very remarkable young man of twenty-three was collecting material for his book on the working classes of England. He was a German, and his name was Frederick Engels. From his book—the saddest and most terrible record of that period—I must give one or two typical illustrations.

Of the London slums he says: "The streets are generally unpaved, rough, dirty, filled with vegetable and animal refuse, without sewers or gutters, but supplied with foul, stagnant pools instead. . . . Scarcely a whole window-pane can be found, the walls are crumbling, doorposts and window-frames loose and broken, doors of old boards nailed together. . . . Heaps of garbage and ashes lie in all directions, and the foul liquids emptied before the doors gather in stinking pools. Here live the poorest of the poor; the worst paid workers with thieves and the victims of prostitution indiscriminately huddled together. . . ." But this is nothing compared with the state of the factory hands. The facts with regard to the employment of women are too horrible to be detailed; vice and disease, the criminal tyranny of overseers, the violation of every right of womanhood and motherhood—it is as well to pass by these things in silence. Let me quote from his indictory paragraph: "Women made unfit for child-bearing, children deformed, men enfeebled, limbs crushed, whole generations wrecked, afflicted with disease and infirmity . . . children seized naked in bed by the overlookers and driven with kicks and blows to the factory, their clothing over their arms . . . their sleepiness is driven off with blows. . . ." Turn to the country districts: "The laborer lays snares or shoots here and there a piece of game. It does not injure the landlord . . . for he has a vast superfluity. . . . But if he is caught he goes to jail, and for a second offence receives at the least seven years' transportation. From

the severity of these laws arise the frequent bloody conflicts with gamekeepers, which lead to a *number of murders every year.*" The general misery was greatly increased by the influx of Irish laborers, especially to the towns, and the consequent lowering of wages. It is not to be wondered at that even the *Times* spoke with a democratic accent!

Pastor in Parochia.

Kingsley was an ideal parish priest. He came to a sorely neglected village, and won first of all the good will, and finally the deep affection, of his parishioners. This was due less to the admirable series of village institutions which he founded than to his real sympathy with the people. He could talk to them, with understanding and interest, on subjects that are seldom within the scope of the ecclesiastical mind—the crops, the weather, the hunting field, pike fishing, the ways of birds and animals, nature lore, and shrewd maxims of sport. His sermons were manly and direct. His care for the suffering was less the performance of a duty than a free act of devotion. There was little incident outside the home circle during the first years of Eversley life. His first child, a daughter, was born in 1846, and his eldest son in 1847. With the crash of 1848 Kingsley began his Socialist work, and the disastrous April 10th found the Rector of Eversley in London.

Chartism.

Kingsley was already known to Maurice. He had attended the meetings of bible scholars at Maurice's house in 1847, and they had corresponded extensively. To Maurice he went therefore to see what could be done to prevent a collision between troops and Chartists. Maurice was confined to the house with a severe cold, but he sent Kingsley to Ludlow with a letter of introduction. The two men set out for Kennington Common, where the Chartists were to assemble, but at Waterloo Bridge they heard of the ignominious dispersal of the demonstrators and returned to Maurice with the news. From this moment we may trace the inception of the Christian Socialist Movement. The band of men who were to lead the movement had already met—Maurice, Hare, Ludlow, Mansfield, Scott, Parker, Hughes, Kingsley, and, later on, E. Vansittart Neale.

The day following the Chartist fiasco Kingsley wrote to his wife: "All as quiet as a mouse as yet. The storm is blown over till tomorrow, but all are under arms—specials, police, and military. Mr. Maurice is in great excitement, and we are getting out placards for the walls, to speak a word for God with. You must let me stay up to-night, for I am helping in a glorious work. . . ." Kingsley's placard, which may be considered as an attempt to dissuade the workers from direct political action and from the belief that a political remedy would suffice for the evils of the times, was posted all over London on the 11th. "Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give. . . . Workers of England, be wise, and then you must be free, for you will be fit to be free."

However little Maurice and his friends sympathized with physical force Chartism, they recognized that Chartism in general, as an act of insurgency against the fearful social iniquities of that period, did actually represent the claims of an oppressed and degraded people. Kingsley, addressing a meeting of workmen some time later began, "I am a Church of England parson"—a long pause; then, defiantly—"and a Chartist." Accordingly the pages of their first periodical (or, rather, their first series of tracts) made a special appeal to Chartists, whilst seeking to convince them of the folly and wrong of open violence, and glorying in the success of the householder constables. The first number of this publication (consisting of sixteen quarto pages, and issued weekly at one penny) came out on May 6th, and was called *Politics for the People*. The paper was jointly edited by Maurice and Ludlow, and, in addition to their contributions, papers were written by Archbishop Whately, Archbishop Trench, Bishop Thirlwall, Dean Stanley, Professor Conington, Dr. Guy, Charles Mansfield, A. J. Scott, Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne, Sir Edward Strachey, and Charles Kingsley. Maurice's chief contributions were: "Dialogues in the Penny Boats"; "Liberty: a Dialogue between a French Propagandist, an English Laborer, and the Editor"; "Equality," another dialogue; papers on historical subjects and education; and a Chartist story. Kingsley, besides "Parson Lot's Letters to Chartists," wrote articles on the National Gallery and the British Museum. All the articles were unsigned or signed by a *nom de plume*. Although short-lived, as we have seen, *Politics for the People* had considerable influence, and did good work in consolidating the new movement, in spreading its ideas, and in gaining enthusiastic recruits.

Socialist Activities.

Their activities were now chiefly directed to the work of education, classes were formed, and the friends met each week for study and discussion. Kingsley's first novel, "Yeast," came out during the autumn in *Fraser's Magazine*. This book, which at once established his reputation as a novelist, attracted a great deal of notice, partly hostile and partly appreciative, and was the means of arousing an interest in the sporting parson of Eversley which continued and increased during his whole lifetime. This is not the place for literary comment. The book is still widely read, and, in spite of a rather outworn sentimentalism and the tiresome character of its heroine, remains a very vital piece of work, endeared for ever to sportsmen by its wonderfully observant and broadly painted descriptions. Worn out by the mental and emotional strain of the past months, Kingsley spent the early part of 1849 recovering his health in Devonshire, and did not resume work at Eversley until the summer. Before returning to his parish he visited London, attended several meetings of working men, and joined in the activities of the Christian workers. Maurice was now addressing the Chartist leaders and other working men at the Cranbourne Coffee Tavern. "I was abashed," he wrote, "by the good opinion they had formed of me on no evidence." And later,

writing to Kingsley, "They seem to think it a very wonderful thing that a clergyman should be willing to come among them—a sad proof how far we have gone from our proper position." It must be remembered that at this time there was a lamentable want of sympathy between the Church and laboring men, and that the very fact of a man being a "parson" was enough to drive him off the platform at a public meeting. Sometimes there were stirring scenes at the Cranbourne Tavern. On one occasion the National Anthem was hissed. Hughes, like an evangelical Desmoulins, sprang on a chair, vowed that any man who insulted the Queen would have an account to settle with him personally (he was a proficient pugilist), ordered the pianist to play on loudly, and himself led the singing of the Anthem, which was continued so vociferously that interruption was either quelled or was drowned by the mere tumult.

The idea of co-operation, which was oddly associated in the minds of the workmen *with anti-Christian views*, began to make progress, and the Socialists were occupied with schemes for the launching of the small co-operative concerns to which I have referred. Ludlow had visited Paris, and had been greatly interested in the success of the *Associations Ouvrières*. He was convinced that a similar scheme of association would go far towards solving the industrial problem in England, even if it did not offer the complete solution. The workmen were equally anxious for an effective form of co-operation: the Tailors' Association had been launched, and other organizations were speedily planned.

Towards the autumn of 1849 cholera broke out in London and in other parts of the country. What is remarkable is that, with sanitary affairs in such a deplorably neglected condition, the outbreak was not more disastrous than was actually the case. Eversley seems to have escaped, but a formidable low fever to which many of his parishioners fell victims kept Kingsley hard at work during the summer, until, worn out by the anxiety of bed-side vigils—for the rector himself often undertook the duties of a sick nurse—he was obliged to seek health once more on the Devonshire coast. He returned to his parish in September, and set to work with magnificent energy. The cholera was now causing great uneasiness in London. An inquiry into the state of the metropolitan water supply revealed the most scandalous things. In the poorer quarters of London conditions still remained as Engels had described them five years previously. The people had no water fit for drinking. The common sewers were filled with stagnant horrors, in which floated the putrefying bodies of cats and dogs, dead fish, and filth unspeakable. With the cholera at its height the poor wretches dipped cans into the sewer-water—and drank it. In Bermondsey (which Kingsley visited) the distress was terrible. Such a man as Kingsley could not witness these scenes without being stung to the heart, and his efforts for sanitary reform were redoubled. Much of the subsequent improvement in these matters was due to his persistent—one might well say impassioned—labor.

He was at this time writing reviews for *Fraser's Magazine*, and was shaping "Alton Locke"—a book written in a white-heat of excitement and zeal. "Yeast" had made a deep appeal to the younger minds and the universities, and Eversley Rectory was already sought out by scholars and young men with problems.

In the Fulness of Power.

The year 1850 marks the flood-tide of the Christian Socialist Movement. Individualist co-operation was risking its decisive experiment. Mainly under the guidance of E Vansittart Neale, and the general supervision of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, the twelve co-operative enterprises were organized and financed.* Neale was the hero and the practical director. Until his death, in 1893, he devoted life and fortune to the cause of industrial unity.

The failure, in a few years time, of the Christian Socialist experiment was due to a misconception of the real economic conditions of the time, an exaggerated belief in the spirit of brotherhood, and the absence of a thorough knowledge of the market. It was found impossible to eliminate competition. Each association was perfectly autonomous with regard to its own management. The result was that the men quarrelled with their managers, were slow to admit new members, and, finally, sought to compete with the other groups. I may as well anticipate matters by stating that the Society of Promoters dissolved in 1854, having completely drained their financial resources.

1850 was a hard year for Kingsley and for all classes. Feeling deeply for the local farmers, who found it difficult enough to struggle against high rates and poor prices, Kingsley, by an impulse of generosity which was never forgotten (for he was himself a poor man), gave them back 10 per cent. of the tithe money. At the same time he decided upon that unfailing resource of the country rector—a private pupil. The stress of money matters induced him to proceed apace with "Alton Locke"—whether the last chapters of this book bear evidence of having been written in a hurry I leave for others to decide. He rose at five every morning and slaved at the MS. until breakfast time. The printer's copy was prepared by his wife, and he supervised her work in the evening. The difficulty was to find the printer. Kingsley was attracting too much attention for the more timorous and conservative publishing houses, and the publishers of "Yeast" fought shy of the offer. To his rescue in this predicament came Thomas Carlyle with an introduction to Messrs. Chapman and Hall.

"Alton Locke."

"Alton Locke," the commemorative novel of the Chartist period, and a burning comment on trade conditions, gave rise to so much discussion, and is of such importance to the subjects dealt with in

* The zeal of the Promoters is well illustrated by the fact that they were accustomed to hold their meetings at six o'clock in the morning.

this essay, that we must give it rather more attention than was accorded to "Yeast." In incident and style it conforms to the early Victorian heavy weight model. Few of the standard essentials are lacking. We are even treated to the classic drawing-room-piano scene, and the touches of sentiment are laid on in liberal brushfuls. None the less it is a production of great force and eloquent appeal. Professing to have been written by a working man, the crudeness mentioned by Carlyle is not out of place, and it certainly contains one splendidly drawn character—that of the old Scotch democrat, Mackaye. It was a very clear and disquieting exposure of the "slip trade," and directed the public mind to unsuspected evils. It appealed for greater efficiency in the Church, greater respect for the workman, and a more qualified regard for the "scented Belgravian" and the aristocrat. Above all, it enlisted the sympathies of a sentimental but potent *bourgeoisie*. It was mocked by the elegant reviewers, made light of by the High Churchmen, but was bought and read by thousands. Carlyle has summed up the book admirably when he describes it as "... a fervid creation still left half chaotic."

Publication of the "Christian Socialist."

Maurice's workers had now officially announced themselves as the Christian Socialists, and had renewed their literary activities. They were publishing a series of "Tracts on Christian Socialism" as a means of circulating their teaching, and on November 15th they issued the first number of their new periodical, the *Christian Socialist*. Kingsley had written "Cheap Clothes and Nasty" for the tract series under the pseudonym of Parson Lot, and became a contributor to the magazine.

The *Christian Socialist* was edited by Ludlow, and was beset with difficulties from the very start. The newspapers had attacked the movement in the most violent and apparently scandalized manner. It was no easy business to obtain a circulation for the new venture. The booksellers took up a prudish and circumspect attitude, and refused to stock copies. Writing to a friend in December, Kingsley stated that the circulation had risen to 1,500, and was increasing. It is doubtful whether these figures were greatly exceeded. So little interest was at first evinced by the public that the press was almost silent with regard to the magazine, and its influence was imperceptible. Maurice, it would seem, had never looked upon its publication with much favor. He had attempted to dissuade Ludlow from the undertaking—possibly because he feared its political character would become too pronounced—though he realized the importance of possessing some medium through which the whole movement might be linked together and its scattered workers kept in touch with the central idea.

Maurice himself wrote very little for it. Beyond some letters on education, written in the form of a correspondence between himself and an M.P., and the story of "Thomas Bradfoot, Schoolmaster," his contributions were of no great significance. He was anxious that other opinions besides his own should find expression in the

paper, although when the difference was too decided, he always interfered, and his objection was sufficient to ensure the withdrawal of the offending article

There were at this time monthly conferences between the leaders of the movement and the workmen associates for the discussion of all vital points

The Act of Parliament.

In Parliament, Slaney was using every endeavor to procure an Act legalizing the new co-operative and investment schemes, and securing them the protection, if not the encouragement, of the State. He obtained a Special Committee to enquire into the "investments for the savings of the middle and working classes." It was natural that this Committee should turn to the Christian Socialists for information on a subject to which they were known to have given a very close attention, and on which they had ascertained the exact views of the working men. Ludlow was accordingly the first witness examined. Hughes, Neale, and other members of the Society of Promoters followed, amongst them Walter Cooper, the Chartist. Some of the most weighty and conclusive evidence was given by John Stuart Mill, who spoke in vehement terms in favor of the scheme, i.e. the investment of working men's savings in co-operative concerns. The report of this Committee had been published in July, and, along with its promoters, had drawn upon itself the fire of both great and little guns in the journalistic batteries. The history of this Parliamentary agitation is interesting.

The Home Secretary, Labouchere, requested Ludlow to draft a Bill for legalizing co-operative associations. Nothing could have given him greater pleasure, but the draft demanded such an alarming legal reformation that Labouchere grew timid, expressed his admiration both for Ludlow and the Bill, but did not proceed any further with the matter.

In 1851 Mr. Slaney obtained a new Committee "to consider the Law of Partnership and the expediency of facilitating the limitations of liability, with a view to encourage useful enterprise and the additional employment of labor." All this sonority seems to have had little effect, for it was not until a year afterwards that Slaney finally succeeded in getting the Bill once again to the fore, and it was safely passed by both Houses (under a Conservative Ministry) on June 11th, 1852. Such, in brief, is the story of the first "Industrial and Provident Partnerships Bill," a private measure introduced by Slaney and Tufnell, Liberals, and Sotherton, a Conservative

Eversley in 1850.

It was in the autumn or early winter of 1850 that the celebrated attack on Eversley Rectory took place. A neighboring clergyman had been murdered by a gang of housebreakers, who were at that time terrorizing the countryside, and the Rectory had scarcely been barricaded and its weapons of defence made ready before it was

attacked by the same gang. In the middle of the night the marauders were heard trying to force the back door. Down the stairs rushed the male inmates, with pistols, guns, and a gaping blunderbuss; the "coolest man among them," and the only one unarmed, being F. D. Maurice, who was then paying a visit to Kingsley. Maurice strode out into the darkness in pursuit. He was recalled by Kingsley, and the two men spent the remainder of the night over the study fire, their discourse continuing until the dawn.

Already Kingsley had to deal with a vast correspondence. Young men who could not make up their minds with regard to eternal punishment and other stumbling-blocks of dogma; good fellows in the services who wished for a word of advice or prayers for camp and shipboard; men whose hearts had been stirred by his books. Never, I suppose, was a country rector the recipient of so much appreciation and questioning. No genuine letter was left unanswered. Kingsley had the tenderest sympathy for these corresponding disciples, and his replies show the thoroughness with which he answered their doubts or satisfied their requirements. All the time he was working hard for the welfare of his parish and was much occupied with his pupil, Martineau.

A letter written from Dr. Jelf, the Principal of King's College, to Maurice, in 1851, shows the attitude of the orthodox and outraged mind with regard to Kingsley's books and essays. Archdeacon Hare had accused him of conceit and irreverence a few years before, but Dr. Jelf is even more outspoken. He cannot express too much horror and indignation. Kingsley is a dangerous and reckless writer. He is indescribably irreverent. His arguments are in a high degree inflammatory. "In fact," says Dr. Jelf, rising to the height of his denunciation, "his language is *almost insurrectionary*." And, moreover, he is associated with "several notorious infidels," and has actually mentioned Tom Paine. It was largely on account of his friendship with Kingsley that Maurice was expelled from the College.

Towards the end of 1850 Kingsley resigned his post as Lecturer at Queen's College, in consequence of an attack in the *Record*.

"Hypatia" was begun as a serial in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1851. He contributed largely to the *Christian Socialist*—fifteen articles—besides a story and some ballads and sonnets. He would have written more for this paper were it not for the fact that he was obliged to earn as much as possible with his pen, and the *Christian Socialist* did not pay its contributors. He reprinted "Yeast," which was published anonymously. The Christian Socialist Movement was hotly attacked by the press, and notably by the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*. Kingsley would not trust himself to read the more personal of these attacks. He was a man whose quick temper and great sensitiveness were sure to lead him into the temptation of violent retort. The *Guardian*, however, had fallen foul of "Yeast" in no measured terms, and had brought such preposterous charges against the author that he wrote a furious denial. In May he delivered a lecture for the Society of Promoters on "The Applica-

tion of Associative Principles and Methods to Agriculture," and in the summer was invited to preach one of the special sermons to working men who had come to London for the Great Exhibition

"The Message of the Church."

This sermon—"The Message of the Church to Laboring Men"—led to the most extraordinary results. It was preached to a large congregation, mainly of the working classes, and produced a powerful effect. Kingsley had concluded his sermon and was about to give the blessing, when the incumbent of the church, whose name, I believe, was Drew, approached the reading-desk and denounced the preacher before the entire congregation. He agreed with much that had been said, but it was his "painful duty" to characterize portions of the sermon as "dangerous and untrue." This unheard of scene caused a great sensation. Murmurs were heard; the workmen pressed forward to the pulpit steps and grasped Kingsley by the hand. As the sermon itself was judged to be the best defence, it was decided in the vestry that it should be printed at once without the alteration of a single word. The affair was taken up by the press; Kingsley was forbidden by the Bishop of London (Blomfield) to preach in the metropolis, large numbers of the clergy and of his admirers sent messages of sympathy to Eversley; and a meeting of workmen, held at Kennington Common, expressed their allegiance to the parson who spoke so manfully on their behalf, and invited him "to start a free church independent of episcopal rule, with the promise of a large following." The sermon was now printed, and Blomfield, when he saw the truth of the matter, not only sent for Kingsley (and apologized, we may hope), telling him that he actually approved of the discourse, but immediately withdrew his prohibition.

Trade Unionism.—"Hypatia."

The Christian Socialists were naturally well known to the leaders of Trade Unionism, and it followed that, when the great strike of engineers and iron-workers took place in 1852, impetuous men like Hughes and Ludlow felt their fingers tingling for the conflict. The views of the promoters were varied: some urged one thing and some another. Maurice was fearful lest they should commit themselves to a desperate and ill-judged action. At the beginning of the year the *Christian Socialist* had boldly cast off its disguise and changed its title to the *Journal of Association*, under the editorship of Hughes. The *Journal* lost no time in appealing to the "self-sacrifice, pluck and character" of the men of the amalgamated trades. Ludlow and Hughes sought to agitate public opinion by all possible means: they lectured, wrote to a great number of newspapers, and supported the strike by subscriptions. Although the strike ended in disaster, the hand of friendship had not been extended to the trade unionists in vain, and the sympathy thus established between the more important trade associations and the Christian Socialists led to extremely practical results when, in 1854, the Working Men's College was founded.

Fraser's Magazine for January had contained a criticism of the Socialists, which Kingsley decided to answer. He was, perhaps, somewhat annoyed that his enemies should find a means of expression in the very magazine which was publishing "Hypatia" as a serial—it was a new aspect of journalistic etiquette. After conference with Maurice, who cooled the first transports of his resentment, Kingsley finally evolved "Who are the Friends of Order? A reply to certain observations in a late number of *Fraser's Magazine*." It was printed by E. Lumley and J. J. Bezer, the latter "a man who had been set up as a publisher by the promoters, no living publisher venturing to commit himself to the risk of publishing . . . either the *Christian Socialist* or the Tracts." Bezer was described by Hughes as *Μονοψ*, or "the one-eyed Chartist costermonger."

The *Journal of Association* came to an end this year, and Kingsley, in a final letter by "Parson Lot," urged his fellow-workers to "say little and work the more." Eversley and its democratic parson were now gaining notoriety. Kingsley seems to have been a popular man with soldiers, and officers from Sandhurst would frequently walk over to see him. His sermons were so vigorous and so powerfully delivered that he always preached to a full church, and, although a man of great rhetorical ability, his discourses were as keenly followed by the farm hand or the stableman as by the scholar. "Hypatia" was published in book form in 1853. As a literary attainment it must rank before any of his other works. To a modern reader, fascinated by the color and graphic detail of the story, it seems remarkable that, when published first, the book caused angry excitement among the High Churchmen, by whom it was regarded as a kind of masked attack, which, indeed, it was. Ten years later, when Kingsley's name had been suggested for the D C L. of Oxford, the High Church party raised the voice of protest. Dr. Pusey was scandalized to a degree. Why, good gracious! This was the fellow who had written "Hypatia," a most vile and profligate book inciting the youth to heterodoxy, and worse, if worse were possible, an *immoral* book. Under threat of a *non-placet* the name was withdrawn. Maurice's "Theological Essays" were published the same year (1853), and outraged the doctrines of the Puseyites even more than Kingsley had outraged their self-respect. His expulsion from King's College followed, and Kingsley was vehement in defending his "dear master" and in scourging his enemies.

Disbanded.

With the collapse of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations and the failure of the co-operative businesses, the first Christian Socialist movement came to an end in 1854. The Socialists had failed in their experiment, but they had accomplished a great work. They had given an intellectual expression to the new democratic tendencies. They had striven to popularize and humanize what was then a rather unpopular and inhuman thing—the teaching of the English Church. They had shown (Kingsley in particular had shown it) that a clergyman must think more of the actual needs and

nature of the people than of his embroideries and rituals. They had inaugurated a new phase of national thought. Neither were immediate practical results wanting. They had collected a vast amount of evidence on industrial questions; they had exercised an unmistakable influence on political subjects, and had been largely instrumental in gaining sanitary and other improvements. Their writings—more especially Kingsley's novels—had made an appeal to all classes of readers and had stirred the national conscience. And if further proof of their power is wanting, let it be given in the furious attentions paid them by their opponents—never has a popular movement been more violently assailed by a foe made aware of his moral insecurity.

The spirit of the movement was not in reality checked by its disorganization, and, although there was no formal association of Church Socialists until twenty-three years later, the force of the present social movement in the churches is certainly a consequence of the early Christian Socialist labors. The very year which saw the disbanding of the Christian Socialists saw the founding of the Working Men's College, with Maurice as president. It is only necessary to glance at a few names on the teachers' list (taking a period of several years) to see in what direction the finest intellect of that age was tending. Here are some of the names. Ruskin, D. G. Rossetti, Huxley, Tyndall, Madox Brown, Frederick Harrison, Professor Seeley, Arthur Hughes, Val Prinsep, the Lushingtons, and C. H. Pearson.

The winter and spring of 1854 was spent by Kingsley and his family at Torquay. The clergy of this place were thrown into panic at his approach, and he was denied the courtesy of the pulpit in all their churches. It is doubtful whether this caused him much disappointment. He spent the greater part of his time on the shore, indulging his naturalist and poetic passions and greatly benefiting in health. Kingsley is so well known as a nature student and as a writer of charming and thoughtful essays in natural research that there is no need to speak in detail of these wanderings on the seashore, when each withdrawing tide left a store of things wonderful, many-coloured and new. It was here that visions of old sea romance gave him the first ideas of "Westward Ho!"

He was busy this year agitating on behalf of sanitary reforms, and was a member of the deputation to Lord Palmerston on this subject. The condition of Eversley as regarded drainage, etc., weighed heavily upon him. He did all that was possible to secure improvements, but the parish was poor and landlords (as landlords are) indifferent. He himself, and all England with him, was at this time profoundly stirred by the Crimean War.

The Midway of Life.

It is not possible for me to give more than a very condensed account of Kingsley's later activities. The purpose of this essay is the study of Kingsley as a democratic Christian and a reformer. Those who wish to read of his family life, and to form a closer

acquaintance with a most lovable and virile character, must read the standard biography, "Letters and Memories of His Life," edited by his wife, from which I have drawn much of the information set forth in this paper. Some brief survey of character I must necessarily give before the conclusion of the present study, but only a few facts and only those which most nearly concern my subject can be selected from the years of crowded activity following 1854.

We do not find Kingsley writing much on the Crimea. The war was to him "a dreadful nightmare," though it awoke the soldier-spirit in him, and his enthusiasm for the heroes of Sebastopol was intense. In a few hours' time he wrote a tract, "Brave Words to Brave Soldiers and Sailors," many thousands of which were distributed in the Crimea, and must have proved a wholesome alternative to the usual "goody-goody" pamphlets which the soldiers treated as so much waste paper. Cholera was still making an appearance here and there in 1855, and in the winter an outbreak occurred at Bideford, where Kingsley had taken a house. During this visitation he took charge of a district. The outbreak does not appear to have been very serious, and we find him, the same winter, instituting an evening drawing-class for the young men of Bideford, of which he was himself the instructor. The sureness and rapidity with which he drew flowers or symmetrical figures on the blackboard won the admiration of his pupils. The classes became popular, and many a young loafer was enticed from the street corner to become more and more fascinated by the kindly manner and (to him, at any rate) almost unearthly accomplishments of the strange "parson."

As years went by the Rector of Eversley gained a popularity which was at times almost embarrassing. He disliked the parade of carriages and the "talking after church" on Sundays. But for those who came to him privately to discuss his books or confide in him their perplexities and sorrows he had a warm affection. After the founding of the camp at Aldershot, the "dear fellows"—officers of all grades besides rank and file—paid frequent visits to the church and the rectory. One of these became a familiar friend of the Kingsleys. He had been out in the Crimea, and had read "Yeast" when lying grievously stricken in the hospital at Scutari. The hunting scene had made an especial appeal—one can imagine the effect of such a vivid home-picture on a wounded man in Scutari—and he resolved that if ever he got back to England he would go and hear the parson who could write such fine sporting descriptions. He came, still on crutches. Such episodes show very clearly one aspect of Kingsley's appeal to his contemporaries—the appeal of a strong man to strong men. "He loved men and manly pursuits," to quote the words of an officer who used to walk over from Aldershot, and who shall say that he was not himself a tried and battle-worn fighter? Kingsley was a welcome guest at mess; he entered into the studies and organization of the Staff College with the deepest interest, and his advice to sportsmen—"He told us the best meets of the hounds, the nearest cut to the covers, the best trout streams, and the home of the largest pike"—must have made him extremely popular

But the real significance of all this soldier intercourse was this: Charles Kingsley was the very man to present religion in a form acceptable to the soldier temperament. To a soldier, manhood is the greatest thing in the world, and the greatest qualities of manhood are courage, physical prowess, endurance, kindness without weakness or wordiness, loyalty, honesty, and a sane patriotism. All these qualities were to be found in Kingsley, with the spirit and mind of a Christian teacher superadded. We can picture such a man casting a net with the first apostles, and proving himself as hard-working a fisherman as any of them, not afraid of soiling his hands with the common labors of common men. Kingsley, in fact, preached the *manliness* of his creed, a sin unpardonable to the High Church exquisites of that time. He spoke, never as a superior person to inferior sinners, but as a man who respected and loved all men. He was thus loved and respected by all who came within the circle of his influence. The soldier loved him for his vigor and sincerity (the soldier cannot analyse, but he can appreciate character, and knows the true from the false) and listened to him because he was no humbug, and always dealt boldly with the truth. His influence among all grades of the service at Aldershot and Sandhurst was therefore strongly marked. He taught the men what is none too much in evidence in the Church of to-day—that manliness and Christianity are not merely reconcilable, but are positively essential to each other.

Soldiers were by no means his only visitors. One is glad to notice that clergymen figure in the visitors' list—of various denominations and opinions. All sorts of men came. Beneath the fir trees on that little sloping lawn they discussed all manner of things. Kingsley was fitted for conversation with every type of man and for sympathy with every kind of nature. He loved and understood them all.

His scientific repute gained him the membership of the Linnæan Society. Literary folk were delighted with the "Prose Idylls" and other essays.

Meanwhile the Christian Socialists, working independently or in other organizations, were assisting in the advance of democracy. Trade depression was severe in 1857, and a committee of enquiry was formed, known as the "Association for the Promotion of Social Science." Maurice, Hughes, and Ludlow all took part in this work. Maurice was a member of the committee, and the report, which was published in 1860, contained contributions from the Christian Socialists. It must be understood that, although I still employ the original term as a matter of convenience, there was not at this time any organized group of Church Socialists, and the public no longer recognized the existence of any special doctrine or activity known as Christian Socialism.

Kingsley became more and more devoted to the cause of sanitary reform. In his opinion, physics and theology should go hand in hand, and he regarded a certain amount of scientific knowledge as a thing indispensable in a clergyman. I am convinced that this

opinion foreshadows the future development of the Church, and points the way to a new meaning and efficiency.

In 1860 Kingsley was appointed to the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge. In the autumn of the same year he and his family entered into residence. It was natural that the same qualities in Kingsley which had appealed to the soldiers should appeal to the undergraduates. He became the hero of the young men. Never has Cambridge known a more popular lecturer or one more sincerely worshipped by his disciples. He began in the smaller rooms of the Schools. They were not big enough. He had to lecture in the biggest room of all, and that was not big enough. Strange scene at professorial lectures, enthusiasm would run high. The lectures were interrupted by irrepressible cheering. Kingsley would stammer, with emotion, "Gentlemen, you must not do it." It was no good, they *would* cheer. The men were not merely interested in the great personality of their lecturer; they were interested in his subjects. The University Librarian was asked for books which seldom left the shelves. Kingsley made them think, and he made them work, too. There was never yet, I suppose, a really great man who failed to gain the younger sympathies of the age. It is very clear that Kingsley had gained them, for all the groans and sneers of the Puseyites.

The Last Ten Years.

Newman's attack on the English Church could not pass unnoticed by such a loyal Churchman as Kingsley. Newman was, no doubt, his superior in sheer intellect, in theological subtlety, and in the ponderous resources of academic style. In the controversial sense Kingsley was beaten, though we are assured that it was out of a courteous regard for Newman's health, his disinclination for argument, and other personal reasons, that he forbore to attack with vehemence. This may be partly true. It is certain, however, that he had found his match. Probably no living theologian could have gained a victory over one whose craft and scholarship were unequalled, and who was as certain to maintain his defence with vigilance and caution as he was to attack with resistless weight and infallible sagacity. Maurice, who respected the learning and character of Newman, however widely he dissented from his views, "would have given much" to have withheld Kingsley from the dispute.

Hughes, Neale, Ludlow, and others of the Christian Socialist band were active in industrial affairs in 1866. The Cobden Mills were founded by Neale, Greening, Ludlow, Hughes, and Morrison. After some twenty-four years of a rather disastrous existence, the business was disposed of, and thus ended the largest, and in some ways most celebrated, experiment of Christian Socialism. Kingsley does not appear to have taken an active interest in these affairs (his former comrades were zealously fighting on behalf of trade unionism for many years), though he was always in favor of associative principles in trade. It is probable that three causes were responsible for this apparent withdrawal: first, the cooling (though only to a cer-

tain extent) of his early democratic ardor ; second, the necessarily changed and enlarged sphere of work, the result of public recognition and celebrity ; and third, a gradual decline in health which marks these last years of his life.

Science absorbed his attention to a greater and greater degree. He was a member both of the Linnæan and Geological Societies, had evolved a theory of raised beaches, and was a keen Darwinian. The Knightsbridge Professorship falling vacant in 1866, he wrote to Maurice, urging him to accept this appointment. It was only with difficulty that Maurice could be persuaded. "At sixty-one," he said, "I am perhaps past such work." The question of election depended on the votes of the seven electors. Four of them voted for Maurice, one for a man of his own college, and the two others abstained, but expressed satisfaction with the result. It must have been with huge personal delight that Kingsley (himself an elector) sent him a telegram announcing his triumph. He wrote later, "Your triumph could not have been more complete. My heart is as full as a boy's. I thought I should have been 'upset' when I saw the result." The two friends (or the master and the disciple, as Kingsley would have said) were thus associated in professorial work, both honored by the same university, and both happy in this latter-day closing of their friendship.

Kingsley had won recognition among all classes as a man of honest purpose, gifts approximating to genius, a sound theology, and the talents of a skilled author and graceful poet. He was none the less, perhaps for this very reason, ferociously assailed by the press. In consequence of these attacks he was on the point of resigning the professorship, but he was advised to retain it for at least another year. Accordingly, after nine years' experience as a Cambridge professor—years which had seen his greatest intellectual attainments and the most fruitful expression of his teaching—he resigned the post in 1869. His last series of lectures made a great impression.

The close of this year is marked by the fulfilment of one of his great ambitions, a voyage to the West Indies. It was the great holiday of his life. This world could not have supplied such a man as Kingsley—a poet-naturalist—with anything more perfectly enjoyable. He saw "enough to last him his life." He was mad with delight. He was actually moving in the land of romance he had dreamed and written of. He was a boy, full of wonder and surprise. He was an adventurer in tropical forests. He was a sea rover. The Regius Professor was buried!

Parish work, scientific work, three months' residence as Canon of Chester, a discussion with John Stuart Mill on Woman Suffrage, and a huge correspondence with various men on various subjects give a summary of 1870. He was a Teuton in sympathy during the war of 1870-71. He condemned the French policy and the French leadership: it was a righteous and even necessary war for Germany. In 1871 we find him again asserting the need to include physical learning in the general theological course. He realized that the older school of natural theology would be compelled to abandon many of its

positions, or, rather, to develop in accordance with the great scientific revolutions of the nineteenth century. He saw that the religion of the future would lay stress on the scientific basis of modern thought, and that the priest of the future would deal less with fable and more with fact. Whether he was right in seeking to unite the functions of preacher and sanitary inspector quite as definitely as he proposed we need not stop to consider. He was certainly right in supposing that religion must pass from a superstitious to a scientific phase. His lectures at this period, particularly those on geological and natural history subjects, were very remarkable. The death of Maurice, in 1872, was a sad loss to Kingsley, and a certain despondency—partly the result of an over-worked and continuously active brain—seems more or less evident in his letters and conversation. But in the autumn of this year he achieved a great practical triumph for the cause which was so dear to him. As President of the Midland Institute he delivered the inaugural address (on the "Science of Health") at Birmingham. One of his listeners immediately placed the sum of two and a half thousand pounds at the disposal of a scheme for classes and lectures on this subject, with a low rate of payment for artisans. The project was successful, and the impetus was thus given to a very noble and necessary work. In 1873 he accepted the Canonry of Westminster, where he preached the well-known series of sermons 1874 was largely taken up by a tour in America, crammed full of all manner of activities, and ending with a severe illness and a slow recovery in Colorado. He returned to Eversley in August. It was a hot, dry month, there was much sickness in the village, and he was busy attending to the people at all hours, and apparently with all his energy restored. But his health was rapidly failing. After his return to Westminster in the autumn he was again ill; he was now able only to preach once a week, and, although his sermons were still powerful and forcibly delivered, men were shocked to see the change in him, the worn cheeks and the bent figure. His wife's dangerous illness caused him the greatest suffering. On Advent Sunday he preached his last Abbey sermon "with intense fervor." The next day he caught a chill after dining at the Deanery, probably the direct cause of his death. The return journey to Eversley proved too much for his wife, and the happiness of a Christmas home-coming, so dearly longed for, was turned to a sad ministering in what seemed then to be the chamber of death. Kingsley himself grew rapidly worse. Eventually he was unable to bear the terrible strain of carrying on a pencilled intercourse with his wife, who was supposed by all to be dying. His illness (pneumonia) was fast gaining the mastery, yet his fortitude and superb courage remained unshaken. He died on the morning of January 23rd, at the age of fifty-five. His wife recovered.

His Character and Teaching.

In discussing the Socialism of Charles Kingsley, which is identical with that of the Christian Socialist group, we must bear in mind two very important facts: First, that he was remarkably constitutional in

principle and method, and by no means revolutionary ; and, second, that his conception of Democracy was one that accepted the existing order of society with all its grades and traditions, and believed that the healthy functioning of that society was all that was needed to ensure the communal welfare. If anything was wrong—and a great deal was wrong—then the fault lay, not with the class, but with the individual. And even if the majority of individuals composing a class were at fault, that was no argument against the class itself, or, rather, against the necessity for the existence of the class. With a majority at fault, the class was *not* performing its true functions ; it was not, therefore, to be abolished, but called back to its duty ; the diseased organ was to be cured, by surgical steel at the worst, but not removed. There was, as I have mentioned, a divine purpose and order in the system of classes. A landed aristocracy was not only a necessary thing, it was “a blessing to the country.” The House of Lords represented all that was noble and permanent in the national character (observe, *permanent* !) ; it represented the hereditary instinct, which bound together men of the past, present, and future ages. Royalty was a thing to be revered, because it was royalty. In short, the organization of the unproductive classes was very beautiful, useful, and necessary ; many individuals who belonged to these classes might fail to observe their duties, or, worse still, undertake duties which were not their own, but the class itself was a needful prop of the social fabric ; and, if the tendencies of its components had to be corrected, the thing itself must be preserved at all costs.

The Socialism of Kingsley.

Where then, you may say, is the Socialism in all this ? Of modern Socialism there is little trace, and yet it was in this urging of the duty of classes, especially as regarded the treatment of the poor, provision for the health and security of the laboring classes, and the effective ministering of the Church, that Kingsley proved himself a powerful democratic force. His accusation was so vehement that his conservative principles were frequently drowned beneath a full tide of revolt. The organization of trade (which in his mind was a thing apart from the organization of classes) seemed to him to need immediate reform. If, therefore, he was a Conservative as regarded the blessing of an aristocracy, he was an extreme Radical where the working classes were concerned. It is impossible for a man of strong and observant character not to possess democratic tendencies. In Kingsley those tendencies were invigorated by the scenes and events of a revolutionary period, and became the dominant force of his career. He was deeply aware, too, of the fact that the Church was in danger of losing the sympathy of the people ; that she was becoming an exclusive and mystic organization, unduly given to the study of rituals, and not noticing the bad drains and worse morality of the “lower orders” ; for the Christian Socialist ideal for the Church was that it should work *with*, and not apart from, the secular workers. When he signed his Chartist placard as “A Working Parson,” he knew that he implied a pretty obvious

distinction. Kingsley was a Conservative by birth and tradition, a Chartist through force of circumstances, and a Socialist through sheer manliness and force of character. He belonged to a period when the English gentleman, though growing rare, was not obsolete, and when the middle classes did really advocate what they understood to be progressive measures. He aimed, not at a reform of society in general (which would have struck him as a blasphemous subversion of "God's order"), but at the reform of industrial life and of the Church, the first to be made wholesome and the latter efficient.

The views and methods of Kingsley and his friends have now been sufficiently commented on by the actual passing of time and the development of modern thought. We see the clearer for their mistakes, and are the richer for their noble examples and the fine courage of their teaching. It would be entering upon a fruitless controversy to discuss here the ethics of association, the question of the self-governing workshop, or the future position of the Church. Kingsley's power is to be found, not in the startling or original nature of his views, but in his manly and uncompromising advocacy of those views, and in the example of a most living and vigorous personality.

His Personality.

Like all poets, he was immensely receptive. His emotions were frequently and profoundly stirred by a suggestive fact or a touching scene. He was in love with Nature—every leaf, every cloud, the storm song of winter, rain, sun, the moorland, and the seashore, everything was wonderful and loveable. He possessed the most astounding vitality. It is not recorded of any man that he was more *alive*. His life was one continual excitement. In speech his vehemence was extraordinary. He would begin with a slight stammer and hesitation, but when fairly started, his oratory was fluent and impressive. His sense of the dramatic was unusually keen. He was one of the most influential and celebrated preachers of the time, and as a lecturer his repute was equally great.

He was a man of rare humor, and dearly loved anything that was laughable or even "broad." He could enjoy a page of Rabelais or a sly anecdote of Sterne's as much as anyone. His letters are full of pleasantries, and serve well to illustrate his versatile nature. For instance, he is writing to Tom Hughes, and is giving him some fishing experiences, with all sorts of expert comments on brass minnows, March browns, and so forth, when all at once, and without the least pause for breath, we find him talking of a poor parishioner who is lying on his deathbed. Cant or falseness of any kind were abominable to his sincere nature. A tramp who saw fit to assume the attitude and contortions of a religious zealot was seized by the collar, soundly shaken, and hurried outside Eversley gates with no little wrath.

Two answers of his, written in one of those horrible albums so typical of the Victorian drawing room, are interesting. "The character you most dislike?—Myself. Your ambition?—To die."

He was not a man who cared for distinction or notoriety. He acknowledged a "hankering after" the D.C.L. of Oxford, which was denied him, but he realized his two "great ambitions," membership of the Linnæan and Geological Societies.

Kingsley did much to popularize the study of physics and natural science, and presented the facts of advanced scientific thought in a way calculated not to hurt religious sensitiveness. I have mentioned that he foresaw the alliance which must some day openly take place between science and religion, and that he was anxious for the education of clergymen in other matters besides those which relate solely to theology. His own religion cannot be said to come under any of the recognized categories. No party of the Church could claim him. He was opposed to the extreme mysticism of the High Church, but had little sympathy with the severe ritual of the Moderates. He was no friend to dogmatism of any sort. He was described by his curate, Harrison, as "a free lance in the ecclesiastical field."

The most immediate and most practical results of his activity are unquestionably to be found in the improvements in sanitary affairs and in the general education of working men. The latter is less directly due to his influence than the former (in which he was said by a great London doctor to have "led the way"), but it was certainly greatly advanced by his teaching and lectures.

The charge of inconsistency has been brought against him with regard to his democratic faith. "In later years," says Martineau, "his convictions became more in accord with the natural tenacity of his mind" (whatever that means), "and he gradually modified or abandoned his democratic opinions." I can see no trace of all this. The burning enthusiasm of youth may have left him; his opinions never did. From first to last Charles Kingsley was a democrat—and that, I take it, was the "natural tendency of his mind"—and he never proved false to his social creed. The multiplicity of affairs and a life overcrowded with interests and duties prevented him from devoting himself to a special and continuous work on behalf of Socialism. None the less, the author of "Alton Locke" and "The Message of the Church" was no changed man when, in 1866, he welcomed Maurice to Cambridge.

It is not the place here to speak of his home life, of his chivalrous devotion, his intimate sympathies, pictures of the lawn or the fireside, scenes typical of the English rectory. His love for animals, for all living things, with the exception of spiders, is well known. Like Agassiz, he believed in their *post mortem* existence. Those who wish to read a detailed, though necessarily partial, account of his life must turn to the "Letters and Memories."

The Present and the Future.

We cannot doubt that Socialism in the Churches represents a very powerful and very necessary expression of social democracy. Religious Socialism is gaining rapidly in numbers and efficiency, and may quite possibly modify the whole course of religious thought in

the future. Whatever significance the movement may have to-day, whatever power it may have in the future, the names of its two great founders, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, their noble examples of courage, manliness, and faith, will always figure large on the first pages of its history.

For the above summary of Kingsley's life and his relations with the Christian Socialist Movement I am indebted very largely to the standard biography referred to, and also, in addition to his own writings, to the "Life of F. D. Maurice," edited and partly written by his son, Woodworth's "Christian Socialism in England," Stubbs's "Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialist Movement," Rose's "Rise of Democracy," and Engels' "Condition of the English Working Classes."

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THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT.

The Spiritual Aspect of the Women's Movement.

PURELY economic causes are never sufficient to account entirely for any great revolt of the human spirit. Behind every revolution there lies a spiritual striving, a grasping after an ideal felt rather than seen. Most emphatically is it true that there is a social impulse independent of economic conditions, which has over and over again asserted itself in the demand for the emancipation of women. All the greatest seers and prophets have insisted on the equal value of men and women, and on the right of women to control their own lives. Four centuries before Christ, Plato claimed that in the life of the State women, as well as men, should take their place; and in all the records of Christ's conversations, which the Gospels have handed down to us, there is not one hint that he advocated that subordination of women on which his disciples later on insisted. In Rome also, at the Renaissance, and at the time of the French Revolution, powerful voices were raised in denunciation of the subjection of women.

These demands were, however, only sporadic. At most they affected a small class. It was not until the nineteenth century that the demand of women for political, economic, and educational freedom was heard among any considerable mass of the people. This extension of the demand for emancipation was due to economic changes, to those alterations in human control over environment which are associated with the substitution of mechanical power for human energy in the making of commodities, and with the development of powerful and smoothly working machines in place of human hands and simple tools.

The Effect of the Industrial Revolution.

Probably when Hargreaves invented his spinning jenny, and when Arkwright established his first cotton mill, in which the power of water took the place of the easily wearied arms of humanity, they had no conception of the fact that they were preparing the way for the greatest revolution in human society which has ever taken place since man learnt the use of fire. Yet nothing less was the truth, for then first men learnt how to utilize for their service the energies of the universe without previously absorbing them into their own bodies or into the bodies of domesticated animals in the form of food. Before the end of the eighteenth century man did indeed use water power on a small scale for grinding corn, and the capricious force of the wind for the same end and for propelling sailing vessels.

But the energies of steam and electricity and petrol were lying dormant or running to waste all around him, while he sweated at the forge or the loom, and was hauled slowly over badly made roads by the straining sinews of horses. Now throughout human society inanimate forces are at work, harnessed at last successfully to the service of man, shaping iron and steel plates, setting to work looms and printing presses, propelling enormous trains of waggons, urging leviathan ships across the ocean.

Before this mighty revolution, whatever alterations man wanted made in his world must be made through his own physical exertions; now he sets to work the energies of his environment to remould that environment according to his needs. From himself there is demanded merely the brain work of planning and directing and the nervous strain of tendence on the marvellous machines. It is true that in our badly arranged social system (all of whose concepts of property, contract, wages, and labor are still adjusted to the pre-machine era) the increased control over nature has brought but little advantage to the mass of the workers. But the full effects of the substitution of inanimate for human energy have not yet been seen, and will ultimately work themselves out into conditions of life vastly different from those which we know at present.

Women Before the Industrial Revolution.

Of all the changes introduced by the industrial revolution there is none greater than the alteration brought about in the position of women. Many people believe that it was only in the nineteenth century that women began, on a large scale, to work for their living. There could be no greater mistake. All the evidence goes to show that before the eighteenth century women, with few exceptions, worked as hard and as long as men did. In the sixteenth century women not only helped their husbands in farm work, but they toiled at spinning and carding of flax and wool as a by-industry of their own. Few nineteenth century women could work harder than the wife of a sixteenth century husbandman, whose duties are thus described by Fitzherbert, writing in 1534:

"First swepe thy house, dresse up thy dysshe bord, and sette all thynges in good order within thy house. Milk thy kye, suckle thy calves, sye up thy mylke, take uppe thy children and array them, and provide for thy husband's brekefaste, dinner, souper, and thy children and servants, and take thy part with them. And to ordayne corne and malt to the myll, and bake and brue withal whanne nede is. And meet it to the mill and fro the mill, and se that thou have thy measure again beside the toll, or else the miller dealerh not truly with the or els thy corn is not drye as it should be. Thou must make butter and cheese when thou maist, serve thy swyne both morning and evening and give thy poleyn [i.e., poultry] meat in the morning; and when tyme of the year cometh thou must take hede how thy hennes, duckes, and geese do ley, and to gather up their eggs, and when they wax broodie to set them there as no beasts, swyne, or other vermin hurt them. . . .

And when they brought forth their birds to see that they be well kept from the gleyd, kites, crowe, polecats, fullymarts, and other vermin And in the beginning of March or a little before is tyme for a wife to make her garden, and to gette as many good seedes and herbes as she canne, and specially such as be good for the pott and to eat. And also in March is tyme to sowe flax and hemp . . . but how it should be sown, weded, pulled, rippled, watered, washen, dried, beaten, braked, tawed, heckled, spon, wounded, wrapped, and woven, it needeth not for me to show, for they be wise enough And thereof may they make shetes, bordclothes, towels, sherts, smocks, and such other necessaries ; and therefore let thy distaff be always ready for a pastime, that thou be not idle. . . . May fortune sometime that thou shalt have so many things to do that thou shalt not well know where is best to begin. . . . It is convenient for a husband to have shepe of his owne for many causes, and then maye his wife have part of the wool to make her husband and herself some clothes. And at the least way she may have the locks of the sheep either to make clothes or blankets and coverlets, or both And if she have no wool of her own, she may take wool to spyn of clothmakers, and by that means she may have a convenient living and many tymes to do other works. It is a wife's occupation to wynowe all manner of corns, and make malt, to wasshe and wrynge, to make haye, shere corn, and in tyme of nede to helpe her husband fyll the muckwan or dungcart, drive the plough, to load hay, corn, and such other And to go or ride to the market to sell butter, cheese, milk, eggs, chekyns, capons, henns, pigs, geese, and all manner of corns. And also to bye all manner of necessary things belonging to the household, and to make a trewe reckoning and account to her husband what she hath paid. And if the husband go to the market to bye or sell, as they oft do, he then to show his wife in like manner."*

About two hundred years later a realistic Scotch novelist makes his hero write thus of his second marriage .

"I had placed my affections, with due consideration, on Miss Lizy Kibbock, the well brought up daughter of Mr. Joseph Kibbock, of the Gorbysholm . . . whose cheeses were of such excellent quality that they have, under the name of Delap cheese, spread far and wide over the civilized world. . . . The second Mrs. Balquhiddier that was had a genius for management . . . for she was the bee that made my honey There was such a buying of wool to make blankets, with a booming of the meikle wheel to spin the same, and such birring of the little wheel for sheets and napery, that the manse was for many a day like an organ kist Then we had milk cows and the calves to bring up and a kirning of butter and a making of cheese. In short, I was almost by myself with the jangle and din . . . and I for a time thought of the peaceful and kindly nature of the first Mrs Balquhiddier with a sigh, but the outcoming was soon manifest. The second Mrs Balquhiddier sent her butter on the market days to Irville, and her cheese from time to time to

* Fitzherbert's "Book of Husbandry." English Dialect Society. 1882.

Glasgow to Mrs. Firlot, that kept the huxtry in the Salt Market ; and they were both so well made that our dary was just a coining of money, insomuch that after the first year we had the whole lot of my stipend to put untouched into the bank."*

The Family as the Economic Unit ; Marriage an Industrial Partnership.

These extracts—and many like them could be quoted †—show clearly that before the industrial revolution women took a full share in industrial work. The basis of their work, however, was quite different from what it is to-day. Speaking generally, before the industrial revolution the economic unit was the family, and not the individual. So much was this the case, that in the censuses of 1811, 1821, and 1831 it was assumed that all the members of the family would practise the same occupation. Much of the work done by women in the family was of a domestic nature for the immediate service of their husbands and children, and not for profit. In technical language it was the production of use values, and not of exchange values. This can be illustrated from the inventory of the furniture of a middle class house at Brook, near Wingham, in 1760, which is preserved in an auctioneer's catalogue in the British Museum. The equipment of the establishment included a bolting room, where were kept "one large neading trough, one meal tub and sieve, and one quilting frame"; a bottle house, which contained, among other things, "one brine tub, one syder stock and beater, one pickling trough"; a milk house, where were kept "milk keelers, churns, a butter board, and a butter printer". In the "larder" were "pickling pans and stilling tubs"; in the brew house "a mash tub, five brewing keelers, and one bucking tub" (whatever that may have been).

But it would be a mistake to assume that women never worked for profit. The second Mrs. Balquhadder obviously did. It is common to find a woman carrying on the farm or shop of her husband after his death, and the farmer's wife, who has been already described, was her husband's working partner in his business enterprise as well as his housekeeper and servant. In fact, before the nineteenth century marriage was an industrial partnership as well as a relation of affection. The women worked, and worked hard, contributing much to the wealth of England, which was sold in her

* Galt. "Annals of the Parish," Chapter VI. Pages 38-9 of edition in Routledge's Universal Library.

† "The staff consisted of the general manager, John Dalton, a collier, who prepared the charcoal from the brushwood of the neighboring forest; a 'blomesmyth,' or 'smythman,' in charge of the 'blomeharth', and a 'faber,' working at the stryng hearth . . . The employment of the wives of the foreman and smyth lends an air of domesticity to the little settlement. The wife of John Gyll, the 'blomesmyth,' seems to have been a general factotum, sometimes helping her husband or the laborers, then working at the bellows. At first her employment was intermittent and her payment irregular, but later she seems to have settled down to fixed employment at a regular rate of a halfpenny a blome, i.e., a weight of fifteen stones of thirteen pounds each." "Durham County History," Vol II, p. 279, quoting Account Roll of John Dalton, first Durham ironmaster (about 1410)

markets. This situation must have served to modify considerably the harshness of the common law, which decreed the husband's entire control of his wife's property. Fitzherbert's husbandman, depending as he did on his wife's energy in poultry yard, garden, and spinning room, would not be likely to *insist upon his legal rights to take absolute possession of her earnings*. And in one way the law recognized the wife's partnership. A husband could not leave his property *entirely away from his wife*. The widow's ancient right to one third of her husband's property was only abolished in England by the Reform Parliament,* that Parliament which was called together on the basis of the Franchise Act, which for the first time introduced the word "male" into the qualifications of the parliamentary elector.

The Alteration of the Economic Basis of the Family.

Before the industrial revolution, then, the household was, as a general rule, the unit of industry, and women worked in it as members of the family for the production of exchange as well as of use values. Now what was the effect of the industrial revolution on the position of women in relation to these economic activities of the family? Briefly, the answer is that the introduction of machinery, by taking work out of the home and establishing the factory, the railway, and the mine as the organs of industry, broke up the family as an economic unit and diminished the amount of production for use carried on within the home. Brewing, baking, butter-making, spinning, weaving, even—to a large extent—the making of clothes, have ceased to be activities of the family, and increasingly housewives are finding that it is cheaper and more convenient to hand over jam making, laundry work, even window cleaning and floor polishing, to agencies that exist independently of the home. This is an inevitable development. Modern machinery and the use of artificial sources of power immensely cheapen production, but they can only be used by organizations bigger than the family group. So that the economic basis of the family has altered more within the last hundred years than in the whole course of Christian civilization preceding that time.

Inevitably this has reacted on the position of women, whose relation to the family was always closer than that of men; and the changes in the nature and aspirations of women, which have developed in the nineteenth century, are very largely, though not entirely, due to these altered economic conditions.

The Changed Position of Women.

But different classes of women were affected very differently. Among the wealthier people attempts were made to preserve the subordination of women to the family unit, although the economic justification for that dependence had ceased. Among the poor the necessity for the women's contribution to the family income was so strong that they were drafted into the new forms of industrial life

* Dower Act, 3 & 4 Will. IV., c. 105.

without any consideration of their powers or capacities. To put it shortly, parasitism became the fate of the middle class women, ruthless exploitation that of the working class women. The latter were absorbed in large numbers by the new factories, as were also the children, who equally had worked as parts of the family unit ; and the first stage of machine production saw the women and children workers cruelly and shamelessly sacrificed to the demands of profit.

The Exploitation of the Working Women.

There is no need to repeat this oft told story, but it may be pointed out that the previous close relation of the women and children to the family unit had rendered them incapable of asserting themselves against the powers of capital and competition. And the low wages which they received made them dangerous rivals of the men and no longer co-operators with them. No one during the first agitation for the Factory Acts seems to have realized that the general labor of women and children pulled down the wages of men. The conditions became so bad that dead in the face of a public opinion more strongly individualistic than has ever been the case either before or since, the State was forced to constitute itself the established guardian of the women and children, and to bring into existence all the machinery of the Factory Acts, by which, first in the textile industries and in mining, later on in all branches of machine production, and still later in practically the whole field of industry, an attempt was made to preserve women and children from the degradation and suffering due to over long hours and work in unsanitary conditions. The problem is, of course, not yet fully solved. In the industrial world the cheap labor of women is continually threatening new industries. Since these women believe themselves inferior to men, and since most of them expect to marry early and regard their occupation only as a makeshift, they are naturally willing to work more cheaply than men, and so constitute a perpetual menace to the masculine standard of life, while they themselves are subjected to conditions unfit for human beings. It cannot be wondered at that under these circumstances many social reformers regard the work of women outside the home as an evil development. For women in the industrial world are frequently forced to be blacklegs. Moreover, the conditions of modern large scale industry are determined not by the needs of the human beings who work in it, but by the demands of the machinery, and are therefore often unsuitable for women (equally so, in all probability, for men). In the early days of the movement for State regulation of industry, that innovation on the doctrine of *laissez faire* which then prevailed was justified on the ground that women were not free agents. Men, it was asserted, could and should stand out for themselves against the power of their employers. The State ought never to interfere in the wages contracts formed by its citizens among themselves, but women and children were not citizens. They were weak, ignorant, easily exploited. Further, they represented in a special way the human capital of the nation. The men might be used from generation to

generation and the life of the race would still continue, but a nation which lived upon the labor of its women and children was doomed to degeneration

The Parasitism of the Middle Class Women.

In this view there is, of course, a truth which must never be forgotten. But it ignores another part of the problem, that which confronted the other class of women. The middle class women had so awful and so bitter an experience that for a time they were quite unable to appreciate the need of State protection for women. The result for them of the introduction of machinery was altogether opposite to the effect produced upon the industrial women. As the economic functions of the family diminished, the daughters of lawyers, doctors, wealthy shopkeepers, and manufacturers did not work out new forms of activity for themselves. It would have been against the dignity of their fathers and brothers to permit them to do so. Moreover, it would have diminished their chances of marriage, and would have involved a breach with the people who were nearest and dearest to them. They remained within the family group, occupied in the insignificant domestic duties that still remained and in the futilities of an extraordinarily conventional social intercourse. Dusting, arranging the flowers, and paying calls were the important duties of their existence. The married middle class woman had indeed, as wife and mother, a definite place and important responsibility, though the decay of household activities and the growing habit of living in suburbs, quite apart from the man's business, lessened at every point her contact with the social world and cut even her off more than had ever been the case previously from intercourse with the spheres of industry and commerce. But the unmarried woman, forbidden during her years of greatest vitality and strongest desire for new scenes and fresh interest to find any channels for her energies, save those of "helping mamma" and "visiting the poor," suffered intensely from the inactive parasitism forced upon her. Exploitation brings great suffering; but suffering as acute, though more obscure, is experienced by those whose growing powers and growing need for human contacts are dammed within them by an incomprehensible social fiat, resting really on conditions that had passed away a generation earlier. The only escape from this enforced inactivity and dependence was through marriage. The middle class woman, in fact, was regarded solely from the standpoint of sex. There was no way by which she might satisfy her natural wish to use the welling energies within her other than by becoming the mistress of a household. Naturally, therefore, she often regarded "to be settled" as an end to be aimed at, quite apart from the personality of the man who offered to make her his wife. And the irony of the situation was that to the finer spirits who refused to acquiesce in this degradation of love to the economic plane, there was no other alternative than an existence which became "that useless, blank, pale, slow-trailing thing" of which one of Charlotte Bronte's heroines so bitterly complains.

The Surplus of Women.

As the nineteenth century wore on other tendencies came into play which further increased the hardships of middle class women. The presence of a surplus of women in the middle classes made itself more and more apparent. Probably the cause of this is the emigration of young men, rendered necessary by our enormous colonial development; but it may be that some other and more subtle cause is at work. Exact statistics are difficult to give, as our statistics are not based on class distinctions. But certain conclusions can be drawn, as Miss Clara Collet first pointed out, from the distribution of unmarried males and females over certain ages in different boroughs of London, which to some extent are peopled by different classes of the community. The following table shows how striking the difference is, and how the surplus of females tends to accumulate in the better off districts. Some have urged that these surplus females are really domestic servants. But the number of female unmarried domestic servants over thirty-five is comparatively small.

Number of unmarried males and females between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five in three wealthy and three poor London boroughs, as given in the Census of 1911.

	Males.			Females.		
Hampstead	1,559	...	...	4,655	...	...
Kensington	2,785	...	...	11,395	...	...
Chelsea	1,414	...	...	3,688	...	...
Woolwich	1,861	...	...	1,526	...	...
Shoreditch	1,689	...	...	1,004	...	...
Bethnal Green	1,635	...	...	1,320	...	...

Putting the same facts in another way, for every 100 unmarried men between thirty-five and fifty-five there are in Hampstead 291 unmarried women of the same ages, in Kensington 409, and in Chelsea 260; while in Woolwich to every 100 unmarried men of these ages there are 81 unmarried women, in Shoreditch only 59, and in Bethnal Green 81.

We can cite also an article by Miss Hutchins in the *Englishwoman*, June, 1913, in the course of which she says: "Another means of comparing the prospects of marriage in different social strata is by comparing the proportion of single women in the age group 25-45 in rich and poor districts respectively. In making this comparison we must allow for the numbers of domestic servants, who of course very considerably augment the proportion of single women in the wealthy residential districts. The following table shows that, even if we subtract all the domestic indoor servants from the single women in the age group (which is over-generous, as a small but unknown proportion of them are certainly married or widowed), the single women in Hampstead, Kensington and Paddington are a considerably higher proportion than in Stepney, Shoreditch and Poplar. These districts have been 'selected' only in the sense that they were the first that occurred to the writer as affording a marked contrast of wealth and poverty."

Number and proportion of single women and domestic indoor servants in every 100 women aged 25-45 in certain London boroughs. (Census of 1911)*

	Number	Per cent of Women aged 25-45	Difference of percentage
HAMPSTEAD			
Single Women ...	11,483	57.3	24.7
Domestic Servants	6,534	32.6	
KENSINGTON.			
Single Women ..	21,967	56	21.8
Domestic Servants	13,431	34.2	
PADDINGTON.			
Single Women ...	13,711	46.6	24.5
Domestic Servants	6,473	22.1	
POPLAR.			
Single Women ...	4,406	19.5	17.3
Domestic Servants	306	2.2	
SHOREDITCH.			
Single Women .	2,923	18.1	15.9
Domestic Servants	340	2.2	
STEPNEY.			
Single Women .	7,158	18.4	15
Domestic Servants	1,207	3.4	

This table also brings out the extraordinary difference between the proportions of women of the most marriageable period of life married in rich and in poor districts. The same fact is illustrated by the following table, comparing the number of married, single and widowed women among the population living "on private means" and among the general population. The comparison is suggested by Miss Hutchins, but the table used by her in the *Englishwoman* cannot be reproduced here as the new Census does not give the information in the same way.

Number and percentage of single, married and widowed women over 20 years of age in the population living on private means and in the general population in England. (Census of 1911.)

	Living on Private Means		General Population	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Unmarried .	136,705	46.5	3,448,442	30.2
Married ..	23,724	8.1	6,610,173	57.9
Widowed ...	133,698	45.4	1,364,715	11.9
Total ...	294,127	100	11,423,330	100

No doubt the figures in this table are distorted by the number of widows who owe their private means to their widowhood, but even allowing for this it is remarkable to discover that the percentage of

* Miss Hutchins's original figures, which were taken from the Census of 1901, have been brought up to date.

married women in the general population is so much greater than in the population living on private means.

But statistical evidence is really not necessary. All hostesses and organizers of middle class social functions know well that one of the constant difficulties with which they have to contend is the over supply of women.

The Salaried Middle Class.

Another new element in the position of the middle class woman arises from the fact that her men relations tend to become salaried officials in place of independent merchants and employers. This means not only that the women can no longer take part in the economic activities of their men relations, but that, in the event of the death of the latter, their position is far more precarious. A business or a shop goes on even after the death of a husband or father who established or inherited it, but when a salaried official dies his family are altogether deprived of the support which he afforded them.

Can He Afford to Get Married?

And again, if a wife is no longer of any direct economic value, if, on the contrary, she is an expense, then men, in many cases probably with reluctance, must defer marriage until they can afford that luxury. To a middle class man before the industrial revolution, as indeed to the men of the working class at present, marriage was not a thing "to be afforded." A wife was a partner, bringing to the relation of wedlock economically, as well as in other and more emotional ways, as much value as she received. But the middle class bachelor contemplating marriage to-day realizes that he must be prepared to double, or more than double, his expenditure, while his wife adds nothing to the income. Therefore he defers marriage, finding often an outlet to his emotions in other directions (it would be interesting to endeavor to trace the relation between prostitution and the use of machinery), and the girl who should be his mate withers unwanted in the "upholstered cage" of her parents' home. Therefore in the nineteenth century the middle class woman had fewer chances of marriage, was less needed in the family life if unmarried, and was liable to find herself when that family life came to an end through the death of a father or brother stranded resourceless on the world.

The Tragedy of the Surplus Women.

It is heartrending to think of the hidden tragedies which these sociological changes brought in their train, the mute sufferings of the women, who, unmated and workless, felt themselves of no value or importance to the world around them. What wonder that in the end a revolt came, and women insisted that in the great world of human activities outside the family they, too, must have place and power. Some echo of this unhappiness found its way into the literature of the Victorian era. Charlotte Bronte utters it in the repinings of poor Caroline Helston.

"Caroline," demanded Miss Keeldar, abruptly, "don't you wish you had a profession—a trade?"

"I wish it fifty times a day. As it is, I often wonder what I came into the world for. I long to have something absorbing and compulsory to fill my head and hands, and to occupy my thoughts."

"Can labor alone make a human being happy?"

"No; but it can give varieties of pain, and prevent us from breaking our hearts with a single tyrant master torture. Besides, successful labor has its recompense; a vacant, weary, lonely, hopeless life has none."

"But hard labor and learned professions, they say, make women masculine, coarse, unwomanly."

"And what does it signify whether unmarried and never-to-be-married women are unattractive and inelegant or not? Provided only they are decent, decorous, and neat, it is enough. The utmost which ought to be required of old maids in the way of appearance is that they should not absolutely offend men's eyes as they pass them in the street. For the rest, they should be allowed, without too much scorn, to be as absorbed, grave, plain looking, and plain dressed as they please."

"You might be an old maid yourself, Caroline; you speak so earnestly."

"I shall be one; it is my destiny. I will never marry a Malone or a Sykes, and no one else will ever marry me."*

"Look at the numerous families of girls in this neighborhood. The Armitages, the Birtwhistles, the Sykes. The brothers of these girls are every one in business or in professions. They have something to do. Their sisters have no earthly employment but household work and sewing; no earthly pleasure but an unprofitable visiting; and no hope in all their life to come of anything better. This stagnant state of things makes them decline in health. They are never well, and their minds and views shrink to wondrous narrowness. The great wish, the sole aim, of everyone of them is to be married. But the majority will never marry, they will die as they now live. They scheme, they plot, they dress to ensnare husbands. The gentlemen turn them into ridicule; they don't want them, they hold them very cheap; they say—I have heard them say it with sneering laughs many a time—the matrimonial market is overstocked. Fathers say so likewise, and are angry with their daughters when they observe their manœuvres. They order them to stay at home. What do they expect them to do at home? If you ask, they would answer, sew and cook. They expect them to do this, and this only, contentedly, regularly, uncomplainingly, all their lives long, as if they had no germs of faculties for anything else. A doctrine as reasonable to hold as it would be that the fathers have no faculties but for eating what their daughters cook, or for wearing what they sew."†

The same restlessness, unconscious as it usually was of its cause, was expressed even more fully by George Gissing in that wonderful

* "Shurley," Chapter XII,

† "Shurley," Chapter XXII,

book, "The Odd Women." But to most people the elderly spinster was no more than an occasion for mocking, and yet the same people were most bitter against the women who demanded the right to work, the right to education, and the right to enter politics, those three demands of the disinherited women of middle class Victorian England.

The First Feminist Movement.

The first feminist movement emerged into the open at the time of the Reform Bill of 1867. If its origin is grasped, its peculiar characteristics will be easily understood. It was on the whole a demand of elderly unmarried women for the right to freer activities, as the alternative to an impracticable ideal of marriage and motherhood for every woman.* Therefore it is not astonishing that these early feminists tended on the whole to ignore differences of sex, since those differences had been made the pretext for condemning them to a condition of parasitism, against which a healthy human being was bound to revolt. It was natural enough that these pioneers of the women's movement should insist upon their likeness to men, should demand the right to the same education as men received and the entrance to the same professions as men followed. In their revolt against the degradations which sex parasitism had brought in its train, it was not unnatural that in their dress and bearing they should neglect the grace and charm which a normal man will always desire in women. It was not unnatural either, when they found a section of the public advocating in industry special protection of women by law, that they should regard this as another form of the masculine exclusiveness from which they themselves suffered, so that to them the right of a woman to be a doctor and the right of a woman to work underground in a mine should present themselves as similar demands. Being but middle class women, influenced by the progressive ideals of their class, they were mostly Liberals, and to their special dread of the exclusion of women from human activities, other than those conditioned by sex, was added the strong individualism of the Liberalism of the period. Therefore they naturally set themselves in opposition to the demand for factory legislation, and there arose in consequence misunderstandings between two sections of reformers, the echoes of which have persisted to our own time.

Its Attitude towards Marriage.

The attitude towards marriage of these early feminists has also been much misunderstood. There were, no doubt, a certain number among them who were indifferent or opposed to marriage; but most of them found themselves driven into hostility to normal family relations, mainly because these were used as an argument to convince them that the alterations in the position of women which they desired were impossible. When a woman, struggling for education and the right to work for herself, was met by the objection: "If you

* Lydia Becker, one of the earliest agitators, is reported to have replied to a married woman, who said that she, too, would like a vote, "My dear, a good husband is much better worth having than a vote."

learn Greek or if you become a doctor no one will marry you," is it astonishing that she answered, "I don't care if no one does"? Moreover, as has been already said, the pioneers came mostly from the class of "superfluous women." They knew well that marriage was far from being the certainty or the likelihood which their opponents always assumed it to be. The alternative for them was not work *or* marriage, but work and money of their own *or* a spinstered existence in their fathers' houses. Therefore, naturally most of them put out of their minds, with what bitterness few people have realized, the possibility of marriage and motherhood, and turned instead to develop their own intellectual and spiritual forces, devoting themselves to public work and to the struggle for that independent living which is so sweet to the woman who has revolted against parasitism.

Economic Independence.

Few men understand what importance the modern middle class woman attaches to her economic independence. To men the right to earn a livelihood does not present itself as a hardly won and cherished privilege, but as a tiresome necessity. They may have earned an income with difficulty, but, at least, when they earned it it was theirs to spend as they would. But many women, even wealthy women, dressed in gorgeous raiment, with servants and horses and carriages at their command, never know what it is to be able to spend a guinea on the gratification simply of their own tastes. The money that they receive comes from father or husband, and must be spent as father or husband approve. Workers in the feminist movement are perfectly familiar with the well-dressed and prosperous-looking woman who declares, "Yes, I quite agree with you. I have often thought these things myself, and I wish I could help, but my husband does not approve of Women's Suffrage, and I have no money except what I get from him."² The life of the professional woman is often toilsome and often lonely, but the power of self-direction and self-activity which economic independence brings with it counts for much, and few women who have realized what sex-parasitism means, and have succeeded in emerging from it will ever willingly return to it.

The Two Sections of the Women's Movement.

So, at the present time there are two main sections in the modern women's movement—the movement of the middle class women who are revolting against their exclusion from human activity and insisting, firstly, on their right to education, which is now practically

* The personal experience of the writer will illustrate this point. She was once staying with the wife of a millionaire, and was going on after her visit for a walking tour with a friend in the Lake district. Mrs D, when she heard of the plan, said: "Are you two going off by yourselves just where you like? That must be delightful! All my life I have never been able to do that kind of thing. Before my marriage I had to go where mamma said, and now, of course, Mr D always decides about our holiday." Many a wealthy lady is as much subservient to the whims of her husband as though she were one of his upper servants, which, indeed, in many cases, she is, with the difference that they have holidays and she has none.

conceded on all sides ; secondly, on their right to earn a livelihood for themselves, which is rapidly being won , and, thirdly, on their right to share in the control of Government, the point round which the fight is now most fiercely raging. These women are primarily rebelling against the sex-exclusiveness of men, and regard independence and the right to work as the most valuable privilege to be striven for.

On the other hand, there are the women of the working classes, who have been faced with a totally different problem, and who naturally react in a different way. Parasitism has never been forced on them. Even when the working class woman does not earn her own living in the world of industry—though practically all the unmarried girls of the working classes do so—her activities at home are so unending, and she subconsciously feels so important and so valuable, that she has never conceived of herself as useless and shut out from human interests, as was the parasitic middle class woman. What the woman of the proletariat feels as her grievance is that her work is too long and too monotonous, the burden laid upon her too heavy. Moreover, in her case that burden is due to the power of capitalistic exploitation resulting from the injustice of our social system. It is not due, or not, at least, to any considerable extent, to the fact that the men of her class shut her out from gainful occupations. Therefore, among the working women there is less sex consciousness. Evolving social enthusiasm tends to run rather into the channel of the labor revolt in general than into a specific revolution against the conditions alleged to be due to sex differences. The working woman feels her solidarity with the men of her class rather than their antagonism to her. The reforms that she demands are not independence and the right to work, but rather protection against the unending burden of toil which has been laid upon her. A speaker at a working women's congress said once, " It is not work we want, but more love, more leisure to enjoy life, and more beauty " These facts explain the relative lukewarmness of working class women in the distinctively feminist movement, and one of the possible dangers of the future is that the working class women in their right and natural desire to be protected against that exploitation which the first development of machinery brought with it, should allow themselves to drift without observing it into the parasitism which was the lot of middle class women. If the exclusion of married women from all paid work were carried out ; if the unmarried women were at the same time prevented from following all those occupations which reactionary male hygienists choose, without adequate investigation, to assume to be bad for women ; if at the same time the growth of the public supply of schools and other agencies for the care of children were to go on and the number of children in each family were to continue to diminish ; if the home, by reason of the development of machinery and large scale production, were to lose all those remaining economic activities which are carried on within it, then working women might come to live through the same experience as the middle class women have already known.

Sex-consciousness among Working Women.

But changes are proceeding in this situation. The consciousness of their rights and wrongs as a sex is arising among the working class women. They are beginning to see the possibility that even in the fight against capitalist exploitation, on which the men of their class are now entering, their specific interests may be overlooked. The shocking disregard of the needs of women by the Insurance Act has given them a clear proof of this. The great calamity against which the working class woman needs insurance is the death of her husband and bread winner; yet it is commonly stated that in the bargain with the big insurance societies the Government simply threw overboard the plans for a form of insurance which would make more secure the position of widows and orphans. Again, the home-staying working class woman finds that the Government cares little for her health, and makes practically no provision for her care should she fall ill, save in the one case of maternity benefit, and that, by curious irony, was originally to be paid to the husband and not to herself, save where the woman was herself a wage earner. Moreover, the development of social legislation is throwing heavier burdens on the working woman, and is yet making scant provision for her special needs. There are clubs, lectures, holidays provided for men, for boys, for young girls; but for the married working woman how little is done? A few schools for mothers, still mainly supported by private charity, in the poorest districts is about the sum total; yet all the while it is she who bears the burden of the insurance paid by her husband, for it comes in nine cases out of ten out of her household money. It is she who has to send the children to school clean and tidy and has to keep the great appetites of growing boys satisfied; it is she who is regarded as responsible for buying inflammable flannel-ette, for not providing fireguards or separate cradles for the babies, and whatever else a Government of men may choose to impose on her. So that there is appearing also among the working women an understanding of the fact that their interests are not altogether safe in the hands of men, though the working class women will never probably arrive at the intense consciousness of sex antagonism which characterizes some sections of the middle class feminists, and is due to men's callous disregard of their claims as human beings.

Changed Views among the Middle Class Women.

At the same time among the middle class women, too, the situation is altering. Many of them are realizing that to earn their own living is not always the joy it had appeared at first, for the living may be so meagre as to provide, at the cost of perpetual toil, only the merest food and shelter. Although the number of girls among the middle classes who are working for their living is steadily increasing, every now and then one comes across a young woman who finds the rigor of her work and the fierce competition too much for her, and hastens back gladly to the parasitic shelter of her relatives' roof. The lower sections of professional women, in short, are coming to understand the possibilities of exploitation, and are dimly beginning to feel

rather than to comprehend the fact that work may be so monotonous and so ill-paid that even their human qualities, and much more their feminine attractiveness, will be beaten out of them in the process of earning their living

And among the whole community the growth of collectivist feeling is bringing us to realize that State regulation of the conditions of labor is a necessity, and therefore we seldom find now among the feminists that embittered opposition to factory legislation which caused so many difficulties in the seventies and eighties. It is realized on all hands that the position of women in industry is not an exceptional one; that men, too, need protection against over-long hours of work, low wages, and insanitary conditions; and that, therefore, women are not accepting an inferior position in demanding the intervention of the State to secure for them suitable conditions of work.

They Want both Work and Marriage.

An even more momentous change is occurring in the attitude towards marriage. The first generation of feminists did not so much oppose marriage as ignore it; but there is now coming into existence a second generation of advanced women, few at present, but destined to increase. Most of them know nothing at first hand of the old struggles. They have gone to high schools and colleges, and education has come to them as naturally as to their brothers. Many under the care of feminist relatives have been carefully trained to win the economic independence for which their mothers and aunts agonized in vain. And now these younger women find themselves face to face with a new set of problems. The fierceness and bitterness of the old struggles caused the first set of feminists to put the question of marriage and the supposed special disabilities of their sex altogether on one side. To-day many of these elder women, looking at their young relatives in receipt of independent incomes, doing work that is of real value to the world, and enjoying in such matters as foreign travel, theatre and concert going, and the cultivation of friendships a degree of freedom which they had longed for as unattainable, wonder what difficulties the young women of to-day can possibly have to contend with. But there are fundamental human instincts which can be disregarded only for a time. The problem of the modern professional woman is that she is forced to reconcile two needs of her nature which the present constitution of society make irreconcilable. She wants work, she wants the control of her own financial position, she wants education and the right to take part in the human activities of the State, but at the same time she is no longer willing to be shut out from marriage and motherhood. And the present organization of society means that for most women the two are alternatives. In almost all occupations the public acknowledgement of marriage means for a woman dismissal from her post and diminished economic resources. This is the case in practically all the Government posts: women civil servants, including even factory inspectors and school inspectors, are compelled to resign on marriage. Even the women school medical officers of the L.C.C.

are now forced to sign a contract stating that they will retire on marriage,* and although the same rule is not so strict in private business, there, too, it is rare for married women to be employed. Most women, that is to say, can only continue to preserve that economic independence, so keenly appreciated and won by such fierce struggles, on condition of compulsory celibacy and, what to many women is far worse, compulsory childlessness. Against this state of things a revolt is beginning which so far is barely articulate, but which is bound to make itself heard in public before long. What women who have fully thought out the position want, is not this forced alternative between activity in the human world and control of their own economic position on the one hand and marriage and children on the other, *but both*. The normal woman, like the normal man, desires a mate and a child, but she does not therefore desire nothing else. Least of all does she desire to sink back into a state of economic dependence and sex parasitism. Women do not want either love *or* work, but both; and the full meaning of the feminist movement will not develop until this demand becomes conscious and articulate among the rank and file of the movement.

Can Child-bearing Women Earn their Living?

Now there can be no denying the fact that this demand will raise many difficulties. Some writers, chief of whom is that extraordinarily suggestive and interesting American, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, assume that with improved conditions of household management and the development of large scale housekeeping and publicly managed crèches and nursery schools it will be possible even for childbearing women to continue to earn their own living in such a way that they will be able not only to keep themselves during this period, but to contribute their share towards the bringing up of children, and this without any injury to the children. To the writer this seems a very optimistic attitude. It may, perhaps, be practicable for a few exceptional women, who possess sufficient ability to earn large incomes and have sufficient energy to endure, without breaking down, the twofold strain of working for a living and bringing children into the world. But it is obvious that for the vast majority of women regular work on exactly the same terms as those which men now submit to in office or factory is most undesirable for women during at least six months of the pre-natal and post-natal life of each child. If the child is to be nursed by its mother, as it should be, probably in most cases an even longer period of rest should be taken. The common sense of mankind knows well that just as increasing civilization leads to an increasing protection of children, so, too, it should mean more care for young mothers. During the child-bearing years the welfare of the child should have the precedence over all other considerations. But this does not mean that the woman need be incapacitated for earning her own living during her whole married life. It is not marriage that prevents a

* As these pages pass through the press, the desirability of requiring women doctors to retire on marriage is again being raised on the L.C.C.

woman from working. On the contrary, the married woman who is leading a normal and healthy life is likely to do better work and be a more satisfactory person than the spinster. The real hindrance is not marriage, but motherhood. Most people assume that the two are identical; but should absorption in maternal duties extend over the whole of married life? The days have gone past (one hopes never to return) when the married woman had a child every one or two years during the whole of the fertile period of life. The modern family, it seems probable, will not consist in the future of more than three or four children, and even if one made the assumption* that the woman should devote herself entirely to the care of the children until the youngest reached school age, there would still remain many years of her life during which she would be strong and fit for work. Indeed, one of the most pathetic sights of to-day is the middle aged woman whose children have ceased to afford her complete occupation. They are absorbed in school life and in the training for their future occupations. The husband, too, gives up his time to his work and his sport, and the woman of forty or fifty, still at the height of her maturity, stronger perhaps, and certainly wiser, than she was in her youth, is left stranded by the current of life, with no interests outside her family; whilst by the family the necessary task of being "company to mother" is resented and evaded† How much happier would such women be if, when their children no longer needed all their time, they could return to activities outside the household, and how much richer would humanity be if it could avail itself of the services of such women. A type might come into existence, of which only one or two instances have yet appeared, of mature women who, as girls, had worked for themselves and known what human life, as opposed to sex life, meant; who then had lived through the normal feminine experiences of being sought in marriage, loved, and made mothers of children, and who, ripened and enriched by these experiences, returned in middle age to the activities of the world, knowing—because they have lived through—both sides of life. How enormously valuable such women would be in education and in the medical profession, where, indeed, even now a few of them may be found.

The Problem of the Future.

So, then, the problem before the future is to secure for women freedom and independence, the right to control their own destinies, and yet to make it possible for the same women to be wives and mothers. The solution of this problem will not be easy. It cannot

* The writer is not prepared to admit that this assumption is true in every case, or indeed in many cases. Many women who can bear splendid children are not necessarily fit to care for all the details of their health and rearing, and in many cases it would be well that the mother should return to her normal occupation as soon as ever the child no longer required to be nursed every two or three hours, and should use her earnings to pay for the skilled care given in crèche or nursery, resuming charge of the child in the non-working hours. But that this is possible cannot yet be considered as established beyond a doubt.

† See the serial story "Won Over," which appeared in Mrs Gilman's magazine *The Forerunner* during 1913.

be attained through the methods advocated by either of the schools of thought that now hold the field; neither by the feminists of the more old-fashioned sort, on the one hand, who simply demand for women the same rights as men possess, ignoring all the inevitable differences of sex; nor, on the other hand, by those who believe that sex is the only characteristic of women that matters, and disregard in her the human nature that she shares with man. Neither independence alone nor protection alone will meet the case. The whole problem is still so new that it is perhaps best to be cautious in dealing with it, and to avoid committing oneself too soon to any specific solution.

Women in Unpaid Public Work.

It may be that some women after the days of active motherhood are past will find a sufficient sphere in unpaid public work of various kinds, though at present our electoral laws shut out in practice the vast majority of married women from membership of all our public bodies except the less important ones*.

* I am indebted to the Secretary of the Women's Local Government Society for the following note on the electoral laws as they affect the position of married women on public bodies:

For candidature for county and town councils in Great Britain it is necessary to have an electoral qualification, and the candidate's name must appear either on the burgess roll or on the list of county electors. In England and Wales (outside London) married women are in general excluded from standing, as they are not entitled to have their names placed on the register. The Qualification of Women (County and Borough Councils) Act, 1907, removed the disabilities of sex and marriage in regard to candidates, but it did not amend the statute law which demands that candidates for county and town councils shall be electors. Married women can stand in London for the County Council, as the London County Council Electors Act, 1900, gave parochial electors the right to vote for the County Council.

In Scotland and Ireland women owners, women lodgers and women service voters are entitled to be registered, and therefore to stand for county and town councils. In England and Wales these three classes of women cannot have their names placed on the register.

Since 1894 in England and Wales, and since 1898 in Ireland, there has existed a residential qualification alternative with the electoral qualification for the following local government bodies.

ENGLAND AND WALES

Metropolitan Borough Councils.
Urban District Councils.
Rural District Councils
Parish Councils.
Boards of Guardians.

IRELAND

Urban District Councils
Rural District Councils
Boards of Guardians.

It is in virtue of this residential qualification that at least two-thirds of the women guardians in England and Wales are now serving, and at the triennial elections for Metropolitan borough councils last November three-fourths of the women candidates were qualified by residence only.

In Scotland the school board is the only local authority for which the residential qualification is available. A change in the law is urgently needed in all three countries so as to permit of an alternative residential qualification for candidates to all local government bodies.

It should be observed that even where there is no legal barrier against the candidature of married women for local bodies, few married women can in practice stand where it is necessary for candidates to be electors, as married women seldom have qualifications as occupiers or owners, their houses being naturally hired or possessed by their husbands.

The new President of the Local Government Board has undertaken to introduce a Bill abolishing some of these anomalies.

The Legal Claim to Half the Husband's Income.

But it would be unreasonable to insist that the older married women as a whole should be confined to unpaid activities of this specific kind. Moreover, the objection which many of the noblest women feel to an undefined dependence on a husband would not be met at all by this suggestion, and we should find that if marriage means the complete relinquishment of a cherished occupation many of the finest women will refuse to marry. Some thinkers advocate that the difficulty should be met by giving to the married woman a legal claim to half her husband's income, and making her jointly responsible with him for the necessary expenditure on the family. There will be cases where the care of the household and children takes up the whole of a woman's time, in which such an arrangement would be quite legitimate, and it may be that it should be a possible legal settlement for those who care to adopt it. But it certainly should not be compulsory on all married couples. In the first place, it would obviously increase the tendency to evade legal marriage, and so would defeat the very purpose which it has in view. Again, dependence is not any the less dependence if definite legal provision is made for the endowment of it. Moreover, it would endow childless women equally with the child-bearing women, and it would continue the endowment during the years when the woman might reasonably return to ordinary economic activities. Therefore (although there will be cases where women will be supported by husbands who can afford to do so, and so will be set free either for the parasitic activities of fashion, sport and charity, or will use their leisure and freedom to carry on work for which no financial return may be expected, such as scientific research or the agitation for social reforms), yet the whole line of development should be in the direction of decreasing and not increasing the legal right of woman to be kept by the man, save when child-bearing and child-nurture are in question.

The Endowment of Motherhood.

Now, these are really specific activities of the greatest possible importance. No act of citizenship is more fundamental than the act of bringing into the world and protecting in his helpless infancy a new citizen, and therefore the most reasonable solution of the problem, though it may not be applicable in every case, is that women during the period when these activities must absorb their whole energies should be supported by a State endowment, but that this State endowment should not continue longer than the time during which they are so absorbed, and that at the end of that time they should be free to return to their former vocations.*

* It is neither possible nor desirable that we should at this stage adopt a dogmatic attitude as to the length of time during which an expectant and nursing mother should be freed from ordinary industry and be supported by a State grant. It will certainly vary from industry to industry. No pregnant woman should follow any occupation where the lifting of heavy weights is necessary or the raising of her arms above her head (obviously ordinary house work should be one of the first industries to be barred),

Such a system would at one blow solve innumerable difficulties. If childbearing is protected by the State, it would not be unreasonable for the State to impose on the women who are possible mothers certain restrictions with regard to the activities which they may follow. Moreover, if the husband is no longer solely responsible for the support of his wife and her children, marriage will become easier among precisely those classes where we desire to encourage it. At the same time, if the dependence of women on marriage disappeared, and with it the inevitable accompanying subordination of their own wishes to their husbands' marital demands, we should establish the most reasonable check on the increase of the population, namely, the woman's natural dislike to excessive and unwished-for childbearing. That decline of the birth rate among the classes with the highest standard of comfort which exists at present would be checked by the greater facilities for marriage, yet, on the other hand, there would be no danger of the too large families which are due to the dependence of women, and which give rise to over population. At present the distribution of children presents the same inequality as the distribution of wealth, some people have far too many at the same time that others have too few. Another problem which would in time disappear is the inequality of the wages of men and women. The great argument which now weighs with the popular mind in favor of this inequality is the alleged fact that most men have dependants, while most women have not. Unfortunately, this is by no means always true; and, moreover, this theory overlooks the fact that in a certain number of instances, at all events, women compete with men, and therefore if a lower level of payment is established for women, they will drive the men out altogether, as they have done in typewriting, and are in process of doing in elementary school teaching. What we want to work towards is a system whereby all adult human beings not incapacitated by some specific cause shall work for their living and be paid for it, no distinction of sex being made where similar work is done by men and women. Then the young, the aged, and those adults who for some special reason are unable to earn their living, should be supported by the State from the surplus funds available when rent and interest have been absorbed by the community; a system of which we have already made a beginning in old age pensions on the one hand, and maintenance scholarships on the other. And among the most honored and respected of all those endowed by the State should be the women who are rendering to it the greatest possible service, that, namely, of ushering into the world its future citizens. But their reward for this service should only cover the time when their maternal duties prevent them from taking any part in industry.

On the other hand, most doctors advocate light out-door occupations. Women during these periods need work and interests and activities quite as much as the single or childless women especially do they need what is now often denied them—some amount of social life. It would be easy under a properly organized state of Socialism to set aside excellently appropriate work for expectant mothers, and the State maintenance might then only need to cover a few weeks.

This is coming to be realized more and more clearly as the ultimate ideal of the feminist movement, and what we have to do at present is, while not straining our adhesion to it unduly in the face of the conflicts of the present situation, to attempt no changes in the law which will make our ultimate attainment of it impossible; so that we should watch very carefully any development which may result in intensifying the dependence of women outside the child-bearing years. It cannot be denied that the demands of some eugenists who are unable to believe that the necessary protection for motherhood can be given save through absolute dependence on a husband may make in this direction, and the increasing tendency of local authorities and government departments and of some philanthropic employers to exclude women from employment simply because they are legally married is equally a danger.

Socialism and Feminism.

It will be seen that these changes in the status of women cannot come about in our present individualistic society. In the first place, under the existing state of competition in business a woman who drops out for the childbearing period can hardly expect to be reinstated, and the world will probably honestly have to face the fact that certain readjustments, not otherwise desirable, must be made in order that the mother may not be penalized in her later economic life by reason of her motherhood. Even among elementary school teachers to-day a married teacher who frequently demands leave of absence because of her approaching confinement finds herself at a serious disadvantage. The absence and subsequent return of the married women to their work will no doubt be inconvenient, but the inconvenience must be faced, and the women as far as possible be placed at no disadvantage, if we are to put a stop to our present practice of the deliberate sterilization of the ablest and most independent women.*

Such a system could be deliberately and consciously introduced into the public services; it could be imposed on private enterprise by factory legislation, though with much greater difficulty. But it is the development of Socialism, and that alone, which can make it possible throughout the whole fabric of society for the normal woman to attain her twin demands, independent work and motherhood. It is only Socialism which can make the endowment of the women during the maternal years a possibility, that endowment being one of the first charges on the surplus value or economic rent which the State will absorb; and until the State has made itself master of the land and the capital of this country, it will not have an income big enough to enable it to provide adequate endowments for the childbearing women. Therefore it becomes clear that the only

* Cf. Shaw, "Man and Superman," p. 220. "Mr. Graham Wallis has already ventured to suggest, as Chairman of the School Management Committee of the London School Board, that the accepted policy of the sterilization of the school mistress, however administratively convenient, is open to criticism from the national stockbreeding point of view."

path to the ultimate and most deep lying ends of the feminist movement is through Socialism, and every wise feminist will find herself more and more compelled to adopt the principles of Socialism. But the wise Socialists must also be feminists. The public spirit of willingness to serve the community which will be necessary if the Socialist principles are to work must be inculcated into children from their earliest days. Can they be so inculcated by women who know nothing of the activities of the world beyond the four walls of their homes? Women, too, must be citizens and fully conscious of the privileges and duties of their citizenship if Socialism is to be attained. Not least among the duties of that citizenship should be what Plato long ago demanded of his women guardians.—that they should bear children for the service of the State

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SOCIALISM AND THE ARTS OF USE.

Government and the Arts of Use.

THE question whether Socialism is likely to encourage or to discourage art is of practical importance to Socialists because many people believe that it would make an end of all art, and are therefore opposed to it. Their belief is based upon the fact that our present Government is seldom successful when it tries to encourage art. They point to our Government offices, our memorials to deceased monarchs, and the work of our art schools, as examples of Socialist art, and they ask whether that is better than the art produced in answer to a private demand.

Certainly it is not; and the Government failure in the matter of architecture has aroused a very strong prejudice against Socialism among architects. They practise the most important of all the arts, and they tell us, from their own experience, that the Government is usually unfortunate in its choice of architects and that it prevents them from doing their best after it has chosen them. This I do not deny—one has only to look at our Government buildings to see that it must be true—but these opponents of Socialism assume that in a Socialist State all art would be at the mercy of the conscious patronage of the Government. They do not ask themselves whether in a Socialist State there might not arise conditions as favorable to the natural growth of architecture and all the arts of use as our present conditions are unfavorable. They assume that those arts, in the modern world, can only be kept alive by the abnormal interest of a few individuals, and they think that Socialism would deprive those few of their power of patronage.

Socialism will not Produce an Immediate Improvement.

This assumption I believe to be wrong. Socialism might destroy the patronage of the abnormal few; but it might also make an interest in art, and particularly in the arts of use, normal. And my aim now is to explain why I believe it would do this.

But first I will admit that, if we could suddenly start now with any complete system of Socialism in full working order, I do not for a moment believe we should have an immediate improvement in our pictures or Government offices or public statues or in the memorials to deceased monarchs. There would, no doubt, be more money spent upon public art and less upon private; but the public art for a time would be just what it is now, and the artists chosen would be those who have an ill-deserved eminence in our present society. It is the general taste that makes art good or bad. It does not produce artists of genius, but it uses them or wastes them.

Whistler said that art happens, by which he meant, I suppose, that people like himself happen : that no society, by taking thought, can cause them to be born. But it is not true that works of art, like Bourges Cathedral, happen, any more than Dreadnoughts happen. They are the results of a long, common, and well directed effort. That kind of effort does not exist now, and in the most favorable circumstances it could only begin slowly, and would continue for some time before it could produce any great results.

Art Manifests Itself First not in Ornament but in Design.

At present the art of building and the art of all objects of use is commonly supposed to be an art of ornament. Architecture means to most of us a kind of ornamented building. Gothic is distinguished from Renaissance by its ornament, by traceried windows and cusps and crockets and so on ; and we are always complaining that we have no style of our own in architecture or furniture or anything else.

But the artistic instinct when it works in the making of objects of use does not first show itself in ornament, but in structure, and it may express itself triumphantly without any ornament.

The artistic instinct, when it first begins to move in the making of an object of use, is not consciously artistic at all. It shows itself mainly in a desire to make that object as well as it can be made, and of the closest possible adaptation to its function. But this desire must be in itself disinterested if it is to produce art. It pays, no doubt, at least in healthy societies, to make things as well as they can be made. But the artistic instinct will not grow out of a mere desire to make them well so that they may sell. For the next stage, in the development of that instinct is a recognition of the beauty of a thing that is well adapted to its function ; from which follows an effort to insist upon that beauty for its own sake while at the same time preserving the perfect adaptation to function. It is upon this recognition and this effort that all architectural excellence depends, and indeed all excellence of design. When art is growing and vigorous, it is because men see the natural functional beauty of the things which they make for use and because they try to increase that beauty, perhaps with ornament but certainly with pure design, which does not disguise function but emphasizes it. But the beauty must be seen before it can be heightened with art.

The Recognition of Functional Beauty.

We are amazed at the beauty of the great French Gothic cathedrals, and we think of it as a romantic thing of the past that we can never attain to. But how did the builders of the Middle Ages attain to it? Not in the least by their facility in designing and carving ornament ; not by their tracery or stained glass or statues. Those things were only the overflow of their energy. A church might have them and yet be bad. It might lack them all, even the stained glass, and yet be noble. What they did was to be aware of the natural functional beauty of a plain building well

built, and to see how that beauty might be heightened and emphasized step by step, until they attained to the cathedrals of Bourges and Chartres. All the time their building was engineering, and a great part of its beauty remained engineering or functional beauty, a beauty like that of a fine animal or a great tree. This functional beauty was at last almost perfectly fused with expressive art in the greatest French churches, but both beauties were always present up to the climax of Gothic. And in that great age of art which culminated in the thirteenth century, there is the same artistic impulse applied to most objects of use that have come down to us from that age. It is altogether an architectural age, an age of design, one which recognized the functional beauty of its handiwork and tried to emphasize it. And so it has been in other ages famed for their prevailing artistic excellence. The Chinese pottery of the Sung dynasty, for instance, has often no ornament at all; the beauty consists in the exquisite refinement of form, which is always expressive of function, and in the exquisite quality of glaze, which, like the form, had first a functional purpose. It was merely recognition of the beauties of a well-made pot and a desire to improve upon them which produced those miracles of art.

Now the societies which produced this wonderful art were not Socialist according to our ideas; but they had one condition necessary to the vigor of art which our present society almost entirely lacks, and which we can regain, I believe, only by means of Socialism. For it was possible with them for men to build buildings and to make objects of use as well as they could build them or make them, and so it was possible for them to recognize the beauty of such things and to refine upon it generation after generation and man by man. The great churches, whether built for a monastery or for a city, were not built to pay. The Sung pottery was made to sell, but it was made by individual potters for customers who recognized its beauty like the potters themselves, and who therefore encouraged the potters to do their best and to refine and refine until they reached the unequalled height of excellence. I do not suppose that with Socialism our whole system of production would be altered at once, or that we should have pottery like the Sung instead of our present crockery. But let us consider for a moment the manner in which most of our modern buildings are built and most of our more important objects of use are made. I am not now speaking of the objects which we think of as artistic, such as churches or public buildings, but rather of private buildings of all kinds, of lamp posts, pillar boxes, trams, railway bridges and viaducts and stations. Such things are more numerous and important in our lives, they are often larger and more conspicuous, than objects of use have been in any former civilization.

With Us the Art of Design is Checked from the Start.

Yet we never think of all these important objects of use as works of art or as capable of becoming works of art. We never recognize any beauty in them to begin with, and of course we do not attempt

to refine upon the beauty which we do not recognize. If any designer of such things saw beauty in them and tried to increase it in a new design, he would be asked at once if the new design were more expensive than the old and if it had any greater practical value. And if it were more expensive and had no more practical value, he would be warned, if he were not dismissed at once as a lunatic, not to waste his time or his employers' money. With us the art of design is checked at its very start by the general attitude towards all objects of use, since for us they are merely objects of use, and so we never think of looking for any beauty in them whatever. According to our present notion, art is art and business is business; the first is unbusinesslike and the second inartistic, and that is the plain commonsense of the matter.

Machinery is not Necessarily Hostile to Art.

Now that is quite a modern notion and most people believe that it prevails because we live in an age of machinery; that things made by machinery cannot be beautiful and that therefore it is useless to attempt to heighten their beauty. But on this point there is a great confusion of thought. There was a sudden decay of all the arts of design which began about 1790 and was complete by about 1840. And this happened at the same time as the great increase in the use of machinery. Also in that period there was a production of machine-made ornament of all kinds which did help to destroy the production of hand-made ornament and to corrupt the design of all ornament, whether machine or hand-made. Now I will not lay it down as an absolute dogma that all machine-made ornament must be bad. But it is certainly a fact that most of it is bad and not ornament at all but mere excrescence. Yet to say that is not to say that all machine-made things are necessarily ugly or that they cannot have the same functional beauty as other objects of use. The fact is that the sense of functional beauty was weakening just when machinery began to prevail. It was not that machinery destroyed art or made it impossible, but that we have made a wrong artistic use of machinery and have failed to see its artistic possibilities. Our great mechanical inventions were made just when, for other reasons, art was at its weakest. Therefore, so far as art has been concerned with them at all, they have been used merely to produce imitations of the art of the past. If art had been vigorous it would have mastered machinery instead of being mastered by it. As it is, machinery was used to imitate art, because, since ornament was anyhow ceasing to be expressive, it could be produced just as well by machinery as by hand. With the decay of the sense of design people also lost all sense of the meaning and purpose of ornament. They did not see beauty in what they had made and therefore they tried to add beauty to it instead of drawing beauty out of it. They painted the lily, which is what no one would do who saw that the lily was beautiful to start with.

The significant fact about the decay of the sense of design is that it came with the industrial age, not that it came with machinery.

It came, that is to say, with a new set of ideas, not with a new set of implements. And the idea that was fatal to art was not a refusal to recognize its abstract importance. The dominant capitalists were ready then, as now, to spend money on pictures and other works of art, but they drew a sharp distinction between works of art and objects of use. They might even be ready to add art to objects of use; but they were not ready to draw art out of them. And the reason was, as Morris pointed out long ago, that they were making objects of use to sell, and merely to sell; and that they had no disinterested desire to make them as well as they could be made.

The Ideas of the Industrial Age are Hostile to Art.

I spoke a moment ago of a new set of ideas, but the ideas of the industrial age were really only the result of the complete triumph of one instinct. The instinct of gain became all-powerful, and it assumed, contrary to all experience, that it always had been and always must be all-powerful. That in fact it was the only true instinct concerned with the making of things, and that the artistic instinct was merely a bye-play of idleness. That was why all art was conceived to be ornament, since art itself was thought to be purely ornamental. But art, as I have said, is not ornament but design; and design is the expression of an instinct, the suppression of which destroys all sense of design and with it all the health and vigour of art.

Well, this instinct, to make things as well as they can possibly be made, was suppressed by that other triumphant instinct of gain; and by the instinct of gain working, not in the actual people who made things, but in those who set them to make things; not in the designer or the workman, but in the capitalist. He could not exercise the artist's instinct if he would; it was only possible for him to encourage it in others. And this he did not attempt to do because he conceived of himself merely as a producer of things to sell, competing with other producers. He might honestly try to produce a good article. He might be as moral as you please; but the artistic instinct is not moral. It aims at excellence for its own satisfaction, not through a sense of duty to the public. The conscientious capitalist might try to give his best, but it is not an artistic best. He was never spurred on to make things more beautiful by a recognition of the beauty of what he had made. So, if in the way of trade he wished to produce a beautiful thing, he did not encourage his designers to refine upon their designs, but he imported an artist to ornament them. And that is why we have schools of ornamental art at South Kensington and elsewhere, and why we talk of applied art as if it were something added to things, like a flounce to a dress. And meanwhile no one ever expects an engineer or any kind of practical designer to have any artistic instinct at all. He is a man of business, and business is inartistic as art is unbusinesslike.

The best example I can give of this view of art is a public not a private enterprise, but for that very reason it will enforce the moral I wish to draw.

The Lesson of the Tower Bridge.

The Tower Bridge is a great work of engineering, and while it remained that and only that, it looked like the gates of the sea. But no one recognized its beauty as a work of engineering, that is to say as a piece of design. On the contrary, since it was a public work, it was thought necessary to cover its indecent nakedness with art. So an architect was imported to do this ; and he made it look like two Gothic towers with a bridge between them. Not only are these towers ugly in themselves, but they make the bridge look ugly, partly because of its incongruity, partly because it seems too heavy for the towers, which, of course, do not really support it at all, and have indeed no function whatever except to be artistic.

Now in this case if the engineer had been conscious of the functional beauty of his design, and if he had tried to heighten that beauty and had made a more costly design in doing so, he would no doubt have been told to mind his own business and leave art to artists. It would never have entered into anyone's head that the art of a bridge is the engineer's business just as much as the art of a statue is the sculptor's business. It would not even enter the engineer's head, for he has been taught by public opinion to suppress his own natural artistic instinct just as the engineers of the great Gothic cathedrals were taught to develop it. By nature very likely he was just such a man as they were ; and we may be sure that they would admire his work as much as they would despise the architectural imitations of their own.

The Tower Bridge was not built to pay, but it was built by a public body still subject to all the capitalist ideas about art and its incompatibility with business. Hence the absurd incompatibility of the art and the business of the bridge. We cannot expect those ideas to disappear all in a moment, or that a capitalist, when he acts as a member of a public body, will escape therefore from their influence. The revival of art, if it does come, will be a long and slow business, and it can only happen when the natural artistic instinct is no longer suppressed by the natural instinct of gain and by all the ideas which that instinct of gain, in its evil supremacy, has imposed upon us.

Art is not Necessarily Doomed in Our Civilization.

Our notion about art now is that it is always and everywhere fighting a losing battle, and that it can only be kept alive by the efforts of the cultured few. And there is truth in that so long as the cultured few impose their own conception of art upon a puzzled and indifferent world. Art will only begin to fight a winning battle when the mass of men rediscover it for themselves without even knowing that what they have discovered is art ; when they find that they can take a pleasure and pride in objects of use as natural and instinctive as the pleasure which they take in flowers or trees now.

It is not, I think, merely visionary to hope for such a change ; for men have taken such a pleasure and pride in objects of use, not

once or twice only at favored periods of history, but nearly always until the end of the eighteenth century; and all our present restlessness and discontent about art proves that we feel the want of this pleasure and would regain it if we could. But how could Socialism help us to regain it? Certainly not by any conscious State patronage of art such as we have at present, not by giving us more and more sumptuous memorials to deceased monarchs or larger Government offices designed by scholarly architects, but rather, I think, in a manner which I can best illustrate by examples.

' The Case of Waterloo Station.

It is natural to men, as I have said, to recognize the functional beauty of things of use; and our present failure to recognize it is unnatural, and produced not by any decay of the senses, but by a set of ideas and associations which prevent us from using our senses. Let us take, for instance, the case of the new Waterloo Station. That is a piece of engineering which has a very real functional beauty, far more, for instance, than the Hall of the Law Courts. But people see nothing beautiful in it because their eyes are blinded by their ideas about the station; they think of it as a prosaic work of mere utility, built by a prosaic company for its own profit. And this is the view of it which the company themselves take and are forced to take. They never for one moment suppose that their station could be a work of art or could have any beauty, because it is for them merely a means of earning money. They may, for the sake of advertisement, be ready to spend money upon an architectural façade to it, and they may employ an architect to apply some art to that façade. But art means to them, as to most other people, ornament, pilasters and capitals and cornices and mouldings and such things; and they regard it as an advertisement, as a means of drawing attention to their station. But art, being by its nature disinterested, will not live on these terms; and architectural façades of this kind are a mere collection of artistic features that once had life and meaning and now have none whatever. Some are better than others, but there is no growth or development of art in them; and we can look for none so long as the motive which causes money to be spent on art is merely advertisement or even a vague belief that art ought to be patronized.

To the railway company their station is, inevitably, merely an object of use; not only have they no motive for making it beautiful, but they do not even see that it has any beauty. If, for some reason, they were in a lavish mood and determined to spend money upon making it beautiful, they would probably give all the columns Corinthian capitals of wrought iron. Indeed there is an absurd hint at capitals on the top of these columns, and that is the only ugliness in the structure of the station.

But if anyone were to suggest to the directors of the company that their station had already a functional beauty and that they ought to have spent money on emphasizing this functional beauty, that they ought to allow their engineer to indulge his natural

artistic instinct, they would of course reply that their business was to earn dividends, not to spend money on art which no one would recognize.

Art and the Engineer.

All real art, from the point of view of a profit earning company, is sheer waste ; and that is the point of view which has been forced upon all of us, so that we neither see real art in its shy beginnings and possibilities, nor do we expect any money ever to be spent on it.

Waterloo Station, as I have said, has a beauty of its own already. But that beauty tantalizes one with hints and suggestions of a much greater and more conscious beauty that might have been obtained by emphasis of structural features, and could only have been obtained by the designer of the station with his sense of structure. And the art of station design could only grow and develop if one engineer improved upon the design of another, recognizing its beauty and seeing how that beauty might be further increased ; if, in fact, there was incessant experiment of the same kind as that which culminated in the great French cathedrals of the thirteenth century.

We have already incessant experiment in purely engineering problems, but the further artistic experiment cannot even begin. The engineering beauty is there, the designer's instinct to refine upon it must be there, for man's nature has not been utterly changed in a hundred years ; and so, too, the ordinary man's sense of beauty must be there if he could but be aware of it. It is only a certain set of ideas and associations which prevent both designer and public from asserting their instinct and their sense, and these are the ideas and associations of capitalism.

The Relation of Lender and Borrower.

You cannot have a living and growing art unless you are ready to spend money upon it, not as an advertisement or as a luxury, for money so spent will give you merely ornament, but as something which is worth having for its own sake. And no capitalist enterprise will ever spend money upon art in that spirit, nor will the public ever demand that a capitalist enterprise shall do so.

For the buildings or objects of use provided by a capitalist enterprise belong to the capitalists, and the public have no interest in them except in the use they make of them. To the public at present a railway station is a mere convenience, and they ask nothing of it except that it shall be convenient. They take no pride in it, for they have no part or lot in it. They only use it as we use books from a circulating library, in which we have no pride of possession, and of which therefore we expect no beauty either of binding or of type.

Indeed our relation to all works of capitalist enterprise is exactly the relation of subscribers to the books of a circulating library. We use them, but we have no further interest in them ; and that is the reason why we neither recognize any beauty which they may already possess, nor have any desire that that beauty shall be

increased. Under our present system we all, at least those of us who have any money, are subscribers rather than owners; and the owners themselves are shareholders with no sense of possession, except of dividends. If I own some South Western Railway Stock, I do not feel that Waterloo Station belongs to me, or that I have any interest whatever in making it more beautiful. I enter it not as an owner, but as a subscriber, and I forget my ownership as soon as I begin to travel on the line. So there is no consciousness of ownership anywhere, and ownership itself is a kind of abstraction. No one can, say, in any sense or with any meaning, that Waterloo Station is his station. It and a thousand other buildings and objects of use are merely things that people make use of, and we are all living more and more in a world of things with which we have an utterly inhuman and indifferent relation.

Our Artistic Parsimony and How it Might be Removed.

But this relation to things of use, again, is not natural to man. And that other relation, in which men took a pride in them, recognized their beauty, and tried to increase it, was in the past the rule rather than the exception; and in ages when there was great poverty, when there were plagues, famines, wars, and other disasters, men have not grudged the money necessary to glorify objects of use. That kind of parsimony, which we see everywhere, is peculiar to modern times. And it is the result of our peculiar relation between those who own objects of use and those who use them, a relation always of lender and borrower. If this could come to an end we might confidently expect that our parsimony and indifference would gradually cease. Of course, if our railways were nationalized, we should not all at once begin to feel towards our railway stations as men in the Middle Ages felt towards their cathedrals. Indeed at present we are just as parsimonious and indifferent towards things made by the State as towards those made by private enterprise. No one, for instance, seems to notice the beauty of the trams on the Embankment, or to consider how much more beautiful they might be made; but that is because public enterprise is still so rare that the ideas associated with private enterprise still cling to it. When the County Council runs trams, we think of it as a private company, and we use the trams without any sense of possession in them, just as we use the 'busses of the London General Omnibus Company. And a public body, too, when it engages in any kind of trade, is still, to itself, a private trader. That is to say, it has the attitude of the private trader towards his own stock in trade, the attitude dictated by competition and by the determination to make as much money as possible. But we may expect, I think, that the more public enterprise prevailed, the more would the influence of private enterprise weaken. The facts would change and the state of mind with them. I do not mean that in this matter of trams, for instance, the County Council would suddenly say, "Our trams must be made more beautiful," and would therefore engage an artist to design them. That is not the way in which art grows. That is the way in

which it is patronized and perverted by connoisseurs. What I do mean is that the County Council and the public itself would gradually begin to take a pride in their tramways. They would no longer think of them merely as money making machines and conveniences. Gradually the tram designer would begin to express his own natural artistic instinct in his design, and he would not be instantly checked by the cry of expense. Then the public would notice his new trams and like their design. They would not say that they were more artistic; they would simply find that they took the pleasure which we all take in a design that expresses function and emphasizes it. Then other designers would notice those improvements and improve upon them, and the public would notice these further improvements and take a pride in them, the people of one town saying to the people of another: "Yes, your Hull trams are well enough, but have you seen our new trams at Halifax? They beat everything." Then the Hull designer would go and look at the Halifax trams, and would be spurred to improve upon them in his next design. And so a new kind of competition would arise in trams and in a thousand other objects of use, or rather that old kind of competition which helped to produce the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, a competition not of cheapness, but of excellence.

Poetry and Prose in Art.

We think of trams and railway stations as very prosaic things, having nothing in common with those cathedrals; and I do not suppose that any great general emotion could express itself in a station as the religious emotion was expressed at Chartres or Bourges. But we, with our loss of art in all things of common use, have acquired a vicious notion that all art must be pure expression, and expression of the highest and most passionate emotions. For us there is nothing between the meanness of a workhouse that looks as if it had been designed by Scrooge, and the irrelevant splendor of a new monster hotel. Both of those have the same defect manifested in different ways; in neither is there any recognition of the beauty of functional design, but one of them tries to make up for it by the use of ornament that is like the flowers of speech of a bad prosaic writer. The good writer of prose knows that it has its beauties too, and that they are spoilt by incongruous poetic ornament. He may not call himself an artist, yet there is art and the beauty of art in his prosaic excellence, in the structure of a sentence which says exactly what it means; and he too recognizing this beauty unconsciously perhaps, is always trying to heighten it. So, whenever art flourishes, there is a recognition of the beauty of all design and an effort to increase it, even though the object designed has no association with the higher emotions. There is in fact a prose of art as well as a poetry, and whenever its poetry is sublime its prose is also beautiful. But we have forgotten that there is a prose of art at all. To us art is all poetry which we plaster irrelevantly on the most prosaic objects as if we were ashamed of them. And indeed we are ashamed of them just because they are prosaic to us, just because we never

recognise or try to heighten their natural beauty of design. In an age of healthy art, objects of use may be the prose of art, but they are not prosaic in one sense, for they are made as beautiful as the emphasis of their function can make them. And design can flourish nowhere unless it flourishes in the prose as well as in the poetry of art. It is not a faculty that a few specially trained artists can suddenly apply to a church or a palace or a Victoria memorial. It is a faculty that must be exercised by all designers and the value of which must be recognized by the public, whether it be applied to churches or, palaces, or to railway stations, or to trams or pillar boxes.

What we call design now is all remembered from the art of the past; but art, when it is alive, lives not on the admiration of past art but on discovery. To the artist reality suggests something finer than itself, and yet itself. To the great builders of the Middle Ages a cathedral did not suggest a great avenue of stone, but a finer, more completely organized cathedral—which they proceeded to build. So a railway station should suggest, not some vaguely romantic hall of vapors and hurrying crowds, but a finer, more highly organized railway station, which we too should proceed to build.

There must be a prose of life, but if it becomes merely prosaic to us, merely routine, that is because of our failure to make anything of it. We cannot be always in a high and passionate state of emotion, like the bright seraphim in burning row; and art for us is not all a touching of celestial harps with golden wires. Rather it is, or might be, in the mass of its achievements, a symptom of our triumph over routine in the prose of life. And the peculiar weakness of our present society is that it fails utterly to triumph over this routine, and betrays that failure in all objects of use. For us nearly every object of use is a platitude, and that means that a great part of life itself is a platitude; that in all our commercial and industrial relations with each other we are dominated by a belief, at once platitudinous and untrue, that we must take as much and give as little as we can. Where that belief prevails, there can be no art of design; for the art of design comes into being through the designer's impulse to give more than he need give; and that impulse is checked at once where he works for employers who tell him to give as little as he can.

Machinery and Functional Beauty.

The fact that we make many things with machinery has nothing to do with our failure to recognize their beauty. If things made by machinery could have no functional beauty, machinery would of course be fatal to art, and we should have to make up our minds whether we would give up art or machinery. But, as I have tried to show, many machine-made things have great beauty, and our failure to recognize it is the result merely of associations which prevent us from taking the pleasure we ought to take in such things. An artistic person will, for instance, admire some fantastic, ancient fowl-

ing piece. It is old and highly ornamented, and therefore he thinks of it as a work of art. But he will not admire a modern sporting gun by a good maker because he thinks of it as an article of commerce. And yet the modern gun has a beauty of design, a functional beauty, far beyond that of the old one. It has an almost miraculous elegance, which is heightened, not spoilt, by the precision of the mechanical finish. In this case an extreme beauty has been achieved because the wealthy sportsman does take a pride in his weapon. He does not call it beautiful any more than the people of the Middle Ages called their cathedrals works of art. But without knowing it he recognizes the beauty of fine design and workmanship and is ready to pay for it. So it is also with motor cars, which become more beautiful in design every year. But it is not so with the mass of objects of use which are made for the larger public and it cannot be so as long as the public has no sense of possession of those objects and no control over them, and so long as the designers of them are prevented from expressing their natural sense of design.

We have lost control by an accident, through a conjunction of circumstances that has never happened before in the world's history; and, since Socialism is an effort to regain this control, it is also an effort to produce those conditions which will be favorable to the arts of use. In respect to art it is not a very conscious effort; but the conscious efforts to encourage art have not been very successful. What art wants is not the patronage of superior persons but a fair chance with the ordinary man; and that Socialism would give it, if it gave to the ordinary man a fair chance of enjoying those things which his ancestors enjoyed.

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THE WAR ; WOMEN ; AND UNEMPLOYMENT.

MANY social problems have presented themselves to us in a fresh light and in changed relations in consequence of the experience brought by war. One of these problems is that of woman's economic position in this country.

Two aspects of that position are discussed in the two separate parts of this Tract. The first is the immediately practical question of the present wide-spread distress among women workers owing to lack of employment. The second is the helplessness of woman in face of the now pressing economic needs of the nation, owing to her lack of training and want of experience in business and organization.

PART I.—UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG WOMEN WAGE-EARNERS, AND HOW TO DEAL WITH IT.

We are only now slowly coming to realize that "unemployment" in industry affects women as well as men, and often differently from men. How often do we not still find the state of the labor market treated as if it were solely a matter of the relative supply of and demand for *men*? If not many men are out of work, Government officials, Ministers of the Crown, and newspaper writers take it for granted that all is well. The Board of Trade Monthly Index Number (based on the unemployed members of certain trade unions), and the statistical return of unemployed among the trades coming within Part II. of the Insurance Act, are quite commonly accepted as fairly measuring the amount of distress from unemployment. Yet the three million persons covered by these two returns include scarcely any women. There is no Index Number with regard to women's unemployment. Hardly any statistics are published about it, or, when published, they are hardly ever given anything like the same prominence as those relating to men. The result of all this is that the great and terrible

distress suffered by women wage-earners thrown out of work, whether owing to ordinary trade depression or to dislocation of war, and the consequent suffering to those whom these women wage-earners are helping to support, are very largely overlooked.

It is, perhaps, partly in consequence of this lack of statistical information about unemployment among women that the measures taken to prevent, or mitigate, or relieve unemployment nearly always result in benefit to men. Thus, when it is thought advisable to prevent unemployment by increasing the amount of work put in hand by town councils and other local authorities, it is always in men's trades that the additional volume of employment is created—the town council expedites some work of building, or drainage, or paving, or painting and decorating in order to take on men at wages. When distress becomes acute, the "relief works" started by the Local Distress Committee, such as road-making, or digging, or tree planting, are nearly always for unemployed men.

What is often forgotten, too, is that statistics with regard to the industries in which men are employed may give quite a wrong impression as to the state of employment in those trades in which women are engaged. Thus, during the months of September and October, 1914, when only a relatively small percentage of men were registered as unemployed, largely owing to the enormous number taken into Government pay or employed on municipal works, the percentage of women thrown out of work and standing idle without wages *was at least three times as great*. Yet the small percentage of men registered as unemployed was constantly being cited during that period as evidence that things were going on quite well, and that no exceptional measures were required. If as large a percentage of men had been registering as unemployed as there were women thrown out of work much more energetic steps would have been taken.

In the following pages we shall seek to prove the need for definite and distinct consideration, both by Government and the local authorities, not forgetting local relief committees of all sorts, of the needs of the women wage-earners who are unemployed, and to explain what ought to be done to help them, together with the part which might and should be taken in this matter by women themselves

Who are the Women Wage-earners.

Few people realize to what an enormous number the women wage-earners have grown in the United Kingdom. Never before have we had such a host. From the 1911 census we learn that no fewer than 5,854,036 females of ten years and upwards were engaged "in gainful occupations" in England and Wales alone. This total of close upon *six millions of working women and girls* excludes all those wholly engaged in unpaid domestic work at home. About 80,000 out of the total are working employers; about 313,000 more are "individual producers" working on their own account; the remainder, comprising the vast majority, are serving for salaries or wages. It is high time that we realized that industrial wage-earning is not an exceptional thing for women. More than half the entire

female population of these islands between the ages of 15 and 25 is thus at work for hire. In fact, the great majority of British women are wage-earners during some part of their lives; at the most employed age 70 per cent. are employed.

Here are the "gainful occupations" at which the bulk of approximately six millions in England and Wales were working in 1911:—*

	Domestic service (indoors)	1,260,673
	Cotton manufacture	372,834
	Dressmaking	333,129
	Teaching (all branches)	211,183
	Local Government (including Police and and Poor Law Services)	176,450
Net totals in industries or services.	Wool and Worsted manufacture	127,637
	Tailoring	127,527
	Drapery	110,955
	Inn or hotel service	110,506
	Agriculture	94,841
	Printing, bookbinding and stationery	87,609
	Grocery	58,935
	Boot and shoe making	45,986
	National Government	34,089
		Medical and nursing ... ..	87,699
Totals in Occupation Tables.	Art, music, drama... ..	49,998
	Laundry	167,052
	Metal trades	101,050
	Charwomen	126,061

If the female workers of Scotland (593,210) and of Ireland (430,092) be added to those of England and Wales, the total reaches 6,877,338. By 1915 the number of women and girls working for gain in the United Kingdom must have risen to at least seven millions.

It may be worth while to add a statistical estimate—the most accurate that can be framed until the Board of Trade deigns to give as much attention to women as to men—of what such of these women earn as belong to the manual working wage-earning class, omitting the professionals, such as doctors, artists, teachers, journalists, managers, clerks, and municipal or national Government officials, and to compare their earnings with those of men of the manual working wage-earning class. The estimate includes the value of board and lodging, when supplied, and of all extras, but deducts an estimated percentage for unemployment, holidays, and short time.

Table prepared for the Fabian Women's Group by Mr. Sidney Webb showing estimated earnings of Employed Manual Working Wage-Earners in the United Kingdom in the year 1912 :

* Valuable summary tables of the occupations of women in England and Wales prepared by Miss Wyatt Papworth and Miss Dorothy Zimmern, are published by the Women's Industrial Council. Price 6d.

MALES.

Class.	Numbers.	Average earnings in full week, including emoluments.		Average Wages Bill for a full week.	Yearly Wages Bill.*
		s.	d.	Million £.	Million £.
Men in situations :					
Below 15s. ...	320,000= 4%	13	0	0·21	10
15s. to 20s. ...	640,000= 8%	18	0	0·58	27
20s. ,, 25s. ...	1,600,000=20%	22	6	1·80	85
25s. ,, 30s. ...	1,680,000=21%	27	6	2·31	109
30s. ,, 35s. ...	1,680,000=21%	32	6	2·73	128
35s. ,, 40s. ...	1,040,000=13%	37	6	1·95	92
40s. ,, 45s. ...	560,000= 7%	42	6	1·20	56·5
Over 45s. ...	480,000= 6%	50	0	1·20	56·5
Men in situations	8,000,000=100%	30	0	12 00	564
Casuals ...	700,000	12	0	0·42	18·5
Adult males ...	8,700,000	28	4	12·42	582·5
Boys ...	1,900,000	10	0	0·95	44
All males ...	10,600,000	25	3	13·38	626·5

Average earnings per adult employed manual working man throughout the year $\frac{582.5}{8.7}$ £66·95, or £1 5s. 9d. per week.

* Allowing five weeks for short time, sickness, involuntary holidays and unemployment.

FEMALES.

Class.	Numbers.	Average earnings in a full week.		Average weekly Wages Bill for a full week	Yearly Wages Bill (net, as above).
		s.	d.	in £100,000.	£.
Women in situations :					
Below 12s. ...	1,000,000	9	0	450	21,150,000
12s. to 15s. ...	1,500,000	13	0	975	45,825,000
Over 15s. ...	500,000	17	0	425	19,975,000
Women in Situations ...					
... ..	3,000,000	12	4	1,850	86,950,000
Casuals ...	100,000	3	6	17½	822,500
Adult women ...	3,100,000	11	7	1,867½	87,772,500
Girls ...	1,500,000	7	6	565	26,550,000
All females ...	4,600,000	10	7	2,432½	114,322,500
Total Wages Bill ...	...	...	...	...	£740,875,500

Average earnings per adult employed manual working woman throughout the year $\frac{87.772}{3.1}$ £28·31, or 10s. 10½d. per week.

NOTE.—The difference between 4,600,000 (the estimated number of female manual working wage-earners in 1912) and 7,000,000 (the estimated number of women and girls gainfully occupied in 1915) is to be accounted for partly by the increase in numbers between 1912 and 1915, but mainly by (a) the women employers; (b) the women working on their own account in industrial occupations; (c) the women and girls gainfully occupied but non-manual working wage-earners, such as doctors, artists, teachers, journalists, managers, clerks, local and national government employees. Domestic servants are included as manual working wage earners.

The estimate allows for an average of five weeks' wages lost in a year through short time, sickness, involuntary holidays, and unemployment. This "ordinary" amount of unemployment, though it makes a big hole in a woman's scanty wages, is not that about which we are now concerned. What is serious is the continued inability to get another situation, prolonged perhaps for many weeks; the weary search for a vacancy that takes the very heart out of a woman, the drain on the scanty savings so difficult to accumulate, which brings her face to face with the worst that fate can have in store for her.

How to Prevent Unemployment.

The first thing to be done, when prolonged and widespread unemployment is imminent or apprehended, is to seek to prevent it. In this case prevention is ever so much better than cure. If private employers are beginning to turn off their "hands," it is the duty of public employers—that is to say, the Government Departments and the various local authorities—to do all that they can to increase their own staffs. When there is a falling off in the amount of employment in the way of trade, whatever work or service useful to the community can be undertaken by the public authorities ought then to be deliberately undertaken. Labor should be engaged at the standard rates of wages in the ordinary way, with the object of maintaining undiminished, as far as possible, the total volume of wage-earning employment. Nor need we be too careful that the augmentation of public employment is exactly in those particular crafts or specialized occupations in which a diminution of private employment is likely to occur. Coincidence in this respect, in so far as it is practicable, greatly facilitates matters, and it is not suggested that discharged clerks or jewellers can become navvies or cooks; but in the ever-changing tides of the vast labor market, the broadening of any channel has an effect in carrying off some of the flood, and of thereby relieving the pressure elsewhere. Any increase in demand for labor, by lessening the number of possible competitors, helps indirectly every kind of labor that is seeking employment.

This policy of actually preventing unemployment by augmenting public employment, in order to counterbalance the diminution of private employment—a policy quite distinct from that of letting people fall into unemployment and then providing "relief works" on which to set them to work just because they are unemployed and in distress—is now what is advised by the political economists. It has been definitely adopted as the policy of the State. In the Development and Road Board Act, 1909, it was expressly laid down by Parliament that, in creating employment under that Act, the Commissioners were to "have regard to the state of the labor market"; the implication being that they were to do little when trade was good, and as much as possible when trade was bad.

In August, 1914, when so much unemployment was caused by the war, we saw the various Government Departments (such as the

Office of Works in particular) under the direct instructions of the Cabinet, frankly recognizing the public responsibility for preventing as much unemployment as possible, and racking their brains to discover what work they could put in hand. Finally, we had the Local Government Board quite explicitly enjoining this policy on the local authorities as a general principle.

"Obviously the best way to provide for persons thrown out of their usual employment as a result of the war is to provide them with some other work for wages. . . . Where the demands of the normal labor market are inadequate, the committee should consult the local authorities as to the possibility of expediting schemes of public utility, which might otherwise not be put in hand at the present moment. Whatever work is undertaken by local authorities . . . should be performed in the ordinary way. . . . The men engaged . . . should, of course, be paid wages in the ordinary way."—(Circular P.R.D 7, August 20th, 1914.)

Note the words "the men"! Unemployment among seven millions of gainfully occupied women and girls needs to be prevented just as much as unemployment among the thirteen millions of gainfully occupied men and boys, and no doubt the Local Government Board meant their advice to be taken as regards both sexes equally; but, unfortunately, those in charge of our Government Departments and those who run our town councils are almost exclusively men. When they put in hand schemes for increasing the volume of public employment, what is thought of is, practically always, employment for men. This, of course, comes easiest to them; and, moreover, few unemployed women wage-earners have even a municipal vote.

Women should see to it that, when unemployment is threatened, or has actually occurred, this policy of augmenting the volume of public employment is applied in the case of women, as it is in the case of men. The local authorities ought everywhere to be pressed to increase their staffs of women and girls, as some partial set-off to the new employment that they seek to provide for men. As there were no fewer than 176,450 women and girls in the Local Government service in England and Wales alone in 1911, the addition of only five per cent. (or one for every twenty already employed) would mean that nearly 9,000 unemployed women would be taken off the labor market. What town councillors are apt to do, if they are not reminded of women's needs in this respect, is rather to leave accidental vacancies unfilled among their women teachers or clerks, so that the staff falls off by five per cent. or more, and unemployment is actually increased.

We ought to urge on the borough and urban councils—also upon the county councils—that, in times of trade depression, they should take special care that their staffs of women and girls (teachers, typists, clerks, inspectors, health visitors, nurses, asylum attendants, charwomen, school cleaners, lavatory attendants, etc.) are kept at full strength, and, wherever occasion arises, promptly increased. We should press for the fullest possible number of learners or probationers to be taken on in every department, so that an increased number of women might be trained for higher work; that, for instance, all possible opportunities should be taken to increase the

numbers of scholarships for girls, girl student-teachers, and female teachers in training; that additional training colleges and hostels should be established; that the number of probationer-nurses in the public health hospitals and workhouse infirmaries should be augmented; we should insist that the elementary school staffs of women teachers should be increased—at any rate to the extent of all the trained teachers available, even taking on at once the whole year's supply leaving college in July—so as to effect the very desirable reform of reducing the size of the classes, wherever accommodation permits; we should demand that the opportunity be taken to introduce, among the council's staff, women sanitary inspectors and women health visitors; or to increase their number if already instituted, up to the limit of the local requirements.

We might very well press the local police authority (in London, the Home Secretary; in the City of London, the Corporation; in counties, the Standing Joint Committee; in boroughs, the Watch Committee) to appoint the police matrons who are so urgently required at all police stations. Why should they not appoint, too, some women as police constables, in order that they may be employed in various directions where they are more suitable than men? In the United States no fewer than twenty-five cities have now one or more "policewomen," Chicago having twenty, whilst Baltimore, Seattle and Los Angeles have five each, Pittsburgh four, and San Francisco and St. Paul each three. Canada, too, is beginning to utilize its women as police assistants, Vancouver setting the example in this direction. In at least thirty-five towns in Germany women police assistants have been appointed; in Mainz, Munich, Dresden, and ten other towns, they are appointed by the State and municipal authorities. Women police have also been appointed in Austria, Denmark, Holland, Norway, Switzerland and Sweden. Even in England, in order to meet the conditions arising from the war, women are now serving on the patrols organized by the National Society of Women Workers, and as voluntary policewomen organized by the Women's Freedom League, but they are not appointed on oath, and, therefore, have no power of arrest; moreover, the work is of a voluntary character. The police patrol work has already been abundantly justified, and should be extended in many directions. Police and military authorities alike are welcoming, and in some cases asking for, this co-operation on the part of women. If women can do the work, why withhold either the official status or the pay? The latest published report of the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, for 1913, reveals the fact that London, at all events, employs one paid woman police officer, whose business it is to take the depositions of women and children in certain cases. By this time it may be hoped that there are more than one. In Southampton two women police constables were appointed in January, 1915.

Again, the local education authority might well take this opportunity to keep back from the overstocked labor market as many as possible of the girls about to leave school at thirteen or fourteen, and secure to them a year or two more educational training, wherever

possible of a technical character. To enable such girls to abstain from wage-earning, it would be necessary to provide them with maintenance whilst under training. This it is within the legal powers of the local education authority to do by awarding them maintenance scholarships, carrying not only full education but also a payment of the necessary few shillings a week. The number of such scholarships for girls compares very unfavorably with that for boys.

The idea might be carried further. It would be distinctly advantageous if the local education authority would, at times when women are exceptionally unemployed, offer maintenance scholarships pretty freely to selected girls of sixteen or eighteen, who are willing to put themselves under training, either for any skilled craft at which they could eventually get employment, or for sick nursing, for which there is a rapidly growing permanent demand; or, indeed, for any of the higher openings for women. A patriotic education committee might be moved to agree to such a proposal by offering special scholarships to the daughters of "men at the front," or of killed or wounded.

The present provision of technical education for girls by local authorities is extremely inadequate. In London, since 1904, trade schools have been established for limited numbers of girls, including, at present, schools for dressmaking, ladies' tailoring, millinery, upholstery, trade embroidery, corset and lingerie making, waistcoat making, cookery, domestic service, laundry work and photography; but outside London trade schools for girls hardly exist. At Manchester and Plymouth schools for dressmaking have been established, though in the former city there is provision for only twenty-four students; Reading has a school for domestic economy, the Birmingham education authority has lately opened a school for the training of girls as children's nurses, and the Brighton education authority has just decided to start a school for laundry work. This exhausts the list.

Trade schools apart, in the recent general development of technical instruction under the auspices of the Board of Education and local education authorities, whether by means of evening classes or of "vocational training" in secondary schools, there has been a strong tendency to confine the instruction of girls, other than intending teachers, to housecraft and needlework, or else preparation for clerical work, or, in evening classes, dressmaking.

Now is the time to provide more schools and more classes teaching new trades and promoting efficiency in trades already followed, which will make women competent wage-earners in the future. To this end it will be essential to provide a large number of scholarships with maintenance grants for girls, which grants would help to educate parents in the idea that immediate employment of a boy or girl on leaving school is detrimental to his or her future welfare, and that the school age must be raised so as to secure an adequate and thorough training in some trade or profession. Why should there not be opportunities for women to enter certain skilled and lucrative trades in which at present provision is made only for men? Further, it is necessary to convince parents and local authorities

that an educational training would be valuable in avocations not heretofore supposed to require it. A shop assistant, for example, would find her work more interesting, be more efficient, and be able to command better pay if she had a sound knowledge of the nature and provenance of the goods she sells.

Again, the local health committees should certainly see to it that the maternity centre and baby clinic, which every town needs, is at once started and developed. In this connection the sanction given by the Local Government Board for the training and employment, at fourpence per hour, either from relief funds or otherwise, of a staff of "mothers' helps" or "sick room helps" to visit the homes of women who are sick or being confined, in order to keep their households going, should certainly be utilized.

Local insurance committees should lose no opportunity to press for a beginning of the scheme for the home nursing of the sick, for which Parliament voted the money in the summer of 1914. The Insurance Commissioners do not want to take action on this decision of Parliament, and they are pleading for delay on grounds of economy and shortage of nurses. But unless a start is made with the training of probationers there will never be enough nurses. The sick need the nursing as much now (and are costing the approved societies as much through lack of nursing) as they did when the House of Commons passed the vote. The Government should be pressed on this matter.

Furthermore, local authorities should find and directly provide work at wages for unemployed women, analogous to the new buildings or the additional furniture by which these authorities can relieve the labour market as regards men. We ought to see to it that local authorities do not postpone any orders for uniforms, asylum clothing, or other garments; they should rather take the opportunity to increase stocks. They can sometimes properly take on a few women in the sewing rooms of the asylums or other institutions. Many women clerks and secretaries who are unemployed might be given work in public libraries. In February, 1913, 59 women were employed in the public libraries of eight metropolitan boroughs, and 314 in those of provincial towns, including 114 in Manchester. The women assistants who are thus employed are of various grades, and the salaries are from £1 a week, rising to 25s., and from £80, rising to £130. The work is particularly suited to women, and if more women were members of public library committees, it is reasonable to believe that the appointment of women librarians would be more frequent. It may not be generally known that women can be co-opted as additional members of such committees.

The local education authority might equip all the children at school with gymnasium and swimming costumes, and see to it that none went without warm socks or stockings and strong boots. But much more might be done. An immense improvement in the health and educational progress of the children in the elementary schools might be effected if local education authorities would start a

"school uniform" for boys and girls respectively; that is to say, suitable underclothing, together with a tasteful and hygienic dress of simple pattern, not necessarily identical in cut or color, but analogous to that adopted in some of the best boarding schools for the children of the wealthy. This would necessitate a free gift of the new clothing, at any rate in the poorest schools or to any parents requiring it. But it would be the means of getting rid of the insanitary layers of dirty wool and of the "rags and tatters" to which so many of the children are now condemned. What a splendid use might thus be made of a time of unemployment to put the whole school population, even the whole of the children in any particular town or village, into clean and healthy and beautiful clothing!

It may be needful to induce local authorities and other large consumers ordering supplies of clothing as above suggested to give their orders to other firms than those which formerly monopolized the supply, since such firms are in some cases exceptionally pressed by orders from the War Office and our allies, e.g., firms supplying the clothing and boots required for soldiers are working day and night. The Government stated last November that they have spread their orders for khaki amongst two hundred firms, apart from local contracts.

Why We Cannot Set the Unemployed Women to Commercially Productive Work.

It is frequently urged that the Government, or the local authorities or relief committees, should open workrooms for unemployed women, and set them to produce any of the ordinary commodities for sale in the market. Thus, at the outbreak of the war in August, 1914, various philanthropic ladies started workrooms in which they employed women at wages to *make garments for sale*. Sometimes they importuned the War Office for contracts for shirts which would otherwise have been given to the usual contractors. Sometimes they begged their friends to give them orders instead of buying at the shops. Sometimes they sold the product to the wholesale dealers, who would otherwise have given out the work among their usual sub-contractors and home workers. Thus, the work done in these philanthropic workrooms was only *diverted from the ordinary channels of trade*. Absolutely no good was done to women as a whole. During that very month shirtmakers and tailoresses and dressmakers were being discharged all over the kingdom, or being put on "half time," because the orders which would ordinarily have been given in the usual course of trade were being greatly reduced.

A similar mistaken policy used to be pursued as regards women by the Central Unemployed Body for London, the authority for creating employment under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905. For unemployed men this body quite rightly avoided competition with employment in the ordinary course of trade, and put the men to work at useful tasks not yielding any commercial value and not sold in the market. For unemployed women, however, owing to some economic blundering at the Local Government Board which

has never been explained, the Central Unemployed Body conducted between 1908 and 1914 sewing rooms for unemployed women, where garments were deliberately made for sale in the market, where the utmost possible output was insisted on at the lowest possible cost, and where the enterprise was ostensibly run on commercial lines. The result can only have been to throw other women out of work. Moreover, the workrooms naturally failed even to make the profits they aimed at, and incurred considerable loss.

All such action is, from the standpoint of doing something for the unemployed, a clumsy error, which ought not to be repeated, whether by local authorities, by relief committees, or by benevolent people. To engage women in productive work of ordinary commercial character, which is merely substituted for other production, does nothing more than put some women into work at the cost of throwing others out of work. The total demand for labor is not increased. The Local Government Board now recognizes the mistake it made between 1908 and 1914, and the new women's workrooms of the Central Unemployed Body were, in October, 1914, ordered to be run on quite different lines from the old ones.

New Trades for Women.

It may be asked, why should not the women take up new trades, in which they might produce for sale, and make their employment commercially self-supporting, without throwing other persons, or at any rate not other women in the United Kingdom, out of work? There is every reason why this should be done, *if and wherever it is possible*. But experience shows that there are great difficulties in the way. It needs no little ingenuity to discover any new manufacture or service that is both practicable and profitable. It is not easy to obtain the services of someone possessing the necessary managerial skill and the business knowledge that is required. It is often difficult to overcome the inertia and resistance of the ordinary wholesale trader or shopkeeper through whom the product has to be sold. The railway rates are found to make both the bringing of the raw material and the selling of the finished product very costly. Lastly, the women workers themselves require to be trained to the new occupation.

Such experiments are difficult, but there is every reason why they should be tried.

The pulping of fruit, with a view to its preservation and bottling or canning in jelly form, was started in September, 1914, at Studley Horticultural College, under the Board of Agriculture, by the aid of a grant from the Development Commissioners. The plant cost about £750, and the necessary working capital for the purchase of fruit, etc., amounted to £500. The women were engaged at regular wages by the aid of a grant from the National Relief Fund. No information is yet available as to the commercial results.

The bottling of fruit may be practicable in some districts where fruit would otherwise be wasted. This can sometimes be set up in a

small way by zealous volunteers, and made to cover the wages given to the workers. But it is practicable only for a short period in especial localities, and cannot be regarded as a trade. The drying of vegetables for sale in a form in which they can be preserved was also started in Warwickshire in September, 1914. This cost £800 for plant and £300 for working capital. Dried vegetables have hitherto been supplied from the Continent. They are used for export and for the supply of the troops, as well as for ordinary consumption.

The revival of the ancient home industry of hand-knitting is to be commended, in so far as it supplies the market with goods of better quality, for which there is a genuine permanent demand, or goods not otherwise obtainable, such as the special sea-boot stockings knitted by "trawler" women.

Foreign branches of trade in fancy leather, stationery, and metal ware may, with great advantage, in future employ women in England.

The exodus of foreigners from the country should give considerable scope for English women in cookery, as waitresses, and in several of the higher branches of the catering trade if the embargo of sex be withdrawn. And the withdrawal of more than a million Englishmen from civil life has unavoidably left vacancies which duly qualified women must be found and trained to fill. The Report of the Board of Trade on the state of employment in the United Kingdom for December, 1914, mentions an increase of 25 per cent. in the employment of women in London banks since the war, and the existence of a similar state of things in some other city employments. In the Post Office also women are working in what were formerly men's departments; they are also entering the grocery trade as shop assistants, acting as lift attendants, finding increased employment in metal work, e.g., in Vickers-Maxim's shops, and undertaking artistic work hitherto done by men in the printing trade.

The making of toys and dolls, in substitution for those formerly obtained from Germany, was started last autumn in various quarters. The Women's Emergency Corps and some branches of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, in particular, have managed to employ a number of women in this way, utilizing the taste and artistic skill that they possess. A large factory on ordinary business lines is now being started at Burton on Trent, and one (The Goblin Toy Factory) has already been started in Reading. It will ultimately employ 1,000 women, many of them skilled workers with artistic training, the majority ordinary factory hands. Handloom weaving has been suggested as an occupation in which women might find commercially remunerative work in the production of articles of special quality, for which a demand has revived. The artistic handicrafts generally, it has been suggested, might be revived with the same purpose.

No experiment in this direction ought to be discouraged. In particular, we should be on the look out for any opportunity for the development of talent or the exercise of taste among women thrown out of work in their own mechanical or monotonous trades. There is now an opportunity to enlarge the field of women's activities, and

to fit them to take in future a share in a larger variety of paid occupations, and also, it may be hoped, a fair chance to win and keep a place amongst the better remunerated workers. But we must bear in mind that it is not enough to obtain orders from friends and sympathizers. It is of no use, *as provision for unemployed wage-earners in distress*, to suggest occupations (such as poultry farming, or indeed any other farming, or running a tea-room or keeping a shop) which may, at best, *afford a livelihood as employers* to individual women able to command considerable capital. For the purpose of doing something for the unemployed women wage-earners the question must be honestly faced of whether in the proposed new trade there is (i) a continuing demand, (ii) from entirely uninterested purchasers, (iii) at a price sufficient to cover all the expenses of production, and (iv) of a volume sufficient to find lasting employment at all seasons of the year for a substantial number of women wage-earners, or regularly at certain seasons as an alternative trade. Unless these four questions can be answered in the affirmative, the proposed "new trade" is a sham, a philanthropic fad, really only another form of charitable relief, or at best a temporary makeshift.

What can be Given to the Unemployed—Doles or Training?

A certain amount of unemployment among women wage-earners can be met by the development of new trades for women, but we cannot hope instantaneously at a time of crisis to provide in this way for the great mass of girls and women—to be numbered literally by the hundred thousand—now thrown out of employment by any severe depression of trade. There they are, in every large town in greater or smaller numbers, myriads of seamstresses and dressmakers of every grade, of tailoresses and milliners, and all the miscellaneous workers on articles of dress; factory operatives of all grades from the "box" and "jam" and confectionery "hands," the packers and labellers and bottlers of every conceivable commodity; the workers in jute, and wool, and silk and worsted, right up to the "fourloomers" in the cotton weaving shed; the charwomen and office cleaners; the typists, the book-keepers and the clerks; the nursery governesses and the "companions," all find their chances of employment contracting through no fault of their own. What are we to do for them?

There are two answers. The first is the voice of despair—Give them alms

The Evil Policy of Doles.

This is the easiest of all devices, the eagerly adopted remedy of the charitable, the "cheapest" way of getting the unemployed off the momentarily stirred consciences of the well-to-do. But, as everyone knows who has tried it, the distribution of money amongst those in distress—though we have perforce to resort to it in hard times if we are too stupid or too lazy or too unconscientious to find anything better—is the worst of all methods of relief, demoralising alike to giver and recipient. Hardly any character is strong enough to stand

up against the subtle corruption of dependence on alms. The dole is practically never adequate for maintenance; it is never to be relied upon, and consequently never admits of provident housekeeping; yet the mere expectation of it deadens all exertion, initiative and enterprise in seeking new employment. The unaccustomed idleness, with its evil loitering and inevitable gossiping, is especially demoralising to women used to regular employment. Finally, there is the tragic dilemma of the "scale." If the weekly dole is large enough for really adequate maintenance in full health and vigor, it will be (as the nation has with shame to confess) considerably in excess of the earnings of women at work in half the women's trades; and it is not in human nature to resist the temptation of letting slip the chances of employment that involve an actual loss of income. If, on the other hand, the dole is made less than women actually earn at their work, it means slow starvation.

The Policy of Training.

The more sensible practical alternative to employment that is commercially productive is not doles but another kind of employment—employment of an educational character. Those women and girls whom we find it impossible to place in situations in the ordinary way, whom we cannot, even temporarily, take into our augmented municipal employment, and for whom we fail to discover new trades, we can at any rate set to work at their own improvement. The provision of "maintenance under training" for girls and women is a plain matter of justice. Far less has hitherto been done for the technical training of girls than for the training of boys. There are far fewer scholarships (of all sorts, at all ages) available for girls than for boys. And in the war emergency of 1914, the Government, for its own purposes, applied to the million and a quarter unemployed men the principle of "maintenance under training" on a gigantic scale, taking them into army pay, and providing them with clothing and boots and complete maintenance, whilst it trained and drilled them into the utmost physical and military efficiency. Nothing analogous to this was done for the three or four hundred thousand women thrown out of work, though they were just as much in need of physical and sometimes of professional training as the men, and the nation, also because of the war, was in urgent need of trained workers.

What Kind of Training.

When it is sceptically asked what kind of training could be given to unemployed wage-earners, and whether the women are not too old to learn, we become conscious of the amount of prejudice that lies behind the doubt whether it is of any consequence whether women are properly trained or not! As a matter of fact the problem of providing training for unemployed women offers fewer difficulties than the corresponding problem with regard to men.

In the autumn of 1914 the Central Committee on Women's Employment, formed by the Queen to devise schemes (Miss Mary

Macarthur, Hon. Secretary), worked out plans in some detail for exactly this work,* to which the seal of Cabinet approval was given. It was laid down, as a fundamental condition, that the work to be done "should not compete in any way with ordinary industry," and that "it should be of such a nature as to maintain or improve the efficiency of the unemployed women." What was aimed at was "education or technical training or instruction." This might, where possible, take the form of instruction in the processes of new trades. It might, on the other hand (and this was found more generally practicable), take the form of instruction in the making and renovation of clothing of all kinds, from cutting out to finishing. It was found that hardly any of the unemployed wage-earning women were competent at domestic dressmaking and needlework, even for their own requirements; and of course hardly any of them proved to be able to dispense with instruction as to reshaping and renovating their own garments and hats. Every kind of mending and adapting furnished many useful lessons.

Simple domestic economy was also taught with great success. Practical cookery, home laundry work and even the elements of domestic hygiene and infant management could be made subjects of instruction. All this naturally requires organizing, and involves the engagement of competent, skilled instructresses in the different subjects—thus finding suitable employment for such persons who are themselves out of work—and these engagements have, of course, to be at comparatively high rates of pay. The Government rightly insisted, through the Central Committee on Women's Employment, that no attempt must ever be made to beat down the standard rates, whether of forewomen or instructresses, cooks or charwomen.

But the training given was by no means all of domestic utility. Workers already belonging to a skilled trade, or anxious to train for a skilled trade, were grouped for a special course of trade instruction provided by the local education authority, after consultation with the women's department of the Labor Exchange as to local demand for skilled workers †. About 150 girl clerks were sent to educational institutions to learn foreign languages; 30 ex-factory girls, by their own desire, were sent to train in market gardening [an experiment reported in January, 1915, as very successful]; some elder women were trained as sick-room helps for laid-up mothers of families. In January, 1915, the committee were giving grants to 55 work and training rooms (about 4,158 workers), carried on by local representative committees, and had 27 more under consideration, whilst their own experimental schemes were occupying and training 1,000 women, besides the 2,000 employed through their contracts branch or by the Central Unemployed Body for London.

* Memoranda on Schemes of Work for Women Temporarily Unemployed Owing to the War, issued by the Central Committee on Women's Employment, 8 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W. (W E R, 2, 3 and 4).

† The London Juvenile Advisory Committee is issuing a pamphlet showing which are the trades which, owing to the war, are needing an increased number of learners (Board of Trade, Labor Exchanges and Unemployment Department, Queen Anne's Chambers, S.W.)

The experience of the autumn of 1914 by no means exhausts the possibilities of providing training for unemployed women. The problem need not always be dealt with on wholesale lines. When time permits, the cases should be considered one by one, and each girl or woman provided with the individual training best suited to her needs. In a large city the number of women thrown out of work in the different branches of the dressmaking and tailoring trades would allow of the selection of those suitable in age and otherwise to be sent to technical classes that would qualify them for the more skilled and more highly paid branches of their trades, from which they would otherwise remain all their lives excluded. Even three months expert technical training will often start a young woman in the progress from a mere "hand" at 8s. or 10s. a week into a machinist or a waistcoat-maker, who will presently be making twice or thrice that wage. In the crafts at which women already find employment, such as upholstery and bookbinding, most of them never get a chance of rising to the more skilled grades, at which some women earn relatively good wages. Even a few months instruction would put some of these excluded ones on an upward move. There are thousands of women who gain a living by cooking or laundry work, but there is constant scarcity of really trained cooks and an unsatisfied demand for the higher grades of laundry workers. Some of the unemployed women should be picked out for thoroughly expert technical instruction in these relatively well-paid occupations. Indeed, there seems no reason why selected women should not be put through the necessary training for dairy and other agricultural work,* for sick nursing, for dispensing, for midwifery, for the work of health officer and sanitary inspector, even for the understaffed medical profession, where there is such urgent permanent need for women's services, while so many suitable girls, who have had a good secondary education, cannot afford the needful five years of training. Once the idea is grasped that the best way to spend the time of unemployment is in training, and that the best form of provision for the unemployed for whom we cannot find situations is maintenance while they are being taught, there are endless opportunities of instruction and improvement to be discovered.

Experience, alas! shows that it is very difficult to get this principle of "educational training and maintenance" into the heads of town and county councillors and members of local relief committees, male or female. In the autumn of 1914 the Central Committee on Women's Employment seems to have found it expedient to compromise with those members of the Cabinet and those mayoresses and other "committee ladies" who did not "hold with" education, and were always hankering after some way of "getting the women to work"! In order to satisfy this yearning for "production," it was found expedient to allow part of the time to be devoted to "making things in which it was difficult to pretend that the workers were in any way benefiting, either by acquiring new skill or by otherwise

* The Board of Agriculture is actively organizing classes for women and girls in butter-making and other branches of dairy and other work connected with agriculture.

improving themselves." It was then necessary, if this misguided waste of time had to occur, to see to it that the work of the women, at any rate, did no harm in putting other women out of work. It was therefore sternly insisted on that under no circumstances were supplies to be sent to the soldiers or sailors for the diminution of the War Office or Admiralty orders, and that the produce was never to be sold in any way. What was produced had to be given away to the very poorest, who could not possibly have otherwise been purchasers. In this way a number of women were kept at work making maternity outfits and articles of clothing for gratuitous distribution. As the women learned nothing by this work, and were thus in no way aided to obtain better employment than heretofore, whilst the commercial value of what they produced was inconsiderable and, of course, enormously below what was paid to them in maintenance, this plan of making things for the poor is not to be recommended. It ought only to be a concession to the ignorance or prejudices of the committee when the members cannot be made to see reason.

Payment or Maintenance.

It is obvious that what the women receive who are thus given training or instruction, or who are put to work, not at their own trades, in producing maternity outfits or garments for gratuitous distribution, is not in the nature of wages, and much misunderstanding is caused when that term is used for it. What ought to be provided for those unemployed for whom we fail to find productive work is not wages, but *maintenance until situations at wages can be discovered for them*. We want to get them back to regular wage-earning—if possible in a higher grade of work than that which they left—at the earliest possible moment.

What can properly be paid as maintenance? The Central Committee on Women's Employment decided, after careful consideration, that the amount could not safely be put at more than 10s a week as a maximum for women over eighteen, and for this sum five days attendance (or forty hours) at the educational institution or women's training centre (or women's workroom, as it was sometimes less aptly termed) should be required. Where tramway fares or other travelling expenses have to be incurred, the amount of these might be added. It is desirable that dinners and teas should be supplied on the premises, where convenient, at a very small charge, the women taking it in turns to be taught the very best way of preparing these meals. The maintenance allowance of 10s per week is, of course, for the woman alone. Whenever she has children, or other dependants, a separate allowance for their maintenance, according to the approved scale, is supposed to be made by the local relief committee. For girls between sixteen and eighteen thrown out of work, and in attendance at the training centre, an allowance of 1s. a day was suggested.

These amounts are far lower than could be wished, and they were much complained of by hasty critics. But there can be no doubt that the decision of the Central Committee on Women's Employment was right; and it is to be noted that it received the unanimous

endorsement, after careful consideration, of the War Emergency Workers' National Committee, representing the Labor Party, the Trades Union Congress, and the principal women's trade unions. It is absolutely essential, if maintenance is to be offered to the 5 or 10 per cent. who are unemployed, that this should not actually be more than what is being earned as wages by the 90 or 95 per cent. who are still at work. If a person, merely by becoming unemployed, could get more money than by continuing at work, experience shows that there is real danger of the provision that we are striving to make for the involuntarily unemployed being swamped by a rush of workers throwing up their jobs to get the larger income. Ten shillings a week is little enough. But, unfortunately, there are many hundreds of thousands of women whose wages are less than this sum. Indeed, it was found necessary to add that where a woman habitually earned less than 10s a week at her work, she must be restricted to fewer than five days a week attendance, so as to prevent it being so attractive to her that she would be in no hurry to get again into employment. It is, of course, of the utmost importance to raise the deplorably low rates of wages common in women's employment, but it is of no use trying to do so by giving more to unemployed women for maintenance than they can earn as wages when they are at work. What we have to secure is an extension of the Trade Boards Act to all trades in which less than (say) 30s. a week is paid to man or woman, and such a raising of the legal minimum wages fixed under that Act as will secure a much higher standard of life than the humbler grades of workers are now permitted to enjoy.

The Dependants of Women Workers.

One main cause why public opinion is so careless of the sufferings of wage-earning women is that few persons realize the extent to which the female members of the family amongst the working classes contribute to the family income. It is quite untrue, as is commonly supposed by men of all ranks and by most women of the middle and upper classes, that women workers differ from men workers in having no one to support by their exertions but themselves. Although everyone knows cases of daughters in domestic service who are sending money home regularly, or of factory girls, living at home, who are paying part or all of their wages to their parents, or of married women going out to work, or taking work at home, to help to supply the needs of the family, few persons deduce anything from these facts. Few realize that when large numbers of women workers are unemployed it means a great increase of poverty in working-class homes throughout the country, as well as the distress of the unemployed women themselves.

A careful statistical enquiry of the Fabian Women's Group, extending over thousands of cases, in practically the whole range of women's occupations, showed that *about half* the women wage-earners canvassed were supporting, wholly or partially, either children or parents, or brothers and sisters, or disabled husbands or other dependent relatives. Among laundresses, over 75 per cent. were so

contributing; among cotton weavers, 66 per cent; among needlewomen, 60 per cent.; among domestic servants, 53 per cent; and among nurses, 52 per cent.

Among women who have received a university education the returns showed 43 per cent as helping to support others; and in a similar investigation undertaken among themselves by the women employees in the Post Office, 42 per cent. of the women of over ten years service were returned as contributing to the support of others.

From enquiries in a very poor neighborhood in Outer London among some 750 workers, the majority of whom were girls of about 16-18 years of age, with an average wage of 7s. a week, 84 per cent. were shown to be entirely supporting themselves, and nearly 62 per cent contributing to the family income over and above their own cost of living.

In Northampton and Warrington particulars have been obtained from cards kindly lent by Dr. Bowley, which contained the results of an investigation made by him into some 1,300 working class households, in which are over 600 female workers, 30 per cent. of whom may be said to be contributing to the upkeep of the family. In both these towns the family wage is fairly high.

From information supplied by the Women's Industrial Council, it was found that out of 578 married women working in gainful occupations, only 53 were not self-supporting, that 97 (or 16.78 per cent) were the sole support of the family, and that at least 64 per cent were contributing to the support of their children. In an article on "Working Class Households in Reading," Dr. Bowley says that in 609 households canvassed, "The statistician's normal family of man (at work), wife (not working), and three dependent children only occurs thirty-three times" (*Royal Statistical Society's Journal*, June, 1913).

The fact that, as is indicated by the above examples and figures, a large proportion of the seven million women workers must provide for dependants, is of the greatest importance. *It means that probably at least three millions of gainfully occupied women are responsible for the maintenance, wholly or in part, of others besides themselves.* This is one more reason, and a crucial reason, why serious attention should be given by the Government and by the public to the conditions of women's employment and the needs of unemployed women.

PART II.—WOMEN AND THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY.

There are many causes, besides the carelessness of the public, why women's unemployment and the resultant distress commands so little attention. Everywhere the economic position of women is changing with the times, and not only do men fail to grasp the fact and its implications, but women do not understand their own present position themselves.

In England—the European country where agrarian and industrial life has most completely changed during the last hundred and fifty years—the anomalies and contradictions of women's economic position lie thickest. Hence the war crisis caught British women at a peculiar disadvantage. They had in readiness no trained and organized expeditionary force to join issue at once in the economic battle. They were quite unprepared to step into the breach caused in the normal economic life of the nation by the diversion of the energies of increasing numbers of men from the creation of wealth to its destructive expenditure. For nowadays Englishwomen, with very few exceptions, normally take no effective part in directing the business life of the country.

How British Women are at a Disadvantage.

In France, in Germany, in Austria, in Galicia, where a large proportion of the population is engaged in agriculture, and where small peasant holdings still abound, women, deprived of their menfolk, have been able to carry on the work of producing food for their people at large as well as for their own families. It is an occupation in which, mind and body, they have been accustomed to take active part. The business of the small holding is as much theirs as their husbands', and many of them also do seasonal field work for wages, e.g. in the beet fields. Therefore, when the withdrawal of the men left them woefully shorthanded, these women were able to *direct their own labor* and to meet the economic strain by gallant exertions. In August the French Government appealed to the women of France to keep agriculture going and to feed the army, and splendidly they have done it. Never have corn harvest and vintage been more successfully gathered in the undevastated districts.

No such simple course of action has been open to the women of England. We have now few small holdings. Women have gradually been dropping out of all share in farm management, even in their ancient kingdom, the dairy, and in the south scarcely any women are now even seasonally employed in agricultural work. Our great-great-grandmothers would have had little difficulty in exerting themselves to supply the serious shortage of labor dreaded by our farmers; but, as things are, the help south-country women could give would be wholly unskilled, and farmers are demanding that little boys, who at least have some idea of farm work, shall be taken from school to do it.

Agriculture is no longer our main industry or source of supply, but Englishwomen are also at a tremendous disadvantage with regard to all the great industrial and commercial undertakings upon which our national maintenance depends. They have next to no part or lot in the organization, direction, and control of these enterprises, though by millions they are employed in them. In France women normally take an active share in the management of a family business, and therefore when the invasion of 1914 called fathers, sons, and husbands to the colors, many mothers, daughters, and wives could and did carry on the concern, thus materially help-

ing to minimise the stagnation and dislocation resulting from the war. But amongst our seven million women in gainful occupations very few indeed have the business knowledge and experience to carry on successfully even the smaller trades. Except those in domestic service—the most *unorganized* and chaotic of industries—most of our female workers for gain are simply units in the vast army serving male employers; and, with few exceptions, they are as helplessly ignorant of the business management and finance of the enterprise they serve as of the larger economic conditions determining their employment * What part, for instance, do women take in the business management and direction of the cotton industry, in which the majority of skilled operatives are women? Englishwomen are as eager to help their country as are Frenchwomen, but they have lost touch with the guidance of its economic life; consequently an appeal from the English Government to any female section of our industrial population, such as that addressed by the French Government to the women agriculturists of France, would be sheer farce. Our seven millions of gainfully occupied women have little or no control over the arrangements conditioning their occupations. Amongst the too few women trade unionists and the handful of women serving on Trade Boards business aptitude is very slowly developing, but amongst women born in the employing classes—except, perhaps, amongst small shopkeepers—the tendency has been to ignore business, even a business carried on by the men of the family, and girls who have entered of conscious purpose upon a breadwinning occupation have usually launched forth in some other direction.

Family and National Housekeeping.

If this be the case with regard to the seven million gainfully occupied, it is equally applicable to the millions of unpaid British women occupied in organizing consumption in detail, each in her separate household. At least half of these have no grasp, often scarcely the vaguest conception, of national housekeeping or the relation of their own unit with national supply. Our wholesale distribution, like our great industries, is organized and directed by men; women have been content to remain in ignorance of its larger aspects, to say nothing of controlling them. Consequently, like their gainfully occupied sisters, millions of "home makers" have no knowledge enabling them intelligently to help their country at an economic crisis, or to deal with the economic distresses of the workers of their own sex, who supply or serve them. Here, however, the light is beginning to dawn—and again, as amongst the wage-earners, the solution is coming from the toilers themselves.

Some three million married working women belong to the co-operative movement, probably about half being actual shareholders, while the remainder are wives of shareholders. In industrial co-oper-

* See figures of women working employers for England and Wales, p. 3. Both mistresses and servants are now beginning to make some attempts to organize domestic work in accordance with modern economic conditions.

ative societies distribution is controlled by the people for the people. In some towns it is already customary for women to attend the quarterly business meetings of the societies, and thus take their share in the control of these societies, which do a trade of nearly £80,000,000 annually. There is a slowly growing movement for placing women on the management committees of societies, and there are now eighty-nine women on fifty-six of these committees, including some of the largest, such as Leeds, with nearly 50,000 members, Manchester, Bristol, etc.

The distributive societies have combined to form the English and Scottish, Co-operative Wholesale Societies, doing a trade of £28,000,000 annually. Women are beginning to be sent by their societies as delegates to the business meetings of these societies and thus gain a knowledge of wholesale trading.

The war has proved conclusively the value of the co-operative societies to the consumers. In the panic at the outset they refused in most cases to raise prices, meeting the demand by supplying only the weekly amounts their members were accustomed to purchase. By this action the general rise of prices in capitalistic shops was checked to a considerable extent.

The Co-operative Wholesale Society was able to give valuable information to the Government as to stocks and prices by which they were able to check the statements of capitalistic traders.

In co-operative societies goods are sold at the ordinary market prices, and the surplus, which in capitalistic trade goes as profit to the shareholders, is divided amongst the purchasers in proportion to their purchases, after paying a fixed interest on capital.

By joining a co-operative society and attending its business meetings every woman can obtain a knowledge of distributive and wholesale trading and can share in its control. To enable themselves to do this more intelligently, London members of the Women's Co-operative Guild are attending classes on distribution and supply.

At the universities also, some few girls are seriously studying the economics of supply and its control in relation to consumption. Still the fact remains that British women have much ground to traverse before they can take their proper place as effective members of the greatest industrial community in the world.

Women and the Control of Capital.

Another aspect of the economic position of Englishwomen is the curious anomaly that, in spite of their lack of control over industry, supply and the conditions of employment, a large amount of wealth is now entirely at their personal disposal. A British woman, married or single, be she the mistress of hundreds of thousands of pounds, a small shareholder in a co-operative society, or a post office depositor, a physician in large practice, or a charwoman at half-a-crown a day, has now a complete legal control over her possessions and earnings. Like a man, she is free to spend her income and manage her own affairs as she pleases. She need not consult her husband or anyone else; and of course she has the legal and moral responsibilities of an

economically independent person. The war subscription lists are a current illustration of the large amount of money thus at the disposal of women.

This money owned by women is part of the capital financing British industry and commerce. Yet the economically independent women of to-day seem to have less practical control over the work supplying national necessities than had, for instance, the working mistress of an English farm in the eighteenth century; though in those days a married woman had no legal right to keep or spend even her own earnings without her husband's consent. Since the decline of agriculture and of the system of domestic industry, and the advent of production and distribution on the grand scale in this country, our women seem to have dropped the slender guiding rein they once held in matters economic. Indeed in the textile industries, when the female "hands" followed their work from home to factory, the female directing brain was already atrophied. Whilst women have continued to crowd into paid employment, they have failed to obtain any grip of the new forces directing our complex business life, despite the great increase of their personal economic freedom and the opening out of ever widening opportunities of education and of work.

Why Women Have Stood Outside Modern Business Life.

It is not a natural lack of aptitude for business in the female brain: witness the organizing and administrative ability manifested by many women at the head of institutions, schools, societies, and large households, and the capacity and initiative shown in the present crisis by so many who in suffrage and other women's societies, or as trade union or co-operative guild organizers, have gained experience in conducting business on their own responsibility. Neither is it lack of intellectual grasp: witness the brilliant achievement of women who take economics as a university subject. Yet many a man has initiated, organized, and directed a flourishing business concern with far less opportunity than many women get, or might get if the normal, average, modern Englishwoman, especially in the employing classes, had not developed the habit of holding herself aloof from business and even the management of her own affairs.

This attitude in the women of the employing, and now of many of the employed, classes seems to have arisen as the direct result of the great Industrial Revolution, which so completely altered our economic life. One of its results was the supremacy of money, so that, instead of the old system of production for use and exchange in kind, supplies were bought and products were sold to an ever increasing extent, and personal wealth was capitalized for machinery and wages. This capitalization of wealth, in the then state of the law with regard to married women's property, meant that the control of capitalist production fell entirely to men. Sir Frederic Eden, in his monumental work on the "State of the Poor," in 1797, opines that married women had grown slack in working to provide their share of the family income because of the injustice of the law which deprived them of the disposal of their own earnings. Whether he

was right or not about the poor, there was probably a great deal of truth in his suggestion as applied to the wives of the growing classes of large farmers and manufacturers. The great industries separated not only work, but the control and direction of work, from home activities. Husband and wife no longer consulted over the details of daily occupations in pursuit of common interests centring round the homestead, and, moreover, the growing wealth of the middle classes made it less and less necessary for the whole family to work.

Superabundance of wealth fostered the idea that it is "genteel" and "womanly" for the women of a family to live in more or less idle and ignorant dependence on the income and exertions of its men, an idea as foreign to the English farmers, craftsmen, and small traders of the eighteenth century as to the laboring folk. Gradually it spread from the upper to the middle classes, and thence downward. To women it was enervatingly easy, and men encouraged and approved it, partly from kindness, partly because it flattered their vanity, partly from an inclination to dominate, and a delusion of self-interest.

Ever since the modern awakening of womanhood began, the feminine outlook on the economic side has been confused by two opposite currents of social feeling and opinion: the downward current toward gentility, which regards paid work for women as a miserable necessity for the poor and the unfortunate, and even now has by no means wholly spent its force; and the upward current toward conscious recognition of the right and duty of all women, as of all men, to work and to be fairly remunerated. This second current is still mainly individualist in tone, and still splits on the obstacle of marriage, and its course is as yet by no means clearly defined; but the shock of the war, with its revelation of their lack of control over the economic forces that sway national life, has been a rude awakening for intelligent Englishwomen. They feel that their present economic position is an anachronism, and are bitterly conscious of failure and shortcoming; perhaps never so bitterly as when men are praising their zeal in knitting "comforts," whilst they are becoming more and more aware that thereby they have been taking bread out of their unemployed sisters' mouths. Suppose for a moment that the share of control once possessed by women in the textile industries—a share so real that for centuries statutes dealing with the cloth trade explicitly included clothiers of both sexes—had developed with the industry, instead of perishing utterly a century or more before the Industrial Revolution. Our Government might in that case have been able to make, in the present emergency, just such an appeal to Englishwomen as the French Government made to the women of France. It might have appealed to our women clothiers to carry on one of the industries most essential to the well-being alike of the troops and of the civil population, whilst the men who usually shared in the work went forth to fight. And our women cloth manufacturers might then have organized the absorption into the growing needs of the trade of every unemployed woman capable of the work required.

After the War.

Alas for the might-have-been! But the future is our own, and already it bristles with challenge. When the war is over the question of women's employment and unemployment will become more difficult and more acute than now. Not only will there be many young widows, but a considerably larger proportion of the girls of the rising generation than of the young women of to-day will be, not only fatherless and brotherless, but husbandless and childless. Are girls of the upper and middle class to continue to grow up work-shy and unskilled? Is employment to be open to them and to the daughters of the manual workers only in certain limited directions? Is it to be confined to the lower grades of trade and industry? Are the wages of women always to remain inadequate to their needs? Or will the women of Britain rise to the occasion and insist on a thorough technical training for girls of all classes? Will they declare that a little instruction in baby-craft, and housecraft, and needlework at elementary and secondary schools will not meet the case of women who must earn a livelihood? "Vocational training" of this sort will not fit our ablest girls to win their way to a place in the direction of national industry, or to influence its future developments. Yet, that they should do so is, above all else, the need of to-day, and will be still more the need of to-morrow. Women must make up their minds to meet it. Business men must be persuaded to train a daughter as they would a son to help and to succeed them. Girls must be taught to manage their own affairs, and expected to do so. Mothers must grasp the fact that henceforth women are called to take active part in the business life of the country, not merely to work for a living if they cannot catch a husband, and that they must be trained accordingly.

To meet the future on the economic side it will not suffice for women to obtain Parliamentary Enfranchisement and adequate representation on Local Governing Bodies. It will not suffice for them to obtain free admission to the middle and upper grades of the Civil Service and of Municipal Employment; it will not suffice that large opportunities of a professional career in the Medical and Health Services, and other honorable and profitable callings, are opening before girls able to take advantage of them. None of these important things will suffice to put the economic position of our womanhood upon a sound basis, unless women in general alter their whole attitude towards business, and conceive it to be their bounden duty, and an act of social service, not merely to study economics, but to set and accustom themselves to take an active share in the practical administration of business and industrial enterprise. There are indications that this drastic change is already beginning to take place—a splendid enthusiasm, a tentative activity in many directions is stirring amongst women. When it takes definite and permanent shape, and not until then, will the problems of women's employment and unemployment be adequately dealt with.

Summary.

We have seen that the unemployment among women wage-earners demands consideration independently from that among men; and that it ought to be prevented, as far as practicable, by the same increase of public employment to balance the decrease of private employment. Local authorities ought to take all possible steps to increase the number of the women and girls for whom they provide either wages or scholarships. The opportunities for immediately increasing the volume of public employment are less easy to find in the case of women than in the case of men. Other provision for unemployed women has accordingly to be made. We should strive to set going new trades for women. Apart from this difficult task, we must provide, for the women still unemployed, *not productive work of commercial character* which would result only in throwing other women out of work, but *maintenance under training*. All sorts of training might well be provided, and the experience of the Central Committee on Women's Employment in the autumn of 1914 affords valuable guidance. The fullest standard rates of wages should be paid to all persons employed (forewomen, instructresses, clerks, typists, charwomen, etc.). What is provided for the unemployed women themselves is not wages but maintenance. This cannot safely be put at more than the women habitually earn, and the sum of 10s per week, for five days attendance, is found to be as much as can be given without risk of the whole experiment being swamped. Separate provision must, however, be made for travelling expenses and for the maintenance of dependants. Women workers have others dependent upon their exertions to an extent at present unrecognized, and their unemployment is a widespread source of destitution.

Women's employment, its conditions, its remuneration, its vicissitudes, should be the vital concern of women; not only when their own livelihood is involved, not merely as a matter of philanthropic interest, but because it is essential to the well-being of the womanhood of the country, and therefore of the whole people, that women should take an intelligently active share in the economic life of the nation. Though so large a proportion of British women work to produce our wealth, though so many are occupied in organizing its consumption in detail, and so many own a considerable share of it, women have failed to take their proper part in skilled labor and in the responsible direction of industry and supply. The economic crisis of 1914 has revealed this failure. For women, as for men, the war has brought a call to be up and doing.

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JOHN RUSKIN AND SOCIAL ETHICS.

(1819—1900.)

Introductory.

RUSKIN not only denied that he was a Socialist: he asserted that the Socialistic ideal of human equality was unattainable and undesirable. He even wrote of "liberty and equality," that he detested the one, and denied the possibility of the other ("Time and Tide," chap. xxii, § 141). He proclaimed himself a "violent Tory of the old school," and an "Illiberal," and it is certain that, for a clear exposition of Socialistic doctrine, we must look elsewhere than in the volumes of Ruskin.* Moreover, economists tell us that many of his theories are unsound, and that his attempts to work them out in detail are as unpractical as the ill-starred Guild of St. George.

It is probably true that any movement to remodel society precisely on the lines he laid down would be foredoomed to failure. It is at least equally true that to ignore his teaching becomes every day more impossible and disastrous. For Ruskin, who is accepted neither by Socialist nor by practical political economist, nevertheless strikes at the very root-disease of modern "civilisation" when he condemns commercialism and the struggle for mere material possessions, showing that life is the only true wealth, and that the richest man is he whose existence is the most useful, many-sided and helpful.

Ruskin himself says "that in a science dealing with so subtle elements as those of human nature, it is only possible to answer for the final truth of principles, not for the direct success of plans; and that in the best of these last, what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable, and what can be finally accomplished inconceivable." ("Unto this Last," Preface). Though we may frequently refuse to accept the special application of Ruskin's principles; though in a good many instances we are forced to regret that those applications were ever made, yet concerning the principles themselves there can be but one opinion. They may be summed up in his own statement that "Life without Industry is Guilt; Industry without Art is Brutality" ("Lectures on Art," II).

Whatever the particular phase of human activity which he might be considering, Ruskin revealed its relation to the ultimate truth and meaning of life. He showed, and in no narrow didactic spirit, the necessary connection between art and ethics; he traced the links between morals and sociology, and pointed out that scientific economics

* See, on the other hand, Collingwood's "Life of Ruskin," Book III, chap. iv. "For when, long after 'Fors' had been written, Ruskin found other writers advocating the same principles and calling themselves Socialists, he said that he too was a Socialist" (and *ante*, p. 242. 1/- edition).

are inevitably bound up with the reform of the individual. Above all, he proved incontrovertibly that increased prosperity, whether national or individual, industrial or social, must go hand in hand with increased capacity and with a desire for a prosperity and advance which are above and beyond all these. "It is open, I repeat, to serious question . . . whether, among national manufactures, that of Souls of a good quality may not at last turn out a quite leadingly lucrative one." In all the many forms of teaching which he undertook, this manufacture of souls, this awakening of the spiritual in the material, was John Ruskin's chief end and aim. In art and in economics he applied the same touchstone, for it was his distinction to see life always as a whole and to refuse to divide it into the watertight compartments beloved of specialists.

Childhood and Early Life.

Ruskin was of opinion that the study of a man's work should begin with an attempt to become familiar with his life and character, more especially as these were shaped and developed in his childhood. Thus, in his autobiography, "*Præterita*," he dwells in great and loving detail on his early life and upbringing, but discontinues the story soon after the completion of "*Stones of Venice*," and before the beginning of his campaign of social reform. A similar disproportion may, therefore, be excused in a tract which essays only to give a brief account of his aims in that campaign. But these cannot justly be appraised unless we understand something of the man who devoted the best of himself to their achievement, and realise something of his passionate concentration, his intense emotional nature, and of his "unusual moral principle and self-command."

John Ruskin was born, of Scottish parentage, at 54 Hunter Street, Brunswick Square, W.C., on February 8th, 1819. His father was a well-to-do wine-merchant, hard-working, energetic and successful in business, and "entirely honest," as his son later on described him, in words of praise which meant much coming from that source. He was also cultured and intelligent, with a real appreciation of scenery and travel, and a lover of art and literature. His wife, who was some years older than her husband, held a more puritanical view of life, and it was she who took the lead in the early upbringing of their precocious and not very robust little son. Her methods were as stern as they were affectionate and careful; he was allowed no toys but a cart and a ball and two boxes of well-cut wooden bricks; he had few or no playmates, and he was taught to rely on himself for amusement and occupation. "I . . . could pass my days contentedly in tracing the squares and comparing the colours of my carpet. . . . The carpet, and what patterns I could find in bed-covers, dresses, or wall-papers to be examined, were my chief resources." It sounds a lonely and self-centred life for a small boy, though doubtless it resulted in the powers of concentration and accurate observation which were to distinguish him later on.

Ruskin, in his own summary of the "blessings" of his childhood, puts first the fact that he had never heard his parents' voices raised in anger, nor seen any disorder in any household matter. Thus, he early learned "the perfect meaning of Peace, in thought, act, and word." On the other hand, he complains that he had no one to love or assist or thank, and nothing to endure. "My strength was never exercised, my patience never tried, and my courage never fortified."

In 1823, his parents moved to Herne Hill, and, from this time onwards, his outdoor recollections were of the garden where he played and of the surrounding country in which he delighted. It is tempting to linger over these early days, and to trace in the child the father of the man. Narrow and conventional as was his home in many ways, it was in other respects unusually cultured and intellectual. From his babyhood, long before he was supposed to care to listen, he heard great books read aloud by his parents for their own amusement—the eighteenth-century novelists and Byron, as well as the authors usually considered more suited to the family circle. Above all, his imagination was awakened by the yearly journeys all over Great Britain, and, later, on the Continent, which gave him his first introduction to the beauties of nature. His father "travelled" for his own orders, and wife and child accompanied him on the pilgrimages, which combined pleasure and sight-seeing with business. The happy weeks spent on these driving tours gave Ruskin just the education he needed. Old buildings stirred his interest in the past; beautiful scenery and, above all, mountains, stimulated the love of nature which, at the age of three and a half, already led him to ask for a background of "blue hills" when his portrait was painted by Northcote. A little later he was enquiring of what the mountains were made, and soon he was poring over minerals, beginning his study of geology, and pulling to pieces every flower he could pluck, until he knew "all that could be seen of it with child's eyes."

Very early in life he learned, after his own fashion, to read and write, and he soon began to imitate his father by keeping a journal in which every detail of his travels was set down. Thus, naturally the habit of descriptive writing was acquired. Doubtless, Ruskin was right in supposing that his extraordinary command of rhythm and language was largely due to his mother's training. From the time he could read, until he was fourteen, and about to start on his first continental journey (1833), morning after morning, year by year, they read together two or three chapters of the Bible, completing the whole, from the first verse of Genesis to the last verse of the Apocalypse, only to begin once more at the beginning. Every day, too, the child committed to memory some verses of the Bible and of the Scottish paraphrases, and was compelled to repeat them over and over again until not a syllable was missed or misplaced, not a sentence wrongly accented. To this daily discipline he rightly attributed "the best part of his taste in literature," his appreciation of the music of words, and also his capacity for taking pains.

Pope's Homer, Walter Scott's poems and novels, "Robinson

Crusoe," "Don Quixote" and "Pilgrim's Progress," were his other "text-books" of literature, but these from choice, not compulsion.

Human companions he had few: his Scotch cousins, one of whom became his adopted sister, his cousins at Croydon and a boy friend at Herne Hill, are all that he mentions, and we know that he was not allowed out except under supervision, that he was not sent to school until he was fourteen, and then only to a small private class to which every day he was personally conducted by his father, and where he remained less than two years. There is no doubt that he suffered from this mode of upbringing in so self-contained a household. He was over-fostered and over-cared for, "safe against ridicule in his conceit," his "father and mother in their hearts caring for nobody in the world but me." He developed prematurely in many directions; he wrote too much, both of prose and verse; he exerted his mind more than was wholesome, and he became too self-opinionated.

The first disturbance in his sheltered life came when, somewhere about the age of seventeen, he fell in love with the young daughter of his father's French partner, Mr. Domecq. The passion was not requited, and four years later, in 1840, the girl married Baron Duquesne. The effect of the disappointment on a lad of Ruskin's temperament was great. "Men capable of the highest imaginative passion are always tossed on fiery waves by it," he writes; and again, in referring to the evil consequences of his isolated childhood, "when affection did come, it came with violence utterly rampant and unmanageable, at least by me, who never before had anything to manage." We know that the young man broke down in health and spirit as a result of this unfortunate experience, which darkened several years of his life.

Meanwhile he had been prepared for Oxford at King's College, London, and, in 1836, he matriculated as a gentleman-commoner at Christ Church, going into residence in the following January. Already he had made his appearance as the defender of Turner in *Blackwood's Magazine* (1836), and earlier than this he had seen his verses in print in *Friendship's Offering*. But his regular academic studies were less advanced, and his lack of accurate scholarship was a drawback to him at college, and a hindrance all his life. Yet he did well at Oxford, not only taking the Newdigate Prize for English Verse as he had intended, but winning a reputation as a writer and student, and raising hopes that he would secure a first class. Then at the critical point, when all seemed going well, and in spite of the care of his mother, who had followed him up to Oxford in order to watch over him, the crash came and his health broke down. For two years he was more or less an invalid, threatened with permanent lung trouble. Foreign travel restored his health, but all idea of an honours degree had to be abandoned. In 1841 he went up for the pass examination and did so well that he was granted the highest distinction possible—an honorary double fourth class in honours—always a most unusual, and nowadays an impossible, reward of merit.

Ruskin as Art Critic.

By this time (1841-2) his ill-health, combined with his interest in art, changed his plans for the future, and Ruskin finally abandoned the idea of taking Holy Orders. He settled down to serious art study, and it was in this same year that an attempt to sketch a tree-stem with ivy upon it, forced upon him the consciousness of his vocation. Suddenly he realized that it was his mission to preach the gospel of sincerity in art, "to tell the world," in the words of Mr. Collingwood's "Life," "that Art, no less than other spheres of life, had its Heroes; that the mainspring of their energy was Sincerity, and the burden of their utterance, Truth."

It was many years before Ruskin passed from the rôle of art-critic to that of social reformer and preacher, and there is no room in the limits of this tract to trace in detail the process of the evolution. But a cursory investigation is enough to show that it was by a natural course of development, and not by any sudden change of idea, that the author of the first volume of "Modern Painters" (1843) became the inspired prophet of "Unto this Last" (1860) and "Munera Pulveris" (1862). Because, not in spite of, his study of art, Ruskin was bound to grow into a student of sociology. The underlying principles of his teaching develop, but fundamentally they remain the same. The foundations of his creed, whether in art, in thought, in morals, or in sociology may be expressed in his own words: "Nothing can be beautiful which is not true." Sincerity is the foundation of all true art; honesty of purpose in the artist, truth and beauty in the thing portrayed; and to Ruskin, art, religion and morality are different only in so far as they reveal different aspects of the same thing. Hence "all great art is praise," that is to say, it is the result of the artist's instinctive reverence and delight in the beauty, which it is given him to see more truly and accurately than other men, and which it is his supreme mission to reveal to others. He sees more truly and must make others see too; he must be faithful to nature, representing with exactitude that which he perceives. But there is a spiritual as well as a physical perception,—the insight which pierces through externals to the essential truth that is beyond, and is the result of intuition, inspiration, enthusiasm and of all that is implied by the word "imagination." To Ruskin, as to other great critics of the nineteenth century, imagination is the interpreter, the power which transforms or transfigures reality, but without destroying the basis of ordinary perception. It does not change facts, but, by rendering them imaginatively, it forces them to yield something beyond themselves. It is this "putting the infinite within the finite" that differentiates art from "imitation," which can be only of the material.

Essential truth is, then, for ever inconsistent with imitation. "Ideas of truth are the foundation, and ideas of imitation the destruction of all art"; for, in the words of Goethe, "The *spirit* of the real is the true ideal." This being so, it is not difficult to understand how Ruskin came to connect morality with art: he

shows us the links between the two when he writes that art is an inspiration, "not a teachable or gainable thing, but the expression of the mind of a God-made great man"; and again, from a somewhat different angle, art "declares the perfectness and eternal beauty of the work of God, and tests all work of men by concurrence with or subjection to that." Art unites the real, the ideal, the moral and spiritual, and by this union it is serviceable to man. "All art which involves no reference to man is inferior or nugatory. And all art which involves misconception of man, or base thought of him, is in that degree false and base." In other words, art must be brought to the test of life, and is worthy, as all other work is worthy, when it is of use, though the kind of usefulness is of course quite different from that of the things which, as Ruskin says disdainfully, "only help us to exist." It is by presenting noble ideas nobly that art fulfils its function of service.

By criticism on these lines he justly claims that the distinctive character of his "essays on art is their bringing everything to a root in human passion and human hope." He holds that art exists for the service of man, and is greatest when its service is greatest; without this motive no true art can come into being.

A study of "Modern Painters," shows that Ruskin was early led to the belief that the nature of the work of art depends primarily on the character of the artist. Later, he came to the conviction that a nation's art is the expression of its life and character, the individual artist being moulded by his surroundings and by the age in which he lives, so that, if these be unclean, the resulting art will be, like Renaissance architecture, decadent and unpure. Thus, he writes in "On the Old Road" (§ 276): "Let a nation be healthy, happy, pure in its enjoyments, brave in its acts and broad in its affections, and its art will spring round and within it as freely as the foam from a fountain; but let the springs of its life be impure and its course polluted, and you will not get the bright spray by treatises on the mathematical structure of bubbles." And again, in "Lectures on Art" (§ 27): "The art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues. . . . The art or general productive and formative energy of any country is an exact exponent of its ethical life." From this position there was no very startling transition to the famous chapter "On the Nature of Gothic" in "Stones of Venice" (1851-3), which contains in embryo all his later sociological and economic teaching. From teaching art and from the promotion of culture, both ethical and intellectual, Ruskin passed to the final phase of his life-work, and that which he considered by far the most vital.

Ruskin's Later Life and Work as Practical Reformer.

In the years which had elapsed since his graduation as M.A., and his subsequent settlement with his parents at Denmark Hill in 1843, Ruskin had succeeded, in spite of violent opposition, in establishing himself as the leading critic and exponent of painting and architecture.

A series of provocative and brilliant volumes* had gained him this position; his defence of the Pre-Raphaelites had won for him the affection of Rossetti (whom he helped in a characteristically quixotic fashion), Millais, and their circle, while of the older men, Turner, Carlyle, and Browning were among his friends. Lastly, he had secured devoted adherents among his pupils and fellow-teachers at the Working Men's College; while his own old College had recognized his achievements by the award of an honorary studentship of Christ Church in 1858. Thus, though his marriage had been brief and unhappy (1848-1854), and his private disappointments many; though his violent assertion of his opinions had aroused enmity and detraction, it nevertheless seemed by this time that he had outlived the period of storm and stress, and might look forward to a future of happy and successful work as an art-critic. But from 1860 onwards, that is, from the time when the last volume of "Modern Painters" was published, he no longer made art his main theme. Art he believed to be the outcome of a true and elevated national life, and he had been forced to realise that English national life was neither pure nor elevated. Social evils went too deep for philanthropic tinkering, and he therefore set himself to plan a complete scheme for social reorganisation. This scheme, unfortunately never systematically developed, has as its leading feature the banishment of utilitarianism and materialism, for which it substitutes the beauty which is also justice and truth. It insists that there is no necessary antagonism between industry and art; that, on the contrary, both are indispensable elements of the social organism, though they can be combined in various ways in order to fulfil various functions. But unless work is beautiful, it is not true work, and unless the life, even of the humblest worker, is beautiful, it is not a true life.

It is difficult to speak quite dispassionately and temperately about this last development of Ruskin's teaching; difficult, too, to realise what was entailed by his change of plan. For years, he had struggled single-handed, against enormous odds, in his endeavour to revivify English thought about art, and to overcome its insincerity and conventionality. Now, when any success he could desire seemed within his grasp, he came to realise that his most important work was still before him, and the battle still to wage. Never for a moment did he flinch or hesitate. He allowed his books on art to run out of print, that attention might be concentrated on the new message he had to deliver; while he withdrew into the solitude of the seer and prophet, upon whom are laid the burden and the consciousness of a great mission. "The loneliness is very great," he cried; "I am . . . tormented between the longing for rest and lovely life, and the sense of this terrific call of human crime for resistance and of human misery for help, though it seems to me as

* Of these, the chief are: "Modern Painters," five vols., 1843-1860; "Seven Lamps of Architecture," 1848-9; "Notes on the Construction of Sheepfolds," 1851; "Stones of Venice," 1851-3; "Lectures on Architecture and Painting," 1853-4; "The Political Economy of Art," 1857; "The Two Paths," 1859.

the voice of a river of blood which can but sweep me down in the midst of its black clots, helpless."

It is not necessary to dwell in much detail on the outward circumstances of the remaining years of Ruskin's life. His father, who had loyally endeavoured to understand his vagaries in art, was bitterly distressed by his heresy in economics, while his mother was wholly out of sympathy with his falling away from religious orthodoxy. At home, as abroad, he had to submit to misunderstanding.

From his parents, Ruskin inherited £157,000 in money, as well as houses and land. The whole of this property he expended during his life-time upon the promotion of reforms in which he was interested, while he lived for many years solely upon the proceeds of his books. Much of his money went to the foundation of the St. George's Guild, which was intended to prove the possibility of uncommercial prosperity in a society contented to get its "food . . . out of the ground and happiness out of honesty." (See "Fors," Letter LVIII, for the creed of the Guild). What it did prove was Ruskin's lack of success in the management of men and of detailed and complicated business affairs.

Again, he gave liberally to many individuals, educating promising young artists, or subsidising craftsmen and their crafts; he founded and arranged a model museum at Sheffield; gave pictures to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; established a drawing-school at Oxford; and bestowed collections of drawings and of minerals on museums, colleges, and schools.

His belief that all children should be taught to draw, as a means of training eye and hand and mind; his pioneer work in founding the Art for Schools Association; and his sympathy with the education of women, are other instances of his practical wisdom. Similarly, his suggested reforms in education, which are founded on the assumption that every child has the right to be properly housed, clothed, fed, trained, and taught until it reaches years of discretion, are for the most part now generally accepted, at any rate in theory. Ruskin was, for example, the pioneer of technical education in England; and even his road-making experiment with the Oxford undergraduates, which brought him so much ridicule, was the result of a sound educational ideal.

Ruskin also spent much time and money on sociological innovations, which have since been generally approved and imitated. For instance, he gave Miss Octavia Hill the means to manage house-property by a system of helping the tenants to help themselves. In pursuit of this aim he himself became a slum-landlord. Moreover, he never ceased his demand for the provision of decent accommodation for the working classes, though his agitation for housing reform made him many enemies. Another of his enterprises was the establishment of a model tea-shop; yet another, a scheme for the organised relief of unemployment and for the training of the unemployable.

Indeed, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that almost every modern measure of social improvement may, either directly or

indirectly, trace its origin to the precepts and example of John Ruskin.* Thus, nothing can be more fallacious than to regard him as merely capricious and fanciful in matters of practice, or to forget his proposals for definite schemes of social regeneration, because he blinds us with the lightning of his zeal, or deafens us with his moral fulminations.

"He was like the living conscience of the modern world," says Sir E. T. Cook, his editor; and his health, never robust, was eventually undermined by the strain of his exertions and disappointments. The last twenty-five years of his life were clouded by frequently recurring attacks of illness, which sapped his powers and added to the misery of private grief and mental overstrain. The first grave collapse occurred in 1878, and soon afterwards he resigned his Oxford professorship (1870-1879) and retired to the peace of Brantwood on Lake Coniston. The retirement was not absolute: he wrote much and gave many lectures during the ensuing ten years, and from 1883-1884 he was even well enough to return to Oxford; while as late as 1888 he went once more abroad—his farewell journey to France and Switzerland and Italy. But from that date onwards until the end he was in a state of mental decay, when "his best hours were hours of feebleness and depression." Death released him on January 22nd, 1900, and he lies buried, as he wished, in Coniston churchyard.

When, in 1860, Ruskin ceased to devote himself to pure art, and turned instead to the problems of sociology, when he abandoned the search for abstract beauty, in order that a little more beauty might be brought into unlovely human lives, then by that sacrifice of inclination and of popularity he enrolled himself among the lonely thinkers whose message is not accepted by their own generation, and whose lot in this world is aching disappointment. Ruskin had tasted the joys of popularity and friendship; he had known the smoothness of a life of wealth and ease; above all, he possessed the artistic and poetic gifts which made the strife of the arena particularly hateful to him, and rendered him peculiarly sensitive to harsh criticism. These facts give the measure of his sacrifice and of his faith. They explain, too, the emotional strength of his social criticism, and of his demand for social regeneration. It was no Utopian dreamer, no armchair-philosopher, who proclaimed insistently the old truth that whosoever will save his life shall lose it. This man had made the supreme offering, and he spoke from the certainty of his experience.

The Meaning of "Wealth."

The warmth of Ruskin's pleading misled the so-called practical men of his generation, who accused him of unlawfully confusing sentiment with business. But passionate earnestness is not neces-

* "National Education, National Hygiene, National Dealing with the Housing of the Poor, even National Succour for those who fall by the way in the toilsome march of the Army of Labour, National Dealing with Land, National Dealing with Trade, with Colonisation, with all the real National Interests—all these measures, so long denounced without distinction by the old sham political economy of the past, he advocated, and now they are within or at our doors."—YORK POWELL,

arily fanaticism, nor does burning hatred of wrong inevitably lead to distortion or even exaggeration of fact. To apply everywhere and always the test of humanity and of life, rather than the test of money-gain, may, even from the commercial standpoint, in the long-run be the most profitable course. Certainly, if Ruskin's standard be the right one, if "the essence of wealth is in its power over man, and the grandeur of wealth is to make men better and happier," then it may reasonably be accepted "that the final outcome and consummation of all wealth is in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed and happy-hearted human creatures." The most hard-headed business man cannot, at any rate, controvert the next statement: "Our modern wealth, I think, has rather a tendency the other way; most political economists appearing to consider multitudes of human creatures not conducive to wealth, or at least conducive to it only by remaining in a dim-eyed and narrow-chested state of being."

It is not easy to formulate a systematic body of sociological teaching from Ruskin's writings, for he never arranged his doctrines with scientific clearness and logical consistency. Yet the underlying principles are, as we have seen, laid down with perfect simplicity. His political economy is founded on the conviction that "there is no wealth but life—life including all its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." Those who deal with the science of mere getting and spending, who conceive of "wealth" as mere material possession, have no just claim to be called political economists. At best, they are interested only in a science of avarice, a mercantile economy, which ignores human welfare and has no right to arrogate to itself the title "political," i.e., belonging to the citizens who form the State. At worst, their teaching is wrong, even in so far as it deals with buying and selling, since it deliberately starts from the false premise that men are moved, permanently and essentially, by nothing but their desire for material gain.

Now Ruskin interprets life always in terms of humanity, and is consequently impervious to arguments which postulate an "economic man," "a covetous machine," in whom "the social affections are accidental and disturbing elements." On the contrary, he proclaims, in the words of Wordsworth, that "We live by admiration, hope and love," and that it is for ever unsound and unscientific to ignore these permanent attributes of human nature. The individual cannot separate his work from his human feelings on the one hand, or from his physical capacities and desires on the other. What is true of the individual is true also of society, which is made up of individuals, and cannot, therefore, satisfactorily be regarded as an abstract theoretical entity. Any competition or money-grabbing that injures the individual, at the same time reacts against the State and is opposed to civic and social welfare.

Again, things which cannot be bought and sold in the marketplace—e.g., love, friendship, self-sacrifice, capacity, truth—do never-

theless, and must inevitably, have a very real influence even on supply and demand. Ruskin shows for instance, in an unforgettable paragraph in the first chapter of "Unto this Last," that "all right relations between master and operative and all their best interests ultimately depend" on the "balances of justice, meaning in the term justice to include affection—such affection as one man *owes* another." Since a workman is not a machine who is moved by steam "or any other agent of calculable force," but "an engine whose motive power is a Soul," it is obviously impossible to deal with him as if the so-called economic man were separable from the emotional man. Even from the lowest point of view, the greatest material result of his work will be obtained if he serves his master gladly, i.e., if his "soul" enters into his work. To treat him as a machine, as something less than a man, is to lower the economic worth of his work, which is best done when, valued and valuable for its own sake, a blessing and not a curse, it calls into activity all the noblest human energies and emotions. (This argument does not apply to purely mechanical operations. But these, Ruskin would, precisely on this ground, reduce to a minimum, as tending to the destruction of the real wealth, which is life and has no relation to market-value.) It must be admitted that, if this be sentiment, it is sentiment of a very practical, reasonable kind. Similarly, it is illogical and misleading to make a science of industrial wealth and to ignore "real wealth," i.e., human welfare in the widest and deepest interpretation. Thus the statement that "There is no wealth but life" is again a literal statement of fact, a common-sense doctrine which is intended for the plain business-man and not for the idealist. Wealth, according to Ruskin, does not depend on market-value; the worth of any object cannot be determined by the price that may be obtained for it; and on the other hand, as we have seen, many inestimably valuable things can neither be bought nor sold. "A thing is worth precisely what it can do for you, not what you choose to pay for it. . . . The thing is worth what it *can* do for you, not what you think it can." ("Queen of the Air," § 125.) Thus a miser, with hoards of money and jewels, is not really wealthy in any accurate sense of the term. His store benefits no one, himself least of all. Again, there is all the difference in the world between the value of a field of corn, and of a factory full of costly and death-dealing implements of war, or between a cheap edition of Shakespeare's works and an edition de luxe of the latest fashionable small poet: the corn is worth its weight in gold, Shakespeare's plays are priceless wealth—and the other things are not really valuable at all. For "there is no wealth but life"; wealth-giving things are those which "avail towards life." Whether we do or do not desire them, whether there is "demand" for them, does not affect their worth. A picture by Whistler is no more valuable now, when it fetches thousands in the auction-room, than when it first left the unknown artist's brush to be reviled by Ruskin. The worth, as distinct from the exchange-value, is not to be estimated by passing whims on the subject, nor by the price paid, but by the intrinsic power to be of

service if rightly used. So that the wealthy man is he who possesses useful things and also the power and capacity to use them: wealth is the "possession of the valuable by the valiant": "usefulness is value in the hands of the valiant" (or availing). Things which are desired for base purposes and which pander only to the lower nature, are "illth," not wealth, "causing devastation and trouble around them in all direction," having no *use* at all, since they avail not for life, but for death. Wealth promotes life and all the life-giving, wholesome desires which are natural to healthy men and women. "Perhaps it may even appear after some consideration that the persons themselves *are* the wealth."

The above argument of Ruskin is open to certain objections which have tended to obscure the essential truth of his contention. In the first place, as he says himself, though he does not always remember it, the potentiality for good, i.e., the "value" of anything depends invariably on the owner's capacity to use it. Certain things have no life-giving power, except under certain conditions of culture. For instance, the beads given to savages by travellers are, both actually and potentially, valueless; but Shakespeare's plays or Whistler's pictures would not give so much pleasure or produce equal effect. The *actual* worth does not vary, but the *effective* worth does. To that extent it is untrue that "evil and good are fixed . . . inherent, not dependent on opinion or choice." ("Modern Painters," § 33.) Ruskin states the case better when he writes that "a horse is no wealth to us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we cannot see, nor can any noble thing be wealth, except to a noble person" ("Modern Painters," § 14, and *cf.* "Munera Pulveris," § 35.) Secondly, though Ruskin ignores the fact, even the potential value of things varies in inverse ratio to their quantity. Thus, in spite of its intrinsic, life-giving quality, corn becomes potentially useless if there is a glut of it, and already more bread available than can be consumed.

Even more misleading, though this is not altogether the fault of Ruskin, is the fact that, as we have seen, he refuses to use the term "value" in any current economic sense. Thus he implies by it, neither market-value, nor worth to an individual, but, almost invariably, "life-giving quality." Now the ordinary science of political economy is concerned very little with "wealth" as measured by any life-giving properties. It deals simply with demand and supply, that is, with what men actually want at any given moment, and the means of satisfying their desires. Ruskin, on the contrary, insists that every demand for commodities is, of necessity, a demand for life or for death—a demand, that is, for things both in themselves and in the nature of their production, either good or evil, promoting human welfare or human misery. Thus it makes a very real difference whether money is exchanged for shoddy cloth or for hand-woven material; for penny-dreadfuls or for the romances of Scott.

The Meaning of "Political Economy."

Thus, Ruskin substitutes a human life-standard for a money-standard. Political economy, since it has to do with living men and

women, must treat them as such, and not as money-producing and money-spending and calculating machines. Here, as everywhere else, he bases his deductions on an ethical foundation—refusing to discuss theories which leave out of sight the fundamental factors of right human nature. What *is*, cannot be made a satisfactory starting-point for the determination of what ought to be: men do not always want what is best and most desirable, but a true scientific political economy must raise them up to worthy desires, not pander to their most degraded instincts and the brute desire to over-reach one another. It must, therefore, insist that “In true commerce, as in true preaching or true fighting, it is necessary to admit the idea of occasional loss . . . sixpences have to be lost as well as lives, under a sense of duty; . . . the market may have its martyrdoms as well as the pulpit, and trade its heroisms as well as war.”⁶ The merchant’s business is to provide for life, and if necessary, like the members of the other great intellectual professions, to *die* for it; his function is to provide for the nation, not merely to get profit for himself. “This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life,” if he be a true merchant. That object is, to produce the best commodity at the lowest possible price compatible with making himself responsible for the kind of life led by the numerous agents who necessarily work under his direction. For cheapness must not be obtained at the fatal cost of human lives or human character: the work required must be *beneficial* to the worker as to the consumer. In any commercial crisis, the merchant, like the captain of a ship, is bound to share the suffering with his men. Thus must he prove that he cares most for the state or commonwealth, and that he understands the real meaning of political economy, the *economy* of the “polis,” which, if it be true to its name, is a social and not an individual science.

The Cost of Production and of Consumption.

Such being the case, Ruskin is careful to point out that “production does not consist in things laboriously made, but in things serviceably consumable: and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces”—and life includes more than meat; it includes wisdom, virtue, salvation, the right and opportunity to be “holy, perfect, and pure.” “The presence of a wise population implies the search for felicity as well as for food.” Hence the authoritative command: “In all buying, consider, first, what condition of existence you cause in the producers of what you buy; secondly, whether the sum you have paid is just to the producer, and in due proportion, lodged in his hands; thirdly, to how much clear use, for food, knowledge, or joy, this that you have bought can be put; and fourthly, to whom and in what way it can be most speedily and serviceably distributed.”

If production consists in things serviceably consumable—tending to obtain and employ means of life—then, naturally, the use of the things produced is at least as important as their actual production. This leads Ruskin to a statement which is startlingly unlike that of

most political economists, viz., that "consumption is a far more difficult art than wise production. Twenty people can gain money for one who can use it; and the vital question, for individual and for nation, is never 'how much do they make? but to what purpose do they spend?'" What has been done with the potential wealth that has been produced? If it has been hoarded up, not used, it has been wasted, and has never really become wealth at all. "The true home-question to every capitalist and to every nation is not, 'How many ploughs have you?' but 'Where are your furrows?'" Thus, "to use everything and to use it nobly" is the final object of political economy. "The essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful or life-giving things, and by what degrees and kinds of labour they are attainable and distributable." Wealth can be estimated only by discovering the remaining amount of utility and enjoyment—the life-giving properties—after the cost of production has been deducted. "Cost" is "the quantity of labour required" for production, and in so far as this implies loss of life to the worker, the worth of the work is diminished. When the cost includes the physical or spiritual degradation of the worker, then it can never be worth while to produce such goods, for no function of use or enjoyment which they fulfil suffices as a set-off to the harm committed in their manufacture. To produce such goods can never be "profitable." "Labour is the *suffering* in effort. . . . It is that quantity of our toil which we die in."

If, in such production, suffering outweighs the desirableness of the thing produced, then such labour is death-bringing—and "there is no wealth but life." It is wholly and eternally different from work and effort, the application of power (opera); that, in its noblest form, whether in physical action or mental, intellectual striving, is pleasurable and recreative. "It does not matter how much *work* a thing needs to produce it; it matters only how much distress. Generally, the more the power it requires, the less the distress; so that the noblest works of man cost less than the meanest." Thus interpreted, work, as distinct from labour and suffering, is salutary and beneficial to the worker. Ruskin realises the impossibility of doing away with all unpleasurable labour, but at the same time he points out that its amount may be decreased in various ways.

The Mechanisation and Division of Labour.

For instance, he shows that in manufacture the interest is diminished and the monotony, i.e., suffering, increased, when the worker continually carries out the same process without seeing any visible result of his labour. It is true that division of labour lowers the money-cost of many manufactured articles, but it is often soul-destroying to the producer. Less wages are obtained by the tailor who spends his life in stitching button-holes, than by the skilled workman who is capable of making the whole garment or any part of it. But to counterbalance the reduction of wages, it is necessary to remember the lowered standard of workmanship, and also the lessening of

power, efficiency, and well-being of the workman. It does not really "pay," even in the lowest sense, to degrade human skill and taste, and to decrease healthy interest in the work done. This fact, almost unrealised either by economists or employers when Ruskin first stated it, led him to condemn both machine-made goods and also that over-specialisation which is the tendency of modern life. Just as the artist's personal touch differentiates a picture from the best photograph ever taken, so, in lower kinds of creative work, the maker's individuality must be expressed if the *thing made* is to be, in the best sense, valuable. There is an eloquent passage in one of Ruskin's books, in which he explains that no two specimens of great Venetian glass ever were, or could be, exactly similar, though modern Venetians turn out vase after vase exactly to pattern. The moral he deduces is universally applicable—namely, that the human standard alone is the true test of efficiency. Machine-made things are inferior in quality, whatever the ease with which they can be produced; purely mechanical labour is inferior, though the wages required to command it be never so low.

Hence, Ruskin's reintroduction of hand-loom weaving and handicrafts of every kind; hence, too, his tirades against steam power and steam engines. He hated them, because they necessitate all sorts of degrading labour in mines and in factories, and because, at the same time, they destroy the beauties of nature. For he believed "that a nation is only worthy of the soil and the scenes that it has inherited, when by all its acts and arts it is making them more lovely for its children."* Moreover, since beautiful work can be produced only by people who have beautiful things about them, if the workers are surrounded by chimney-pots and smoke, their ears deafened by steam whistles, and their hearts saddened by a grey and dismal life of toil, they will create nothing which contains even the elements of beauty.†

In spite of the common belief, Ruskin did not wish indiscriminately to destroy all railways and all factories, and very often his complaints against them were eminently reasonable and right, as when he objected to spoiling beautiful Swiss valleys by running trains through them for excursionists who were too lazy or too hurried to enjoy them wisely. He would have allowed railways only where their presence tended definitely to broaden men's minds and to facilitate the production of ideas; he would have subordinated them everywhere and always to the real "wealth" and "utility," which no money advantages can outweigh. Here, as everywhere, he applied the human instead of the commercial standard. This does not imply that he never exaggerated his complaints or went wrong in his condemnations. Much of what he said, for example, of hand-

* Cf. "Lectures on Art," § 123: "Find places elsewhere than in England, or at least in otherwise unserviceable parts of England, for the establishment of manufactories needing the help of fire . . . reduce such manufactures to their lowest limit." And see "The Two Paths," §§ 89, 90.

† Love of beauty "is an essential part of all healthy human nature and . . . is itself wholly good—the direct adversary of envy, avarice, mean worldly care, and especially of cruelty."—"Lectures on Art," III, and see *infra* §§ 25, 26.

weaving, was the result of imperfect knowledge. No life could well be more brutalising than that of an eighteenth century loom-worker; and in the same way, the lot of an agricultural labourer was not, from any point of view, more attractive in the days when the whole of his labour had to be accomplished by hand. But mistakes of this kind do not in reality detract from the truth of Ruskin's main contention, that the mechanisation of labour and of life is an evil which needs remedy, in so far as it destroys individuality and wholesome enjoyment in men's work and in their surroundings. As long as human skill and understanding are necessary in order to guide the machine, as long as man is its master, not its servant, so long may its use be justifiable. As soon as it is possible to put in raw material at one end to come out manufactured goods at the other, without any further attention than that which is purely a matter of routine, such as stoking or turning a handle, the workman deteriorates and the kind of labour is harmful. It cannot be right, for it is degrading to press a button and let the machine do the rest.* The tests of wise work are, that "it must be honest, useful, and cheerful": work that runs the worker can be none of these things. To be occupied solely with mechanical work is necessarily and inevitably to lose in individuality and in humanity—to sacrifice soul, the development of which is the most "leadingly lucrative" of national manufactures. When such labour is unavoidable, the hours of toil should be correspondingly short, in order that the workers may have ample time for recreation and for the development of their powers and sympathies.

The Morality of Taste.

Moreover, from another point of view, mechanical work produces mechanical results which, as Ruskin has shown in much detail and in various places, are almost, if not quite, as bad for the consumer as for the producer, since they destroy taste. This brings us to one of Ruskin's most startling assertions, which is also one of the most vital elements in his teaching. He insists upon the *morality* of taste. "Good taste is essentially a moral quality . . . not only a part and an index of morality; it is the *only* morality. . . . Tell me what you like and I'll tell you what you are" ("Crown of Wild Olive," § 54); and again, "Good taste is the instantaneous preference of the noble thing to the ignoble." Happily, it may be acquired and developed, and not least by the influence of our surroundings, natural and artificial. But since the converse is equally true, a smoke-begrimed or ugly environment has a far-reaching influence for ill. For,

* Cf. "Crown of Wild Olive," § 45: "What! you perhaps think, 'to waste the labour of men is not to kill them.' Is it not? . . . It is the slightest way of killing to stop a man's breath. Nay, the hunger, and the cold, and the whistling bullets—our love-messengers between nation and nation—have brought pleasant messages to many a man before now: orders of sweet release. . . . At the worst, you do but shorten his life, you do not corrupt his life. But if you put him to base labour, if you bind his thoughts, if you blind his eyes, if you blunt his hopes, if you steal his joys, if you stunt his body, and blast his soul, and at last leave him not so much as strength to reap the poor fruit of his degradation, but gather that for yourself, and dismiss him to the grave, when you have done with him . . . this you think is no waste, and no sin!"

"what we *like*" (or endure) "determines what we *are* and is the sign of what we are; and to teach taste is inevitably to form character."

If Ruskin was right, it is small wonder that he protested against shoddy and machine-made goods, and against the ugliness of the modern industrial system and its productions. For to be satisfied with quantity instead of quality is a sign and precursor of worse evils which lurk behind. If we suppose, as he contended, that national taste be indeed the expression of national character, severe judgment must be passed not only on the Venetians, but on all nations who are content to exist without art or with inferior art. For they are proved incapable of delight, that is, in the true sense, uneducated, unable to be "glad justly." Yet enjoyment is a right which belongs to all in a well-ordered society,—a right sadly curtailed for most people under present economic conditions, when they are taught neither what to like nor how to like it.

Lack of taste results, too, in the wrong use of labour and the substitution of commercialism and competition for honest work.

Competition and the Problem of Right Payment.

It is not too much to say that for commercial competition of all kinds Ruskin had an utter loathing. Thus his treatment of the wages-problem is unusually enlightened. At the beginning of "Unto this Last," he insists that the question of supply and demand ought not to affect the wages paid in one sort of work more than another. A doctor's fees, quite rightly, do not vary in accordance with the amount of illness at a given time. A cabman is not allowed to ask higher fares because it is raining and his services are much in demand. Nor, in a dry season, is he expected to accept less. All work is worth a certain wage and should, in Ruskin's opinion, be paid at a fixed rate, irrespective of other factors. Bad and good workmen, who are entrusted with the same task, should receive equal pay: in this respect Ruskin is entirely in accord with modern trade-unionism. A bad workman should not be allowed to undercut prices "and either take the place of the good, or force him by his competition to work for an inadequate sum." "The natural and right system respecting all labour is that it should be paid at a fixed rate, but the good workman employed and the bad workman unemployed." We do not choose our doctor because he is cheap—provided, that is, that we have money—but because we think him efficient. The same principle should be applied in choosing a bricklayer or any other worker. No other form of wage-competition is justifiable.

Again, it is infamous that a man's necessities should determine the amount he is paid for his work: he should be paid what it is worth—that amount, neither more nor less, he ought to have. Moreover, to cheapen labour is in every sense bad economy, since it results in bad workmanship and inferior workers. From the lowest point of view, it does not pay to keep men down to a barely living wage; it is wise policy, even from a selfish standpoint, to let good workmen benefit from the increased goodness of their work.

When Ruskin advanced this theory it was laughed at, like so

much else which he stated almost for the first time. Nowadays practical business men are coming more and more to adopt what their predecessors termed a "sentimental" doctrine, which after all amounts to little more than that it is in the long-run more profitable to pay a higher wage to an efficient, than a lower wage to an inefficient workman. In this instance, as in many others, Ruskin's prophetic insight helps him to the vision of a very practical and far-reaching reform.

In spite of this, Ruskin later, in "Arrows of the Chace," II, 97, makes a claim which might lead to dangerous results. He is far ahead of his time in his demand that salaries shall be determined by a standard of life instead of by competition. He asks for a definitely prescribed, uniform income or wage for each type of worker, that is, as he defines it, "the quantity and kind of food and space of lodging . . . approximately necessary for the healthy life of a labourer in any given manufacture." Doubtless this is a better method of payment than that resulting from blind obedience to "supply and demand," since at least it secures a minimum of comfort to all workers, irrespective of competition. But Ruskin does not appear to recognise that this definitely prescribed, uniform wage might be a maximum as well as a minimum. It is not enough, as he himself implies in "Unto this Last," "Munera Pulveris" and elsewhere, that the workman shall be paid at a fixed wage. He has the right to raise his standard of life as the average product of his community increases in value; and he, as well as the capitalist-employer, ought to profit by industrial improvements.*

Competitive industry is not merely bad policy in so far as the workers are concerned. Its ill effects are felt in every direction, and perhaps chiefly in that it lays the main stress on "profit" rather than on utility and good workmanship. For it is simply untrue that rivalry promotes excellence of manufacture. On the contrary, it causes that mechanisation of labour which results in the evils to which we have already referred,—the deterioration of the worker and the degradation of work by the production of cheap and nasty goods, which are palmed off on the consumer, whenever he can be deceived, as equivalent to something better. Advertisements tell their own tale, and are a sure indication of the dangers of trade competition. Ruskin may overstate his case and ignore everything that can be said in favour of modern commerce. Certainly he makes no reference to the social qualities sometimes developed in the struggle for life—enterprise, industry and self-sacrifice for example, all of which qualify a man for service as well as for the attainment of personal ends. But he is right in recognising the moral and material waste which normally results from the system of fraud upon which trade, to a lamentable extent, depends, and in anathematising the selfishness of the struggle and the loss of power which result from individualism.

* Compare his own assertion ("Time and Tide," § 8): "It is the merest insolence of selfishness to preach contentment to a labourer who gets thirty shillings a week, while we suppose an active and plotting covetousness to be meritorious in a man who has three thousand a year."

Ruskin's Views about Interest.

He is not equally incontrovertible in his attack on interest, which, in the latter part of his life, he denounces as indefensible. In his earlier writings he is content to condemn usury : in "Fors," and especially in Letter XVIII, he makes no distinction between this, which is rightly called extortion, and the interest on commercial capital. There is nothing surprising in the fact that Socialists accept his position, since they detest the capitalist system, which allows wealth to accumulate in the hands of the few and to be used for their personal advantage. For Socialists hold that all wealth should be created and expended for the common good, and that the conduct of the community's business for private profit is prejudicial to the body politic. But Ruskin never goes so far as this, though he advocates the increased ownership and control of industry by the State ("Time and Tide," § 81), and its organisation for social service. Consequently, his condemnation of reasonable interest on capital cannot be substantiated. He argues that interest is a forcible taxation or exaction of usury, adding that, since money cannot produce money, there is no sense in the claim that savings ought to be increased by interest. "Abstinence may, indeed, have its reward nevertheless ; but not by increase of what we abstain from, unless there be a law of growth for it unconnected with our abstinence." This is plausible, but unsound reasoning. It is easy enough to see the evil of usury, of profiting by the need of an individual, and losing all charity in the process. But if, as Ruskin rightly maintains, money consists merely of counters symbolising command of commodities and of labour, then the use of capital in production does result in an increase of the product, and investment of money in enterprises needing capital is a social service, for which (so long as there is not enough capital for its unlimited use) the consumer of the product may fairly be charged. So long as society relies, for obtaining capital, on its accumulation by individual owners, there is reason in this charge for its use, which is included in the price of the commodity.

Consequently there is an essential difference, in a capitalistic community, between reasonable interest on capital and the exaction of usury. A labour-basis of exchange and social service, instead of profit, are not feasible ideals until society has been reconstructed on a more satisfactory basis. And of this reconstruction, Ruskin refused to hear. He believed in a capitalistic society, and did not altogether condemn the private control of industry for individual profit ; as a result, his attacks on interest are unreasonably ferocious. Until industry is deliberately organised by the State for the common good, social saving is desirable, and, until borrowed capital is no longer needed for commercial enterprises, interest is both permissible and inevitable.

Society is an Organic Whole.

While Ruskin refused to go the whole way towards the nationalisation of capital and of the means of production, yet the reforms he advocated tended always towards the promotion of economic

equality ; and he had a real horror of the unlawful accumulation of personal possessions. No one has ever more clearly recognised the fact that society is an organic whole, and that injury to an individual is therefore injury to the State. But he believed that industry could be saved from the slough of commercialism only by reforming individual capitalists and members of the ruling classes. He had a touching faith in the doctrine of *noblesse oblige*, but no hope of any reform that could come from the people and from democratic rule. In this we hold that he was doubly mistaken. However enlightened and virtuous the individual capitalist or manufacturer, it is, in the nature of things, impossible for him to revolutionise commercial conditions. Ruskin himself was forced to defend his own possession of money and acceptance of interest, by pointing out the indubitable fact that an individual can do no good, and probably will do much harm, by tilting, as an isolated Don Quixote, at the windmill of commercialism. Similarly, though Ruskin did not recognise the truth, an individual manufacturer or merchant would simply land himself in the bankruptcy-court, while benefiting nobody, were he, as an individual, to refuse to conform with the conventional conditions of trade. Individual efforts must be supplemented by social co-operation and State action ; similarly, the progress of all must come through all, that is, "the State" should be the expression of the whole of society, and not of any one section thereof.

It is strange that Ruskin failed to recognise this fact. He was hindered, as Carlyle had been hindered, by his acute realisation of the natural inequalities of men, both mental and moral. These convinced him that it was the duty of the strong man to govern, and of the ordinary man to reverence and obey his superiors. On the whole, it seemed to him that the existence of a powerful aristocracy was the safest form of government, since all social order must be built on authority. But the aristocracy he upheld was to be "the assured measure of some kind of worth (either strength of hand, or true wisdom of conduct, or imaginative gift)." Position was in no way to be purchasable with money, but to be obtainable only by superior intellect and energy. Hence he was conscious that, if ruin were to be arrested, there must be "repentance of that old aristocracy (hardly to be hoped), or the stern substitution of other aristocracy worthier than it." Yet in the very next sentence comes the startling and short-sighted admission : "Corrupt as it may be, it and its laws together, I would at this moment, if I could, fasten everyone of its institutions down with bands of iron, and trust for all progress and help against its tyranny simply to the patience and strength of private conduct."

Obedience may be, as he held, "an inherent, natural, and eternal inheritance of a large portion of the human race," but there is no duty of obedience to the laws of primogeniture, nor to mere wealth and social advantages. It is true, and no modern Socialist will deny the fact, that men's capacities differ along with their functions, and that equality among millions of individually developing units is as inconceivable as identity. There are, as Ruskin says, "unconquer-

able differences in the clay of the human creature." But this does not warrant any individual in using his unequal powers as a means of injuring or oppressing those who are inferior to him. Nor ought the State to permit him to use his superior capacity in such a way as to build up either riches or dominion. Moreover, equality of opportunity ought to be secured for each individual, and for this no man has more earnestly pleaded than Ruskin himself, who even stated, in so many words, that "this enormous difference in bodily and mental capacity has been mainly brought about by difference in occupation, and by direct maltreatment." Let every child have his chance, and the right spirit of reverence for superiority will not disappear: rather will it grow and develop in those who have no cause for envy or hatred, but only for the "admiration, hope and love" by which we live.

And, indeed, in "Time and Tide," Ruskin propounds a theory of government by co-operation and fellowship among nations, as among separate peoples, which is conceivable only in a world from which the evils of commercialism and tyranny have disappeared, and in which all men have been protected both from the unnatural inequalities born of oppression and from any misuse of the natural superiorities of others.

The Nationalisation of Land.

Ruskin's opinions about the possession of land are in some respects remarkably modern, and although not identical with the latest Socialist doctrine on this question, they come surprisingly near to the view that land held by occupying owners for agricultural purposes belongs to the category of tools, and is therefore quite properly in individual ownership.

Ruskin is clear that land and water and air, "being the necessary sustenance of men's bodies and souls," must not be bought or sold. Yet he believes, up to a certain point, in the hereditary private possession of land by occupying owners, superintended by State overseers and paying a tax to the State as State tenants—the amount of land thus owned being strictly limited by the capacity to make good use of it. Apparently he has in mind a sort of peasant-proprietorship; in cases where larger tracts of land are granted in perpetuity to "great old families," "their income must in no wise be derived from the rent of it." Land must never become a source of income to such owners; its possession is a trust and "should be, on the whole, costly to them . . . made . . . exemplary in perfection of such agriculture as develops the happiest peasant-life." (See e.g. "Time and Tide." Letter xxiii.)

The Organisation of Labour.

Perhaps he is most a pioneer in his demand for the complete organisation of labour and his belief in the right to work and to the best possible training and education for its accomplishment. His system of selecting the suitable worker for a particular job, and of utilising every potential labourer, is complete and satisfactory. All

children are to be taught the laws of health, habits of gentleness and justice, and the calling by which they are to live. All those who are out of employment are to be received at once in government-schools or labour-colonies and set to such work as they can do, or trained for such work as they are fit. For the old and destitute, comfort and home are to be provided. "A labourer serves his country with his spade, just as a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen or lancet. If the service be less, and, therefore, the wages during health less, then the reward when health is broken may be less, but not less honourable; and it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country." (Preface to "Unto this Last.") The case for old-age pensions has never been more trenchantly stated.

Lastly, he demands either government-workshops or trade guilds which shall set the standard of price and of workmanship for every commodity, "interfering no whit with private enterprise,"* except in so far as their productions are "authoritatively good and exemplary." Ruskin's desire for some such guild system, self-governing in its constitution but vocational and voluntary in its composition, brings him nearer to the aspirations of Guild Socialism than to the achievements of Collectivism, but in any case, and in spite of his denials, his ideal is definitely Socialistic in its trend.

The Results of Ruskin's Economic Teaching.

Omitting, as we must, within the limits of a tract, a more detailed description of Ruskin's actual plans, and ignoring his somewhat perverse attitude on the subject of a fully democratic suffrage, we are now in a position to summarise something of what Ruskin effected by his economic teaching, and to estimate his influence on the nascent Socialist movement of the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the first place, he justifies his claim that "honest production, just distribution, wise consumption" are the reforms that it is most necessary to enforce. For these reforms, radically instituted, would go far towards the establishment of what to-day still beckons to us as a far-off Utopia.

But more important than any particular means that he advocates, is his whole attitude towards social problems, and, indeed, towards life itself. Above all else, he acts as a stimulating power, a disturber of the vulgar modern complacency which he hated, an awakener of ideals, of higher motives and more generous resolves. Everywhere and always he applies the test of humanity; he breaks down the barriers which divide one human activity or instinct from another, and insists on the interrelation of all social and individual

* It is interesting to note that the establishment of such government-workshops, as a means to secure a high standard of workmanship and to prevent or reduce adulteration, is an "original" panacea recently proposed by Mr. Emil Davies, who would, however, also use them as a method of obtaining additional revenue for the State.

interests. The supreme moral and spiritual teacher of his age, he penetrates everywhere to first principles and ultimate truths; and whether his ostensible subject be art or economics, he attempts to alter men's aim and motive in life, to uproot evil however manifested, and to bring a little nearer "the true felicity of the human race," by showing wherein nobility, wealth, and beauty consist.

Thus, while errors and extravagance are to be found in his teaching, and while he may justly be accused of lack of system in the presentation of his ideas about social reform, yet the abiding impression left by his work is not of these. It is rather a conviction of the breadth and vividness of his sympathies, and of his clear vision of essentials. His belief that no system of economics can be of permanent value, if it fails to develop "souls of a good quality," the insight which enables him to recognise the ultimate connection between economics and morals—these are perhaps his most important contribution to social science. But, greater even than the great lessons which he taught, the man's own nobility of purpose shines forth in all his writings—a beacon-light for future ages.

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The standard library edition of Ruskin is that by Cook and Wedderburn. (Thirty-nine vols. 1903-12.) There are various cheaper editions, one at 1s. the volume, which includes all the above-mentioned works, except the last. This is obtainable in The Pocket Ruskin, in four volumes at 1s. 6d. each. The publishers are, in every case, Messrs. Allen & Unwin, Limited.

Fabian Tract No. 180

**THE PHILOSOPHY
OF SOCIALISM - -**

By A. CLUTTON BROCK

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIALISM.

What is the Aim of Civilization?

SOcialism is the attempt to put a certain theory of human nature into political practice. If it is separated from that theory, it loses all its virtue and its sense of direction. It becomes a mere mechanical expedient, and might easily produce that Servile State about which its opponents are always talking.

My aim in this tract is to state that theory, and to show how Socialism owes its virtue to it and its sense of direction.

We are all agreed that we have attained to a certain amount of civilization, and that we wish to attain to more of it. We are also agreed that civilization has an aim—in that it differs from barbarism, which has no aim—but there are two opposed theories about the aim of civilization, and they may be stated shortly thus: the one theory says that the aim of civilization is to organize the struggle for life; the other that it is to transcend the struggle for life.

Each theory is based upon a certain view of human nature. The first assumes that human nature is, and always must be, controlled by the struggle for life. Men have been made what they are by that struggle, and it is, necessarily, the only business of their lives. The best they can do is to wage it efficiently; and the aim, the only possible aim, of civilization is to wage it so.

That phrase, *the struggle for life*, is often misunderstood by those who wish to misunderstand it for their own purposes. It does not mean, necessarily, a struggle between men. It does not mean that life is a substance of which there is not enough to go round, so that one man must always be fighting with another for it. A man struggles for life when he fights with a disease; and men certainly have discovered that they can carry on the struggle for life better by co-operation than by fighting with each other. When, therefore, this theory says that men are controlled by the struggle for life, it means, not that they must necessarily be always struggling with each other, but that their final aim is to go on living, and that civilization is an organized and co-operative effort to go on living.

Quantity or Quality of Life.

There is one obvious objection to this theory, which seems fatal at first sight, namely, that, as a matter of fact, individual men are often ready to sacrifice their lives for others. But the answer made to that objection is that there is in men, not only an instinct for self-preservation, but also an instinct for race-preservation. It is this instinct for race-preservation which gives us what we call our higher values. We value in men those qualities which make for race-preservation more highly than those which make for self-preservation. But, according to this theory, all our values are ultimately survival values, though we may not know it. Those

emotions which seem to us the noblest are aroused in us by whatever makes for the preservation of the race. There is some power in us which, unknown to ourselves, always aims at that, and which imposes illusions upon us so that our instinct of self-preservation may be subordinate to our instinct of race-preservation. For, without those illusions, the man who has risen superior to self-preservation would care nothing for race-preservation. The good man, as it seems to us, prefers quality of life to quantity. Without quality life would be worthless to him. But this quality is all an illusion. He only gets the sense of quality in life by doing that which secures quantity of life for others. He holds life cheap for himself so that he may have the glory of giving that which he holds cheap to others. And those others, too, can only have the sense of quality in their own lives if they are ready to sacrifice them so that yet others may have quantity. Ultimately there is nothing but quantity of life to be lived for, however much we may disguise the fact to ourselves.

So civilization must be an organization of the struggle for life, since there is nothing else to be struggled for. This is a universe in which living consists of the effort to go on living, whether the individual makes that effort for himself or for the community. Civilization would induce him to make it for the community, but only so that the community, now or in the future, may have that quantity of life which the individual is trained to despise for himself; and civilization will persist and improve only if men are continually trained to despise that which alone is worth having.

Socialism is for Quality of Life.

The other theory, as I have said, holds that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life, and it is based upon the belief that men are not ultimately controlled by the struggle for life, and that their proper business in life is to escape from the control of it as completely as possible. It denies that all our values are survival values, or that those emotions which seem to us the noblest are aroused in us by what makes for the preservation of the race. A man does not love truth or spend his life in seeking it because it makes for the preservation of the race, but because it is truth, and therefore to be loved for its own sake. He does not do what is right because it makes for the preservation of the race, but because it is right, and therefore to be done for its own sake. He does not make beautiful things for the preservation of the race, but because they are beautiful, and therefore to be made for their own sake. And his proper business in life is to do all these things for their own sake, and to live, not that he may go on living, but that he may do them.

To the question why they should be worth doing for their own sake, there is no answer, because they are worth doing for their own sake. They are absolutes, and cannot be expressed in terms of anything else. Man is of such a nature that he desires to do those things for their own sake, and the universe is of such a nature that they are worth doing for their own sake. If he asks what is right,

the answer is that which he permanently finds worth doing for its own sake, and not so that he may go on living. For life itself is not an absolute, but merely a condition of action. We must think of life in terms of those things which we do for their own sake, and not of those things in terms of life. And the more we do things for their own sake, the more clearly we shall see what things are to be done for their own sake. If we think that the aim of life is to go on living, we shall not see anything clearly at all.

There is no Safety in Altruism.

This theory is dogmatic, but not more dogmatic than the other; and its appeal is to experience, whereas the appeal of the other is mainly to facts observed about savages or animals. But my object in this pamphlet is, not so much to defend one theory or to attack the other, as to show which is consistent with Socialism and which is not. Socialism, I believe, is necessarily based upon the theory that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life; and, unless it is based upon that theory, it loses its virtue and its sense of direction.

It might be contended that each theory will lead to altruism, and therefore that it does not matter practically which theory you hold. An altruistic organization of society, a Socialistic organization, is the logical result of both. But altruism is an ugly word, and may mean a very ugly thing. If you believe that the proper aim of civilization is to organize the struggle for life, that quantity of life for the race is the highest thing that a community can aim at, then the individual has no rights for you. Not only may he sacrifice himself, but he may also be sacrificed, for the community. Quantity of life is the only absolute; and everything else, including all our morality, is to be thought of in terms of it. There is nothing to stop you from killing a minority so that a majority may live longer. There is nothing to keep you from attempting to breed a race of over-men, at the expense of all those whom you consider under-men, if you believe that life for the race of over-men will be longer and more secure. All this you may do quite altruistically, in that you do it, not for your own advantage, but for the better preservation of the race. If quantity of life is your final aim, you will have no desire to provide quality of life for the individual, unless you think that quality for him means quantity for the race; and there is no certainty whatever that you will think this, since quality of life is to you a mere illusion. As for pity and virtues of that kind, they will not be virtues to you at all, if they seem to you to endanger race-preservation. You will think altogether in terms of the race, and not at all in terms of the individual; and altruism may lead you, if you have the power, into a tyranny which will be utterly ruthless because you think it scientific.

The Sanctity of the Individual.

But the theory that the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life is a theory which necessarily implies the sanctity of

the individual. For if the aim of civilization is to transcend the struggle for life, its aim is that every individual here and now shall transcend it; and, so far as any one man is prevented from transcending it, there is failure of civilization. According to this theory there are desires in every man, which we may call desires of the spirit; a desire to do what is right for its own sake, a desire to discover the truth for its own sake, and a desire to make things as beautiful or as well as they can be made for the sake of making them well. And the proper object of life is to satisfy these desires, not to go on living. Further, Society is an association of human beings with the object of giving to all of them the opportunity to satisfy these desires. If it has not that object, it is vicious and perverse in its whole constitution. It must have other objects, of course, such as defence and the better organization of the struggle for life; but these are subsidiary to its main object, which is to give freedom to satisfy the desires of the spirit.

Now this is the only theory upon which what we call social justice can be securely based, for, if the aim is to give all men freedom to satisfy the desires of the spirit, it follows that some men must not have freedom at the expense of others. It is necessary that a mass of work should be done so that men may live; but, if all are to have an equal freedom, all must do their fair share of this work. And it will be a further aim of Society that men shall, as far as possible, satisfy the desires of the spirit in the work which they have to do. The test of all work which is not absolutely necessary will be—whether the worker can take pleasure in doing it well for its own sake. If he can, then it is worth doing; if he cannot, then it is an offence against civilization to force him to do it. It is not strict laws against luxury which are needed for civilization, but a sense of the iniquity of unnecessary and joyless labour. And thus sense can only be based upon a belief in the sanctity of the individual, in his right to the satisfaction of his spiritual desires.

The other theory will not give social justice, because it will not aim at it. It will not assert the right of the individual to satisfy his spiritual desires, because it does not believe in the existence of spiritual desires. It only believes in existence itself without any further aims. It has no value for anything except existence itself, and all our other values it necessarily reduces to a value for existence and nothing more.

The Sacrifice of the Individual for the Race.

In practice, of course, there are few or none who carry this theory to its logical conclusion. But the theory is always with us and is always affecting our thought about social and political matters. It produces a kind of altruism which is dangerous because it necessarily denies the sanctity of the individual. For the only altruism which is consistent with this theory is an altruism which neglects the individual for the race, which exalts the struggle of the race for existence above the struggle of the individual. You cannot attain to altruism at all through this theory except by giving up the individual

for the race, except by valuing the race instinct for preservation more than the individual instinct. This valuing of the one more than the other is your religion, the principle upon which all your morality is based; and there is nothing whatever to limit it in your theory. So it may become a fanaticism as cruel as any of those religious fanaticisms of the past which were based upon a belief in the paramount importance of salvation. For them there was nothing but the struggle for eternal life; for this theory there is nothing but the struggle for temporal life. For both the individual, and his sanctity and freedom, are nothing compared with the struggle, and he may be sacrificed in any way which the struggle demands.

The German Error.

The only alternative which this theory permits to such inhuman altruism is the instinct of self-preservation with its merely barbaric selfishness. There is nothing in politics between anarchy and a State in which the individual has no rights. If anyone would say that the theory does not exist, or that it has no practical influence in any existing State, I would draw their attention to Germany at the present moment and to our own country for the last hundred years. Germany has developed that inhuman altruism for which the individual has no rights. Her whole conception of the State is that it is a unit in the struggle for life to which all individual rights must be sacrificed. The aim of the State, Treitschke says, is power; but power to do what? Power to survive as a State; and to this power every individual and every individual conscience must be sacrificed. It does not matter that the Germans themselves consent to this sacrifice. You do not remain free because you willingly give up your freedom for something else. You do not keep your conscience because you have conscientiously surrendered it. The Germans talk of their idealism and their Kultur, but in their political life both are subordinate to the struggle for life itself, a struggle carried on with an altruism the more ruthless and the more dangerous both to themselves and to others, because it is altruism and not selfishness, because it has sacrificed the claims of the individual to the claims of the race.

It matters not that this altruism is for the German race and not for the human. That is, perhaps, merely a want of logic in detail; or it may be that they think the human race has the best chance of surviving if the German race is supreme. In any case their altruism is based upon a belief that the individual must be sacrificed to the race; their Socialism, so far as they are Socialists, is an organization of the struggle for life and not an attempt to transcend it. Needless to say, there are many attempts in Germany, as elsewhere, to transcend the struggle for life, but these are attempts of individuals. The theory of the State is not their theory, as the present war has proved.

The English Error.

In England, on the other hand, we have inclined more to anarchy than to the organization of the struggle for life, because we have

trusted rather to the instinct of self-preservation than to the instinct of race-preservation. We have, very justly, disliked and distrusted the ruthless altruism which will allow no rights to the individual; but we have based all his rights upon his instinct of self-preservation. We, no less than the Germans, have seen something holy in the struggle for life itself, believing it to be the ultimate and controlling fact of life. Politically, we too have believed that all values are only survival values. The only difference is that, for us, it is the survival of the individual that matters. It is his struggle that is holy and the source of all virtues.

"Competition is the soul of trade" and also the soul of the universe. We would rather carry on the necessary and holy war with each other individually than as a drilled and regimented nation with other nations. That is why the Germans despise us and we despise the Germans. We see the wickedness of their altruism, they see the wickedness of our individualism. They talk about our slums and we about their shambles, and we are both right. At the present moment their altruism is a danger to all the world and must be withstood. But our individualism is a danger to ourselves always; and the source of the danger in both cases is the same doctrine, that doctrine which says that there is nothing worth having in life except life itself.

But if you believe that life is worth having only for certain things that can be done in life, if you desire quality of life rather than quantity, you will not think the struggle for life holy, whether a struggle of individuals or of larger units such as nations. For life is not worth having on the terms that it alone is worth struggling for. It is merely a condition precedent to the doing of those other things which are worth doing; and the State exists not for its own power, which means the survival of its members or some of them, but so that its members may all be able to do those things which are worth doing. We have discovered by experience, if we do not all know it in our hearts, that those things which are worth doing for their own sake are best done in co-operation, can indeed only be securely and persistently and largely done, when men are able to forget the struggle for life in co-operation; for it is only co-operation which enables them to forget the struggle for life for one moment. Every State, every degree of civilization, aims at a certain amount of co-operation, and is kept in being only because men are able to forget themselves in co-operation. The question is therefore, the ultimate political question, why shall they co-operate? No individualist can give a clear answer to that question. No Socialist can be logically and thoroughly a Socialist, unless he gives the right answer—which is that they shall co-operate so that they may, as far as possible, escape from the struggle for life to the doing of those things which are worth doing for their own sake.

The Proper Purpose of Co-operation.

Co-operation itself is one of the things that are worth doing for their own sake. It is morally right, as conflict is morally

wrong. It is true, of course, that men may co-operate for a wrong purpose, but even then they get some moral or spiritual satisfaction in their co-operation, in their self-forgetfulness. The German Army, because of its co-operation, is not morally as low as a footpad. The individual members of it do display certain virtues, and often very high ones, which they could not display if they were footpads. But their co-operation is a danger to the world because its purpose is bad, because it does not aim at something which is worth doing for its own sake, but merely for national success in the struggle for life. There is not complete self-forgetfulness in it, but only self-forgetfulness for the sake of a national egotism in which every German self has a part.

As co-operation implies self-forgetfulness, so its ultimate aim should be one in which self is forgotten, one free from egoism, national as well as individual; otherwise it will be dangerous because of its power, and will raise up a desperate opposition against itself. One can easily imagine a world of highly organized States rushing to a conflict far worse than the present one, and destroying all civilization in the course of it, if their Socialism was controlled by national egoism, if the aim of their co-operation was power, and not the doing of those things in which men forget all egoism. Co-operation, however far it is carried, must be dangerous, and must raise up enemies and provoke conflicts, unless its aim is the doing of those things which are worth doing for their own sake. So long as that is its aim, there is no danger in it, either of tyranny within the State or of aggression upon other States; and with that aim it may be carried as far as possible without fear of tyranny or aggression.

That, therefore, is the test of Socialism. Is it consistent co-operation that it aims at, a co-operation which means self-forgetfulness both in its process and in its ultimate aim, or is it an inconsistent co-operation, in which men forget themselves so that they may ultimately in some way satisfy their egotism? If the latter, it is dangerous in proportion to its efficiency. Aiming at power, it leads to war; aiming at comfort, it leads to stagnation. But if the former, there is no danger in it, since the more men forget themselves, the more they wish to forget themselves, and in forgetting themselves they can do no harm to each other. But they can only consistently and completely forget themselves if they are aiming at those things which are worth doing for their own sake, at doing what is right for the sake of doing it, at discovering the truth for the sake of the truth, at producing what is beautiful for the sake of what is beautiful.

Men have a desire to do what is right, and that, not for any ulterior benefit to themselves, but simply because it is right. When they see it to be right, they wish to do it. That is what we mean by doing right; it is not right if we do it for some ulterior purpose. So they have a desire for the truth, and they wish to discover it because it is the truth, and for no other reason. When we say that a man has a love of the truth, we mean that he loves it for its own sake, and not because he hopes in some way to profit by it.

The Imposition of Morality on the Poor.

Now, in our pursuit of all these things for their own sake, we are constantly hindered by the struggle for life. The mass of men, by reason of their poverty, have hardly any chance at all of exercising their intellectual or æsthetic faculties, and we take it for granted that they ought to be satisfied with exercising their moral faculties. The business of the poor is to be good. But a man cannot be good if he is confined to the exercise of his moral faculties alone, and we cannot be good if we confine him to it. Spiritual health consists in the exercise of all spiritual faculties, the intellectual and the æsthetic as well as the moral. If we wish the poor only to be good, we may be sure that we wish them to be good for our own profit. Their goodness to us means such conduct as will make us most comfortable, which is not goodness at all, but merely submission to a moral code imposed upon them. If we wish them to be good for our profit, we misunderstand the very nature of goodness and cause them also to misunderstand it. If we are to understand the nature of goodness ourselves, or to give them a chance of understanding it, we must not see their goodness in terms of our convenience. Our aim must be to release them from the pressure of the struggle for life, so that they may exercise all their spiritual faculties, so that they may have that freedom in which alone a man can do what is right for its own sake, can pursue truth for its own sake, and can enjoy and produce beauty for its own sake.

That freedom is very far off from all of us at present, from the rich no less than from the poor. In a society like ours the rich fear truth and are stinted of beauty, and their very conception of goodness is perverted by their fear of truth and by the general penury of beauty. They, anxious to maintain their position, are subject to the struggle for life no less than the poor. The only difference is that they exact more from life than the poor do, and therefore struggle for more. But their sense of the absolute, of those things which are worth doing for their own sake, is just as weak as if they were poor themselves. It is not spiritual freedom that they aim at, but success in the struggle for life; and therefore, not aiming at spiritual freedom, they cannot attain to it.

Yet we can aim at spiritual freedom, and we can understand that it is only to be reached if we aim at it for all. A man cannot enjoy a private spiritual freedom in a society based upon injustice any more than he can enjoy health in a plague-stricken town. The very desire for spiritual freedom must arouse in him a desire that all shall have it. If he wishes to do what is right for its own sake, he must wish that all should have the chance of doing what is right for its own sake. If he wishes to know the truth for its own sake, he must wish that all should have the chance of knowing it. If he wishes to make things beautiful for the sake of their beauty, he must wish that all should have the chance of making them so. And where the mass of men have not this chance or this desire, he finds himself continually thwarted in his own aims. Right is wrong, truth is falsehood, beauty is ugliness, to a society which does not

desire these things for their own sake. We must desire them for their own sake, if we are to know what they are; and we must wish for a society in which every man shall desire them for their own sake, a society in which the obstacles to spiritual freedom shall be removed.

The Desire for Spiritual Freedom is the Basis of Socialism.

So the desire for spiritual freedom is the basis, the only basis, of Socialism. Without it co-operation will mean merely tyranny; it will be a means by which some will exercise their "will to power" over others. It will be a change in the organization of society, but merely one that will give those who start rich more power than ever over those who start poor. There is in everyone a will to power, just as there is a sexual instinct. But this will to power is, if indulged, more of an enemy to spiritual freedom than the sexual instinct. If I am possessed by the will to power, I cannot be a saint or a philosopher or an artist; I cannot even wish to be any of these. I shall wish for nothing except to exercise my own will; and, because I have no sense of the absolute, I shall not know what to exercise it upon. Even if I think that I aim at the truth, my sense of the truth will be continually perverted by my will to power. I shall aim at freedom to do what I want to do, but what I want to do will not be dictated to me by a desire for spiritual freedom; and this wilful freedom of mine will mean slavery for others.

Hence the extreme importance that the fundamental doctrines of Socialism should be clearly defined and held by all Socialists; that Socialism should be desired for the right reason, not for the wrong; that it should mean to every Socialist spiritual freedom, and not an organization by which he shall be able to work his will upon other men. Before the desire for Socialism, there should be the desire for spiritual freedom. And Socialism should endeavour to prove that it is the natural and inevitable product of the desire for spiritual freedom. We wish for a society in which all men shall have the chance of doing what is right for the sake of doing it, of seeking truth for truth's sake, of producing beauty for beauty's sake. We believe that in every man there is the desire to do those things, that no man can be happy except through the satisfaction of this desire. Further, we believe that this desire can only be satisfied in common and in a society whose chief aim is the common satisfaction of it. Without that aim a society is blind. It has no test by which to distinguish progress from reaction, civilization from barbarism, freedom from tyranny. It may be engaged in incessant changes and adjustments, all of which will be merely the exercise of the will to power by one class or another. It may organize itself into a very high state of efficiency, and then, in its pride at that efficiency, become only a unit in the struggle for life, and provoke against itself a continued opposition that will destroy it.

The Logic of Socialism.

There is, in fact, no theory of man's nature, or of the nature of the universe, upon which any social organization can be logically founded, except the theory that men do above all things, and beyond all things, desire spiritual freedom, and that they know how to use it when they have got it. And Socialism is the logical expression of this theory in political practice. It would carry the organization of society further than individualism would carry it, not merely because it believes in efficiency or any such meaningless abstraction, but because it believes that men do desire spiritual freedom above all things, and that they will aim at spiritual freedom individually whenever they have enough control of the struggle for life to do so. This is the faith of Socialism, a faith in the mind of man, not in mere mechanical efficiency, a belief that when men are all reasonably prosperous they will not fall in love with a dull prosperity. For it is not in man's nature to fall in love with dull prosperity. When he seems to do so, it is not because he is Philistine by nature, but because he is afraid to lose what he has. All those evils of prosperity about which reactionaries tell us are evils of insecurity or of unjust excess. No man, not even a poet, is the worse for a good meal of wholesome food. He will write poetry better on it than if he is over or underfed. Prosperity demoralizes men only when it is unusual. If it were common and equal, it would be to them a necessary condition of their spiritual activities.

But, further, we believe that a common and equal prosperity can be attained to only if society aims at spiritual freedom for all. To aim at prosperity alone will be to lose the way to it; therefore means to prosperity must not be imposed upon the unwilling poor by masterful philanthropists. Socialism is not, as its cleverer enemies pretend, a method of regimentation; although a capitalist tyranny might learn much from Socialism, if it were clever enough, and might even call itself Socialist. But the difference between such a tyranny and Socialism would always be in aim. It is difference of aim and difference of faith that produce difference of result. That is why we need to insist upon the importance of the Socialistic faith and to define it with almost theological precision. Unless it is so defined and held by all Socialists, Socialism will become what its enemies say it is, merely a method which an intelligent despot could use better than anyone else. He, of course, would ignore the logic of Socialism, or would apply it only so far as suited his own purposes, but that would matter little to him. To the Socialist, on the other hand, the logic of Socialism should be everything. It should connect his conception of the nature of man and of the universe with every detail of political action; otherwise Socialism will be to him also only a method and one in which his faith may easily be shaken.

Why is it that so many men, in their youth ardent Socialists, afterwards become reactionaries and yet do not know that they have changed? It is because they have never grasped the logic of Socialism, because it has never been to them anything but a method which they can apply to any purpose. There is logic in Socialism

only when it is a faith, not in method, but in the mind of man and the nature of the universe, and when this faith expresses itself in a method which is Socialism. I will not say that Socialism is a religion, any more than I would say that art is a religion. But Socialism and art are themselves only when they make or express certain affirmations about man and the universe in common with religion. Religion is an affirmation of absolute values. It tells us that we are to value certain things because they have value in themselves and not because they help us to go on living. It tells us that we live to do what is right because it is right, to discover truth because it is true, to make what is beautiful because it is beautiful, and that the purpose of our lives is not to go on living. So Socialism is the application of these affirmations to politics. It is an effort to attain to a state of society in which every man will be able to make these affirmations in practice as well as in theory; and it is based upon a religious belief that every man desires to make them and will make them if he is freed from the tyranny of circumstance. This belief may seem forlorn in our present society, it often does seem forlorn to us when we look at other men of a different class or nation. Yet it never seems forlorn to us when we look at ourselves. We make these affirmations about ourselves, and we are angry with a society which does not allow us to practise them. This anger, without logic, produces a belief in aristocracy. There are a few, ourselves among them, who ought to rule the world so that they may practise these affirmations, of which the vulgar herd are incapable either in theory or in practice. But, with the logic of religion, which tells us that other men are to themselves what we are to ourselves, it produces Socialism. We know that to be released from the pressure of the struggle for life would not demoralize us; why then should it demoralize the mob, which is only a name for men seen hostilely and in the mass? We want material freedom so that we may attain to spiritual freedom; and so do all other men, even those who think they can attain to it only at the expense of the mob. We all have the same desire; but there are some who think that this desire is peculiar to themselves and a few other aristocrats like them; and there are some who have forgone their desire from fear or from the tyranny of circumstance. For one reason or another they lack faith and the logic of faith. Their politics are disconnected from their desire and they are not Socialists. But the politics of the Socialist are connected with his desire and with his religion. He believes about other men what he wishes them to believe about himself. That is why he is a Socialist, why he is not afraid of trusting mankind as he himself would wish to be trusted. But unless he has this belief and this trust he is not a Socialist, whatever he may call himself.

WHEN PEACE COMES—THE WAY OF INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.*

By Sidney Webb.

I.—THE GREAT DISBANDMENT.

The difference between the Outbreak of War and the Outbreak of Peace is that we did not expect the former and we do expect the latter. War sent the whole nation scurrying round like scared rabbits trying to prevent dislocation from spelling unemployment and starvation. The Declaration of Peace will entail an even greater dislocation of industry and of wage-earning than did the Declaration of War. If we let it come upon us without adequate preparation, it will be much more difficult to deal with, and much more socially disastrous, than anything that we have yet had to face. It will create much more discontent and angry feeling, for thousands who would cheerfully die for their country in the stress of war will furiously resent going hungry in time of peace. But we can see the trouble coming, and we can, if we choose, prepare for it. Great will be the responsibility of the Cabinet if the nation presently discovers that proper preparation has not been made for what we can all see is a certainty.

When War Wages Cease.

To-day at least seven millions of our wage-earners (probably not far short of half the total wage-earning population) are engaged on "war work," either in the Army and Navy and their innumerable subsidiary services, or in the four thousand factories making munitions, or in the countless other establishments working on Government orders of every kind. These millions, together with their managers and officers, and the shareholders and other capitalists who are living on their labours, are being fed from the five million pounds per day that the Treasury is disbursing. From the very moment that peace is assured the Treasury will do its utmost to stop that expenditure, and to reduce it as rapidly as possible to the

* This tract is reproduced, with slight additions, from half-a-dozen articles in the "Daily News" (which appeared July 23, August 3, 12, 19, 26, and September 5, 1916), with permission of the proprietors. Many of the facts, figures, and proposals will be found more fully stated in "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, price 1s. net (supplied by the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster).

few hundreds of thousands per day that will represent the future normal outlay on these services. This means, under the system on which we have chosen to conduct our industry, the stoppage of the earnings of nearly half our manual working population. No such economic convulsion has ever menaced the inhabitants of these islands. And we know that it is coming; we can foresee its approach, and we can, if we choose, take the action necessary to prevent it from resulting in distress and demoralisation and starvation. If our people have any political capacity—if those whom we have put in high places to rule over us have any “gumption” and any sense of public duty—let them show it now, or dire will be our fate. What is approaching in all the belligerent countries, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, is more like an Indian famine than like any ordinary depression of trade.

The War Office Promises

So far as is known, the Government has come to practically no decision on the Problems of Demobilisation; and the preparation of the Great Peace Book, about which Mr. Asquith was talking about six months ago, has in September, 1916, resulted only in the secret appointment of a score of different committees, not all of which have yet got under way. We learn from Lord Newton's answers in the House of Lords in December, 1915, and from a stray reference or two elsewhere, that the War Office has come to certain provisional conclusions about the disbandment of the soldiers. The return of some three millions of men from all the various theatres of war, and their discharge from the Army, must necessarily be gradual; but it is to be proceeded with, under Treasury pressure, as promptly and rapidly as possible. Moreover, the mass of the men are enlisted only “for the duration of the war”; and they will nearly all eagerly claim an early discharge. The disbandment will be governed exclusively by military considerations, without reference to the position of the Labour Market. It must take place, so the War Office declares, by entire military units, irrespective of the needs of particular industries or the desires of individual men. The only concession that the War Office will make to those who are troubled about getting these millions of soldiers back into civil employment is to promise that a form shall be filled up for each man, stating his occupation, the town to which he intends to proceed, and whether he desires a place to be found for him. This form is to be forwarded through the War Office to the Labour Exchange of the town which the soldier has designated at least one month before he will be discharged. Every soldier will be given at the port of disembarkation a free railway ticket to any station in the United Kingdom; and he will be allowed a month's furlough, during which pay and separation allowance will be continued. He will be awarded a gratuity of an amount not yet fixed (After the South African War the men received five or six pounds each.) And, as if with a magnificent gesture washing its hands of the whole problem,

the War Office promises to every discharged soldier, for a whole year after his discharge, that he shall be entitled, whatever his occupation, whenever he is out of work, to call at the Labour Exchange and receive Unemployment Benefit (for which, if he belongs to an insured trade, he has already been paying), to an amount not yet definitely fixed, but probably ten or twelve shillings per week.* It is believed that the Admiralty will not refuse to do the same for the couple of hundred thousand sailors whom it will dispense with.

Finding Situations.

Now this provision, which leaves the War Office astonished at its own munificence, and to which, it is feared, the Treasury had not then given its consent, is considerably in excess of any previously made. It does not, as will be explained later, go far to ensure the soldier civil employment. But, so far as merely disbanding an army goes, it is on the right lines. It is quite a good innovation to send forward the soldier's application for employment a whole month before he can possibly take up a job, although it may be doubted whether this will, in most cases, lead to any engagement in advance. In spite of the fact that the Board of Trade has hardly kept faith with the trade unions in the matter of Supervisory Committees of the Labour Exchanges—there are such committees, but they have been formed in secret, usually for impossible areas; they hardly ever meet; they are given next to nothing to do; and they are carefully prevented from knowing anything of the daily operations of the Labour Exchanges—it is absolutely necessary to entrust the Exchanges with the finding of situations. The Board of Trade ought promptly to make its Trade Union Advisory Committees into realities; to constitute them, as at present, to the extent of one-half of representative local trade unionists; to have a separate one for each town or county district; to let them meet regularly and control their own secretaries and agendas; and to enable them to see exactly how the Exchange is being run. After all, these committees are only advisory. They can do no harm. The timid secretiveness of the Board of Trade over this matter arouses a quite unwarranted suspicion and distrust of the really fine work that the 400 Exchanges are doing. They have at present accommodation and staff adequate to deal with fifteen or twenty thousand cases per day. The task thrown upon them by the receipt within a few months of these millions of applications for situations will be immense. It can be satisfactorily accomplished only if the Exchanges are adequately strengthened by the Treasury, generally utilised by employers, and trusted by the trade unions, and if their work is better understood by the

* It is to be noted that these are definite promises by the Government, which Lord Newton publicly announced on their behalf that he was authorised to make; and voluntary recruiting took place on this basis. It would therefore be a grave breach of faith if these pledges were in any detail departed from.

public But, with all their shortcomings, the Labour Exchanges are far more efficient and far more trusted by the workmen than any philanthropic committees would be. There has been an influential backstairs movement going on to get the whole business of finding situations for the soldiers handed over to a series of charitable bodies, working on Charity Organisation Society lines. This, it is believed, is now scotched. In view of the fact that the important thing is not to get the ex-soldiers into employment *at any price*, but to do so without in any way lowering the Standard Rate, the intermeddling of the philanthropists would be simply disastrous. The only appropriate answer would be an immediate labour revolt.*

Soldiers and Savings Banks.

A very serious question—not, it is believed, yet answered—is how the War Office is going to pay these three millions of soldiers their gratuities. What the Army Pay Department wants to do is what it has done before—apparently merely because it is what it has done before—namely, pay each man his five to ten pounds in cash when he is given his railway ticket at Folkestone or Southampton or Plymouth! We hope that the strongest protest will be made against any such insensate endowment of the local publican. Why should the Government incur the unnecessary expense—no inconsiderable item—of paying over in cash three million separate sums of money to the aggregate amount of twenty millions sterling? It was all very well at the end of the eighteenth century wars, when there were but scant banking facilities, and these were not understood by the soldiers of the time. But to-day the Post Office stands ready with 25,000 branches, eager to do the business. The Postmaster-General would jump at the chance of opening three million special accounts in the Savings Bank. The War Office would supply a list of names and amounts, and would pay the twenty millions to the Postmaster-General in a single cheque. Each soldier would be told to call at the Labour Exchange of the place to which he was returning, and would there be handed—along with any news as to employment—his new Savings Bank book, showing the gratuity and balance of pay standing to his credit, withdrawable from the local post-office at his will. All that the Army Pay Department need do is to accompany the railway ticket with a one-pound note as “journey money.” All the rest ought, in the twentieth century, to be done through a bank (as it has long since been done for the officers). The saving in cost to the Treasury might be as much as 5 per cent. on the sum to be handled—a clear million sterling! The saving to the three million men themselves would be inestimably great

* The schemes of the Social Welfare Association of London, though doubtless well-intentioned, are wholly inapplicable, because they show no comprehension of the supreme national importance of maintaining the Standard Rates of Wages. They actually take for granted that wages must be left to supply and demand!

What about the Munition Workers?

But all this relates only to half the problem of disbandment. The three or four million men, women, boys and girls now working on Government orders will also be summarily disbanded. For their immediate necessities the Government has, so far as is known, yet made no provision. Probably a quarter of a million of them are directly in the pay of the Minister of Munitions, the Admiralty, or the War Office in the hundred or more national factories already at work. Nearly three millions are working in the 4,000 odd controlled establishments, at rates of wages fixed or controlled by the Government, and they are legally forbidden to relinquish their employment in order to take up more permanent jobs, as some of them would wish to do. The Government, in fact, is as responsible for their discharge, when it comes, as for that of the soldiers. The Treasury will be just as insistent in its demands for immediate stoppage in the one case as in the other. Yet we can learn nothing of any decision as to their fate. What has just been done is—not to provide for their disbandment—but to start levying 2½d. per week upon their wages (the employer having to contribute a like sum), so as to bring them, in six months' time, into eligibility for Unemployment Benefit when they are out of work (but only so long as they remain in these "insured" trades), to the extent of seven shillings per week for a limited number of weeks. Even this limited provision is refused to the poorly paid workers for the Government in the food and confectionery trades, and the textile and the boot industries, with some others, have also been omitted at the request of the employers and the better-paid sections of the workers—to the loss of the badly paid youths and women and unskilled workers, who have not been consulted. This Unemployment Insurance is in itself a good thing, which might well be made universal, except where the trades make other adequate provision for themselves; but it is not provision for demobilisation. We hear nothing as yet of (1) securing these munition workers, like the soldiers, a gratuity on discharge, or a month's furlough, or even any prescribed notice of dismissal; or (2) providing free railway tickets (for which the Government would not have to pay any fares) to enable them to get back to their former homes, or some place where alternative employment can be found; or (3) ensuring that particulars of their needs as to new situations are supplied to the Labour Exchange one month before they are discharged. Why cannot these things be done by the Ministry of Munitions for the army of men and women which has worked for us in overalls just as well as by the War Office for the Army of about equal numbers which has worked for us in khaki?

The Need for National Organisation.

The machinery and the provision for the disbandment of the three or four million munition workers, no less than of the three or four million soldiers and sailors, are of vital importance, because of

their influence on all the Problems of Demobilisation. These seven million men and women have to be helped to sort themselves out afresh. They have to be got as quickly as possible into appropriate civil employment. The send-off is half the battle. It is very largely upon the organisation that we devise for discharging them from war service that will depend our success in getting them back to wealth-producing service without loss of time, loss of health, loss of character, and loss of temper. For it is upon a sea of troubles that we shall be discharging them. What will be the state of trade after the war, immediately or eventually, no economist dares to predict. What is certain is that the sea of employment will be "choppy"; that even if a large proportion manage to keep afloat in trade revival, the tides will leave many hundreds of thousands on the rocks; and that nothing but national foresight and national organisation on the largest scale will save us from calamitous and long-continued unemployment. This demands a separate section.

II.—THE PREVENTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

What the Government is presently going to do—it is as well to re-state the position clearly—is, as soon as possible after the Declaration of Peace, to bring to an end the war employment, and to stop the wages of nearly seven million men and women, equal to not far short of half the industrial wage-earning population of these islands. It is the most gigantic "turning off of hands" that the world has ever seen. And the Government will, of course, be right in this step. The sooner we can take our people off this "unproductive" war work, and get them back to wealth-production, the less will be the burden of debt that the nation has to shoulder. But the dismissal of these six or seven million wage-earners from the Army and the munition works—the sudden stoppage of the means of subsistence of possibly one-third of the families of the community—will be one of the most momentous economic decisions ever taken by a Government.

The Disbanded Millions.

Now, this is not an unnecessary warning. On no previous occasion, when similar but much smaller dislocations have been imminent, has the Government admitted any particular responsibility in the matter. The Treasury, it is believed, still clings to the old-fashioned economic doctrine that the "labour market" will in due course "absorb" those who are unemployed, and that it would be contrary to all financial precedent to admit any obligation to find situations for the disbanded millions. On this occasion, however, it will be the deliberate act of the Government that will produce the crisis. It will be a Cabinet decision that will summarily bring to an end the incomes of these millions of families. The nation ought to insist—I think the nation will insist—on the Government

taking as much trouble to prevent the occurrence of unemployment after the peace, as it is now being practically driven to take over the mere disbandment of the Army.

It is not as if there need be any lack of employment after the war. There will be work enough for a whole generation in repairing the ravages of war, and replacing the enormous mass of commodities that have been destroyed. We know that every one of the seven million wage-earners can produce at least the value of his or her subsistence; and, indeed, a great deal more, as is shown by the tribute of rent and interest that the mere landlords and capitalists actually derive from the industry of those who labour by hand or brain. But we know also that, if we "let things alone" the process of "absorption" by the labour market may take a long time; and that it will certainly mean a great amount of more or less prolonged unemployment, the slow starvation of men, women, and children, the lowering of the rates of wages, even of those fortunate enough to get employment; and the Degradation of the Standard of Life of a large proportion of the population. That is what happened after the Peace of 1815, because the Government of that time "let things alone." That is, quite certainly, what will happen after the coming peace until a different policy is adopted.

Trade After the War.

What will be the "State of Trade" in the first, the second, and the third year of peace? No one can predict with any confidence how things will go on the whole. We know, on the one hand, that there will be millions of men and women simultaneously running up and down seeking for new employment. We shall have looking for jobs the disbanded soldiers and sailors (together with 50,000, or it may be 100,000, partially disabled men); the displaced substitutes, many of the ousted women. There will be sudden slumps, too, not in "war trades" alone, but also in all the diverse industries that have been producing substitutes for the things that we could not get during the war—just as there will be local slumps in the present congested "munition towns" and at those ports (including London and Liverpool) to which traffic has been artificially diverted.

On the other hand, there will immediately be local trade expansions at the ports which have been largely closed to Continental traffic, and at other towns characterised by the reviving trades. The industries repairing war damage will become suddenly busy. The shipbuilding yards will go on working continuously at their fullest strength for the next few years at least. The world-scarcity of warm clothing will long keep the woollen and worsted industries occupied. The makers of marine-engines, of agricultural machinery, of automobiles, and of sewing-machines and many other engineering mechanics will be in demand. The devastated areas all over Europe will require iron rails, bridges, rolling stock, and every kind of railway equipment; they will need every builder's requisite

and all sorts of raw material; they will have to import coal, and, for a long time, food, for all of which their Governments will have to find the necessary purchasing power.

Thus, we shall have the strangest possible mixture of local booms and local slumps, with the most unforeseeable "repercussions" and "reverberations" at a distance; some trades suddenly reviving in more or less lasting spurts of activity, whilst others simultaneously go down into the dumps of depression; pressing demands for additional labour in some places for some purposes, whilst other places will have crowds of men and women who can find no situations. It is emphatically a case for national organisation.

The Prevention of Unemployment.

What, then, can the Government do? It can, if it chooses, prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It is emphatically not a case for merely relieving the unemployed. That is a poor business, always unsatisfactory in its working and its results, and unnecessarily very costly; but inevitable when the Government has failed in its duty of preventing unemployment. It is plainly better to prevent the occurrence of unemployment (as of cholera) than to let it occur and then relieve the sufferers. And though it is not pretended that every individual case of unemployment can be prevented—any more than we can prevent individual cases of cholera—it is now known that it is quite within the power of the Government, by nothing more recondite than using the huge orders of the various public authorities in such a way as to keep at a fairly uniform level the aggregate national demand for labour within the kingdom as a whole, actually to prevent any widespread or lasting involuntary unemployment in any part of it.

The first step in organising the Labour Market lies in systematising the disbandment. That is why it is so important (as already indicated) to provide in the same sort of way for the three or four million munition workers as for the three or four million soldiers—to secure them all pay or gratuity during a brief spell of leave, as well as adequate notice of their coming dismissal; to arrange for them all to be looked after at the Labour Exchange before their dismissal, so as to stay the aimless wandering in crowds after "will of the wisp" rumours of vacancies that will otherwise ensue; and to promote mobility by a free railway ticket (the Government being still in control of the railways). It is plainly imperative to strengthen the 400 Labour Exchanges, which are now staffed to deal, in the aggregate, only with fifteen or twenty thousand applicants per day, and which will certainly, in the first year of peace, have to grapple with soldiers and munition workers discharged in successive batches of hundreds of thousands within single weeks. A calamitous breakdown of the official machinery will only be averted by a timely addition to the staff and the premises, so considerable as probably to take away the breath of the Treasury!

But the Labour Exchange is dependent, at present, on the

goodwill and intelligence of employers, most of whom neglect to make known their labour requirements in advance of the vacancies, and many of whom still refrain from notifying them at all. It may not be practicable to make it compulsory on employers to use the Labour Exchange, though the provisions of the Merchant Shipping Act, obliging shipowners to complete all engagements of seamen through the Mercantile Marine offices (provisions found most successful in preventing unemployment among seamen) afford a useful precedent.* But would it not be possible for the Government to request the principal employers in the kingdom—notably, all the 4,000 “controlled establishments”; all the railway companies; all the dock, harbour, gas, water and electricity undertakings; all the firms seeking Government contracts in any industry; all the mines; all the factories and workshops to which the Factory Acts and the Trade Boards Acts apply; and all the firms with which the Board of Trade is in friendly communication over statistics, etc.—to agree, as an act of patriotism, in the colossal “general post” of workers that is about to take place, at least to notify all their labour requirements to the Labour Exchange?

Organise the Public Work.

The Labour Exchange, however, cannot find situations that do not exist; and we know that there is going to be a shortage, in particular trades and at particular places, of longer or shorter duration, until the revival of trade becomes sufficiently general to take off all the six or seven millions who will have to find jobs. Now, at this point trouble will arise. There are those who want to see the difficulty dealt with on what we may not unfairly call C O.S. lines—the getting of particular men and women into places by philanthropic influence and personal favour, in short, by kindly jobbery. Against this idea every Trade Union will protest, and rightly protest. What will become of the Standard Rate if it is to be left to kindly charity to get people into work? The right course is quite otherwise. The number of situations can, if only the Government chooses, be made equal to the number of applicants for them. There should be no question of “making work for the unemployed.” There need be no unemployed. What is required is to maintain at a constant aggregate the total demand for labour, by systematically organising with this object the extensive orders that the local and central Government authorities will, during the ensuing five or ten years, certainly be giving. Let us note one or two of these inevitable developments

* To make the use of the Labour Exchange as compulsory as is that of the Mercantile Marine Office does not mean, as is often supposed, that no worker will be permitted to get a situation otherwise than through the Labour Exchange; or that an employer may not take on any man he pleases. All that it would involve would be that the employer would be required to notify to the Labour Exchange how he had filled the vacant place.

Housing.

The nation will need to lay out a very large sum—possibly as much as a couple of hundred millions—in housing. The building of workmen's cottages and blocks of dwellings, very largely suspended as a builder's speculation since about 1905 because it could not be made to pay, and actually prohibited during the war, has left us with a ten years' shortage in town and country. We shall not get enough farm labourers unless we build a couple of hundred thousand new cottages.* We shall not be able to face the widespread rise in rents that will be made by the town landlords of weekly property, when the present Rent Restriction Act expires soon after the end of the war, unless the Local Authorities have actually increased by several hundreds of thousands the supply of dwellings in all the congested areas. We know, from the Census of 1911, how many hundreds of thousands of families were then living in an overcrowded condition. We know how many had only one room. We know how many had only two when the minimum requirements of decency were three or four. Great Britain needs, it may be thus calculated, at least five million additional rooms, in cottages or town tenements before the humblest third of its population can be said to be housed up to a bare minimum standard. But the Local Authorities cannot now build without a subsidy, and objectionable as a subsidy is, the Government has definitely adopted this policy. In Ireland, which has less than one-tenth of the population of Great Britain, it will be remembered that some 40,000 cottages—healthy, but unfortunately very ugly—have already been built wholly at the Government expense. This precedent is now to be partially followed for Great Britain. As long ago as November 24, 1914, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proclaimed, in a long and careful statement, how the Government would not only advance the necessary capital on the most favourable terms, but would also render it possible for Local Authorities to build without involving any charge on the rates *by making a free grant of a substantial percentage of the total cost.* Since that date nearly a dozen towns have received these free grants for housings (in addition to loans), to the amount of about 20 per cent. of the cost; and have thus been enabled to build without any charges on the rates.

What ought now to be done is for the Local Government Board to put pressure on all the Local Authorities, urban and rural, to secure sites and at once prepare plans for cottages, up to a possible total expenditure even of a couple of hundred million pounds, so as to enable as many as a million cottages, if need be, to be put in hand on the very morrow of the Declaration of Peace; and to be proceeded with in batches, quickly or slowly, according as the

* As to the rural shortage of cottages, see "The Rural Problem" (Constable, 1913), being the Report of the Fabian Society's Committee on Land Problems and Rural Development, edited by H. D. Harben.

Board of Trade reports unemployment to be setting in. Conditional on these preparations being now made by the Local Authority, the Government might renew its promise of free grants in aid of the capital cost so as to make the enterprise involve, with rents deemed "reasonable" in the locality, no charge on the rates. In no other way are we likely to get the workers decently housed. What is more urgent, in no other way can we avoid very serious disturbances when the Rent Restriction Act expires.

Schools.

There is no need to enlarge on the necessity for the same procedure of timely preparation and promise of grants (in this case, of loans and the ordinary maintenance grants), to enable every local education authority to put in hand, the very morning after peace is declared, the necessary making-good of two or three years' arrears of buildings, repairs, school furniture, books, etc., and it is to be hoped, of the promised great new developments in education. To name only one item, the calamitous shortage of teachers ought to lead to the taking into the University and other training colleges immediately peace is secured of at least 20,000 young men and women with adequate Maintenance Scholarships. These educational developments will be further discussed on a subsequent page. For the moment we need note only the opportunity they offer for keeping the aggregate volume of wage-earning employment approximately level from year to year.

"Preparedness."

Nor need we do more than mention the very considerable orders that will necessarily be given by the War Office and Admiralty during the next few years in order that the nation may have in store, in case of any sudden need for reconstituting "Kitchener's Army," enough khaki uniforms, sailcloths, blankets, boots, belts, rifles, etc. These orders for equipment to be laid up in store should be given, not just as the War Office and Admiralty think fit, but at dates deliberately arranged, just when unemployment shows signs of occurring, with a view to prevent it.

Keep the Wage-total Even.

It is, in fact, easy to foresee that in every branch of the public service there will have to be, at any rate, within five years, the same bound forward. What is needful to prevent the occurrence of unemployment is only to put brains and forethought into the work. The Government should (1) authorise, here and now, these bounds forward, which it can be foreseen must occur, and get the plans ready; (2) deliberately control the time and rate of putting all this public work in hand (including the extensive orders of all the public departments and local authorities) in close correspondence with the amount of the contemporary labour demands of the private capitalists, and in such a way as to keep the total aggregate of weekly

wages paid in the kingdom approximately at a level * There would then be—apart from individual cases and particular trades and localities in exceptional circumstances—no involuntary unemployment It can be done, and done even by the present Board of Trade, if the Cabinet would consent. And this mere rearrangement and control of the public orders, it is now statistically demonstrated, would, by the endless reverberations that it would set up, automatically prevent any unemployment on a large scale, or for any long period.

But although the Government knows how to prevent unemployment, and thus save themselves all trouble about dealing with the unemployed, and although the officials realise exactly how it can be done, the Cabinet is not prepared yet to give the necessary orders The Chancellor of the Exchequer does not want to be committed to finding all the capital that the local authorities would need, or to making the necessary increase in their grants in aid There are still some Ministers who hope, after the war, actually to cut down the public services (such as Housing and Education), instead of expanding them as is required, because they wish to reduce the supertax! The general opinion of employers is against the Government taking steps to prevent the occurrence of unemployment—they honestly cannot bring themselves to believe that there will be any more men at their factory gates than will be convenient for their foremen! The result is that the Cabinet has, so far, come to no decision on the subject; and the President of the Local Government Board has merely asked the local authorities to tell him what works are likely to be put in hand.

Unless "Labour" wakes up, and insists on the proper steps being taken in time, this Government will do what every other Government so far has done, namely, let the unemployment occur (which it knows how to prevent), and then, in the most wasteful way, grant sums of money merely to relieve the unemployed!

Yet this time the importance of preventing unemployment is greater than ever, because, as Mr. Gosling said in his presidential address to the Trades Union Congress in September, 1916, this Prevention of Unemployment is actually the key to the very serious industrial problem with which the Government is confronted.

III.—THE INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT.

Reluctant though we may be to face the fact, there is the gravest danger that peace on the battlefield will be followed by tension between employers and employed at home—indeed, by spasmodic and possibly widespread industrial war Employers are counting on being able to secure a heavy fall in wages, when several millions of men and women will be simultaneously seeking employment. But unless prices come down with a run, the conditions to meet

* One imperative need is for an Act enabling Local Authorities to secure sites for schools, housing schemes, etc., without the present interminable delays.

which war bonuses and war rises were granted *will not have changed*; and every Trade Union will fight its hardest against any reduction of rates, *which have nowhere risen in proportion to the cost of living*. Now freights are going to remain high, owing to the shortage in ships; and practically all raw materials owing to the renewed demand from Central Europe. All woollen clothing will be dear; and meat and milk may go to famine prices when Germany begins to replace its slaughtered herds, and the American Meat Combine once more gets hold of the refrigerating shaps (Why should not the Government retain its present control of these?) Rents are, to say the least of it, not likely to be lowered. All over the world the currency will long remain inflated; and this in itself causes high prices.

No More Cheap Bread.

Though bread may fall by a penny or two per loaf, it is not within human foresight likely to go back to the fourpence or fivepence per quarter of previous decades. We cannot hope to get rid of heavy taxation on tea and petroleum at least. We are accordingly in for years of dear living. Yet, unless very drastic action is taken by the Government to ensure that the aggregate number of situations is kept approximately equal to the aggregate number of applicants for them, employers will undoubtedly seek to beat down wages. The Majority Report of the recent Committee on Agricultural Employment almost openly relies on unemployment and distress in the towns to compel men to become farm labourers at the insufficient wages of the past. When the separation allowances cease, and the overtime earnings—when the school children and the grandfathers are no longer adding to the household incomes, and even the adult man goes on short time—any fall in wage-rates would seriously aggravate what may anyhow prove to be a socially disastrous Decline in the Standard of Life of the mass of the people.

Restoration of Trade Union Conditions.

But the tension will not be confined to the attempts that will be made to lower wages. The men in the engineering workshops have, at the instance of the Government, patriotically given up the regulations and customs—often originating in the shop and quite unconnected with any trade union—which they had built up in resistance to the employers' continual attempts, by "speeding up" and cutting piece-work rates, to lower the rate of payment for each unit of effort. They have (and not in the engineering industry only) submitted to autocratically determined piece-work rates without Collective Bargaining, they have yielded up their places to women and labourers, and allowed their skilled jobs to be subdivided and brought down to unskilled level; they have accepted the utmost possible acceleration of work without guarantees against the maximum output of piece-work intensity being presently con-

verted into task-work at virtually time-work earnings. The Government has sworn itself black in the face, and pledged its honour, and Parliament has endorsed the guarantee by express words in a statute, that all these new departures shall be unconditionally reversed and undone at the conclusion of the war.

Employers and Pledges.

The employers are laughing at the pledges, and openly saying that the restitution of the old conditions is physically impossible, even if it were desirable, and that, from the standpoint of maximising production and minimising expense, it is so undesirable that nothing will induce them to consent to it. Moreover, some of the leading "captains of industry" are going further. They make no secret of their intention to insist on complete control over their own factories, they will henceforth brook no interference with their decisions as to the machines to be used, the "hands" to be put to any kind of work, the speed to be maintained, the hours to be worked, the holidays to be allowed, and the piece-work rates to be given. They propose, so they declare, to treat the workmen fairly; but they intend to deal with each man or woman as they choose. This means, as they realise, a death-blow to trade unionism. They have made up their minds that, in competitive factory industry on a large scale, the only "scientific management" is autocracy.

It is doubtful whether the Government, if it decides simply to adhere to its pledged word, can enforce on the employers the *status quo ante*; especially as this might involve ousting many tens of thousands of women and labourers, and "scrapping" the machines constructed for them. What we are in danger of is the proposal of some specious alternative, privately suggested by the employers, to which some trade union leaders may be persuaded to agree, in despair of finding anything better, but which will not satisfy the members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers—the representatives of the Government then retiring from the dispute, and quibbling over the exact terms of the Government pledge—and an era of local strikes, demarcation disputes, sullenness and anger; possibly the destruction of trade unionism in the engineering industry, and the revival of the objectionable tricks of restriction of output, and refusal to make the best of machines, which are the angry workman's reprisals when he feels himself baffled and cheated.

Canon Barnett's Suggestion.

What can be done to avert such a calamity? There comes to my mind a remark of one of the nation's wisest teachers, the late Canon Barnett, of Toynbee Hall, very shortly before his death. Admiration was being expressed of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's successful audacity in the grant of Constitutional Government to a South Africa lately in rebellion. He had triumphed, it was said, not by any great political genius, but because of his simple

faith in "Liberal principles," and his honest determination to apply them. I well remember Canon Barnett turning suddenly round, and asking, "Cannot we apply Liberal principles to the Labour problem?"

Will the Government have the courage to declare that autocracy can no more be allowed in the factory or the mine than on the throne or in the castle? That after a century of Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, and Minimum Wage Acts, the claim of the employer to "do what he likes with his own" has long been obsolete; and that the time has come, as the only means of averting social disaster, to grant a Constitution to the factory; and quite frankly to recognise and insist that the conditions of employment are not matters to be settled by the employer alone, any more than by the workmen alone, but in joint conference between them; and not even for each establishment alone, but subject to the National Common Rules arrived at for the whole industry by the organised employers and employed, in consultation with the representatives of the community as a whole? The principle of conjoint control is already embodied at various points in our industrial legislation—for instance, in the checkweighman and pithead baths clauses of the Mines Regulation Acts, in the Joint Boards fixing wages under the various Minimum Wage Acts, and, again, the other day, in the clause in the Act providing for welfare work. On the other side, the employers in each great industry may presently be organising themselves, as Mr. Ernest Benn suggests,* in a National Association for the better management of scientific research, representation in foreign countries, standardisation of production, and other parts of their business.

What is needed now is for the Government, supported by the House of Commons, very definitely and decidedly to negative the claim that employers are once more making to autocracy; to insist that any National Associations of Employers cannot be allowed to refuse a constitution to their employees; to set up the necessary machinery of workshop committees and national industrial committees, formed from the trade unions concerned; and to give the decisions of these committees (which would not, any more than do the Factory Acts, compel any employer to engage in business, or any workman to accept employment) as to the minimum conditions upon which the industry shall be carried on, all the backing of law, administration, and public opinion.

A Workers' Constitution.

Such a grant of a constitution to each industry would go far to allay the discontent that may presently flame up into anger. But the mere establishment of constitutional machinery to deal with difficult problems does not in itself find solutions for them. The employers are already at work with their plans for such a factory

* "Trade as a Science" By Ernest Benn. Jarrold. 2s 6d

reorganisation as shall give them the largest possible profits. What are the Trade Union proposals for factory reorganisation? It is imperative that the workmen, if they are not eventually to be "done" in the deal, should have thought out separately for each industry and prepared in detail their own solutions of such problems as the effect of piece-work on the standard rate, the rates to be fixed for labourers, women, and boys in relation to those for skilled men, the avoidance of disputes as to demarcation, the maintenance of the standard minimum per unit of effort, and so forth. We ought to hear that each Trade Union Executive and every local Trades Council has appointed its own committee to solve these difficult problems from its own standpoint.

What the workman wants is status and security and freedom, as well as better conditions of life. But, after all, one of the biggest, immediate issues will be the amount of wages that his work will bring to him. Now on this issue five general principles stand out as of national even more than of individual importance, upon which the Government and the House of Commons and public opinion ought to insist, and for the enforcement of which in all industries every administrative device and social pressure ought to be employed.

1.—Prevention of Unemployment.

There must be (as already explained) an actual Prevention of Unemployment.

2.—Maintenance of Standard Rates.

There must, in the second place, be a very authoritative maintenance (and a very definite security for maintenance) of the existing standard rates. A degradation of the standard of life is the worst calamity that can happen to a nation.

3.—Security Against Cutting Piecework Rates.

There must be, in particular, wherever any form of piece-work remuneration is adopted, some effective means of protecting the scale of piece-work payments against the insidious degradation of the pay per unit of effort, whether by the progressive "cutting of rates," or by various forms of "speeding up," to which (as a whole century of experience has shown) unregulated individual piece-work is prone.

4.—No Limitation of Output, or Hindrance to Machinery or to New Classes of Workmen.

On the other hand, we cannot as a nation afford to permit, for this or any other purpose, anything in the nature of limitation of output, or restriction on the best possible use of machinery or new materials or processes, or hindrance to the employment of any individuals or classes for any work of which they are capable. We must simply find some other way of achieving the object.

5.—Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum.

Finally, we cannot as a nation afford to let any of our workers remain at wages, or under conditions, which do not allow of the maintenance of their strength and of a continued healthy family life. We must, perforce, start from existing conditions, inexcusably bad as in many cases they are; and only gradually build up whatever may be prescribed as the national minimum of subsistence, sanitation, education, and rest, below which no employer and no worker can, in the interests of the community as a whole, be permitted to descend. But build it up we must, at whatever cost of capitalists having to forgo some of their possible profits. It was Mr Asquith himself who said that "every society is judged, and survives, according to the material and moral minima which it prescribes to its members." Huxley warned us a quarter of a century ago that "any social condition in which the development of wealth involves the misery, the physical weakness, and the degradation of the worker is absolutely and infallibly doomed to collapse" We all admit it in general terms. But how to apply these five principles in the prevention of the industrial conflict with which we are threatened must be left for another section

IV.—THE TWO MAIN PUZZLES: WOMEN IN INDUSTRY AND "SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT."

We have seen that, whilst the grant of a constitution to the factory and the mine may be the only way to prevent the industrial conflict to which the autocracy of the employer will inevitably bring us, no constitutional machinery, however perfect, will in itself supply a solution of the problems of industrial organisation. We are warned by a whole century of experience that not even the most effective democratisation of control will prevent a disastrous lowering of the standard of life without the adoption of regulations, and especially of systems of remuneration, that will automatically counteract this constantly working tendency of competitive employment. Not even the fullest representation of the workers on joint committees will avail to prevent the recrudescence of such anti-social devices as Limitation of Output, Demarcation Disputes, and the exclusion of those "who have no right to the trade" on the part of workmen who, owing to the failure of their representatives to solve the problem, feel their accustomed livelihood slipping from them. The two main difficulties which the Government has to face in any reconstruction that will not only prevent industrial strife, but also, in the words of Mr Asquith's new pledge, "secure a fairer distribution amongst all classes of the products of our industries," are the entrance into occupations hitherto monopolised by skilled craftsmen of women and other new workers, and the great extension of the piecework which is an element in what is known as "Scientific Management"

Now, it is not irrelevant to observe that the difficulty of solving both these problems will be enormously increased or diminished according as the Government fails or succeeds in preventing unemployment. If the influences now at work to dissuade the Government from undertaking the "very serious responsibility" of daring to touch "the labour market" should prevail; if the Cabinet should decide against such a deliberate organisation of the housing, school-building, road-making, and the mass of other public orders that must anyhow be given sooner or later as will keep the aggregate demand for wage-labour approximately level, and thus substantially prevent unemployment, then any satisfactory solution of the two main puzzles may well be impossible. The Prevention of Unemployment is, in a very exact sense, the key to the position. Against being thrown into a sea of unemployment all the trades will fight like tigers.

Six-and-a-Half Million Women Workers.

Let us take first the case of the women and other newcomers in the skilled trades. There are now probably six and a-half million women "gainfully occupied" in the United Kingdom, as compared with five and a-half millions five years ago. There are apparently nearly 300,000 more than just before the war in the principal industries, over 200,000 more in commercial establishments; over 9,000 on the railways, and 7,000 in other transport work; over 63,000 more directly in the national and municipal departments—altogether perhaps 650,000 who have come in during the war, but 100,000 of these have merely shifted from domestic service, etc. Thus the war has merely increased the total number of "gainfully occupied" women by as many in two years as they increased during the preceding four or five years of peace. But, besides this very important quickening of the pace, there has been a new opening of gates. Women have been put to many kinds of work hitherto supposed to be within the capacity of men only; and they have done it, on the whole, successfully. In the same way many thousands of unskilled labourers have been put to new jobs, many of them hitherto reserved for skilled men; and they have rapidly become expert at these tasks. The women will not all wish to remain in industry when peace comes; but a large proportion—perhaps a majority—of them certainly will. None of the labourers promoted to skilled jobs will want to relinquish them. Yet the Government has definitely promised that they shall do so.

Keeping up the Standard Rate.

Whether or not we can get over this difficulty peaceably depends; it is necessary to repeat, on whether or not there are in the first year of peace thousands of men walking the streets unemployed. If the Government lets this happen (as it need not) the unemployed men will naturally not be satisfied with anything less than the fulfilment of the nation's solemn pledge, and the ousting of the women and

the newly introduced labourers from their avowedly temporary employment, the scrapping of the new machines, and the reversion in all respects to pre-war conditions, as the Government has guaranteed. 'This many employers will resist or evade, even to the extent of setting up new factories, and calamitous will be the resultant bitterness. On the other hand, if there is still work to be done, and no competent skilled men are unemployed, it would be difficult to argue, after the war as during the war, that the services of the women and of new classes of men should not be utilised. What the workmen would then mainly object to would be the chance—indeed, the certainty—of the women and the unskilled men being used as a means of undermining and reducing the Standard Rate. If the Government take steps (as it quite well can if it chooses) to make such a misuse of female or unskilled labour impossible, as well as to prevent unemployment, the Trade Unions might properly agree to release the Government from fulfilling its pledge. But not unless

Women's Wages.

It comes, therefore (with unemployment prevented), to a question of the terms on which the new workers should be employed. Now, apart from exceptional cases, we cannot, unfortunately, usefully insist that women should be paid the same as men. To enact this would mean the exclusion of women from the majority of industrial employments, because the typical woman is worth less to the employer than the typical man. It is true that the employer finds her more "docile" and more "conscientious." But she is not usually available for night-work; she does not do so much overtime, and she often works shorter hours, which suit her better. She is, on an average, absent from ill-health more than a man. She is unable, on account of physical or other incapacity, to do certain services that are occasionally required. She is usually unwilling to remain long years at her work, or to undertake additional responsibility; and she is less eligible for promotion. Where both sexes are employed, additional expense is involved for superintendence, lavatory accommodation, "welfare work," etc. Thus, at equal time wages, men would nearly always oust women. Even at equal piecework rates, if the men and women really execute the same tasks, men would be usually preferred. Now we cannot ask the six million women to propose terms which would mean to many of them,—perhaps to most of them—the loss of their situations. The women simply will not ask for wages equal to those of the men. What is required is—to use the words of that wonderful shilling's worth, the "Labour Year-Book" *—"the fixing of a rate for men and women which shall be in equitable proportion to any less degree of physical endurance, skill, or responsibility exacted from the women, or to any additional strain thrown on the men, and which shall neither exclude women on the one side, nor blackleg men on the other." It

* Published by the Labour Party. Post free from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tot Hill Street, Westminster, for 1s 5d paper, or 2s 11d. cloth.

is this delicate adjustment that the Government will have to make, perhaps by one of the devices suggested below (*prescribing minima only*, and securing by law the rigid enforcement of the minimum rates thus fixed). Only at this price can very serious trouble be averted. The same principle applies to the newly introduced unskilled men. It could equally be applied in solution of the difficulties presented by Demarcation Disputes, and by the admission of outsiders to a trade. If once the skilled craftsmen are secured against unemployment (as the Government can, if it chooses, secure them), their quarrel as to the employment of women, labourers, and men of other trades concerns only the Maintenance of the Standard Rate. This the Government can, if it chooses, also secure.

No less grave and no less complicated is the difficulty presented by the employers' insistence on what they call "scientific management." This American invention (as to which Hoxie's "Scientific Management and Labour" should be consulted †) aims at greatly increasing output. As to much of it that concerns the greater use of machinery, the provision of the very best appliances, the better organisation of the factory so as to avoid waste of time or discontinuity of work—all this amounting to a severe indictment of the knowledge and capacity of our own factory managers—we need say nothing here. Nor need we criticise the application of brains to find out how each job can be most efficiently done, least of all the discovery of the proper intervals of rest and change of motion, so as to minimise fatigue. What is dangerous is the introduction (and this is an integral part of the scheme) of payment by the piece, without any guarantee for the maintenance of the standard rate. One of the changes under the Munitions Acts, which the Government has pledged itself to reverse, is a vast extension of piecework, in one or other form, to jobs formerly paid for by time rates.

Piecework.

What is the workmen's objection to piecework—an objection in which they are now upheld by all instructed economists? It is that, however liberal may be the piecework rates fixed at the outset, managers and foremen cannot refrain, and never do refrain, as is proved by a whole century of experience in all countries, from sooner or later "cutting" the rates, when the workmen have increased their output (and the intensity of their effort). This is, of course, a fraud on the workers, who have been tempted to substitute piecework intensity for timework intensity; and then eventually find themselves giving piecework effort for no more than their old timework earnings. Against this every workman revolts. The standard rate of pay per unit of effort is thus subtly lowered. The result is, if not a series of embittered strikes,

† Published by Appleton and Co., New York. To be got at the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster. See also "Great Britain After the War," by Sidney Webb and Arnold Freeman, price 1s net (on sale at the same address).

sullen resistance to "speeding up," more or less concerted limitation of output, refusal to make the best of machines, "ca' canny" in all its forms—in short, the parlous state into which this ill-considered and, in fact, fraudulent action of the employers had brought some of our factories prior to the war.

Now, workmen do not really object to piecework as such—they usually prefer it, and more than half the Trade Unions, including some of the most powerful and most successful, actually insist on it. But what every instructed Trade Unionist fights against is a system under which the piecework rates (a) are autocratically fixed by the employer; or (b) are not settled by Collective Bargaining; and (c) do not embody some effective safeguard against a subsequent "cutting of rates," either for the same or similar jobs, or for all the work of the trade, contrary to the implied agreement to maintain the Standard Rate *per unit of effort*.

What has to be discovered and adapted to the special circumstances of each industry is some permanent and automatically acting brake on the successive lowering of the piecework rates—not in order to ensure that the individual workman shall take home undiminished earnings (comparatively a minor matter), but in order to maintain undiminished for all the workmen in years to come the Standard Rate per unit of effort. *The problem has been solved in some industries*; in fact, a whole wealth of experiment, hitherto usually ignored by employers and Trade Unionists in other industries, as by the economists, lies open to the inquirer.

Piecework Lists or Independent Rate-fixers.

The devices found successful in safeguarding the Standard Rate, whilst allowing piecework or "premium bonus" systems, seems, fundamentally, to fall into three classes. There is the collectively-bargained-for "List of Prices," unalterable by the employer, however much the workmen may earn. These piecework lists, of which hundreds are published by the Board of Trade,* are often (as in the cotton trade) of great complexity, and (as in the boot trade) successfully applied to jobs varying in minute details. Where the variations are incessant, almost every job differing from the last, the device of a salaried and disinterested Rate-Fixer, or couple of Rate-Fixers—in practice, usually the officials of the Trade Union and Employers' Association—has been found successful (as among the brassworkers and some of the coal-miners), "pricing" each new job on the agreed basis of a percentage above a standard time-rate. Where women are employed, there ought to be a pair of such Rate-Fixers, one of each sex. Failing such independent rate-fixing, an automatic brake on the employer's constant reductions was found, a quarter of a century ago, by some of the branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (have they now forgotten it?) in the Guaranteed Time and a Quarter, a standing agreement with the

* The latest volume so published is Cd. 5366 of 1910, price 2/2.

employer that, "whatever the piecework rates, every workman in the shop should always be guaranteed a minimum earnings *each week of 'Time and a Quarter.'*" The importance of this rule lay, not in preventing all cutting of rates, for this it did not achieve, but in the fact that the employer found that it did not pay to "cut" the piecework rates or premium bonus times below such a minimum level, because in such case *he failed to evoke the piecework intensity that he desired*. The workman dropped back to timework speed whenever he found he was not making "Time and a Quarter" at least.

There may well be other devices equally effective. But, in one or other way it is vital to Industrial Reconstruction to make it impossible for the employer to use either the labour of women and unskilled men, or the substitution of piecework for timework, as a means of reducing the Standard Rate of remuneration, not merely per hour, but also per unit of effort. We must not only replace the autocracy of the employer by a constitution for the factory and for the trade, but also place in the hands of the representative Workshop Committee or Trade Board some device effective in preventing, whether by the employment of women or the use of piecework, any degradation of this Standard Rate.

V.—THE NON-ADULT.

The nation does not realise to what an extent its boys and girls are helping to win the war. Among the three million workers in controlled establishments and firms fed by war orders there are literally hundreds of thousands of "non-adults," from 13 upwards. The hundred or so National Factories already at work have on their wage-rolls boys and girls between 13 and 18 to the number of tens of thousands. At Woolwich Arsenal alone there is believed to be a larger working force of boys—I will not state the number of thousands—than in any other industrial establishment in the world. Less creditable to us as a nation is the fact that boys and girls of 13, 12, and even 11 years of age are being allowed to absent themselves from school, to the number, in the aggregate, of many tens of thousands, in order to earn a few shillings a week in industry or agriculture. We have, in the stress of war, called in even the children to help the State. How are we going to make it up to them?

The non-adults will bear their full share in the suffering that peace is destined to bring by industrial dislocation. The boys and girls now serving as inadequate substitutes for men will be discharged when men can be got; the swollen pay-rolls of the 4,000 munition factories will rapidly shrink, and the boys and girls will lose their present highly paid jobs; there will be a sudden besieging of the juvenile departments of the Labour Exchanges, which (unless the Treasury sanctions a gigantic expansion of staff and premises) will be unable to deal with the rush of applicants for places; and

whilst employers will be glad enough to pick up smart youths for new occupations at "improvers' " wages (if the Trade Union does not revolt against it), there will be at least as great a risk of unemployment—indeed, the same certainty of slumps in particular trades and in particular localities—for the non-adult as for the adult.

Unemployment Among Youths.

The sudden unemployment among youths in East and South-East London will be extensive and lasting. And the failure of the boy between 16 and 21 to get immediately into a new situation when he loses his job is nothing less than a national calamity. Unemployment is bad enough, cruel enough, demoralising enough in the grown man, but any prolonged unemployment for the average manual working youth in our great industrial centres is soul-destroying. Forty per cent. of all the crime in the kingdom, so the Chairman of the Prison Commission informs us, is perpetrated by youths between 16 and 21. It is literally the fact that 80 per cent. of all the inmates of our prisons are found, on investigation, to have gone to prison for the first time before they were 21. *In the vast majority of cases their first offence was committed whilst they were unemployed.* The inference is that, important as it is that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the adults, it is still more important—nay, absolutely vital for national health—that the Government should take the necessary steps to prevent unemployment among the youths who will be discharged by the thousand when peace comes (how many thousands from the Government's own factories?).

But we cannot deal only with the particular non-adults who happen to have been engaged in "war work"—these cannot be saved from unemployment and destruction except by the means that will save equally the other workers of their own age. What the Government has to reconstruct, in order to solve this particular Problem of Demobilisation, is, in fact, our social machinery for dealing with the non-adult—what we call, for short, our educational system.

A System in Ruins.

It sounded an exaggeration when Sir James Yoxall declared in the House of Commons that "the elementary school system of this country is in ruins." But there is a sense in which this startling statement is quite true. It is not merely that the children are slipping out of school-attendance, that hundreds of school buildings have been taken for Army needs, and that the supply of teachers has been knocked on the head. What is even worse is the demoralisation of the Local Education Authorities, the "slipping up" of the machinery for securing attendance, and the sudden loss of faith in the validity of the structure which Whitehall has been painfully

building up. The nation is half-conscious of the ruin. Public opinion, as yet very little concerned about preventing unemployment, is already whole-hearted about improving our educational system. Nothing meets with more acquiescence (outside the households of Lord Midleton and Lord Cromer) than the boldest demands for educational reconstruction. The nation is prepared for an authoritative lead, and will eagerly adopt any reasonably plausible Government plan, if it is only large enough! And we have come to the point when, as Mr. Henderson emphasised in moving the vote for the Board of Education, we know that "it is a question of money, more money, and still more money." We are spending only eighteen millions of national and eleven millions of local funds on education of every kind—less than threepence per week per head. After the war the vote for the Board of Education will need to be trebled.

The Home Child.

What social provision do we need for the Non-Adult? Let us begin at the beginning. At present our Local Education Authorities are hampered because the material on which they have to work is largely spoilt when it is handed over to them. The physical wreckage among the children under school-age, due simply to social neglect, is appalling. The Local Government Board and the Board of Education are now making a good start with their schemes of maternity provision and infancy care, their "Baby Clinics" and Schools for Mothers. Up to twelve months old in most towns the Health Visitors more or less successfully look after the infants; and infantile mortality has already gone down by 30 per cent! The unguarded tract is now between the ages of one and five. Only in one or two pioneer boroughs does the Local Health Authority at all systematically look after the children in these perilous years, in which the lives of tens of thousands of our future citizens are wrecked. The London Education Authority has distinguished itself by using the device of excluding the "under fives" to turn 50,000 of them out of the infant schools into the gutters. We need (i) to make the maternity and infancy provision, now elaborately prescribed in the L.G.B. circulars, obligatory on all Local Health Authorities; (ii) to extend its scope right up to school age; (iii) to pay at least 80 per cent. of the whole cost by grant in aid in order to overcome municipal apathy.

The School Child.

So calamitous are the results of our social neglect of the Home Child that when it becomes a School Child 15 per cent. of all the millions we spend on its schooling are wasted. The Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education tells us that a million of the children at school are in so bad a state as to be unable to

get any reasonable amount of benefit. So tragic a waste demands an immediate development of the School Feeding and School Medical Treatment services.

A determined Minister of Education with anything like a free hand from the Cabinet would put such pressure on the Local Education Authorities, by honours and rewards to those who did well, no less than by holding up to public opprobrium and by reducing the grant to those who lagged behind, that he might (a) make elementary schooling genuinely obligatory and universal, even in Ireland, (b) insist on having enough really qualified teachers at decent salaries, (c) compel such a reorganisation of schools and classrooms as had already been adopted in principle at London and Bradford to bring down the maximum class to not more than forty, and the average per teacher to fewer than thirty, (d) make the leaving age everywhere effectively 14; (e) secure by-laws limiting much more severely than at present the employment of children out of school-hours, (f) get everywhere an adequate provision of Maintenance Scholarships to enable not merely the budding geniuses but all bright children to continue their education, and (g) induce every local authority to complete its numerical quota of secondary schools and training colleges.

Our Anæmic New Universities.

What would do most to invigorate and vivify the feeble score of Universities, which is all that this nation at present affords (and most of the newer among these are anæmic from a shortage of students having both brains and enough to eat), would be the establishment at each of them of at least 100 national scholarships of the value of £150 a year, given in open competition to the ablest young people of each adjacent area proposing to follow one or other brain-working occupation. Such a system of national scholarships would cost only £300,000 a year—less than ninety minutes of the war!

This sounds like an extensive programme. But it is literally true that the whole of it needs no alteration of the law. It requires only a wisely imaginative use of the grant in aid, the tactful distribution of knight-hoods to mayors, chairmen of education committees and local education officers who push their local authorities on in advance of the ruck, the incessant harrying of the laggards, with an organised campaign of persuasion of the obstructive local potentates, and the effective local publication of really stinging reports on the authorities that are most backward, with a demonstration of the injury done to the ratepayers in the shape of substantial reductions of the grant in aid. If the Minister of Education was as keen about getting his job done as the Minister of Munitions is, can anyone picture what a change there would be? What Parliament needs to do, besides at least doubling the present Education Votes, is to raise the school-leaving age, at any rate to 15.

Half-time for Adolescents.

Such education proposals are, however, the stalest of common places. What will strike the ordinary citizen as revolutionary is the demand now made on all sides—by the practical teachers, by the Government health experts, by the economists, by Lord Haldane every time he speaks—for the rescue of the precious years of adolescence from enslavement in wage-earning. These years, from 14 to 21, must now be claimed for production in the highest sense—not, as at present, absorbed in the making of material things, but dedicated primarily to the building up and training of the man and woman. We cannot create healthy and productive citizens so long as we let our boys and girls be wholly swallowed up by industrial or agricultural wage-earning at 13, or 14, or even 15. Nor will our evening class system ever suffice, in which tired teachers try to teach youths exhausted by a factory day. There is universal agreement that, if we are to have an efficient or even a healthy community, we must rescue some of the youth's time from competitive industry. *We see now that there must be, in some form, half-time for adolescents.* Even employers are coming round to agree, provided that the measure is made universally applicable throughout the kingdom, so as to prevent any competitor from taking advantage of the backwardness of his own local authority. We must re-enact, in principle, the present half-time clauses of the Factory Acts—merely substituting new ages for those now in the Act—and prohibit employers from employing youths under 18 (or even under 21) for more than thirty hours per week; with possible alternative systems allowing the devotion to training of whole months at a time, for agriculture, seamanship, etc.

The Halving of Boy Labour.

From the standpoint of Labour, this would mean, virtually, halving the number of boys in industry; and the consequent stoppage of the misuse of boy-labour for other than apprenticeship purposes. A period at which it is all-important to prevent unemployment, and especially unemployment among youths, is just the time for such a revolution. Its gradual introduction would in itself enable the Government absolutely to prevent all unemployment among young people. From the standpoint of education, the change would involve the preparation of the best possible curriculum for some millions of boys and girls at the most formative period; attending, according to the industry in which they were engaged, either alternate half-days or days, or alternate weeks, months, or seasons, for a duly organised mixture of physical and technical and intellectual training. This might be completed by whatever training in drill and the use of arms is deemed requisite. *Meanwhile there need be no interruption of industrial employment, wage-earning, or home*

life The farmer's boy, the van boy, the errand boy, the newspaper boy, the "glue boy" of the carpenter's shop, the shipyard rivet boy—if these are really the best uses to which employers can put boys—might still unfortunately continue, but the nation would at least be doing its best, by their Half-time Training, to prevent them from graduating as hoodlums and unemployed corner-boys into the gaol. We want, it need hardly be said, for all our bright boys and girls an abundance of Secondary Schools and Maintenance Scholarships. But more important than these is Half-time Continuation Schooling—physical, technical, and intellectual—up to at least 18 for those whom we now permit the employers to take wholly into their service at 14. And now is the time, just when the Government, as we may believe, is concerned to prevent the occurrence of unemployment, especially unemployment among youths, for the preparation of such a scheme of Half-time for Adolescents, to be put in force as soon as Peace is declared.

VI.—THE CONTROL OF CAPITAL.

Two unspoken anxieties haunt many of us. Shall we, amid all this destruction of wealth, have enough capital to maintain the nation's industrial pre-eminence? How can we, in face of our war losses and a staggering National Debt, afford to pay for the social readjustments required?

Now it may seem a paradox, but the economic student will at once realise its truth, that this war, like all wars, is carried on, substantially, out of national income, not out of national capital, and that there is every reason to believe that this country will come out of it with its industrial capital almost undiminished. The land is all there, with its buildings and improvements, happily exempt from any more devastation than a few bomb explosions. The machinery and plant of all kinds have actually been increased. There is no prospect of any shortage of raw materials or of food. Our herds of horned cattle are greater than ever before. We shall, it is true, have lost some of our merchant shipping. We shall have neglected many works of maintenance and repair, thus deteriorating our roads, railways, buildings, etc., and some appreciable work will be needed to adapt our whole industrial machine once more to a peace production. But, taking all this into account, it is doubtful whether the lessening of material capital has yet been greater than the current increase. And if it be objected that "credit" will be lacking, or currency, or banking facilities, let it be noted, once for all, that all this is merely a question of organisation, which can be indefinitely increased up to any extent found genuinely useful by ordinary Government action.

What is happening is that those who can spare any part of their incomes, after paying the heavy taxes and the high prices, are lend-

ing these savings to the Government.* At the end of the war the Government will probably owe to various individuals 4,000 million pounds, involving a mortgage on our earnings, for the benefit of those who lent the money, of 200 millions a year. But the aggregate capital within the kingdom is not affected by these paper transactions.

The Proprietary Class.

But although the nation's capital will still be there, substantially undiminished, we have to take account of the fact that we have allowed nearly all of it—practically all but the thousand million pounds' worth or so that is administered by the national Government and the municipal authorities, together with the fifty or sixty million pounds' worth of the co-operative movement—to be counted in law as the personal riches of private individuals, nine-tenths of it belonging to a class of about a million families, or one-tenth of the community † We are accordingly dependent on the proprietary class, which we have thus artificially created, for permission to use the land, the buildings, the railways, the shipping, the machinery, and the stocks by means of which the nation lives. Thus, although there is no reason to anticipate any deficiency in capital, the capital will not necessarily be available for the purposes for which the nation may deem it most urgently required. The owners may prefer to invest it, in its mobile form, in South America; or, for that matter, in Germany or Austria, which will be offering high rates of interest. Last century we were told to trust to the workings of the enlightened self-interest of the capitalist; to believe that where the highest rate of interest was offered for a loan (allowing for insurance against loss), there the capital was most urgently required in the public interest; that, consequently, extravagant Sultans and corrupt South American Republics, foreign armament firms, or enemy shipowners ought to be allowed to compete freely for capital with home needs; and that, as between home needs, the capitalist's preference for whisky distilleries and automobile factories over arable farming and cottage building proved that the nation did not really require the latter so much as the former.

We know now—even the economists—that this system of *laissez-faire* cannot be relied on to secure the devotion of the national capital to the national needs in anything like the proper order of the proper proportion. The capital may be there, but it will not necessarily flow where it is most urgently required—according to

* At the same time, those of us who own securities of Neutral States are exchanging these for British Government securities. These mortgages will henceforth be on the production of the United Kingdom, instead of on that of the Neutral States. This transfer of mortgages equally leaves unchanged the amount of capital in the United Kingdom.

† See Fabian Tracts, No. 8, "Capital and Land"; and No. 5, "Facts for Socialists," for the most authoritative statistics on this point.

any public estimate of requirement—*unless the Government takes care that it shall do so*. That is why we have had, during the war, a great deal of control of capital, and we see now that we ought to have had much more. *Can we afford to relinquish that control when peace comes?*

The Export of New Capital.

Take, for instance, overseas investments. At present the Treasury temporarily prohibits all public raising of capital for investment abroad, unless in exceptional cases. If, after the war, there is any doubt or difficulty about getting enough capital for (i.) the full restoration of all our home productive force; (ii.) the execution of the extensive programme of public works, national and municipal, which the Government is actually now beginning to consider, and which (let us not forget it) alone can enable the Government to prevent the occurrence of unemployment; and (iii.) all the "preparedness" that the nation deems necessary, in the way of storage of food and materials, against the chance of a future submarine blockade—then the question arises: Why allow the export of capital? Of course, there are advantages in leaving property-owners free, the capital exported goes away largely in the shape of machinery and other goods, and thus momentarily benefits particular home industries; the development of other countries through our capital is indirectly of some use to us at home; the interest on the foreign investments of our capitalists comes in commodities, and thus benefits our shipowners and import merchants; and it seems, at any rate, more profitable to the proprietary class. All this, as we have realised during the past two years, counts for very little against the public interest in having enough capital at home. There is a great deal to be said, at any rate as a temporary measure during the Great Reconstruction that the Government has to undertake, for an extension to *all new investments of British capital overseas*, public or private, of Mr. McKenna's additional income-tax on the foreign securities which the Treasury wishes to buy or to borrow. It is found quite easy to enforce such a tax by special assessment on the dividends or interest coming from the penalised source. Moreover, we ought all to be required to produce a complete list of all our investments. If any capitalist abstracts his capital from the work of national reconstruction, preferring to lend it to foreigners at higher rates of interest, let us not only stigmatise such action as unpatriotic, but also penalise it by an additional income-tax of 2s. in the £. At any rate, until such step is taken no Minister can pretend that shortage of capital stands in the way of any desirable measure of reconstruction.

Railways and Canals.

Particular forms of capital obviously need special measures of control. The railways, for instance, cannot be left as they are nor

yet be allowed to revert to private control. To buy out all the private interests at full Stock Exchange prices would cost little over 800 millions in Government Bonds; and would permit of the organisation of an entirely disinterested Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport, managed by the ablest technical experts, henceforth concerned only to serve the public and give proper treatment (including a share in control) to the employees; expending all the economies of amalgamation and improvement on better conditions of transport and of service; and yielding a fixed amount to the Treasury sufficient only to cover interest and sinking fund on the railway debt.*

Housing.

To put a stop to insanitary housing and (a far-reaching evil) in decent occupation, the nation probably needs, as has been suggested the prompt building of a million new cottages and town tenements. This will not be done by the capitalists, who gave up this form of investment ten years ago for rubber planting and petrol production. It will be done only if the Government stirs up the local authorities, and renews the offer already made, not only of favourable loans, but also of free grants sufficient to enable the municipalities to build without charge on the rates. Possibly a couple of hundred millions will be required in this way, in loans or grants, as part of the Programme of Reconstruction.

Agricultural Land.

Consider, too, our agricultural land, which, as the Board of Agriculture has just told us (Cd—8305, price 4d), produces per 100 acres of cultivated area less than half as much corn as the German land, one-fifth as much potatoes, less than two-thirds of the milk, *even slightly less meat*, and next to no sugar, of which Germany produces a great deal. It feeds, in short, only two-thirds as many people. Why? Fundamentally because the Germans have invested many millions in fertilisers and in arable cultivation. Our farmers have found it more profitable to themselves, though not to the nation, to invest little capital and to "let the grass grow." The result is our perilous dependence on the uninterrupted arrival at our ports of our food ships. Nor will any import duty on corn or guarantee of price secure the end. We shall not get our landlords and farmers to plough up their worst four million acres of grass without definite control—either by peremptory legal obligation on the private owners and farmers to cultivate; or by public ownership and leasing, under strict covenants to maintain the cultivation that the nation requires, or, finally, by State farms.

* See the fully worked out scheme in "How to Pay for the War," to be obtained from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, at 6s net; or the reprint of the chapter, "A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport," price 1s. net.

The Coal Supply.

Can we afford any longer to leave our coal mines in private hands? These 3,300 pits, belonging to 1,500 companies, are worth at the present inflated Stock Exchange prices perhaps 200 million pounds, or only six weeks' war; but they employ one-tenth of the community, and upon their uninterrupted working our very life depends. It would be well for every householder—certainly every Trade Union Branch—to learn how we could nationalise our coal production and municipalise our coal distribution; paying out every capitalist interest at full price and securing uniformly improved conditions for all the million colliers; and supply every family in the kingdom with all its coal for domestic use at a fixed and uniform National Price for Household Coal, no more liable to variation than the penny postage stamp, of one shilling per hundred-weight delivered to cellar.*

National Factories.

Before the war the Government had made itself dependent on the private capitalist ("the Armament Ring," etc.) for very nearly all the supplies that it needed—the output of Woolwich Arsenal and other public factories having been reduced to the smallest possible dimensions deliberately in order to permit more contracts to go to the capitalist firms. Now the Government possesses altogether between one and two hundred factories of its own, producing many kinds of war stores. Most of these are newly built and equipped, regardless of cost, in the most efficient manner. When peace comes the Government will want to get rid of these, and it intends at present to hand them over to private capitalists! This must not be permitted. Why should fresh opportunities for profit-making be given to private capitalists at the expense of public funds? We ought to insist on all these National Factories being retained by the Government, and kept running to their full capacity, in order to supply the national needs. When their lathes and other machines are not wanted for shells, they should be used (as are the engineering shops of the Hungarian State Railways) for making agricultural implements or motor-cars.

Can We Afford to Pay?

We come now to the second anxious inquiry: Can we afford to pay for the social readjustments required? Fortunately the war has answered this question. We see now that when Ministers postponed Old Age Pensions for nearly twenty years because the nation could

* See the completely elaborated scheme in "How to Pay for the War," to be obtained from the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster, at 6s net; or the reprint of the chapter, "The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply," price 1s. net.

not afford twelve millions a year, when Lords Goschen and St. Aldwyn shrieked with horror at the rise of the Grants in Aid, when Chancellors of the Exchequer—from Gladstone downwards—deliberately starved the Education Estimates to avoid having to increase the National Revenue—either they “did not know their job” or they were shielding the rich from bearing their share of taxation. Even the “Morning Post” sees that it will never again do for any Chancellor of the Exchequer to pretend that “the nation cannot afford it.” “We are at least sure,” declares that organ of the wealthy, “that the working classes who are fighting side by side with those who once had leisure and wealth will never again believe that there is not sufficient money in the country to provide sufficient wages and good houses.” The Chancellor’s revenue for the current year is over 500 millions sterling. The Government, which is the sleeping partner in every business firm, and the mortgagee of every private proprietor, ought never to budget for a less sum. *To reduce taxation whilst leaving urgent social needs unprovided for means that we prefer to endow the taxpayers rather than meet the social needs.* Not that we can keep the War Budget unchanged. We must, at any rate, abolish the sugar tax and reduce the tea duty. We shall, unfortunately, be urged to repeat the temporary Excess Profits Tax; though, as it only hits excess profits—profits in excess of those of the most profitable years known to British industry—there seems no reason why some similar tax should not be imposed. We must promptly remedy the shocking unfairness of the Income-tax, and especially its immoral and anti-eugenic special penalisation of lawful matrimony and an adequate family.

But, after making all proper allowances, the systematic regraduation of the Income-tax and super-tax on the scale suggested by a moderate statesman as Lord Courtney of Penwith—beginning say, with a penny in the pound on the small incomes, and rising to 16s in the pound on those of £100,000 a year—would yield, in the fairest way, all that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will need to maintain a 500 million Budget.* It is, as we see very well, mere pretence to say that the nation “can’t afford it.” It has shown that it can afford it *when it chooses.* Any hesitation over measures of social reconstruction, any denial of social justice on the ground that the nation cannot afford it, means henceforth only this, that the Government, *speaking for the payers of super-tax*, does not wish to afford it.

* See “A Revolution in the Income Tax,” price 1s net, or “How to Pay for the War,” 6s net; to be had of the Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, Westminster.

Fabian Tract No. 182.

ROBERT OWEN, IDEALIST

By C. E. M. JOAD

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ROBERT OWEN, IDEALIST.

THE main facts about Robert Owen's career as successful business man, and his endeavours to bring about social reform by means of State action, have been already described in a previous Tract treating of "Robert Owen, Social Reformer." Finding politicians unsatisfactory, the public thick-headed, and his attempts to create a Utopia on the basis of existing institutions impracticable, Owen diverted his eloquence, his energies, and his wealth to the task of setting up model communities which should realise those ideals of a rational life founded upon communal ownership of property which were peculiarly his own.

The amazing optimism with which he continuously prophesied sudden and complete moral and social revolutions, and the unflagging enthusiasm which led him to embark on new communities after repeated failures, spring from, and were in the main conditioned by, that particular view of human character for which he is perhaps most famous. It was because he believed that human nature was entirely malleable to impress, that he so continually strove to impress it with his own mark. It was because he was convinced that men could be made to lead any kind of life, that he never tired of preaching the life he wanted them to lead. Hence his practical efforts at community-forming arise directly from his psychological view of character-forming—otherwise their persistence would seem incredible.

The objects of this Tract are therefore twofold. Firstly, to give some account of Owen's peculiar view of human nature. Secondly, to describe the more important communities which resulted from that view.

PART I.

Owen's Psychology. The Five Fundamental Facts.

Owen was one of the most thoroughgoing materialists who ever lived. That is to say, he conceived of human consciousness as a purely incidental phenomenon occurring in a world of matter, and not as the essential underlying reality of the universe. He would so define the world as to leave man's soul upon it as a sort of outside passenger, or alien, as opposed to the spiritualist conception which insists that the intimate and human must surround and underlie the material and the brutish. Thus he tended to regard sequence as proceeding always from the inanimate to the animate. Whereas we most of us agree that the inanimate may have a limiting influence on the actions of the animate, Owen thought that the phenomena of consciousness were entirely caused and explained by the influence of the inanimate.

With regard to the old opposition of character and environment in the total human compound, he was continually emphasising the importance of environment, and belittling that of character. He carried this attitude to the point of denying absolutely that character was in any sense formed or controlled by the individual. It was formed for the individual by external circumstances independently of his will.

The view that the individual is in any way responsible for his character is regarded by Owen as the fundamental delusion, the arch-error, which is responsible for all the ills of society and the sufferings of the human race. He speaks of it in the fiercest terms. It is "this hydra of human calamity, this immolator of every principle of rationality, this monster which has hitherto effectually guarded every avenue that can lead to true benevolence and active kindness."

Once dragged to light by Owen's writings, this principle, "conscious of its own horrid loathsome deformity, will instantaneously vanish, never more to appear." In contradistinction to this principle, which has hitherto reigned paramount both in ethics and politics, Owen asserts his five fundamental facts, which explain the basis of human nature. The statement of and implications arising from the facts, repeated in various connections, form the contents of Owen's gospel of character, "The New Moral World."

The facts are :—

1. That man is a compound being whose character is formed of his constitution or organisation at birth, and of the effects of external circumstances upon it from birth to death. such original organisation and external circumstances continually acting and reacting upon each other
2. That man is compelled by his original constitution to receive his feelings and his convictions independently of his will.
3. That his feelings and his convictions, or both of them united, create the motive to action called his will, which stimulates him to act and decides his actions.
4. That the organisation of no two human beings is ever precisely similar at birth, nor can art subsequently form any two human beings from infancy to maturity to be precisely similar.
5. That, nevertheless, the constitution of every individual, except in the case of organic disease, is capable of being formed into a very inferior or a very superior being, according to the qualities of the external circumstances allowed to influence his constitution from birth.

Implications of the Facts.

I. EDUCATION.

Conjoin the fifth fundamental fact, and the principle that characters are formed for individuals not by them, and the supreme importance of education in Owen's system is immediately apparent.

"The Government," he says "of any community may form the individuals of that community into the best, or into the worst characters."

"That great knowledge," therefore, with which it is Owen's privilege to enlighten the world, is that "the old collectively may teach the young collectively to be ignorant and miserable or to be intelligent and happy."

Instruction of the young becomes the keystone of his system, for, unless children are rationally trained, the State cannot hope to produce citizens sufficiently intelligent to appreciate the truth of Owen's system.

The then existing education must be "scrapped" utterly. "Reading and writing do not in themselves constitute education: they are the instruments by which knowledge, true or false, may be imparted." Thus, "according to the present system children may learn to read, write, account, and sew, and yet acquire the worst habits and have their minds irrational for life."

The true object of education is to teach the young to reason correctly, to develop their critical faculty, and to enable them to sift the true from the false. Only their memories, he says, are exercised under the present system, and these are only used to retain incongruities. The most controversial religious questions, for instance, are solved in a phrase, and the answer is taken on trust. "Children," he says, "are asked theological questions to which men of the most profound erudition cannot make a rational reply; the children, however, readily answer as they had been previously instructed, for memory in this mockery of learning is all that is required."

In his conviction that children must be taught primarily to think for themselves, Owen anticipated many educational reformers. To carry out his system of education, the most capable persons in the State were to be appointed teachers. State seminaries were to be established for the instruction of the teacher, and the children to be given uniform attention in community schools.

Owen rarely condescends to details, but a sketch of the various stages in a child's education is to be found in "The New Moral World."

There are to be four classes of children in the model community:

- I. From birth to the age of five. They are to acquire the primary characteristics of Owen's system: confidence in others, unselfishness, toleration, with knowledge of simple objects. These qualities will be inculcated by the automatic action of a healthy environment.
- II. Class II, from five to ten, will "discard the useless toys of the old world." Education will be confined to handling objects, and conversations with older persons. They will help in domestic arrangements, but there will be no tasks. They will work only for "amusement and exercise."
- III. From ten to fifteen:
 - (a) Children from ten to twelve will instruct and supervise the work of those in Class II.
 - (b) From twelve to fifteen they will learn the more advanced arts and handicrafts.

They will also receive instruction in the mechanical sciences.

- IV. From fifteen to twenty, the Communists will be engaged in becoming "men and women of a new race, physically, intellectually, and morally." They will instruct the class below, and become "active producers on their own account."

A sketch of the future activities of the model Communist may as well be inserted here. His life is divided into eight stages, of which we have already described four.

- V. From twenty to twenty-five, the members, aided by the inventions of science, will be engaged in producing all the wealth required by the community. Further, they will be general directors in every branch of education and production.
- VI. From twenty-five to thirty, the main activities of the Communists will be directed to the distribution of the wealth produced by the lower classes, but this only for a few hours a day. For the rest, they will engage in study and intercourse.
- VII. Those between the ages of thirty and forty will govern the internal affairs of the community, settle disputes and administer justice.
- VIII. The eighth class, between forty and sixty, will undertake the duties of exchange of goods with other Communists, and the maintenance of friendly relations; in the course of these duties they will spend much of their time in travelling, partly on pleasure, partly on communal business.

Thus Owen maps out the whole life of man.

II. TOLERANCE AND CHARITY.

A conviction that men are in no way responsible individually for their characters will engender a universal tolerance for the shortcomings of others.

People will no longer be rewarded according to their deserts, for they are no longer responsible for their deserts. Distinctions of wealth will go the way of distinctions of birth, which are, of course, entirely irrational. Pharisaism will disappear with intellectual snobbery. Anger, jealousy, and revenge will give way to regret, perhaps, that other people's instincts are so unfortunate, but never to reproach.

"With insight into the formation of character, where is there any conceivable reason for private displeasure or public enmity?"

With this doctrine Owen lays one of the foundation stones of community life. Remove anger, jealousy, and revenge, and there is really no reason why people should not live happily together in communities, with common aims and common ownership of all property.

To remove those differences between individuals which operate in the main to create malice and enmity, Owen's system of education will act in two ways:—

First, children trained under a rational system will exhibit few

shortcomings. More especially, the desire to overreach one's neighbour in competition, which makes the majority of persons unfitted for community life, will disappear. Secondly, even if such shortcomings do exist, we shall find no cause of offence, for "rationally educated children will realise the irrationality of being angry with an individual for possessing qualities or beliefs which, as a passive being during the formation of these qualities, he had no means of preventing."

Prisons will disappear in company with workhouses. Illuminated addresses and knighthoods will be thought as illogical as satires and sermons.

Instead of blaming, "we shall only feel pity for individuals who possess habits or sentiments destructive of their own pleasure or comfort."

The problem of what to do, assuming these opinions, with the burglar who is caught stealing your silver will be solved by the considerations, firstly, that the burglar will have no incentive to steal, will, in fact, become extinct, and, secondly, that in stealing my silver he will be stealing the community's silver, which already belongs to him as much as it does to me.

Thus Owen's doctrine of character seemed to him to abolish at one blow the corrective and retributive functions of government, with all the difficulties they carry in their train.

III. THE LAWS OF NATURE.

Owen is continually reiterating the assertion that while all other systems, previous and present, have done violence to the laws of nature, his alone is in conformity with them.

"We undertake to explain the principles of nature," he says in the preface to "The New Moral World."

He conceives, in fact, of the present system of society as of something artificially imposed upon human nature which should be, and, in point of fact, has been at some period of the world's history, exempt from it. The Greeks thought that society was necessary to man, because it was only as a member of society that he could realise all that he had it in him to be. Owen felt, on the other hand, that the social structure, as it existed in his time, so far from developing, restricted the development of human nature.

Thus "it will be obvious," he says, "to children rationally educated that all human laws must be either unnecessary, or in opposition to nature's laws."

Like the Social Contract writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Owen envisaged a kind of Golden Age, existing before the institution of society, in which everybody did precisely what they pleased. One characteristic of this age was the fact that everybody lived according to Owen's principles, although, perhaps, they were never formulated. Owen's system, then, was an attempt to revive the freedom of the Golden Age, with the added advantages of a communal society somehow tacked on to it. So, under Owen's system, "none will be engaged in administering laws, at

once an improvement and a return, in opposition to the laws of nature ; or in adjudging artificial rewards and punishments to counteract those of nature, which are all wise and all efficient."

The sequence of the argument then proceeds as follows. The laws of nature are also the laws of the nature of individuals. But the laws of nature are not to be counteracted ; therefore no restriction is to be imposed upon human action, or check upon human feeling. Hence, "justice will be done for the first time to human nature by every feeling, faculty, and power inherent in each child being cultivated for its work to its full extent." It follows logically that every law which conflicts with individual pleasures, or violates any individual belief, is tyrannical and contrary to nature ; for it is Owen's belief that pleasures, being formed entirely independently of our will, "every individual is so organised that he must like what produces agreeable sensations in him."

Human laws, therefore, either (a) express our beliefs and pleasures, in which case they are expressing the laws of nature and are superfluous, or (b) conflict with them, in which case they are wrong. Owen never thought out all the implications of this doctrine. The following, however, which he recognises and accepts, appear as cardinal points in his system.

IV. (1) MARRIAGE. (2) PROPERTY. (3) COMPULSION.

(1) *Free divorce*: for there is no reason why people should continue to live together when it violates their feelings or proclivities to do so ; in fact, Owen sometimes speaks as if he accepted the full Platonic doctrine of the possession of wives in common.

(2) *No distinction of individual property*. In a state of nature things were held in common. The principle of the division of property is, further, the basis of the principle of division in the community, of the distinction between rich and poor, of poverty, of jealousy and of war. That harmony, therefore, which Owen claimed for his system can only exist if the institution of private property is abolished. There will be no difficulty about this, however, in Owen's state. Harness the inventions of science to the service of the community, and you will produce more than enough for all. Owen was tremendously impressed by the advance of scientific discovery. "In the time of your ancestors, sire," he writes to King William IV, "fifteen millions of men could produce enough to supply the wants of fifteen millions, and no more. But now, a population of twenty-five millions can, with the same expenditure of energy, supply the wants of six hundred millions." Thus, "wealth being made abundant beyond the wants or the wishes of the human race, any desire for individual accumulation or inequality of condition will consequently cease."

(3) *No compulsion*. Since no compulsion is possible where free play is to be given to every individual feeling we can say nothing either to the criminal or to the debauchee. Owen at times accepts this implication, looking to his system of education to abolish both. At others we find him faltering. Thus, although we are told that

pure affection and unreserved knowledge of each other's character is sufficient reason for any and apparently any number of sexual unions, he makes provision in "The New Moral World" that marriage shall be formal, and shall not be entered into without three months public notice, and that no separation shall take place under a year of union, and six months further notice, *i. e.*, eighteen months in all.

V. EUGENICS

At times, moreover, a tendency to flirt with Eugenics is difficult to reconcile with free play to nature and to individual choice. "We have learnt to improve the breed of the lower animals," says Owen, "but in the much more important matter of breeding human beings we are content to leave all to chance." Regulations are therefore laid down to prescribe only the unions of the fit; which seems rather unfairly to penalise the unfit for what of course they are not responsible. Such minor inconsistencies abound in Owen's work. It would, however, be wasted labour and captious criticism to continue to score academic points against a system which appears as an ebullition of Quixotic enthusiasm, and yet, strangely enough, a movement of sound common sense, rather than as a logical structure, watertight in every compartment, propounded to delight Dons.

PART II.

The Community Ideal.

It is undoubtedly to Robert Owen that the conception of the community in the modern sense must be attributed. The promulgation of his ideas forms a landmark, it is the beginning of modern Socialism. The idea arose directly out of the distress caused by the cessation of the European war in 1815. In 1816 a public meeting of the "Association for the Relief of the Manufacturing and Labouring Poor" appointed a committee to enquire into the prevailing distress, under the presidency of the Duke of York. Of this committee Owen was a member. Having impressed himself upon the committee by a powerful speech, in which he ascribed the prevalent distress as due to (1) the cessation of the extraordinary demand occasioned by the war, and (2) to the displacement of human labour by machinery, Owen was commissioned to draw up a report to the committee. This report, also called the "Plan for the Regeneration of the World," embodies for the first time a definite statement of the community theory. Any successful plan which takes into account the present demoralisation of the poor must, says Owen, "combine means to prevent the children from acquiring bad habits, and . . . provide useful training and instruction for them; it must provide proper labour for adults, direct their labour and expenditure so as to produce the greatest benefit to themselves and society, and place them under such circumstances as shall remove them from unnecessary temptations and closely unite their interest and duty."

* * * * *

To serve these ends the working class are to be gathered together into an establishment; not too small, or else the cost of superintendence would be too high; not, on the other hand, too large to be effective. Hence the community of 500 to 1,500 persons. The community should be self-sufficing, and its members were therefore to engage in various branches of agriculture and manufacture. All were to work at suitable tasks, according to their ability. The necessary capital to build the required establishment was to be raised by voluntary subscription or advanced by the Government. Thus three main advantages are aimed at in the communistic scheme:—

- (1) It is the simplest and most effective method for educating the children of the poor.
- (2) It enables a greater population to be supported in a given area than under any other conditions.
- (3) It is so easy to put in practice that it may more conveniently be started than a new factory.

The original plan, then, in germ aimed simply at finding employment for the poor. Owen's optimism once having grasped the idea, saw far and quickly. A month later we find him stating not only that the community system was the only possible form of society for the whole world, but that, when it had once been promulgated by himself, "the principle and plan are so fixed and permanent that hereafter the combined power of the world will be found utterly incompetent to extract them from the public mind. Silence will not retard their course, and opposition will only give increased celerity to their movements."

The scheme was put forward under fashionable patronage, the papers were not unfavourable, and Owen was ingenious enough to propitiate the press as a customer and propagandise the country as a prophet at a single stroke by buying 30,000 copies of the papers containing his plan and distributing them to the clergy of every parish in the kingdom.

In 1819 the Duke of York held a meeting to appoint a committee to report on Owen's plan. The report whittled away the full-fledged communism of the plan to a joint-stock enterprise on a large scale. According to the report, the workmen would indeed feed in common and be housed in the same building, but "they will," says the committee, "receive their wages in money, and the mode in which they would dispose of them will be entirely at their own option."

A wealth of criticism and controversy centred not only round the extreme measures of the original plan, but even the milder recommendations of the other. The main point of vantage of the attack was the economic one.

Were Mr. Owen's communities, it was asked, to be self-sufficing or not self-sufficing? If they were to be the former, the number of workmen would not be sufficient to secure the sub-division of labour essential to modern processes, and the cost of production would be

increased; if the latter, and barter and exchange were permitted with other bodies, the community would lose many of those exclusive advantages for which alone it had been formed, and would become subject to the commercialism and fluctuations of ordinary markets.

Owen met such objections by emphasising the enormous ease and wealth of production which modern machinery had made possible, the importance of which, as we have already seen,* he continually tended to exaggerate. The colonists were to labour in a "community of interests." There would be no disputes either about the division of property or with neighbouring communities, because all "would produce the necessaries and comforts of life in abundance." Nobody, at present, says Owen, wants more than his fair share of air and water, simply because we have these things in abundance. The same would happen to property if society were rationally organised.

Despite, however, Owen's continual propaganda, despite the elaboration of his scheme contained in the "Report to the County of Lanark," the country still remained incredulous, and it was left to America to be the recipient of the first model Owenite community.

New Harmony.

Early in 1825 there assembled at New Harmony, Indiana, several hundreds of persons drawn from various parts of the United States to make a practical experiment in Communism. New Harmony had previously been the abiding place of a religious sect, the Rappites, who, cemented by a narrow and intense religious creed, had themselves not unsuccessfully grappled with the problems of Communism. The land was fertile, the climate good. Owen in 1824 had paid £30,000 down for the village as it stood.

The society was to be open to all the world except "persons of colour." The existing situation of the houses would not permit the establishment of an ideal community in all its completeness forthwith, nor would the inhabitants be able to adjust themselves to Communism without training. The society was at first to achieve only temporary objects; it was to be a half-way-house on the road to the communistic goal, in which materials were to be collected and preparation made for the final burst from "the chrysalis stage of semi-individualism into the winged glory of full Communism."

Accordingly, although at first there was to be pecuniary inequality in view of the superior talents or capital which certain members were bringing into the society; although members were to bring and to keep their own furniture and effects; although individual credit was to be kept at the outset for each member at the public store for the amount of work done and against it a debit registered for the amount of goods supplied: although, in short, these clogging traces of an obsolete individualism were still temporarily to cling to the embryo community, Owen hoped and stated that within three years the

* See section on "Community of Property," above.

members would be prepared to constitute a community of equality "and so for ever bury all the evils of the old selfish individual system."

The response to the appeal for members was somewhat overwhelming at first, both in quality and quantity. Robert Dale Owen, the founder's son, describes them as a "heterogeneous collection of radicals, enthusiastic devotees to principle, honest latitudinarians and lazy theorists, with a sprinkling of unprincipled sharpers thrown in." Of many it seems to have been true that their only credentials for the ideal world to come were constituted by their total failure in the world that is. A few of the most unsatisfactory were weeded out, but, in pursuance of Owen's principle, no general process of selection seems to have been exercised.

In spite of this, however, Owen on his return to New Harmony in January, 1826, after a visit to England to collect men of science and learning to leaven and instruct the community, found the experiment so far advanced that he was induced to cut short the period of probation and constitute immediately the finally developed community.

A committee of seven were elected to draw up a constitution. It will be as well to give the main articles of "Union" in full, as they embody fairly well what may be taken to be the main tenets of the community ideal, whether realised or not, aimed at in all the Owenite experiments.

Objects of New Harmony.

"All the members of the community shall be considered as one family, and no one shall be held in higher or lower esteem on account of occupation.

"There shall be similar food, clothing, and education as near as can be, furnished for all according to their age and, as soon as practicable, all shall live in similar houses and be accommodated alike.

"Every member shall render his or her best service for the good of the whole."

The governing body was to be constituted as follows :

Agriculture.	} Should each form one department. Each department should again be divided under intendants. Each intendant was to choose four superintendents. All the officers with the addition of a secretary were to form the executive council. The real estate was to be vested in the community as a whole.
Manufactures	
Literature, Science,	
Education.	
Domestic Economy.	
General Economy.	
Commerce.	

We shall have cause to comment on the amazing intricacy of the governing body when we come to consider the community ideal in general. In the meantime it may be considered that complete communism was established. There was to be no discrimination between one man's labour and another's, and no buying and selling within the bounds of the community. Each was to give of his labour, according to his ability, and to receive food, clothing, and shelter according to his needs.

Success of the Community.

For the year following the emergence of the society into full communism all went well. A paper called the *New Harmony Gazette* gives a glowing account of the activities of the society. "The society is gradually becoming really as well as ostensibly a community of equality, based on the equal rights and equal duties of all. Our streets no longer exhibit groups of idle talkers, but each one is busily engaged in the occupation he has chosen for his employment."

Robert Dale Owen, arriving in 1826, is particularly enthusiastic. There were concerts, weekly dances, and all manner of social intercourse in the community hall; there were weekly discussions, and complete freedom of view was allowed. The housing, it is true, was of the simplest, and the fare of the rudest, while there was plenty of hard work to do. But there does seem to have been a real spirit of unity and enthusiasm pervading the community in the early days. Many distinguished persons also came to visit and observe the settlement.

Signs of Breaking-up.

From one of these latter, the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, we have the first note of discord. He observed in particular two disquieting signs: the extreme frugality of the living, and the difficulty of amalgamating the different social grades. This last is significant. We are told that at the dances the "working men did not join in the dances in the public hall, but used the newspapers scattered on the table." . . . While, when partners were assigned for the cotillion, "the young ladies turned up their noses at the democratic dancers who often fell to their lot." In the lectures, the work, and the amusements alike, the better educated classes kept together, and eschewed their social inferiors. Some such social divergence was probably the real cause of the split of the main community into two smaller ones, Maclurra and Feiba Peveli. Robert Owen finds only cause for increased optimism in this duplication of communities. Both societies contemplated pure Communism, it is true, and we find Owen saying that "the formation of communities is now pretty well understood among us, and is entered upon like a matter of ordinary business." But it is to be feared that Owen was gilding his facts to reflect his expectations. Divergence in the main community cannot be looked on as a healthy sign, and by 1827 no less than seven different communities had evolved from the parent society in a similar manner.

Already in 1826 we hear of dissension in the society. The real estate of the society was to be transferred from Owen to twenty-five representatives. Apparently, however, so much confusion arose in the financial affairs of the community that the transfer was never accomplished. The members complain that they are stinted in food allowance (two meals a day, costing, on an average, about three-pence in all, constituted their diet), while Owen is sumptuously regaled at the tavern. The accounts are complicated, and far too

large a proportion of the members are engaged in the unproductive drudgery of clerkships. Thefts of community money occur.

Three changes of constitution took place during the next year, 1827, and an editorial in the *Gazette* of 1827 practically owns the scheme a failure.

We hear that "the whole population, numerous as they were, were too various in their feelings and too dissimilar in their habits to unite and govern themselves harmoniously in one community." Again, and very significantly, the admission is made that "the deficiency of production appeared immediately attributable in part to carelessness with regard to community property; in part to their want of interest in the experiment itself—the only true incitement to community industry; and these, again, were to be traced to a want of confidence in each other, increased by the unequal industry and discordant variety of habits which existed among them."

In fact, all the bogeys visioned and marshalled in critical array by the Individualist, when making orthodox assault on Communism, do really seem to have appeared, and in May, 1827, the parent community was formally dissolved.

Dissolution of Community.

At the dissolution of the parent society into five separate villages, the inhabitants of which voluntarily selected each other, Owen offered land and pecuniary assistance to anyone who wished to settle on the estate. Of the inhabitants, all who did not join one or other of the daughter communities were warned that they must either support themselves by their own industry or leave New Harmony. "Under the circumstances," says Owen, "many families left New Harmony with their feelings more or less hurt." Even now Owen's faith does not fail him. "The cheering prospects before the daughter communities," he tells us at this time, "induce a belief that nothing can prevent a spread of the social system over the United States."

After this we hear little of the future history of New Harmony. In April, 1828, Owen, after a visit to England, returned to the place, and in a public address to the inhabitants practically confesses that the great experiment has failed.

Speaking of the leases of land that had been made a year previously to the daughter communities, he says: "Upon my return, I find that the habits of the individual system were so powerful that the leases have been, with a few exceptions, applied for individual purposes and for individual gain, and in consequence they must return again into my hands. This last experiment has made it evident that families trained in the individual system, founded as it is upon superstition, have not acquired those moral qualities of forbearance and charity for each other which are necessary to promote full confidence and harmony among all the members, and without which communities cannot exist." This confession on the part of the founder sounded the death-knell of New Harmony. In June,

1828, Owen bade farewell to the place, and the relics of the community soon lapsed into complete Individualism.

Queenwood.

After an interval of some dozen years, marked by several abortive attempts to establish communities, and by numberless societies formed for that purpose, the ideal once more materialised in the settlement of Queenwood, at Tytherly, in Hampshire. Queenwood was started and financed by the "Community Society," founded by Owen. Each branch of this society which subscribed £50 for the enterprise was entitled to nominate one of its members to join the community. In 1839 the members, to the number of some sixty, entered upon possession of a large farm at Tytherly. Once again, however, no real process of selection appears to have been exercised. Dissension took place in the first few weeks in the community, members were asked to resign, and the chosen residue, some nineteen in all, were entrusted with the whole management of the experiment. After numerous early struggles, mainly financial, into which it is unnecessary to enter, the community was fairly established in an apparently flourishing state by 1842. They were in full possession of a magnificent building, costing some £30,000, some six hundred people had now been collected to inhabit it, and a sketch of the life of the place at the time, given by a visitor, who writes in the *Morning Chronicle*, signed "One who has Whistled at the Plough," is full of interest.

After a description of the fields, garden, and outside of the building called Harmony Hall, we hear next of the kitchen. When the writer entered, three or four women were washing dishes with incredible speed and the aid of a mechanical contrivance. The kitchen was fitted up with every modern convenience, and communicated with the dining hall by a tunnel, along which ran trucks containing plates, dishes, etc. A bathroom and the sleeping accommodation are also described. On the estate itself we are told of the activities of builders, gardeners, brickmakers, roadmakers, and shepherds. Labourers had been hired from the neighbouring villages, and were paid at nine shillings a week, a wage apparently considerably in excess of the normal rates for Hampshire at that time.

An account of the behaviour of the Queenwood Socialists is given in a letter refuting the doubts recently expressed by the Bishop of Exeter respecting their morality:—

They are bringing, from all parts of the kingdom, the best improved implements and methods of working. . . . Amid a poor population they are creating and enjoying wealth, amid an ignorant population they are dispensing education; amid an imperfectly employed population they are spreading employment; amid a population not remarkable for moral conduct they are showing themselves an example which compels the respect of all who know them, and who at first distrusted them. If their principles are as dangerous to society as has been often said, what is to be done to counteract them? The anathemas of the bishops neither sink their thousand acres in the sea nor set a blight upon their crops.

Another Socialist visitor gives us a description of their meals. "Coffee without cream and buttered bread form the breakfast, pud-

dings and dainty vegetables the dinner. Meat is not eaten." The visitor fed on cauliflower with sauce, a turnip nicely prepared, a potato moulded into tempting shapes, and home-made bread. Certainly the Socialists did not expend their substance in riotous living. And yet, in 1844, the committee are faced with a deficit of £2,900 on the year's working, and new managers, "business men," are elected. Even they could not stave off the impending financial bankruptcy, and by the summer of 1845 the residents had melted away and the enterprise ended.

Only the fees from the community school had kept the settlement going for as long as six years; and before we examine some of the causes which led to the failure of New Harmony, Queenwood, and similar enterprises, we may pause a moment for a brief view of Owen's educational ideals working in practice in the communities we have described.

Community Schools.

Owen held that the individualistic tendencies of men and women, as he found them, were largely grown and fostered by the competitive spirit prevalent in the normal school. The one incentive to work was to do better than your neighbour. If you did notably better than your neighbour—or, as Owen would say, over-emphasised your individuality at the expense of his—you were given a prize; if notably worse, the cane. Had he known of Nietzsche's "Will to Power," he would have recognised in the existing school system a good example of its working. Hence, in the New Harmony Schools no rewards and no punishments were permitted. The boys, a lawless lot, were restrained and disciplined by sheer commonsense and good will on the part of Robert Dale Owen, the head-teacher. As the interest of the work itself was the only incentive recognised for the doing of it, it was plain that dull and informative textbooks would not succeed. In this matter, again, Owen held peculiarly enlightened views. He recognised that teaching does not necessarily involve a conception of a child's head as an empty box which you fill with facts as you fill a jar with jam. It was possible, he felt, to take into account the aptitudes of each individual child, and to let them to some extent dictate the teaching, instead of laying down a uniform curriculum for all; while a sense of discipline could be inculcated by setting the older children, as a reward of proficiency, to instruct the younger.

Hence we are told that the boys and girls at New Harmony "have a very healthy look, are cheerful and lively, and by no means bashful. The girls are as little oppressed as the boys with labour and teaching. These happy and interesting little children were much more employed in making their youth pass as happily as possible."

Each boy was taught a definite trade from the very first, and the rest of his education moulded accordingly. Apparently the children were not overfed, rose at five o'clock, saw their parents not more than once a year, and were otherwise subjected to a Spartan discipline.

At Queenwood a school was started on Owen's principles, the fees for which were £25 a year, including clothing, and to which the children of people who were not members of the settlement were admitted. The school was one of the few financial successes of Queenwood. In 1844 it numbered ninety-four children, of whom sixty-four were paying fees. The curriculum embraced the widest range of subjects, including astronomy, chemistry, anatomy, painting, vocal and instrumental music, land surveying, French, and German. The school, however, came to an end at the collapse of the settlement. This apparent failure does not impair the excellence of the system on which the schools were based. In education, perhaps, more than any other subject, Owen saw far in advance of his time, and it is only to-day that we are tentatively beginning to pay practical tribute, in the shape of schools on Owenite lines, to the merits of a system which has been loudly acclaimed in theory for years past.

Orbiston.

The Community of Orbiston, though prior in date to the Queenwood venture, has not been described hitherto, as Owen himself was not directly concerned with the founding of the community. He was, however, interested in the experiment, which drew its inspiration from his teaching, and he once visited the place.

In 1825 Abram Combe, a successful Edinburgh business man, who had become an ardent convert to Owen's system, associated himself with two or three sympathetic capitalists, and purchased the estate of Orbiston, about nine miles east of Glasgow.

An enormous stone building was here planned for the accommodation of a projected community, of which the left wing only, holding some three hundred persons, was ever finished.

On Saturday, April 8th, 1826, the new settlers took possession, although the building was still incomplete. The objects of the community were practically identical with those already described at New Harmony and Queenwood. Each adult was to have a private room, but all the cooking and eating arrangements were to be in common.

A special feature of interest, however, was introduced in the provisions with regard to children. In each of the other communities we have noticed, the care and education of the children was to be a charge on the community. At Orbiston it was agreed that each child should be debited with the entire cost of his maintenance and education, in the confident expectation that, on growing up, the children would willingly repay the sums expended on their education out of the profits of their labour. Unfortunately, as the community only lasted for a year and a half, it was never possible to judge whether these optimistic expectations were justified.

As at New Harmony, no principle of selection with regard to the members of the community appears to have been exercised. "A worse selection of individuals—men, women, and children—could scarcely have been made," said one of their number. They were

described as "a population made up for the most part of the worst part of society."

Combe, however, justified his action in admitting all comers by insisting on the truths of Owen's system. He explained: "We set out to overcome ignorance, poverty, and vice; it would be a poor excuse for failure to urge that the subjects of our experiment were ignorant, poor, and vicious." As Combe maintained the strictest adherence to the Owenite ideals of no compulsion and *laissez faire*, the communists were at first left without organisation or direction of any kind. Each was to act on his own account, and the only incentive to work was that of loyalty to the community. In these circumstances the familiar traits of individualism began at once to reappear. Those who wished appropriated to themselves the fruits of their labour; those did not, acted on the principle of taking as much from the community and giving as little to it as possible.

Consequently, Combe was forced, in order to keep the community going, to take in hand some measure of organisation. Squads were formed from among the communists, according to the capacities of the workmen. There was an iron foundry, a horticultural company, a dairy company, and a building company, whose first task was to complete the unfinished community buildings. Similarly, there were squads of hatmakers, clothworkers, and shoemakers, the necessary capital for each of these industries being provided as loan by the initiators of the community.

The domestic arrangements were divided among the women in a similar way. Payment for work done was given at ordinary market rates by book credit at the communal store, and the members were at first permitted to hire their labour to outside employers. In September, 1826, however, the members passed of their own accord the following resolution, affirming the principle of equal remuneration for all kinds of labour, according to the time given:—

That all the members of the society unite together to produce a common stock out of which all our common expenditure, hereafter to be agreed upon, will be paid, and that an equal share of the surplus of our labour be placed to the account of each member of the community, according to the time occupied by each.

At the same meeting the members agreed to take over the ownership of the land and premises from the proprietors, paying them five per cent. interest on their outlay, and ultimately the whole of the capital advanced, so that the community should be in every sense the owners of their dwelling-place.

By the spring and summer of 1827 the community appears to have attained a very real measure of success. The external aspect of the settlement had considerably improved. Roads had been made, and the gardens were well kept. The iron foundry was doing well, and the domestic arrangements under the squads of women were running efficiently. The boys, at first unusually unruly, had been reduced to cleanliness and order, without any grave departure from Owen's principles. The communists were, above all, remarkably happy. One lady member writes: "It is like another world. . . I have been at a meeting last night, and such mirth I never

knew "There is dancing three times a week. Indeed, there is nothing but pleasure, with the best of eating and drinking." Nor did the stress of making ends meet preclude leisure for the cultivation of the arts. The boys were taught music, preparatory to the formation of an orchestra; and, as a crowning achievement, a theatre was actually built, and plays performed by the members. At this stage (summer, 1827) Owen paid a visit to Orbiston, and found the community afloat on the high waters of success.

Break-up of Orbiston.

Signs of disaster were not wanting, however, even while matters presented so fair an outward show.

It has already been noticed that all comers had been admitted at the opening of the settlement, and many abused to the full the privileges granted by the communist system. The method by which credit at the communal store was entered to the account of each member, according to the number of hours work returned, was particularly open to abuse. Members were constantly cheating the timekeeper by returning more hours than they had actually worked, and so inflating their credit at the store.

A large section of the communists worked just sufficiently to procure a requisite amount of food and clothing at the common store, for the remainder of their time hiring out their labour for wages to outside employers. Thus they were enabled to live in what was comparatively a state of luxury, while the more conscientious members were labouring and stinting to maintain the public burdens. Thus, in June, 1827, out of two hundred and ninety-eight persons, only two hundred and twenty-one fed at the public mess. The remaining seventy-seven fed privately, being enabled by their outside earnings to purchase at the store food superior both in quantity and quality to that which fell to their more public-spirited fellow-members. It is further hinted that some of the surplus food purchased by the individualistic seventy-seven was exchanged with outsiders for commodities which the exchangers would have been better without.

In August, 1827, Combe, the founder, died. His brother William endeavoured to carry on the community for a few weeks after his death, but from September, 1827, onwards our records cease entirely. All we know is that William Combe, probably under pressure from the mortgagees, gave all the members notice to quit the premises in the autumn of 1827, and that the whole concern was shortly afterwards sold by public auction.

There can be no doubt that financially the community was a great failure, that two at least of the founders lost all their money in the experiment, and that lack of capital accounted for the abrupt close of the venture.

Co-operative Societies.

The communities described above were by no means the only expression of the effects of Owen's teaching. Another important

development is now to be traced which resulted in the formation of co-operative societies. The rise of these societies, as contrasted with the parallel growth of communities, seems to have been due to the feeling that, assuming the validity of the main contentions of Owen's doctrine, it was still true that any attempt on the part of the working classes to better their condition must, to ensure success, originate among themselves. The communities had been artificial structures, in the sense that they had been founded from outside, and subsisted on funds provided by a few wealthy men. When outside support was withdrawn the communities went smash.

Referring to such attempts and their wealthy promoters, the *Co-operative Magazine* says: "Since their way is not our way, there could hardly be that unanimity and boundless confidence in a community established by them that there would be in one founded upon a system of perfect equality, every member of which may say, 'This is ours and for us.'"

Between 1820 and 1835 a considerable number of co-operative societies were formed, implicitly or explicitly, as a result of this conviction.

Their immediate objects are defined by the editor of the *Brighton Co-operator* as follows, though there were, of course, numerous varieties: "To protect their members against poverty, to secure comforts for them, and to achieve independence." The means to these three ends are, first, a weekly subscription from the members to secure capital to trade with; second, the manufacturing of goods for themselves; "lastly, when the capital has still further accumulated, the purchase of land and living upon it in community."

The immediate method by which profit was to be secured for the co-operators, and the chief advantage of the co-operative system, lay in the exclusion of the middleman. William Thompson, author of the "Distribution of Wealth," one of the ablest exponents of Owen's system, had done much to inspire the movement by his insistence on the doctrine that, as all wealth is the product of labour, the labourer has an indefeasible right to the whole of what he produces. He then goes on to define the primary object of a co-operative community formed of the producing classes to be the acquisition of the whole of the fruits of their labour by means of "mutual co-operation for the supply of each other's wants, and equal distribution amongst all of the products of their united industry."

Thus two more or less distinctive stages can be traced in the development of these societies:—

1. They were joint-stock trading enterprises, the goods produced by the members being accumulated in a common store. These goods were to be retailed to the members at practically cost-price, and to the outside public at a considerable profit, which was to go to a common fund. Thus the middleman and the capitalist were abolished together.

2. Out of the profits so realised, and an accumulation of weekly subscriptions, land was to be purchased and a community formed, wherein all the more revolutionary tenets of Owen's system, more

particularly with regard to the education of children, were to be put in practice. In this second stage incomes were to be pooled and all possessions held in common.

The first of these societies to be noticed, the London Co-operative Society (1824), placed in the forefront of its activities the popularisation of Owen's views. The "Crown and Rolls," in Chancery Lane, the headquarters of the society, witnessed nightly debates between Owen's followers and the individualist members of the young Liberal Party, including John Stuart Mill.

A plan was formed for the establishment of a community within fifty miles of London, and suitable farms were advertised for. Only Owen's return from America was awaited to put the project into operation.

As in the case of the Dublin Co-operative Society (1826), which was formed with the same object, and to which some thousands of pounds were subscribed, it does not appear that this project ever passed beyond the stage of optimistic anticipation.

The Devon and Exeter Co-operative Society of 1826, financed by a Mr. Vesey, seems to have been the first whose plans for a community passed beyond the paper stage. A small estate near Exeter was actually purchased, and thirteen co-operators started to prepare buildings for the expected communists. A month later twelve cottages were ready. Mr. Vesey, however, soon after this period withdrew his financial support, and the original settlement was abandoned.

In August, 1827, a fresh farm was purchased, crops were harvested, and several trades started. Although no new recruits for the society could be obtained, the prospect was regarded as not by any means discouraging. From this point, however, all record of the society in our only authority, the *Co-operative Magazine*, ceases.

In 1826 a more hopeful venture, independent of outside support, entitled the Co-operative Community Fund Association, was started. The objects of this association were identical with those already mentioned. The new departure lay in their method of obtaining the funds. £1,250 was the requisite capital aimed at, to be raised by means of fifty shares of £25 each. The shares were to be obtained by a weekly subscription of not less than four shillings from each member. When £500 had been thus accumulated, the purchase of land for a community was contemplated. The children of the members were to be supported at the common charge, and the government of the contemplated community was to be strictly democratic, consisting of committees elected from the members by the members, and sitting for short terms of office only.

With the establishment of the Auxiliary Fund by the London Co-operative Society in 1827, a new departure was made. From this time forward the characteristic feature, both of this and of the other societies whose course we are tracing, is the development of co-operative trading enterprises. Henceforward the second of the two objects noted above, the community ideal, tends to become more and more subordinated to the first. The general store or

shop, financed by the Auxiliary Fund of the Co-operative Community Fund Association, is the first step in a course of developments which ended in the famous Owenite labour exchanges.

The general store was primarily designed for the sale of articles produced by the members of the association. Before long, however, provisions and other goods in common use, by whomsoever manufactured, were admitted into the store and sold to the members at wholesale prices.

The store was very successful, and great hopes were formed of extending it. An optimistic prophecy contemplated the association as being in possession of one such repository in each of the main thoroughfares of London, which, by diverting the tide of riches from its present tendency to flood the pockets of capitalists and middlemen into the pockets of the producers, i.e., the members of the association, would "emancipate the millions from the control of the units"

The Union Exchange Society, 1827, was also formed about this time. The members agreed to meet together once a month, and sell each other such goods as they could command, ten per cent. being levied on the sales and handed over to a common fund, which was to be distributed equally among the members. Tea, bread, flour, boots, umbrellas, and brass and tin ware were sold in this way.

The Brighton Co-operative Provident Fund Association, founded with the same objects as the Union Exchange Society, had a much longer life. It started with a membership of one hundred and fifty, each member paying a penny a week subscription into the common funds. Shortly afterwards this was transformed into a trading association, with a capital in £5 shares, forty of which were taken almost at once. The association issued a circular, stating that they regarded "the real cost of all commodities to be the amount of labour employed in preparing them for use."

In order, as far as possible, to secure that the exact cost of production and no more should be paid, a joint store, repository, or exchange was established, "in which a confidential agent will receive from members of the association such articles as they produce, and, according to a scale authorised by a committee or council of work, give them an order for other commodities in store to an equal value at prime cost, or a note for the value of so much labour as is brought in, which note may be cancelled when articles of that value are issued for it, so that the labour notes may always represent the quantity of goods in store and work unrequited" (*Co-operative Magazine*, November, 1827).

It will be seen that it was but a step from a project of this kind to the complete labour exchange system.

Little more remains to be said of the co-operative societies. The Brighton Association, whose objects have just been described, is considerably the most important. It lasted for several years, started the earliest provincial co-operative magazine, the *Brighton Co-operator*, and exercised the greatest care in the selection of its members, to which fact in particular its success was attributed.

By 1830 there were no less than three hundred co-operative societies in the United Kingdom. In 1831 the first co-operative congress was held. In 1832 the number of societies had risen to from four to five hundred. These societies were becoming more and more directly simply co-operative trading associations, and the legitimate development of this aspect of the movement into labour exchanges soon followed. It is interesting to note, however, that these early co-operators never thought of competing for profit with capitalist enterprises. They were simply anxious that each man should receive the due reward of his labour, and for the great majority the immediate necessity of getting a living thrust the more inspiring aims of Owen's teaching into the background. Trading bazaars and labour exchanges took the place of communities.

The Labour Exchanges.

It is in the Report to the County of Lanark that we first find Owen suggesting that as "the natural standard of value is human labour," a standard labour unit should be established for purposes of exchange.

The inadequacy of the monetary currency system, which became a subject of acute controversy between 1830 and 1834, and was regarded by many reformers as an important factor in the prevailing poverty of the masses, together with the possibilities opened up by the stores and bazaars of the co-operative societies, combined to direct Owen's attention about this time to the question of evolving some satisfactory system of labour currency. Owen was at this time the editor of a paper called the *Crisis*, and in an editorial for June, 1832, thus states the theory which inspired the labour exchanges: "Hundreds of thousands of persons of all the various trades in existence rise every morning without knowing how or where to procure employment. They can each produce more than they have occasion for themselves, and they are each in want of each other's surplus products." He goes on to point out that the usual course then pursued is (1) to convert the goods into money by selling them to a middleman, and (2) with that money to buy the articles required again from a middleman, who thus intervenes at two points in the transaction, and diminishes the real value of the labour expended by the profits he keeps for himself.

"Now there is no necessity for the middleman," says Owen. "Producers can do without him if they merely want to come in contact with each other, and they can exchange their respective produce to their mutual advantage and to the advantage of the general consumer."

A standard of value and a medium of exchange is, however, required. The argument then proceeds as follows: All wealth proceeds from labour and knowledge. Labour and knowledge are generally remunerated according to the time employed. Hence time should be the standard or measure of wealth, and notes representing time or labour value will be the new medium of currency.

In practice the doctrine lost something of its simplicity in view

of the fact that different kinds of labour were paid at different rates, and an hour's labour expended by a skilled mechanic was more valuable than an hour's labour on the part of a navvy.

When the labour exchanges were actually working, the value of a man's labour was assessed as follows: The average day's labour was regarded as ten hours; the average rate of pay at sixpence an hour. Required, to value different kinds of labour according to this standard.

Mr. Podmore gives the following illustration: "If a cabinet maker, whose value in the open market was paid for at the rate of a shilling an hour, brought a chest of drawers to the Equitable Labour Exchange to be valued, its price in labour hours would be computed as follows: First, the value of the raw material would be set down in vulgar pounds, shillings, and pence; then the value of the labour would be added in the same base medium. The whole would then be divided by sixpence, and the quotient would represent the number of hours to be entered on the labour note." Clearly a purely artificial result, and not representative of anything in particular!

On Monday, September 17th, 1832, the first "National Equitable Labour Exchange" was opened in the Gray's Inn Road, near King's Cross. The deposits of goods produced, in exchange for which labour notes were issued, were during the first few days so numerous that the pavement outside the exchange was blocked. The goods stored at the Exchange were sold on receipt of cash as well as of labour notes issued by the exchange; but in the former case a small commission was charged, in order, as far as possible, to discourage the use of money.

For a time it looked as if the labour notes system was likely to spread. They were accepted as payment for tickets at the social festivals given at the institution run in connection with the Exchange, and many local tradesmen put up notices in their shop windows to the effect that labour notes would be accepted as payment for goods. During the remainder of the year 1832 the popularity of the Exchange continued to grow, the chief depositors being tailors, cabinet makers, and shoemakers. For the seventeen weeks ending December 22nd, the deposits represented 465,501 hours, and the Exchanges 376,166 hours, leaving a balance in stock representing 69,335 hours, i.e., £1,733. 7s. 6d.

The greatest difficulty lay in valuing the pile of diverse goods deposited, and there is no doubt that in some cases anomalies resulted. A tailor, for instance, wrote to the *Times*, stating that he had paid thirty-six shillings for cloth and trimmings to make a coat, made it, and took it to the Exchange, where it was valued at thirty-two shillings. Owen replied, justifying the assessment, on the ground that a low valuation of all goods had been purposely adopted in order to compete with outside traders; and that the tailor had suffered no real loss, inasmuch as all the goods at the Exchange were valued at the same low standard: an explanation which was clearly not very satisfactory to the tailor.

The following week, however, another tailor also wrote to the

Times, stating that he had received the full market price at the Exchange for a coat and trousers, both of which were clearly misfits and unsaleable elsewhere, so that it is pretty obvious that some of the assessments tended to be capricious.

The first Exchange, in the Gray's Inn Road, was brought to an untimely end by a dispute with the landlord, and moved to new premises in Fitzroy Square. Here, however, it passed under entirely new management; and whereas it had started as a kind of clearing house for the products of individuals, it now became a mart or bazaar for the exchange of the products of various co-operative societies.

This change took place in the following way. In 1833 a new body had been formed, entitled the United Trades Association. This association comprised societies numbering among their members representatives of all the chief producers. The main object of the association was to find employment for the out of work members of the societies. A weekly contribution provided a fund to procure material and workroom accommodation for unemployed members. The goods produced were sent to the Labour Exchange to be valued by persons elected by the societies from among themselves. In most cases the products were exchanged direct at the Exchange. Thus notes appear in the *Crisis*, the successor to the *Co-operative Magazine*, to the effect that the Surrey Society had made a quantity of clothes, for which they had received in exchange a quantity of leather. The carpenters likewise report that they have engaged to fit up a shop for the shoemakers, who have promised shoes in exchange.

It soon became apparent, however, that something was inherently wrong with the financial arrangements of the Exchange. For a considerable time the accounts were kept straight by entering on the credit side large amounts received from the lectures and festivals held by the different societies, many of the lectures being given by Owen, while at the same time a considerable amount of business continued to be transacted at the Exchange.

During the latter half of 1833 the deposits averaged over 10,000 hours a week, but by January, 1834, this figure had diminished to 5,284 hours. During the early part of 1834 the deposits continued to shrink at an alarming rate, and we find that many articles were sold for three-fourths cash payment and only one-fourth notes, so that the peculiar currency system of the Exchange seems to have been falling into disuse.

By the summer we find the affairs of the Exchange to be in such a bad way, and the surplus stock in hand so small, that the secretary of the association, who was in direct charge of the management, writes to Owen, recommending that the affairs of the Exchange be wound up. After this we hear no more of the Exchange, and the various subsidiary Exchanges that were opened about the same time in some of the provincial towns appear to have closed down also.

The immediate cause of the failure of all these Exchanges was simply that they did not pay. Their financial difficulties were, according to William Lovett, who had been at one time storekeeper

to one of the London associations, caused by "religious differences, the want of legal security, and the dislike which the women had to confine their dealings to one shop." Owen's rationalistic lectures appear to have caused much disturbance among the more religious members of the co-operating societies, and were ultimately the cause of many withdrawing their support from the Exchange.

The Exchanges had no legal safeguards, as they were not enrolled societies, and could not obtain legal redress when their servants robbed them. Love of shopping on the part of the women, and the unwillingness they felt for their husbands to be acquainted with the exact extent and nature of their purchases, precluded much enthusiasm on their part for the experiment.

Owen, however, never appears to have been heart and soul in favour of the Exchanges. He explains in the "New Moral World" that it was not his wish to start a Labour Exchange at the time and in the manner chosen, and speaks of the experiment as being forced upon him by the inexperience of impatient friends. There appears to have been always at the back of his mind the feeling that mere buying and selling arrangements were a trivial matter in comparison with the complete revolution he contemplated, and unworthy of the attention of a comprehensive reformer.

Syndicalism and Guild Socialism.

The position of Owen in the history of social reform and legislation is comparable to that of Plato in the history of philosophy. The germs of all subsequent movements can be found in his teaching. There is no single measure of social or industrial reform which has since been advocated about which he did not have something to say. Thus he has been acclaimed as the apostle of many contradictory things, and among others of Guild Socialism.

We have seen how the co-operative societies were, to begin with, miscellaneous associations of men of different trades. They discharged the functions now performed by the sick and benefit funds of a trade union, and during a certain stage of their development frequently maintained a Labour Exchange for the employment of their out of work members. As time went on it was found more convenient and more profitable for members of the same trade to associate together. As such the societies became to all intents and purposes trade unions, and during the disturbed times of 1832-1834 indulged in strikes for better conditions and more wages, mainly unsuccessful, on modern lines. The policies of these trade unions were directly inspired by Owen's teaching, and, though he disapproved of their more militant aspect, he made great efforts to capture the leadership of the whole movement.

These early trade unions rapidly took on some of the functions with which the modern National Guild movement is anxious to endow them. Thus in 1834 the operative tailors address a circular manifesto to their employers, stating that they have decided to introduce some new regulations into the trade. The circular concludes: "Your workmen, members of the society, will cease to be

employed by you should you decline to act upon the new regulations. In that case they will no longer consider it necessary to support your interest, but will immediately enter upon the arrangements prepared by the society for the employment of such members for the benefit of the society."

A Grand National Guild of Builders was actually formed in 1834 and set to work on building a guildhall in Birmingham. The guildhall was, however, eventually finished by the landlord, as the association lacked the necessary funds to complete the work.

Owen seized upon the opportunity provided by these tentative experiments as the occasion for delivering a lecture, in which he outlined all the fundamentals of the modern Guild Socialist scheme. "We have long since discovered," he said, "that as long as master contends with master, no improvement either for man or master will be possible. There is no other alternative, therefore, but national companies for every trade. All trades shall first form associations or parochial lodges, to consist of a convenient number for carrying on the business." These parochial lodges should send delegates to county lodges, and so on, up to the Grand National Council. "This is the outline for individual trades. They shall be arranged in companies or families, thus all those trades which relate to clothing shall form a company, such as tailors, shoemakers, hatters, etc. and all the different manufactures shall be arranged in a similar way. No secret shall be kept from public knowledge. Any information respecting costs and profit shall be freely communicated, and shall be done by a gazette."

Owen later made it clear that he contemplated unions, including not only operatives, but also masters and manufacturers, and ultimately the Government itself.

As a result of this propaganda there was founded in 1834, under Owen's auspices, a "Grand National Consolidated Trades Union of Great Britain and Ireland," which in a few weeks time is said to have enrolled between half a million and a million members, with auxiliary branches—"lodges," they were called—in all the large industrial towns.

The programme of the union and the objects it set out to achieve are insufficiently recorded in the evidence available on the subject, but it appears that in some rather vaguely defined way it aimed at securing control of the conditions under which its members worked in all the leading industries, the strike being the weapon contemplated in the case of recalcitrant employers.

The Grand National caused profound alarm among the propertied classes, but its career was lamentably brief. The first of its activities was the organisation of a monster procession to present a petition to the Government against the sentence of transportation passed upon six Dorsetshire labourers for an alleged offence against an out of date Act with regard to the administering of illegal oaths (the swearing of oaths was a preliminary formality to joining a trade union lodge). But the Government was determined to break the strength of the movement, and acted with a high hand. Several

unsuccessful and costly strikes on the part of various unions followed. We hear incidentally that the Potters' Union expended £6,223 2s. 11d. in strikes during ten months, 1833-1834. There seems at length to have been a growing weariness of strikes among the unions, and a desire to return to the earlier method of co-operative trading and exchange, and the Grand Lodge was accordingly shortly remodelled on co-operative lines.

In August, 1836, a special meeting of delegates was convened in London under Owen's presidency. Owen stated in his address that the union "had experienced much more opposition from the employers of industry and from the wealthy portion of the public, as well as from the Government, than its promoters anticipated."

It was then resolved that the name of the union should be changed to "The British and Foreign Consolidated Association of Industry, Humanity, and Knowledge," that the initiatory ceremony of membership should be dispensed with so as to conform with the law, that effective measures should be adopted to reconcile the masters and operatives throughout the kingdom, and that a charter should be applied for from the Government."

At the same time Owen, in an editorial in the last number of the *Crisis*, announces that the "awful crisis" in human affairs is now happily terminated; that the old world will pass away "through a great moral revolution of the human mind, directed solely by truth, by charity, and by kindness."

Henceforth, Owen drifted further and further away from the trade union movement. His distrust of reform springing from the people themselves left him at bottom out of sympathy with the fundamental doctrines of what we should now call Guild Socialism. At the same time his attitude was often akin to that of the modern Syndicalist.

A Syndicalist tendency is manifested in Owen's distrust of political measures as a means of engineering the revolution. He was not, for instance, in favour of enlarged political rights for the masses, and refused to co-operate with the Chartists. "The Owenites," says Bronterre O'Brien, "seek every opportunity to speak sneeringly and contemptuously of their possession (the vote) as a consideration of no value."

Owen was impatient of the slowness of all agitation on political lines, and refused, for instance, to work with Oastler for his propaganda in support of an eight hour day. Such things were mere palliatives; they delayed the revolution by chloroforming the workers. "Why waste your time in useless theories," he says, in a manifesto to the Chartists, "instead of going straight forward to the immediate relief of your wants—physical, mental, moral, and practical? You, the Chartists, have been gradually stimulated to expect the most unreasonable and impracticable results from the Charter. If it were to be obtained to-morrow and its workings known, there are none who would be more disappointed with its effects than the Chartists themselves. It is not any mere political change in your condition that can now be of any service to you or society." The true

remedy, he intimates, can only be found in the Socialist Community at Queenwood.

Bureaucratic Tendencies.

On the other hand, Owen's whole attitude towards the people whom he desired to reform was strongly bureaucratic. He always tended to regard the community ideal as something imposed on the people from without, not arising spontaneously from within. In effect he said to them: "You can lead a better life than the life you are leading: to wit, the community life as I have pictured it. But you are so stupid and ignorant that unless I keep urging, teaching, and directing you, you will never discover this for yourselves."

He distrusted a spontaneous movement for social betterment because he was convinced of the *ignorance of the people*. At present they were not fit; they must be remade. He was convinced of the practicality of his own proposals because his view of human nature told him that people could be remade; his view of his own, that he could remake them. He could not tolerate half measures. He preached the revolution on the Owenite plan or nothing; but this is quite intelligible when we remember his belief that nothing could prevent the revolution on the Owenite plan. He is said to have stated in an interview, explaining his high-handed conduct on a committee, that "we must consent to be ruled by despots until we have sufficient knowledge to govern ourselves."

To Metternich, Prime Minister of Austria, he reports himself to have said that "it will be much easier to reform the world by Governments properly supported by the people than by any other means. Let Governments once be enlightened as to their true interests in promoting the happiness of their peoples, and they will lend their willing assistance and powerful aid to accomplish this ever to be desired result."

Such a view constitutes the very antithesis of the conception of a spontaneous movement among the people towards self-government. Owen never seems to have recognised the almost theoretic impossibility of devising an efficient government which is truly representative of the people, and it is on this rock that his community ship was found ultimately to split.

Reasons for Failure of Communities.

The really important question that arises for consideration from this short sketch of Owen's efforts to found communities is whether the actual failure and break-up of every community that was founded was due to incidental defects of bad management in each successive case, or to anomalies inherent in the community ideal itself, which made it unworkable in practice. Did the communities fail simply because all communities must fail, or because these particular communities were badly organised, insufficiently financed, unwisely selected as to membership, and so forth?

Now the most thorough and comprehensive scheme of Communism ever put before the world is that contained in the Fifth

Book of Plato's "Republic." Theoretically perfect and logically complete, it embodies an ideal so inspiring and comprehensive that we cannot but believe that Owen endeavoured to model his [own attempts at realisation closely upon it.

Against this plan for a communistic society Aristotle makes certain criticisms, which derive great interest from the significant manner in which they were borne out by Owen's experiments.

In the first place, the distribution of the common property, says Aristotle, will be a perpetual source of dispute. Members will protest that they are not receiving in proportion to their worth.

Secondly, compulsory association with others will not bring harmony, but friction.

Thirdly, common property, inasmuch as it belongs to nobody in particular, will be apt to be neglected by everybody.

Fourthly, it is obviously better to share voluntarily with others what is your own than to hold it compulsorily in common. Communism destroys generosity and hospitality by making them unnecessary.

Fifthly, unless the community is very small, there will be no real self-government by the members.

Now the truth of nearly every one of the strictures is exemplified by the course of events at New Harmony and at Queenwood. Taking the last point first, we have been struck already by the extraordinary elaboration of the governing committee at New Harmony. With a community of a thousand persons, some kind of delegation and representation was obviously necessary; but in a community of equality, the mere existence of superintendents and intendants, a group of officials, who might conceivably act as a check upon one another, but were officially uncontrolled during the period of office by the community, constituted a grave inequality.

Hence the parent community is found to split up into daughter communities. Dissension and distrust prevailed among the members, we are told, because they had no real voice in the governance of their affairs; the committee of government was delegated from above.

Again, New Harmony made it clear that a most careful selection of members was necessary before success could be achieved. Sharpers, unsuccessful speculators, and amiable visionaries do not form a good amalgam. There is no scourge for idleness, no incentive to work. All very well if you are a set of religious fanatics who, having abolished man-made law, will work owing to your possession of divine grace, and eschew material goods. In New Harmony, however, material goods were desired, but, being shared equally amongst all, went to the idlers equally with the workers. There were further social inequalities, religious and racial difference, yet the members were compulsorily associated. Hence we are told that "it was found much easier to assimilate a few with the same pursuits than many having different occupations."

Two lessons emerge: make your community small enough to be really self-governing, and make your members homogeneous, bound

together by a common enthusiasm, preferably religious, and it may succeed.

So far we have pointed only to mistakes in the actual experiments, we have not invalidated the ideal. To say that New Harmony was run badly is not the same as saying that a community cannot be run well. Is this latter statement true?

The Community Ideal.

Roughly, the community ideal may be said to rest upon the theory that there is a certain kind of good life that all men should lead, and that this life should be roughly the same for all men. Differences come from private property and the inequalities thereof. Abolish differences and inequalities of property, and a common kind of life may result.

Now, in the first place, equal participation in common property predicates a great degree of intimacy and power of getting on with each other among the participators. Intimacy and knowledge are required both to avoid squabbling and to ensure a proper selection of rulers. On the other hand, as soon as your community is extended beyond a small number, it is difficult to make the bulk of the members feel that they are taking part in the direction of their own property. Could you then extend those principles, which have had so little success even among small communities, to a large heterogeneous population, compelled to rely solely on itself for internal government and external defence? It seems unlikely.

Nor must it be forgotten that the disadvantages which attach to the administration by the members of property held in common are serious. It is open to question whether they do not outweigh its advantages.

The path of the individual in modern life is not a path, but a groove. He has little scope for expanding his personality or stamping his impress upon environment. His voice is a pipe in the world, but it may be a thunder in his own home. It is here alone that he may give expression to his own will and to the aspirations of his own personality.

If you give to each only according to his worth, you restrict his activities to definite tastes. On the other hand, the possibilities of falling into distress through lack of wisdom in management, and the contrary possibility of success by contrary conduct, are valuable elements in the life of the citizen. So long as private property exists, a man may, at least in that restricted sphere, possess the power of carrying out his own plans in his own way, and of displaying his own initiative. Under Communism he would simply do the State's work under regulations. It is only in the home that the capitalist may be said at present not to have got hold of the worker. Without the control of a certain amount of material property, then, a man cannot be said properly to give expression to his own will.

Finally, as Aristotle naively remarks, "the possession of private property is a source of harmless pleasure, and therefore desirable."

The Good Life.

The institution of Communism is not without objections; but it was not advocated as an end in itself. It was embraced and preached by Owen because he definitely desired to produce a certain kind of life in his citizens, and he considered that private property, by introducing the principle of difference, militated against it. We have already seen reason to doubt Owen's ethical principle that character and life may be formed for individuals, and not by them. We have noticed the distrust and opposition which his view of reform, as something imposed upon the worker from without, produced. Finally, we cannot subscribe to his principle that there is one kind of good life for all men. This was the Greek view, which lay at the basis of the Greek view of the State. The State, according to Greek thinkers, was the one organisation which made the good life possible for its members. It was only within the State that they realised their full nature. Similarly, in Owen's view, it was only in a community that man could realise all that he had, it in him to be.

We, on the other hand, have come to hold, as the result of the individualist and democratic thinking of the last century, that neither the State nor any individual is in a position to predicate a certain kind of good life for others. We hold it vital that each man should judge for himself what he holds to be valuable in life; while, if we are to accept authority on such matters, it must be self-chosen. Hence modern Utopias have always inspired a feeling of repulsion, because men do not happen to want to live the life which the authors of these hopeful and aggressive works want them to live. It is here, I suspect, that we must look for the root reason of the failure of Owen's communities. The members did not all want to live one kind of life, nor was it the one kind of life Owen favoured. For the first and last time the hack anti-Socialist criticism hit the mark, "The Socialist did not take account of human nature."

Value of Owen's Work.

The communities were the concrete embodiment of all that Owen stood for. They failed, but their failure did not negative the value of his work. In an age when Individualism was rampant, Owen was the first to emphasise the need of State control.

The Individualism of the Manchester School of Liberals was based upon the view that man being fundamentally selfish, he himself was the person most capable of looking after his own profit and interests, without interference from his neighbours.

In a state of society with equality of power, wealth, and opportunity, this position may be sound; it is obviously better than to have everybody meddling with everybody else's affairs and the State poking its inspectors into every household. Economically, however, it rested on three fallacies:—

1. That each individual is equally farsighted and has an equal power of knowing what he wants.

2. That each individual has an equal power of obtaining it and equal freedom of choice.
3. That what all the individuals want is identical with the well-being of the community as a whole.

The results of Individualist policy were the hideous cruelties which necessitated the Factory Acts. It was seen that the State must step in to prevent some individuals exploiting their fellows in their efforts to satisfy their wants. As a result of his experiences at New Lanark, Owen realised this fact very clearly. The State must control its members; but, in order more efficiently to do this, it must delegate its functions to self-supporting communities, wherein men may be trained to govern themselves.

We have said above that only the communities which have banded themselves together for religious purposes have approached success, but it is fairly clear that to some of the settlers at Queenwood their community was a religion. An austere enthusiasm for the millennium was illuminated by a devoted veneration for their own community, which was pointing the way.

Hymns to community, a strange goddess, in the Socialists' Hymn Book, bear witness to the devotion of the early Communists to their ideal. And they worshipped Owen as a divinely inspired prophet. Amid much that is ridiculous, both in the man himself and in his followers, something cast in the heroic mould remains. Owen saw and thought far in advance of his age. But it is not in his intellectual creed that his greatness lies. Owen stands out permanently as a prophet and a dreamer. Pervaded by a real hatred of the iniquities of the social system as he found it, he combined the inspiration which he drew from this source with an unflagging enthusiasm in the pursuit of his ideals. It was the great force of sincerity which enabled him to appeal so strongly to the imaginations of men, and to suffuse his creed with a religious tinge. If he was a dreamer, he was not content to dream his life. He possessed that greatest of faiths, the faith to live his dreams.

NOTE.

The best life of Owen is entitled "Robert Owen: a Biography," by Frank Podmore, two vols. Hutchinson, 1906. It is out of print. Another is "The Life, Times, and Labours of Robert Owen," by Lloyd Jones, third edition, 1900. Allen & Unwin. 3s. 6d.

The most extensive bibliography available is published at 1s. net (54 pages) by the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, for the Welsh Bibliographical Society, "A Bibliography of Robert Owen, the Socialist, 1771-1858," compiled by A. J. Hawkes (1914). The best collection of Owenite literature is in the Goldsmiths' Company's Library of Economic Literature, University of London, Imperial Institute, S.W. 7, which contains a large part of the library of Owen's "Institute" in John Street, Tottenham Court Road.

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THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

At present the House of Lords is, constitutionally, in a position of suspense. By the Parliament Act of 1911 its right of absolute veto of the people's will, expressed in a Bill passed by the House of Commons, has been destroyed. But the entirely unrepresentative and accidentally selected assembly of 600 odd Peers of Parliament remains unreformed. It still possesses great powers of obstruction and delay. Its influence in emasculating all progressive measures with which its members disagree is still very great, and is all the more objectionable in that it is largely exercised through the Cabinet in secret, without the check of public opinion. Moreover, various party leaders, and the House of Commons as a whole, are more or less pledged, if only by the preamble to the Parliament Act, to an early reform of the Second Chamber. The question cannot, therefore, be ignored. The Committee of Peers and members of the House of Commons, which, in the autumn of 1917, has taken in hand the reconstruction of the Second Chamber, is strangely constituted. Lord Bryce, who patriotically consented to be chairman—after the Speaker, Mr. Asquith, and Lord Lansdowne has successively found it impossible to undertake the task—met with great difficulties in getting his Committee together. It has no constitutional or other authority. It is very far from being a convincing or even an impressive assembly. The genuine Liberals are far outnumbered by their opponents, and the unrepresentative complexion of the list is emphasised by there being only a single representative of the Labour Party. The Committee, which is as "unconstitutional" as was the Speaker's Conference which suggested it, can claim even less support from public opinion. It can justify its existence only in one way, by discovering a solution commanding general assent.

It may be doubted whether the reconstruction of the Second Chamber has yet been sufficiently considered by public opinion for any plan to which representative members of the House of

Lords are likely to agree to gain sufficient public support to enable it to be carried into law. But the present position of the House of Lords is too anomalous to permit of the question being indefinitely shelved, and the appointment of Lord Bryce's Committee has at any rate set the ball rolling. The reconstruction of the Second Chamber will be one of the issues on which candidates at each successive General Election must be required to declare themselves. The subject is, therefore, one on which not only members of Parliament, but also ordinary citizens, and particularly the Labour Party, must make up their minds.

Do we need, in the United Kingdom, any Second Chamber at all, and, if we do, what exactly do we need it for? Clear thinking about these questions is at present hindered by three subconscious prepossessions, one of them inspired by a haunting sense of history, another by indistinct visions of political geography, and the third by a vague fear of Democracy, basing itself on a bygone political science.

WHAT IS THE HOUSE OF LORDS?

The House of Lords, so far as history and the forms of the British Constitution are concerned, is not a Second Chamber at all. It is one of the few survivals in Europe of the once common separate Estates of the Realm. Of such "Estates" there used to be, in some countries, not two only, but three, four, or even five—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Municipalities, the Peasants, and the tenants on the Royal Demesne being entitled to be separately summoned to give the opinion of their respective orders upon the King's business. What happened was that, in the course of centuries, in this as in other countries, the majority of the separate orders were merged in a single assembly of "the Commons," which ceased to be an Estate of the Realm, and came to stand, in fact, though not always in form, for the whole community. Where any ancient Estate continued to sit separately, as in this country the Peers and Bishops did in the House of Lords, they did so (if we are to regard the substance of the Constitution), not as distinct Estates of the Realm, but—so far, at any rate, as the nineteenth century was concerned—as a Second Chamber. Since 1832, at least, the House of Lords has not been regarded by constitutional writers as having, *in fact*, whatever it may have had in form, any other functions than those of a Second Chamber; and it was in respect of its satisfactory exercise of those functions that the House of Lords was, by its friends, alleged to find its justification. The political crime or blunder committed by the Conservative majority of the House of Lords in 1909-10, when it rejected the Budget Bill passed by the House of Commons, lay in the explicit revival of the claim of the Peers and Bishops to act, not as a Second Chamber, but as a separate Estate of the Realm. The House of Lords did not oppose the Budget Bill in the form in which it was presented on the ground that it was so badly drafted as to fail in many of its clauses to express the

opinion of the Legislature, and that it therefore needed drastic revision—though this, as we now see, was abundantly true. Nor did the House of Lords seriously allege that the House of Commons, in passing such a Budget, was not acting with the acquiescence and support of a majority of the electorate—a point on which the Peers and Bishops might have been honestly mistaken. What made the action of the overwhelming majority of the House of Lords equivalent to its political suicide was the suddenly revived claim of their Lordships to act, not as a Second Chamber, but as a separate Estate of the Realm, by setting up, as against the will of the nation expressed by the House of Commons, their own personal opinions that the Budget was, in substance, a bad one; and by acting on those opinions so far as to assert their right to nullify, whenever they chose, the decisions made by the House of Commons, in which the voice of the whole community had come to be sought. The result was decisive. We may take it as definitely settled that, whatever else they may desire, the people of this country will not tolerate the revival of any separate "Estate" of persons or classes who are to be privileged to enforce, against the opinions of the majority of the nation, any views of their own order. Any reconstructed House of Lords must accordingly be quite definitely made only a Second Chamber, with the functions and powers appropriate to such an organ of the National Legislature, and no others.

DO WE WANT AN IMPERIAL SENATE ?

The question is, however, confused in the minds of some people by an indistinct impression of the Senate of the United States, and to a lesser degree of the Federal Council representing the Cantons of Switzerland, one or other of which has lately formed a model for other federal communities, notably Australia and South Africa. It is sometimes suggested that the reconstructed House of Lords should take the form of an "Imperial Senate," in which representatives of the various parts of the British Empire, including the United Kingdom, should sit as an Imperial Legislature, incidentally serving as a revising Chamber to all the subordinate Legislatures, including the House of Commons itself. This, to put it bluntly, is a dream, and a bad dream. The British Empire is not, and cannot now be made, a federal Empire with subordinate Legislatures. It is an Alliance of Free States, with a congeries of other dependencies, themselves progressing towards various forms of legislative autonomy. The self-governing Dominions have not the slightest intention of placing themselves, even for what are called "Imperial affairs," under a Senate in which they must for many generations form a minority. Neither Canada nor Australia, neither New Zealand nor South Africa, would for a moment consent to make their own Legislatures subordinate to an Imperial Senate formed out of a British Second Chamber. Nor has British Democracy any desire

to allow the British "Junkers" to call in Canadian and South African plutocracy to their aid Constitution-making for the "Britannic Alliance" must take another form. Any representative "Council of the Empire" will, for as far ahead as can be foreseen, exercise powers of consultation and suggestion only, not of command or legislation. And any such "Imperial" organ would be quite unfit to serve as a Second Chamber for the British or any other constituent Legislature. These "federal" Senates, whether in Australia or South Africa, Canada or the United States, Switzerland or the German Empire, have nothing to do with our problem of a Second Chamber. We must accordingly dismiss the idea of any colonial representation, or the separate representation of Scotland, Ireland or Wales, in the proposed Second Chamber for the United Kingdom.

"THE HOUSE OF PROPERTY OWNERS."

The third source of confused thinking is the vague fear of Democracy, leading to the desire for some counterpoise to an all-powerful single Chamber. This prepossession, found to greater or less extent in nearly all property owners, is scarcely amenable to argument. It is plainly founded, to a large extent, on an illusion. The apprehended attacks on property must come in the main in the form of taxation in the annual or other money Bill, and it is just these money Bills that no Second Chamber, however constituted—not even the present House of Lords—can ever be allowed to touch. This was finally settled by the Parliament Act of 1911, from which there will certainly be no going back. Thus no Second Chamber can possibly save the property owner from taxation, however drastic. Moreover, property owners, like peers, cannot nowadays claim any position of privilege against the will of the Nation. Any real danger of unjust treatment can be met by the powers of revision and delay which constitute the proper function of a Second Chamber. What is abundantly clear is that, if it is really sought to create a rival power to the House of Commons, the intention must be carefully concealed from the Labour Party and the electorate, under pain of getting the whole scheme summarily rejected. It is too late to "go back on Democracy"; and apprehensive property owners would be well advised to place their trust in "the people," contenting themselves with ensuring that any serious innovation shall obtain a considered judgment, and not merely an impulsive decision, from the electorate.

WHAT KIND OF SECOND CHAMBER DO WE NEED?

We come now to the question of what the nation really needs in place of the House of Lords. One thing is plain. We do not require, and public opinion will not tolerate, any rival to the House

of Commons. Where it agrees with the popular Legislature such a rival is useless; where it disagrees, it is in the highest degree dangerous. This consideration quite negatives the project of an elected Second Chamber, which Mr Asquith's Cabinet was contemplating before the war, but against which the House of Commons very decisively expressed itself before even the draft was published. The long and calamitous experience of an entirely elected Second Chamber in Victoria is conclusive against its imitation in any other unitary State. It is not the function of the Second Chamber in a unitary State to represent the people; this must be done, as well as it can be done, by the House of Commons. Whatever may be the imperfections of the House of Commons in this respect, they are not mended by setting up another Chamber claiming to be representative. This would be to get back to the mediæval system of rival and competing Estates of the Realm. We are free from the needs of a federal State which have compelled the United States and the Australian Commonwealth to incur the inconvenience and peril of such a legislative dualism. Similar considerations negative equally the fantastic project of a functional or stratified Second Chamber, elected by the whole electorate voting by trades, professions or occupations. All the arguments adduced for this by its advocates are valid—in so far as they have any validity at all—for the election of the House of Commons, that is to say, the Legislature itself, they have no relevance for a body which is not to be a Legislature but merely a Second Chamber.

THE PROPER FUNCTIONS OF A SECOND CHAMBER.

The essential function of a Second Chamber, it may be suggested, and the only one for which such a body is required or can be permanently useful, is that of revision in its largest sense. The Legislature proper may often be passing Bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly. There will be, in the first place, errors of drafting, and palpable mistakes and omissions. In the second place, there will not infrequently be a lack of consistency, either of legislation or of policy, in relation to other matters which the whole community would wish to see righted. Finally, there is on some measures the contingency of doubt as to whether the decision of the House of Commons would be upheld by public opinion. The House of Commons does not always represent the people. It may be under the dominion of an imperious temporary majority, itself controlled by a "party caucus," and dominated by a particular interest. The particular measure may have been finally carried only by one vote. It may enact an indefinite prolongation of the life of the Legislature. It may have been carried by a moribund House. It may have been rushed through all its stages in a few days, in a wild panic, or conceivably

even by an anti-popular conspiracy, without public opinion becoming aware of what is happening. It may be of a nature to arouse irresistible popular opposition, only that opposition does not instantly manifest itself. British Democracy may well be in full agreement with the most apprehensive of property owners in not desiring to erect even its elected House of Commons into a position of supreme dictatorship. The case for a Second Chamber, *confined to the proper functions of a Second Chamber*, is as convincing to the Democrat as it is to the most timid of Conservatives, provided *only that it is not made an excuse for setting up some power by which any particular class or any particular political party can defeat the people's will.*

WHAT A SECOND CHAMBER OUGHT TO BE.

What is required for a Second Chamber is a position of independence of the Popular Assembly, well-defined functions of its own which it cannot extend, and sufficient power temporarily to "hold up" the Popular Assembly, without temptation or opportunity to compete with it. The Second Chamber needs to be composed of persons of ripe wisdom and judgment, not necessarily orators or popular electioneers; known to and respected by the public for their personal qualities, but not necessarily the most widely known of notorieties, not representative of any one class or interest, not even of age or of property in general; and widely inclusive of legal and administrative training and experience. It must not be merely an "Order of Merit," an assembly of old men; least of all a sanctuary of the superannuated, a gathering of "Ex's," or persons who have retired from office as Cabinet Ministers, Judges or Colonial Governors. Popular election does not produce such an assembly as is required. Appointment by the King (that is, by the Prime Minister for the time being) has proved a failure in Canada and New Zealand, and is, from its inevitable partisan character, obviously unsuitable; there is no case for selection from the peerage any more than from the barage; moreover, its members must not oppress us for life, but must be continually being renewed, so as to keep the Second Chamber always in touch with the opinions of the current generation.

It has sometimes been incautiously suggested that the only acceptable Second Chamber in a free State would be one formed by popular election. This requires further examination.

NO "LOADING OF THE DICE" AGAINST DEMOCRACY.

In the first place, it is not at all likely that the present House of Lords will sanction, or that the present Cabinet will propose, a Second Chamber chosen entirely by the popular electorate. There will certainly be claims that some, at least, of the present Peers

should sit as of right, or at any rate (like the existing Scottish and Irish Representative Peers) by the suffrage of their brother Peers. There will be attempts made to secure permanent seats for the holders of certain great offices, such as the Royal Princes, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, perhaps the leaders of Nonconformity, the heads of the so-called "learned professions," and, comically enough, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of the City of London! All these must be decisively negatived by the Labour Party. Whatever their pretext, they really represent underhand attempts to "pack" the Second Chamber with members who, whatever may be their other qualities, do not share either the feelings or the desires of the great mass of the population.

Any permanent reservation of seats in the Second Chamber, either for Peers or Ecclesiastics, the scions of Royalty or great Officers of State, the representatives of particular localities or of particular classes, means a "loading of the dice" against Democracy, which Labour (even if tempted by the offer of a few seats for distinguished Labour Leaders!) must absolutely reject.

NO "FAKED" ELECTION!

More plausible are the proposals that will be put forward—when it is found that public opinion will not tolerate a "faked" Second Chamber, which would (from the standpoint of Democracy) amount only to the resuscitation of a House of Lords under another name—for a Second Chamber "more or less" elected by the people. It may be proposed to form the Second Chamber, wholly or in part, of the Chairmen or other representatives chosen by the County Councils or the principal Municipal Corporations. We may find the Chambers of Commerce or the new Federation of British Industry asked to appoint representatives, the doctors and the lawyers, and even, to impart an appearance of fairness—really throwing a bone to the dog!—the Trades Union Congress graciously allowed to nominate one or two members among the whole crowd of so-called "superior people."

All these projects of indirect election are born of the distrust of Democracy; they are devised with the deliberate intention of hindering the House of Commons from carrying out the people's will. However ingeniously these systems are formulated, so as to hide their main purpose, they always reveal themselves as calculated to produce a Second Chamber made up, almost entirely, of members of one or other of the old political parties; of representatives of the landlord or capitalist class; of employers and "business men"; of more or less wealthy property-owners. The one section that is always deliberately excluded, or else admitted only as a quite infinitesimal minority, are the four-fifths of the whole population who are manual working wage-earners. A

Second Chamber thus constituted—professedly by popular election!—would certainly contain, at most, only a handful of men of the wage-earning class. There would probably not even be any Payment of Members. Such a Second Chamber would suit the Conservative Party down to the ground. It might be nearly as useful to the Liberal Party. The Labour Party, even if it came to form a majority in the House of Commons, would find itself, with such a Second Chamber, in the same hopeless minority as is the present Liberal Party in the House of Lords. If that position is intolerable to the members of the Liberal Party, with what “face” can they propose to subject the Labour Party to the same impotence? Moreover, from such a Second Chamber one whole sex would find itself either wholly excluded, or at best only represented by a small handful of carefully picked women. Any indirectly elected Second Chamber could not fail to be predominantly an Assembly of the wealthy middle-class, permanently biased against really effective economic and industrial reforms.

NO ELECTED SECOND CHAMBER!

Matters are not much mended if (as Mr. Asquith and Mr. Runciman, Lord Crewe and Mr. McKenna are believed to have been ready to propose in 1913) the Second Chamber is formed entirely by direct election. Apart from merely federal bodies (like the Senates of the United States and the Australian Commonwealth), such Second Chambers as exist of this kind in unitary States (as in Victoria) have worked very badly. There is nearly always a higher franchise or a higher qualification, whether by property or age, than for the Popular Assembly. Or the same end is secured by making the Second Chamber much smaller than the Popular Assembly, and therefore elected by gigantic constituencies which, in this country, with large populations, could be adequately contested only at great expense, and with the aid of the most widely circulating newspapers which are all controlled by wealthy men. Thus, with our prospective electorate of 16 millions—certainly to be increased presently to at least 20 millions—a popularly elected Second Chamber of 100 members would mean single-member constituencies each averaging half a million population, with electorates each averaging from 150,000 to 200,000 men and women to be circularised and addressed! Complicated systems of Proportional Representation (with grouped constituencies of a million or two electors!) would further increase the necessity—if a majority of the Assembly is to be secured, and not merely the return of an isolated representative of exceptional views—for expensive party organisation. One way or another it is always contrived, in all the plans that are suggested, that the elected Second Chamber shall be predominantly a “House of Wealth.” This purpose is openly avowed. It is declared that, if numbers are to rule the Popular Assembly, “property” must be represented—even out of all proportion to the numbers of property owners—

in the Second Chamber. Against any such contention every earnest Liberal or Radical, every member of the Labour Party—indeed, every real Democrat—must enter an emphatic protest.

What does not seem commonly realised is that even the best possible elected Second Chamber necessarily and inevitably makes a bad Second Chamber—that is to say, a body so constituted as to perform very badly the essential duties of a Second Chamber. A popularly elected Second Chamber is, in this country, certain to be elected on "party issues," and to be organised on "party lines." The very intention with which such a Second Chamber is created is that it shall frequently, if not invariably, be made up, so far as its majority is concerned, so as to be in opposition to the Popular Assembly. Otherwise there would, in the opinion of those who advocate such a plan, be no profit in it! Whenever the majority of the Second Chamber is of another political party than that to which the Government of the day belongs, the temptation to the party leaders, the party organisers, the party newspapers and the party caucus to discredit the Government measures, to delay and obstruct their becoming law and even to throw them over for a General Election will be irresistible. Needless to say this political partiality would tend always to be exercised to the detriment of innovations; and therefore to the disadvantage of all but the Conservative, or "stand pat" Party. Once more the dice would be loaded, more skilfully than ever, against Democracy.

But there is another reason, of quite a different character, against an elected Second Chamber—a reason which is all the stronger when the proposal is to make the Second Chamber entirely elective, on a franchise as wide as that for the Popular Assembly, and with qualifications and other conditions no more restrictive. Such a Second Chamber—whether chosen by geographical constituencies or by industries or other classes—without being well qualified for the duty of revision of the measures sent up to it, could claim to be as truly representative of the People's Will as the Popular Assembly itself. *This is a fatal defect in a Second Chamber.* To set up a second exponent of the People's Will, in opposition or rivalry to the first, would inevitably be to create opposition, conflict and deadlock. What would be the use of such an Elected Second Chamber if it always agreed with the other House? How could differences of opinion between them on minor points, or unpopular causes, or abstruse issues, ever be decided? How could the quarrels between them be decided, even on great issues, without evil wrangling and long delay, and possibly the drastic remedy of a Double Dissolution, whenever there was a failure to agree? It is of the greatest importance to take care that the Second Chamber should be so constituted as to have no claim to be an exponent of the People's Will, any more than to be a medium for the expression of the will of particular Estates of the Realm or particular social classes. What the nation wants a Second Chamber for is not to pretend to the expression of anybody's will—that is the business of the Popular Assembly—but

for the quite distinct function of acting as a criticizing and revising body, coming to the help of the Popular Assembly in order to ensure a correct expression of the People's Will. We want to get an organ of criticism and revision that will not be swayed by party passion or party bias to oppose the measures sent up to it, merely because it does not like their contents, and yet will maintain a position of independence of the Popular Assembly sufficient to enable it temporarily to "hold up" that Assembly whenever it fails to express the People's Will.

THE RIGHT SOLUTION.

Surveying all the experience of the world with Second Chambers—municipal as well as legislative, unitary and federal—it may be suggested that the best expedient, and one which has, in fact, worked with singular smoothness and success, is that adopted by Norway, namely, election of the Second Chamber by the Popular Assembly. We suggest that the best plan of reconstructing the House of Lords as a Second Chamber for the United Kingdom is to enact that, immediately after each General Election, the House of Commons should elect, by the best system of Proportional Representation, a Second Chamber of, say, one hundred members, chosen from among persons (male or female) who are not members of the House of Commons. They should be irremovable during their tenure of office, should be made members of the Privy Council (and thus be styled Right Honourable), and should receive the same payment as Members of Parliament. Such a Second Chamber should be empowered to confer privately by committees with the House of Commons about the details of Bills, and to refer back to the House of Commons for reconsideration (but only if accompanied by a critical and detailed report expounding the revision suggested, and the reasons therefor) any Bill (not being the Annual other Money Bill as now defined) in which, whether or not its objects and purposes commended themselves, it was thought that specific amendments were required, in order either to make the measure more accurately express what the House of Commons desired, or to remedy what seemed to be omissions or inconsistencies within the measure itself, or to bring it into harmony with existing legislation in other departments. Moreover, the Second Chamber should be empowered, irrespective of its own views upon the propriety of the Bill, whenever it considered that a measure was of such a nature, or had been passed by the House of Commons under such circumstances, as to demand further consideration by the public opinion of the nation, either to refer the Bill back to the House of Commons for reconsideration in a subsequent session, explaining the reasons making such delay expedient, or (except in the case of the Annual Money Bill, or other legislation not brooking delay), in an extreme case, to suspend it for reconsideration by the House of Commons for a

period not exceeding two years, or until the first session after the next ensuing General Election. No reference back of either sort should be permitted more than once for the same measure.

It is suggested that a Second Chamber of this sort, with powers strictly defined in the above sense, would exercise satisfactorily all the functions that are proper to a Second Chamber, and it could not practically usurp any others. It would be as free as is possible from the temptation—the greatest to which a Second Chamber is exposed—to act from party spirit in a direction contrary to that of the majority of the House of Commons. It would be always in touch with every section of the House of Commons, and would yet be entirely independent of it. It would have at its command all the talent needed for revision in the largest sense, and none of the corporate ambition that might tempt its members to rivalry of what must, in any case, be and remain the supreme Legislature.

THE CUNNING AMENDMENT THAT WILL RUIN IT!

It is essential to the proper working of such a Second Chamber (in order to obviate the deflecting influence of party bias or party passion) that it should at all times correspond exactly, in the distribution of its members among parties, with the Popular Assembly for the time being. The cunning way to vitiate the proposal—an amendment certain to be proposed in the interests of the Conservative party and the property owners—is to make the term of office of such a Second Chamber longer than that of the House of Commons by which it is chosen; for instance, to say that its members should serve for the duration of two Parliaments, one half retiring at each dissolution. Such an amendment, specious as it is, must be strenuously resisted. However suitable it might be for a popularly elected Second Chamber, in which it was sought to secure an expression of the nation's permanent will, rather than of what might be only a momentary wave of feeling, it is quite out of place with regard to a Second Chamber which has not got to express the nation's will at all, but only to act as a Court of Revision. The cunning of the amendment lies in the fact that it would set up a bulwark against each successive House of Commons in which a relatively "progressive" majority had been returned. This would find itself balked by the over-standing half of the Second Chamber representing the defeated party majority of the last previous House of Commons. The discredited Conservative or property-owners' majority, against which the nation had risen in revolt, and indignantly it hurled from office and power, would be enabled always to lay its dead hand on the measures that the nation had voted for! It is accordingly of vital importance that the Second Chamber should be wholly appointed by each newly elected House of Commons for a

term of office expiring at each dissolution. Nothing short of this ought to be agreed to by any member of the Labour Party or by any genuine democrat.

CONCLUSIONS.

Thus we come definitely to the following conclusions:—

The House of Lords must go.

The House of Commons must be and remain the Supreme Legislature.

There is good ground for the establishment of a Second Chamber.

But only if this is not made an excuse for enabling particular sections to defeat the People's Will.

An Imperial Senate is impossible, and would anyhow not form a suitable Second Chamber

The nation will not stand a "House of Property Owners," or any revival of separate Estates of the Realm.

There must be no "faked" Second Chamber loading the dice against Democracy.

Nor do we want a sanctuary for the superannuated, an Assembly of Ex's, a Gilded Sepulchre for the Meritorious Aged.

Any "partially elected" Second Chamber would inevitably turn out to be packed with peers and dignitaries, millionaires and superannuated officials, in which the Conservative Party would have a permanent majority, and in which the Labour Party would find itself as hopelessly out-voted as is the Liberal Party in the House of Lords.

We must beware equally of any Second Chamber formed by indirect election, or nominated by County Councils, the learned professions and great interests—all of them devices for loading the dice against Democracy

Beware, too, of the bribe to Trade Union leaders—even as many as six of them may be offered seats in a Second Chamber of rich men—how generous!

But the Second Chamber may be quite as deadly to Democracy if it is wholly elected by the people, as Victoria has found to its cost: it is easy, whether by a special franchise or by requiring high qualifications, or even merely by making colossal constituencies, to exclude all but wealthy men or the representatives of wealthy party organisations, as successfully as in the House of Lords.

A popularly elected Second Chamber would, in fact, always be a bad Second Chamber, because it could claim to be as much the representative of the people as the House of Commons, and would inevitably become a rival to it. The function of a Second Chamber is merely to help the House of Commons to express correctly the People's Will; not to baulk it

By far the best way of forming a Second Chamber in this country would be the Norwegian system—let the House of Commons elect, after each General Election, by Proportional Representation, say 100 men and women outside its own ranks, to remain in office only for the term of that Parliament, to be paid the same as Members of the House of Commons, and to be styled Right Honourable.

Such a Second Chamber might be entrusted with power to refer back to the House of Commons, with a detailed critical report (but once only), any Bill (other than the Annual Money Bill) which the Second Chamber thought badly drafted or inconsistent with other legislation; or any such Bill, irrespective of whether or not it commended itself in substance, which seemed to require further consideration by public opinion.

But beware of the cunning amendment by which the Tory party, or the property-owners, will certainly seek to pervert even this proposal into a bulwark of the existing order. To enable the dead hand of the past to baulk the people's will it is only necessary to make the term of office of the Second Chamber longer than that of the House of Commons that nominates it. Any such cunning dodge to make the Second Chamber differ in party balance from the House of Commons for the time being must be strenuously resisted.

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The author, who is Russian by birth, and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Fabian Society, was sent by his colleagues to Petrograd in June, 1917, in response to a telegram from the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates, inviting the Society to send a delegate to discuss the then proposed International Socialist Congress at Stockholm.

The following paper was completed in August, 1917, before the author left for a second visit to Russia, and any later revision of it has not been possible.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AND BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

It is no easy task to estimate the value of the Russian Revolution for British democracy, but it is a very necessary task. There can be no doubt that when commonsense and experience have blown away the froth which now covers the surface of events, and when time has allowed the sediment to sink to its proper place, we shall see a nation greatly different from the distressed Russia of 1917. The process of settling down may take some years to accomplish, but nobody with any knowledge of Russia can doubt that before long she will take her place as one of the undisputed leaders of the great democracies. And if democracy is to make for lasting peace and for the welfare of the world, it is clear that there must first be mutual understanding, as a preliminary to mutual trust. The purpose of this pamphlet is to explain, with this object in view, some of the features of the new Russia which seem to have a bearing on her future relations with Britain.

THE RUSSIAN WORKING MAN.

Industrially, Russia is one of the youngest countries in the world, although factories made their first appearance there as far back as here. (E.g., "Under Catherine II. [1762-96] the workers sent to the Imperial Court three delegates, instructed to implore the Imperial protection against the abuses of employers. These delegates 'received each one hundred blows with the knout, had their nostrils burnt with red-hot irons, and were deported for life to Siberia.'"—From Alexinsky's *Modern Russia*.) But, in spite of the fact that Russia was enviously looked upon as an employers' paradise by many of the capitalists of Western Europe, the factory system developed slowly. In 1913 the total number of factory employees in European Russia under Government inspection was only about two and a-quarter millions, out of a population of about one hundred and forty millions. Even if we allow for the large number of persons employed in the factories which have been springing up at convenient points away from towns, especially over

the south and south-west of Russia, the total industrial population in all that vast area will be very far short of that of England and Wales.

The factory workers, relatively few though they be, are in most cases of peasant origin; that is to say, that they have been born in the villages. They had been coming to the towns before the traditions of serfdom had been fully extinguished. In consequence they have put up with abominably bad treatment from employers and foremen, with insanitary and insufficient housing accommodation, and with ridiculously low wages, which made existence possible only on a diet of weak tea and black bread. From 1870 to 1905, in spite of brutal repression, serious strikes were taking place in all the towns. And, be it remembered, the Russian working man was generally illiterate, and had no means of improving his own condition. The Government came down heavily on all forms of self-organisation, thus making trade-unionism, co-operation or political action practically impossible. There was no Duma and no labour representation anywhere.

In the circumstances it is not surprising that the political theories which the Russian working man evolved for himself were generally based on the necessity for a violent revolution. In 1905 a great effort was made to produce it—very nearly with success. But the difficulties of existence prevented the general acceptance of any definite and detailed political and industrial programme. The task of carrying the revolution through was gigantic enough to absorb all the energies of the working man; he could not see beyond it. And, it is important to note, this faith in a revolution was not confined to a section of the working class. It was the creed of the whole working class. The separate representation of working men was provided for in the Electoral Law under which the members of the Duma were chosen. The experience of four general elections led Prof. Milyukov to say that "every representative of the working men is invariably a Socialist in Russia. Thus it is quite impossible for the capitalists to elect a non-Socialist member. Russia is the only place in the world, I suppose, where the 'bourgeois' and the 'junkers' are obliged to elect Socialist members" (in "Russian Realities and Problems," 1917).

The fact that the political creed of the working class, insufficient though it was, was so generally accepted created a feeling of class solidarity incomparably stronger than any counterpart which may be found in Great Britain. This class solidarity, in combination with the faith in revolution, led to the ready acceptance of the Marxist doctrine of the class war. In Russia the line between one class and the next was very distinctly drawn in the days before the Revolution. A Russian had to belong to one of five legally defined classes, which was named in his passport. The "bourgeois," or middle-class man, although scarcer in Russia than in Western Europe, was, in accordance with the theory of Marx, looked upon as the natural enemy of the working man,

or, at the outside, tolerated as a temporarily necessary but ultimately superfluous institution.

THE COUNCIL OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DELEGATES.

This explanation may clear up the attitude of the Russian revolutionist towards the world, after his success in March, 1917, when the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates became, for all practical purposes, the Russian Parliament. Here it may be as well to describe the origin and growth of this generally misunderstood assembly.

The revolutionary movement of 1905 came to a head with a general strike, about the middle of October. The strike was a political one. It began on the railways, and by the 14th of the month it had spread over the whole of Russia, the Caucasus and the greater part of the Siberian and Asiatic railways. The factories immediately followed, and fights took place between strikers and soldiers in many parts of Russia. The telegraph ceased to work, the Government was paralysed. On October 12 it was decided, at a meeting in Petrograd, to form a Council of Working Men's Deputies. Within four days it had branches in all the great cities, and a Press of its own. Within a week this body became the real Government—the only organisation with any power behind it. On October 17 the Emperor ostensibly capitulated and signed a manifesto granting Russia a Constitution. On the 20th the general strike was discontinued by order of the Council. This was its high-water mark. We need not concern ourselves here with the subsequent unsuccessful general strikes, the risings, military and civil, of 1905 and 1906, and the gradual suppression of the revolutionary movement by the army and the police. The leading members of the Petrograd Council were arrested at the end of November and the beginning of December, when the centre of the revolution shifted to Moscow, where the local Council of Workers' Deputies, with a revolutionary Council of Soldiers' Deputies, kept up a fierce struggle for a month or so before they were overpowered.

From the end of 1905 to March, 1917, the Petrograd Council of Workers' Deputies lived underground. On March 12, 1917, the Duma was apparently at last in control of the situation. On the morning of that day it had decided to ignore the Tsar's ukaze proroguing the Duma. The Petrograd garrison had united with the working men in armed resistance to the police. The Chairman of the Council, a Georgian member of the Duma named Chcheidse, decided that the time had come. A meeting of the Council was hastily summoned at the Taurida Palace, the building occupied by the Duma, and on the same day a proclamation was published inviting the workmen and soldiers of Petrograd to elect representatives to a Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. This Council came into existence three days before the Provisional Government, and one of the strongest men in Russia, Kerensky,

was a vice-chairman. The C.W.S.D. was strong enough to exert an influence on the composition of the first Provisional Government. When it (the C.W.S.D.) was only a week or two old it had already grown to such dimensions that it could crowd the Duma out of its own home and take possession of the Taurida Palace, where it remains.

Within a few days of the revolution local C.W.S.D.'s had sprung into existence over all Russia and Siberia, followed a little later by Peasants' Councils. The members of the C.W.S.D.'s are naturally all Socialists, but of a good many different shades. In July, 1917, the writer heard a man holding forth in a Petrograd street to this effect: "The mother of seventeen young children lies dangerously ill. Her brood is misbehaving, making a terrible racket in the house, quarrelling amongst themselves, and fighting. If the noise continues the mother will die, and the children will starve. Is it not right, therefore, that the children should compose their differences for a while, forgetting that their names are Esserr, Bolshevik, Menshevik, Internationalist, Anarchist, Cadet, and so on, until the old lady has recovered. For if the Motherland dies, what will become of the Revolution?"

The man was speaking extremely good sense. There are too many parties, and the nearer they are, curiously enough, the greater the distance between them. The insuperable goes arm-in-arm with the inseparable. A and B, two Socialists, in agreement on everything that matters, will find some point of detail on which to differ, and will form separate parties. Then C, a kindly theorist, will say: "Why this disunion? Let us unite." And a few of the followers of A and B will leave them and come under C's banner, thus making a new party. Half the parties in Russia are the result of somebody's efforts to unite the other parties. The people who try to compose sectional differences succeed only in decomposing the existing organisations.

THE SOCIALIST PARTIES.

To see how the Socialist movement in Russia has been affected by this tendency to split up in the name of unity, let us glance over the party make-up of the great All-Russian Conference of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates of June, 1917—about as representative a body as one could hope to find. There were in all 1,090 delegates:

- 285 Social Revolutionists.
- 248 Mensheviks.
- 105 Bolsheviks.
- 32 Internationalists.
- 73 Non-Party Socialists.
- 10 United Social-Democrats (Bolshevik and Menshevik).
- 10 Bundists (Jewish S.D. Party).
- 3 The "Edinstvo" (Unity) Group.
- 3 National Socialists.
- 5 Labour Group.
- 1 Anarchist Communist.

The total falls a good deal short of 1,090 because the list does not include various representatives of provincial organisations, the army, the navy, and the peasantry, who were not selected on a party platform.

* * * * *

It may be gathered, therefore, that the people who really matter are the Social-Revolutionists, the Mensheviks, and the Bolsheviks. All three groups are Marxian, especially the Bolsheviks. The other two recognise the, at any rate, temporary justification of the existence of the middle-class, or bourgeoisie (a member of which rejoices in the name of "boorjooy"). The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, want to get rid of the boorjoos out of hand. The Social-Revolutionists (or Esserrrs) base their views on the theory that you must begin on the bottom floor, which means the moujik. In their economic doctrine, as in Tolstoy's, one begins with the peasant and the land, the first holding the second in communal ownership. The Mensheviks and Bolsheviks are not quite so keen on the land. They claim that the revolution must be the work of the victims of capitalism, who are not the peasantry, but the working classes.

* * * * *

About 1898 there was formed a party known as the Social Democratic Labour Party. In 1903 it split into two, called the Bolsheviks (or Majorityites or Maximalistes) and Mensheviks (or Minorityites or Minimalistes). The first party were the followers of Lenin. As the foregoing table shows, the Bolsheviks are now the minority, and vice versa. - But both parties stick to their old names. No Menshevik wants to be called a Bolshevik, accuracy notwithstanding; to him the word has become a term of abuse more than a party description. The Mensheviks have provided the Socialist members of the Cabinet, and their party, working amicably with the Social-Revolutionaries, has been able to ensure a dependable majority in favour of the continuation of the war, and a sane policy generally. They meet, none the less they do not mingle. Plekhanov tried to get them to merge, and the result was the "Edinstvo" Group, the size of which is indicated by its three representatives at the All-Russia Conference. The Bolsheviks harmonise, so far as this is possible, with the Internationalists, who want to see the whole world follow the example of Russia.

The Peasant Councils are ostensibly non-party; they nevertheless practically accept the Social-Revolutionary programme. The vote of peasant soldiers was large enough to elect a Social-Revolutionary majority in the municipal elections held in Moscow in June, 1917.

LENIN.

The difference between the outlook of the British and Russian working man cannot be illustrated better than by reference to a well-known and generally misrepresented extreme case Lenin

was an active member of the Social-Democratic Labour Party from the start, in Russia and in exile. Some people say that he is a German agent, but it is more likely that he is one of those curious products of the Russian revolutionary movement who have ceased to live on the moral planes of the rest of the world. So many revolutionists have turned out to be police agents, who in their own heart of hearts did not know which of their employers held the first claim on their allegiance. Azev, and Father Gapon, and the detective who shot the Premier, Stolypin, are all examples of the type. Messrs Joseph Conrad and Maurice Baring have dealt with it. Lenin is probably under the same shadow. To him the future of humanity, and its realisation by his methods, are everything—matters infinitely more important than the sources of the subscription to his funds, or the character of his allies.

His career during his abode in Russia, between his return from exile in April and his escape in August, is only explicable on this theory of his character. He arrives in Russia from Switzerland, the country of his exile, via Germany, in a special train lent him by the Kaiser's Government. He arrives in Russia, and explains that it is his mission to fight Russian Imperialism as much as the German brand of the same article. He needs a headquarters in Petrograd, so an armed body of his followers descend upon the house of a well-known ballet-dancer, Mme Kshenskaya, turn her out, and make themselves at home, remaining to this day in an admirably chosen strategic position. He needs a Press, so his armed followers come down on the editorial department of the Ministry of Agriculture. This used to publish a bulletin for distribution in vast numbers among Russian agriculturists, as well as pamphlets and leaflets galore. Lenin and Co therefore come into possession of a ready-made newspaper office, with a huge stock of paper in hand and machinery of just the right kind. He starts a daily paper, and immediately attacks the Provisional Government. The latter remonstrates feebly, but Lenin does not budge. The *Pravda* (*Truth*) comes out, with a swarm of local editions, a special edition for soldiers, and another for propaganda purposes at the front. The last, however, was soon suppressed.

Pravda remained until August, and was on sale everywhere. Its four pages contained, day by day, the essence of the pro-German and anti-Allies campaign. No lie was too blatant for *Pravda*, no argument too thin. Alone of the Petrograd Press it did not even mention the successful offensive of July 1—though its twin-brother, the *Soldiers' Pravda*, made the comment that the advance was a stab in the back of the German democracy! The word Allies was always printed in quotation marks in *Pravda*. Statements were made in every number with the purpose of discrediting the Allies. France, it was alleged, shoots Russian soldiers for fraternising with the enemy, and England looks on Russia as a sort of India or China, to be exploited hereafter. All

English Socialists are false to Socialism; even MacDonald, because he has never fought the capitalistic imperialism of British "boorjoys." When there were joyful demonstrations, *Pravda* used to get up counter-demonstrations of dilapidated soldiers carrying banners: "We want to go home," "If we do not bring in the harvest the war is lost." The whole thing was an imposture, of course. The soldiers were already deserters to a man, and the principal reason why they could not go home is that their own people refused to have them there.

THE OUTBREAK OF FREE SPEECH.

The prevalence of such extremists, and of their opinions, is very largely to be attributed to the political conditions of the Old Russia. Before March, 1917, you could not for all practical purposes make a speech in Russia. It was fairly difficult even to find a speech to listen to unless it took the form of a lecture on some subject not too closely connected with politics. They do not preach much in the Russian Church, and the chances of achieving pulpit fame as a dissenter were, and still are, very limited. The Revolution removed the gag. Everybody began to talk at once, and is still at it. The importance of it all lies in the fact that the task of governing Russia has got mixed up with the very natural desire to address the meeting. Russia has contracted the habit of holding Conferences, several at once, and all the time. They last sometimes from 9 a.m. to 5 a.m., and then they start again. They go on for weeks and weeks. There have been Labour Conferences, Socialist Conferences, Professional Conferences, and the usual Party Conferences. Thousands of them. They have not all been on the beaten track. In May, 1917, there was a Conference of the Criminal Classes held in Odessa, and more recently a sort of rash broke out over the map of Russia of Children's Conferences. The latter seem to have been a source of deep annoyance to the older generation. The infants of several towns demanded the return of the Romanovs, and in one or two places they discussed the Future of the Family.

The writer was present at some of the meetings of the All-Russian Conference of the C.W.S.D.'s, reference to which has already been made.

One evening he heard an American Socialist, Charles Russell, of New York, welcome the Russian Revolution. He described the way in which the most peacefully disposed among modern democracies had been compelled to take up the sword, and he assured his audience that they, too, would find sooner or later that there could be no real peace while Germany was undefeated. The crowd cheered ecstatically. Then an officer read out an immense resolution, all about this being an imperialist, bourgeois, capitalist war, about Russia's desire for peace, and her disinclination to conclude a separate peace in case one side or other came out of the war stronger than she would otherwise do—a resolution which took

at least ten minutes to read, bristling with self-contradictions, a resolution which might have been composed by everybody in a crowded room saying what they thought about the war to a reporter who reported everything and forgot to work out an average. And the crowd cheered ecstatically. They admire speech as an art in itself. Their discussions are got up for the sake of the speeches, not the division on them. Most of the resolutions before the Conference in point seemed to be of academic interest. In the meantime the Executive Committee did all the work, settling strikes, negotiating with the Provisional Government, and so on.

An interesting sidelight on the fact that in Russia free speech is still in the nature of an imported luxury is thrown by a widely distributed pamphlet, calling itself "The Revolutionist's Pocket Dictionary," which explains about a hundred terms at present in vogue. About six of them are Russian, the others come from Western Europe. Words such as "annexations," "contributions," "internationalism," "lock-out," "boycott," "trade union," and, in fact, all the vocabulary of industrial warfare, and of Socialism, are borrowed from the countries where first these things were practical politics

ARTELS AND TRADE UNIONS.

The aspects of Russian Democracy described above are the more obvious ones, the thing which strikes the eye of the casual traveller, rather than those gradually evolved institutions which matter more, while they show up less.

At the bottom of Russian industrial and co-operative organisation is the *artel*, which has been described as follows by Dr. Harold Williams, in his *Russia of the Russians* (undoubtedly the best book published in recent years on the country). "An *artel* is a kind of mutual liability association. Workmen frequently form *artels* as a guarantee against loss. The porters on railway stations are organised in *artels*, so are the floor-polishers, so are the messengers and red caps who stand at the street corners in the cities, so are the messengers in banks and business houses. The *artel* is liable for all its members, so that if one of them steals or injures property the *artel* has to make the loss good. The members of the *artel* pool their money and share gains as well as losses. Peasants from a village community often form themselves into an *artel* when they go to work at a distance, and local patriotism seems to form the basis of membership in the big *artels* in the cities, the men of Yaroslavl forming one *artel*, the men of Kostroma another, and so forth. The name *artel* is now used in the co-operative movement, and in this way a link of continuity is maintained with traditional Russian forms of association."

The development of the *artel* into the trade union was complicated by political conditions. The men who were responsible for the formation of the unions, in the 'seventies and again in 1905, wished to make them political rather than economic organisations. In order to counteract a tendency which might

work out to the danger of the existing order, the Government, from 1901 to 1906, actually encouraged the formation of trade unions of an economic type. The Chief of the Political Department of the Moscow police, named Zubatov, had the ingenious idea of nursing workmen's societies, in order that anti-Government feeling might be worked off on employers, and, incidentally, to give the police a chance of levying blackmail upon the factory-owners, who either had to pay up or see their workers come out on strike. This fake trade unionism was worked up all over Russia, and for a time it undoubtedly did a great deal towards choking a genuine movement. In the long run, however, it failed utterly, for Zubatov, having brought working men's societies into existence, necessarily taught their members how to organise themselves, and so paved the way towards the real thing. Zubatov's activities frightened the Government, and he was dismissed and banished to the Province of Arkangel. But he had set the ball rolling—and not at all in the desired direction. In 1907 there were said to be a quarter of a million organised trade unionists. Their numbers were subsequently reduced by repression; funds were confiscated, and when unions were allowed to exist, they were forbidden to federate. The Revolution has, of course, led to the formation of many great new unions. It is at present impossible to give any figures, as the unions are growing very quickly, and the process of amalgamation and co-ordination have not yet been clearly defined. The metal-workers' unions are attracting members by the hundred thousand, but as the number of workers at their trade has been artificially and perhaps temporarily inflated by the wholesale establishment of munition factories, it is at present impossible to trace the lines on which their organisations will develop. This much only is certain—the trade union will be a big thing in the new Russia.

A definition of the artel has already been given. It should be borne in mind, however, that there are several types of artels, which correspond to the various British forms of working-class economic organisation.

A. The most primitive kind of artel. The members supply only their labour; raw material and capital are not required—e.g., a body of men form an artel for the purpose of hauling barges up a great river. The artel is paid in a lump-sum, and divides it among its members in proportion to the amount of work done.

B. This type of artel requires capital, which is either found by its members or borrowed. It corresponds to the unsuccessful self-governing workshops which were set up by the Christian Socialists in England, and to a certain extent to the existing Productive Co-operative Societies where these are run by the workers themselves. Such artels do not require very considerable capital. The "Russian Peasant Industries" productions, which are now so popular in England, are

generally manufactured in this way Toy-making, for example, requiring no elaborate machinery, is largely conducted by this class of artel. Occasionally we find highly skilled work being turned out by artels. "The Co-operative Movement in Russia," by J. V. Bubnov, describes artels at some length, and mentions what is supposed to be the biggest one in Russia. This is at Pavlovo, in the Province of Nizhni-Novgorod, and employs about 300 men, of whom 125 are members, it is normally engaged in the manufacture of cutlery, but since the outbreak of war it has been making surgical instruments. Artels generally have a very much smaller number of members, and are naturally suffering from factory competition. In their present state they are doomed to extinction, but there are signs of their transformation into two new types. The first of these is.

C During the last three years a great many artels, engaged on war-work, have been capitalised by the *Zemstvos*, and have, in fact, developed into State workshops, run by the local rural and urban authorities. Some idea of the work of these will be obtained from the section on the Union of the *Zemstvos*.

D Is another newish type. The artel here loses its original character and turns into a trade union, which consists of all the employees at a single factory. Such artels (the name is adhered to) are, of course, made possible by the incompletely capitalist organisation of Russian industry, and by the existence of isolated factories near villages, where the employees all know one another and are not easily displaced.

E. Finally, there is, practically, the joint-stock company, or the co-operative factory. The artel finds the capital, and takes on its employees in the usual way. The co-operators are the employers, not the employed.

CO-OPERATION.

This classification of the artel system will show that co-operative consumption and production are connected naturally with the previously existing types of organisation. There was no question of the acceptance of a new theory. Both the theory and the practice were already present; they merely needed a few business-like individuals to hutch them together. Some fifteen years ago the impulse came, and since then the growth of various forms of co-operation has been stupendous. The war has merely stimulated what was already a prodigious growth. The progress of the co-operative movement since the Revolution (no figures are available) has been unchecked; indeed, it is possible that the predominant type of Russian production will be co-operative, just as the British type is joint-stock. Let us begin with consumers' societies—the Russian equivalent of the "co-op." stores. It is impossible to give any

up-to-date figure of their number and membership. According to Mr. Bubnov, there were on January 1, 1914, 10,080 consumers' societies, and three years later there were about 20,000. During the period of the war they have been forming at the rate of about ten a day. The total membership on January 1, 1914, was 1,450,000, and it must have more than doubled by this time. The "Co-operation" Society in Moscow had in June, 1917, 65,000 members. The provinces of Kiev, Podolia and Poltava are the principal centres of this form of co-operation. Here, again, there was already in existence an organisation of a lower type to simplify the evolution of the higher. A few years ago Russian factories frequently had an ostensibly co-operative store attached to them, run jointly by the management and workers. This system is now almost extinct, it seems to have had a good many of the disadvantages of the "truck" shop of the early part of last century, with some of the benefits of the co-operative store.

A type of co-operation which is doing very well in Russia today is represented by the sixteen or seventeen thousand Credit Associations, with their membership of over ten million householders. There are various types of these, their common object is to help the peasant smallholder (he must be an owner) to borrow money in order to purchase livestock, agricultural machinery, etc., on the security of his land and crops.

Lastly, there are the co-operative productive societies. These, again, vary greatly. The most characteristically Russian is the mass of associations of various types which come into the Union of Siberia Creamery Associations, formed in 1908. This has grown directly out of innumerable butter artels, and is now apparently in a fair way to gain a monopoly of the whole dairy business of Siberia. There are also productive bodies built up on a model similar to that of the English and Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Societies. The Moscow Union of Consumer Societies is the principal such body. During the last few years it has opened a great many factories all over Russia, and its activities have been stimulated rather than checked by the war. Then there are a large number of auxiliary bodies connected with the co-operative movement. The Moscow Narodov (People's) Bank is the principal financial organ of the movement, which also has an educational side. At the moment of writing Russian co-operation, although in a thoroughly healthy state, is too shapeless to be described in detail. While certain sections of the movement were regarded with suspicion by the pre-revolutionary governments, others (*e.g.*, the Credit Associations) used to receive intelligent encouragement. Now that all unnatural restrictions upon their growth have been removed, the co-operative organisations are developing in unexpected directions. The high prices of food, the scarcity for which the late Government was largely responsible, and the consequent profiteering and uneven distribution, have largely discredited the private trader and given a great impetus to the co-operation.

THE LAND.

The movements which have been described in the course of this paper have been urban with the exception of the co-operative impulse, which has made itself felt in village and town alike. On June 7, 1917, the All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies issued a statement on the land question, in the course of which the leading ideas which have been in vogue among the peasants since the abolition of serfdom are briefly expressed. Although the policy which this statement recommends has not been completely accepted by the Provisional Government, and will have to be decided in the long run by the Constituent Assembly, there is no doubt that its ideas are already being acted upon very largely both by Government Departments and by the peasants themselves. All lands, whether belonging to the State, the Church, or private persons, are to be handed over to the people, with no compensation to their present owners. The land administration is to be handed over to local agricultural committees, which are to be responsible for the cultivation. These committees are to have the power of requisitioning agricultural machinery where its present owners are not already using it to the national advantage. The committees are to gather in the harvest, regulate river fisheries, and control the output of timber. They are, further, to fix rents, prices, and wages in connection with these activities. The statement from which these points are taken concludes with the expression of the conviction that only under these conditions will it be possible to create a new social organisation worthy of Free Russia, an organisation which "will unite in one family of brethren, under the protection of one Government all the toilers on the land without distinction of nationality, religion, and social standing—the great Russian and the Ukrainian, the Christian and the Mussulman, the peasant and the Cossack, the Russian and the stranger within his gates, the villager and the courtier." This may read like the wildest Utopianism, but Russia happens to be the one country on earth where Utopian schemes are practical politics. The peasants' programme, as we shall see a little later, has already led to certain disorders. But it is also leading to a more intelligent peasantry, with a greater sense of responsibility for Russia. It is as well to be reminded that the peasants' programme will affect the destinies of about a hundred million persons.

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The last of great Russian democratic organisations is

THE UNION OF THE ZEMSTVOS.

There used to be a legend—it is not dead yet—to the effect that Russian people were used to being autocratically governed. The people who held this view maintained that if the Russians were allowed to mind their own business instead of letting it be conducted for them by German officials and half-German Courts, there would be confusion, if nothing worse. This quaint theory

is, of course, entirely baseless. Democracy as a living force has nowhere shown itself more wonderfully since the outbreak of the war than in Russia.

When war began it immediately became apparent that the Russian War Office was going to have its hands very full indeed. It also became pretty clear that the Russian Red Cross Society, admirable body though it is, was not strong enough to do the work laid down for it. A new organisation was needed to rectify the shortcomings which were immediately apparent, and a new organisation came into existence, without the help of the Government — actually for a time in opposition to the Government or to one member of it. Russia is divided for purposes of local government into what are known as *Zemstvos*, to which our county councils may be taken as equivalent. Many years ago, during the war with Japan, a Union of *Zemstvos* had been formed to supplement the very inadequate Red Cross Organisation. Almost immediately after Germany made war in 1914 the Russian Union of *Zemstvos* was revived, and was soon followed by a similar body on a smaller scale, the Russian Union of Towns, consisting of a federation of town councils. Early in August, 1914, the new organisation sprang into existence. The movement began in Moscow, and the rest of Russia quickly followed. The Cossacks of the Don contributed no less than £50,000 to the Union. Before the war was a month old the organisation was under way.

The Union of *Zemstvos* was supposed to play a subordinate part in the work of the sanitary organisation of the Ministry of War and of the Red Cross Society, and consequently the War Office, as well as the Red Cross, would not allow the Union to work independently for the evacuation of the wounded and to extend its activity to the battle line. The work was to be divided so that the Red Cross should be at the front, whilst the Union was supposed to relieve the wounded in the interior of Russia. According to these plans and in consideration of the very limited funds of the Union, provision was made for about 25,000 to 30,000 beds and for a few hospital trains which were to run in the interior of the Empire. But from the very beginning the circumstances necessitated not only the widening of the sphere of work as formerly planned, not only the extension of the Union's activity to the fighting line, but also to give over to the Union some functions that were purely Governmental, and were formerly undertaken by the Government alone.

It soon became evident that many needs, and some of them not directly connected with the relief of the wounded, had not been foreseen in peace time, and that neither the Sanitary Department of the War Office nor the Red Cross Society could supply those needs, especially when, owing to certain events developing unexpectedly, both these institutions had to devote all their energy for the medical work at the front. This created the necessity of erecting numerous hospitals, of collecting and distributing centres for the sick and wounded coming from the front. At those centres an adequate medical staff had to be appointed; all the equipment,

as well as trains for the transport of the wounded, had to be provided. All that could be effected, and all these pressing needs could be met only by a close alliance between the Government and the public corporations, of which the Union of Zemstvos, possessing the confidence of all classes, and having at its disposal a well-trained staff, took the lead.

The Government was bound to accept its aid, and the General Committee was ready at once to assist the army with all its strength and with all its available means.

After organising hospitals, hospital trains and food providing units, the Union of Zemstvos extended its activity to the front, its first attempt proved a success, and the High Command laid on the Union the most varied tasks. New enterprises followed one after the other, more primitive ones were extended, and new duties were added. The units at the front increased in number, stores of various kinds, with their bases in the rear, accumulated at the front, and, in conjunction with the War Office, stations, medical organisations supplemented by canteens, bath houses and laundries, were established by the Union. The victualling of a host of over 300,000 men, engaged in war constructions in the immediate rear of the army, fell to the care of the Union. The medical sanitary work with numerous units for dealing with infectious diseases, units for vaccination, disinfecting units, bacteriological laboratories, medicinal stores at front and base, movable bath houses, developed rapidly. The Union of Zemstvos was required likewise to relieve the refugees, and responded by organising a net of canteens, medical institutions, registration and labour offices, refuges for children, workshops, etc.

Nor was this all. Little by little the Union of Zemstvos, always helped by the Union of Towns, found itself taking over the whole work of looking after the sick and wounded. At the beginning of 1916 it ran fifty hospitals. But it was not only Russia's sick and wounded who needed help. The War Office organisation was quite incapable of undertaking a campaign so enormous as that in which Russia found herself engaged. All sorts of essential articles were lacking. The Union began to provide clothes for the army, organising for that purpose the co-operation of the local authorities in every part of Russia. Funds were raised for the purchase of necessary articles abroad, especially in England and the United States. In February, 1915, the only tannery in Russia was requisitioned by the War Office and handed over to the Union. A little later, when the Union had succeeded in getting supplies of tanning extracts, a special leather factory was opened. Contributions for the great work came in readily. The local authorities found the greater part of the necessary funds. Private subscriptions were also forthcoming, and even the War Office came down with handsome contributions. When the great retreat of 1915 took place, it was the Union which had the task of dealing with the refugees, of whom there were no fewer than four millions on the south-western front alone.

A number of guides were appointed to help the refugees on their way. These took upon themselves the care of refugees travelling by railway. The necessity of rescuing the children brought into existence a great number of crèches and nurseries, to which more than 58,000 children were admitted on the south-western front alone. Apart from that, there were established, for the benefit of the refugees, labour exchanges, inquiry and registration offices, and many investigations were made with regard to the position of the refugees in different districts.

The extent of the Union's operations may be gauged from the fact that it had at the beginning of 1916 no less than 124 establishments in the Caucasus alone. So far the work which we have been describing has been of a character subsidiary to the War Office. But the Union did not stop at this.

In the spring of 1915, when the Russian army had suffered so badly from a deficiency of shells and ammunition, a general movement to give assistance to the army swept through the whole of Russian Society. At this very moment the Russian Union of Zemstvos took an active part in the work of providing the army with all the necessary materials. After the failures in Galicia in 1915 it became evident that there was a colossal inequality between the equipment of Russian troops and that of the Austro-Germans. The Government itself could see the necessity of calling upon all social forces for the sake of reinforcing the fighting power of the army. The Russian Zemstvos, of course, could not remain indifferent with regard to this work.

The meeting of the representatives of the Government Zemstvos, which took place in Moscow on June 5, 1915, decided to commit the charge of this enormous task of providing the active army with all necessaries, not to isolated Zemstvos, but to the Union of Zemstvos. In all the Zemstvos, government and district committees were formed, and these approached this work very earnestly. The first and most important task was the unification of small industries, the work of the peasants in their homes, and also the uniting of the isolated technical ability of the country.

In July, 1915, the Union of Zemstvos took orders from the military authorities for different articles of ammunition and army equipment, which amounted to many millions of roubles. Among these were not only articles of commissary-supplies (vehicles, harness, kitchens, wheels, horseshoes, tarpaulin, knapsacks, saddles, etc.), but articles for artillery and military equipment, such as shells, hand-grenades, entrenching tools, telephones. All these orders were immediately distributed among the local organisations of the Union of Zemstvos.

Simultaneously with the distribution of these orders among local committees, the General Committee set about the organisation of enterprises of its own; munition works for providing 3-inch and 6-inch shells, the erection of factories for making sulphuric acid, telephones, tarpaulin, and much besides.

With regard to supplying the army, the Union of Zemstvos co-operated from August, 1915, with the Russian Union of Towns. Both these Unions are working together, having formed a Special Committee for army supply.

All this marvellous organisation, it must be repeated and emphasised, has grown up independently of the Government departments. The Russian people alone, through their elected local authorities, have done the work. Can it be said any longer that they are incapable of self-government, fit only to be the subjects of an autocracy? *

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

For the present, however, the situation is ominous. English opinion is too much inclined to attribute the disorders on the other side to political causes. The British public is apparently under the impression that the trouble is mainly due to party disputes, with a certain amount of German propaganda thrown in. There is no doubt that these are very important factors in the situation, but by themselves they can hardly be held accountable for the increasing disorganisation of affairs in general. The root of Russia's present difficulties is economic and financial, and not political. So far as there is a political difficulty—and I do not for a moment deny that it exists and is serious—it is to a very large extent merely the reaction of the prevalent economic conditions.

The outward and visible sign of the troublesomeness of the situation is paper. Metal currency has ceased to exist. If you ask people where it has got to they shrug their shoulders and talk about hoarding. Illiterate peasants, it appears, dislike paper money, and have collected all the coin in circulation. During the last three years the Romanov Governments attempted to get out of their financial difficulties by printing vast quantities of paper money. This had the result of driving coins out of circulation and depreciating the rouble. In a country with an advanced banking system the effects would not have been so serious, but in Russia, where banks are mistrusted, the unrestricted issue of paper money provided an exceptionally easy descent towards national bankruptcy.

With a banking system such as exists in Russia there is no limit to the quantity of paper money which the country can absorb, and consequently to the liabilities which the Government can incur in issuing it. The smaller coins—30, 20, 15 and 10 copecks, and down to one copeck—have been replaced by a special issue of postage stamps, printed on specially thick paper. The one copeck note (now worth about the tenth of a penny) may be regarded as a pathetic symbol of Russia's difficulties.

This, however, is only one side of the difficulty. There is also the wages problem to be considered. The Russian town workman

* This account of the work of the Union of the Zemstvos is based upon the Report, published by Messrs. P. S. King and Son. 1s net

was until quite recently in receipt of extraordinarily low wages, and accustomed to a terribly low standard of life. His wages, in English terms, often came to no more than a pound or two a month. He and his family lived on black bread and weak tea, and shared a room or a cellar with perhaps several other families. In the circumstances it is not surprising that he was seldom a particularly efficient workman. He was slow, and his employer generally called him lazy. Wages had been rising gradually since 1905, the year of big strikes, and they had been increasing fairly rapidly between the outbreak of war and the Revolution. But even so they were appallingly insufficient, especially in view of the extraordinary rise of prices during the latter period.

Consequently, when the Revolution came, the workmen felt they were justified in asking for an increase of wages, which sometimes came to as much as 300 or 400 per cent. And yet, in the circumstances of the case, the Minister of Labour, M. Skobelev, assured me that such demands could not always be regarded as unjustifiable. Immediately after the Revolution these demands for higher wages took place at virtually every factory. But it was found impossible to settle matters immediately on a satisfactory basis, as prices, after a temporary decline, started once more on the upward path. So that a succession of demands for higher wages took place, and in a good many cases the workmen felt that the food speculators were getting the best of them and that the only way of meeting them was to insist on the demands of wages out of all proportion to those which they had been receiving. Cases have been heard of when the workmen demanded as much as 800 per cent. over pre-Revolution rates.

This demand for higher wages naturally has not been accompanied by smoothness throughout. There have been innumerable strikes, although they have seldom lasted more than a few days. The dangerous element in the new movement has been the tendency towards syndicalism. Workmen have attempted to take control of factories and to dispense entirely with the so-called "bourgeois" management. In certain cases the workmen have very soon discovered that they could not carry on without their technical staff, which found itself reinstated after a very few days.

The net result of this agitation has been an enormous decrease of production. It must be remembered that not only have the workmen been insisting on higher wages, but they have also been demanding (and they have obtained) a greatly reduced working day. Moreover, employees of a great many large factories have refused to go on working unless the management complied with certain almost penal conditions. For instance, men elected by their fellow-employees to serve on local councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates must continue to receive their wages, and time lost through disputes has also to be paid for.

In the circumstances it is not surprising to find innumerable undertakings shut down altogether. Factories engaged in the pro-

duction of munitions have in most cases been able to secure help from the Government, but those not directly engaged on war work have been having a very bad time.

There are, of course, no reliable statistics available as to the extent of the fall in production. A few fortunate factories in Petrograd and Moscow have been able to report that they have not suffered to the extent of more than 20 per cent, but the majority, perhaps, place the figure at something like 50, and one hears occasionally of places where only 20 per cent. of the pre-Revolution output is maintained. I have heard of one unfortunate establishment engaged on Government work, employing many thousands of men and women, which turned out during the three months following the Revolution only 7½ per cent of its output for the previous six months.

Add to these facts the very important consideration that transport is becoming more and more difficult, that the number of locomotives needing repair is something in five figures, while the number of locomotives actually undergoing repair is comparatively microscopical, and it must be realised that the economic situation is perhaps even more menacing than the military. A great many things which we had been in the habit of regarding as necessities of life have virtually gone out of manufacture. In Petrograd and Moscow boots, shoes, and clothing cannot be obtained except at fantastic prices.

The refusal, for that is what it practically comes to, of the workmen to work, except on economically impossible conditions, finds its parallel not only in the behaviour of the Armies, but also in the attitude which is being taken up by the peasant in a great many parts of Russia. It is impossible to sum up the agrarian situation in a few words, and I shall not attempt to do so. But this much is certain: a great many peasants, with all the produce of particularly lucrative harvests turned under their cottage floors, have not recognised the necessity of seeing that this year's harvest should be a normal one. Production in this direction has also enormously dropped off, and sooner or later the pinch will be felt in consequence. Moreover, conditions of instability have asserted themselves in "expropriation," and in the large towns one meets a good many men and women who were wealthy landowners until the other day when their peasants reduced them to bankruptcy at a single blow. Here, as in the case of the town workmen, retributive justice has been at work no less than human folly. The employer who did his best for his men, and the landowner who always kept before him the interests of his peasants, have distinctly received preferential treatment. It is gratifying to know that among the former there are a number of British enterprises. In the long run, however, one is brought up against the fact that democracy is based upon discipline, and that in any state citizens which try to do without discipline simply cannot exist. But discipline in Russia is peculiarly scarce at the moment. Let me give one or two illustrations.

THE NEED FOR DISCIPLINE.

The Nevsky Prospect, the main thoroughfare of Petrograd, is the nightly scene of innumerable little meetings. You can hear workmen arguing their right to the whole produce of labour; you can hear impassioned ladies beseeching deserters to return to the front and to defend Russian "cultura," and you can hear innumerable unlightened discussions on an extraordinary number of purely theoretical matters. The most interesting feature about these discussions, however, is the attitude of the deserters. Sometimes they repeat what is evidently a set speech as they heard it delivered by a Leninite. They assure their hearers that it is all one to them whether they are ruled by German capitalism, or, as at present the case, Anglo-French capitalism. When they are asked where is the latter they generally, I notice, begin again from the beginning. One hears officers beseeching deserters to return to the front, and one also hears deserters explaining to officers why the latter should follow their own example.

Take another example, also from the Army. General Brusilov, the Commander-in-Chief, orders a general offensive. The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates of the town occupied by General Headquarters sends a bitter protest to Petrograd and the Government against the General's refusal to discuss the conditions of the offensive with them beforehand, and this protest is widely circulated all over Russia, conveying the impression that the General was not entitled to order an offensive.

They are repeating a story in Petrograd a good deal just now. It may not be absolutely true, but it seems to sum up the situation in a perfectly admirable manner. As English readers will be already aware, the lines of the opposing armies on the Russian fronts have seldom been as close to one another as in Flanders; at some points, in fact, the lines have been several miles apart. When the hot weather came on an officer in command of a unit at the front decided that the present position of his men, which was in a swamp, was not healthy, and likely to become worse. In front of them was a hill, behind them was another. The officer ordered an advance. The hill in front could probably be taken without any loss of men, and an advance was ordered accordingly. The men thereupon held a meeting, and decided that they would not advance as they were not fighting a war of aggression. The officer thereupon suggested a move to the rear, any hill being healthier than the swamp. The men again met to consider the matter, and decided that as this was an offensive war they would not yield any ground. One almost feels justified in using the words: "and so they all perished miserably."

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE.

Now what effect is all this slackness going to have on the future? The immediate prospect for Russia is distinctly uncomfortable.

able. In the first place, the number of desertions is likely to grow rather than diminish when the cold weather sets in. Moreover, the increased difficulties of picking up a living will probably lead to various forms of brigandage which at present fortunately are rare. The problem is more than a purely military one. We must consider the effect which a demoralised Russia will have upon the state of feeling in Germany and the rest of Europe. Undoubtedly the effect will be to encourage the supporters of absolutism in all its forms throughout the world. If the Russian democracy cannot pull itself together it will make itself for many generations to come "the horrible example" to be quoted as an argument against any further democratisation.

And yet the Russian people themselves are hardly to be held to blame for the catastrophe in which they are unwittingly taking part. The most enormous, and at the same time the most ignorant of the European nations has suddenly found itself able to shape her own destinies. Up to the day of its liberation the Russian democracy had never been allowed to consider what it would wish its destiny to be. If Russia has fallen into the hands of theorists and extremists, it is because the practical, experienced administrator of Liberal principles had not been previously allowed to exist. The present débâcle is the legacy of the Romanovs, their last but deadliest insult to the intelligence of Europe.

Such is the situation in Russia to-day. The success of the Revolution is not yet assured. The new Russia has a magnificent foundation in its democratic institutions and in its genuinely democratic sentiment. The danger comes not only from indiscipline and treachery, but also from the apparently too materialistic outlook of many of the present leaders. The greatly talked-of "moral personality" of the Revolution is too often allowed to supersede the personal morality of the revolutionist. But no genuine democrat need despair; if democracy is indeed the spirit which makes a nation great, then Russia is safe.

What can the British Labour movement do to help Russia? Mutual knowledge is the first essential. The Russian co-operative movement has been making advances to the British movement, and it is clear that the two great people's organs are bound to become more closely associated in the future, possibly, as some Russian co-operators believe, to the point of interdependence. British co-operatively manufactured goods will certainly be exchanged against Russian agricultural produce through the media of the co-operative organisations.

Relations between British and Russian trade unions must depend upon the extent to which Russia avails herself of the help proffered by this country. In this case, at any rate, the youngest democracy has much to learn from the oldest.

The Labour and Socialist movements must keep in close touch. A useful start has already been made in this direction by the exchange of delegations. It is to be regretted that the oppor-

tunity of the Stockholm Conference was not whole-heartedly accepted, as the British Labour point of view on the war is generally misunderstood and often wilfully misinterpreted.

The British Labour movement can itself do much to bring about a better understanding with the foreign democracies by insisting on the appointment of Labour Attachés at British embassies and legations. (The idea, I believe, is Mr. Arthur Henderson's.) The selection of youngish men from the ranks of trade-union officials for such posts would have these desirable effects. First, the better mutual knowledge of the working classes of the civilised nations. Second, the education of the future trade-union leaders and Labour M.P.'s. Third, the breaking down of the social exclusiveness which tends to prevail at British embassies and legations. A Labour Attaché to the Embassy in Petrograd might be of the greatest service to both Britain and Russia.

The time is clearly coming when the Labour movements in all countries will have to appoint their own ambassadors. The representatives and plenipotentiaries of Labour will concern themselves with economic rather than with political questions; they will watch over international Labour legislation and make it effective; they will prevent the manipulation of tariffs in the interests of any particular body of manufacturers, and they will see that one country does not undercut another's industry by allowing sweated labour to continue. For the first time in European history Labour controls the government of a great nation. Whatever the blunders of the Russian Revolution, it has already demonstrated the possibilities for good latent in democracy.

The future peace of the world will depend very largely upon the relations of the great democracies to one another when the common cause of war has ceased to hold them together. Britain is united with the U.S.A. by ties of blood, and with France by a common tradition and a great memory. If these three nations conclude a people's pact with the Russia which will assuredly arise from the present disorders, the world will be able to afford to laugh at the lessening menace of the few remaining autocracies

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Central Africa and the League of Nations

By R. C. Hawkin

It should be taken as an axiom that in spite of all revolutionary change which may or may not supervene after this war, no one will ever propose to withdraw international rights which already exist. Now, the Free Trade zone in Central Africa was created by International Law, so there exist many such rights there, and I shall begin by exposing them as a basis for the development of an International State subject to the control of the League of Nations.

The story of the European occupation of Central Africa goes back to the times of Prince Henry the Navigator, a younger son of the usurper, King John I. of Portugal, by his marriage with Philippa of Lancaster, the sister of our usurping King Henry IV.

Prince Henry was Grand Master of the Order of Christ, and his expeditions laid the foundations of Portuguese predominance and prepared the downfall of Venetian commerce. One of his proclaimed objects was to extend the Holy Religion of our Lord Jesus Christ and to bring to Him all the souls that wish to be saved, while incidentally he desired to secure help in the wars against the Mussulmans, and in consideration of these pious aspirations the Pope, in 1436, conceded to the Prince all the countries which he might discover south of Cape Bojador; furthermore, it was agreed that 20 per cent. of any trade profits should be paid to the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, so that arrangements could be made to convert the negroes.

The Pope as International Executive.

A Papal Bull was, of course, the then recognised method of securing a title to foreign possessions. William the Conqueror ruled England by virtue of a deal with the Pope, who required Norman military aid against the German Kaisers; and England rules Ireland to-day by virtue of such a title, so we are, I suppose, under a similar obligation to teach the natives of Ireland the Christian religion.

Now there are two theories on which all these Bulls rested. One you will find enunciated by Melchizedek in the 14th chapter

of Genesis, when he arbitrated with Abraham for the King of Sodom after the great world war between four Asiatic kings and five Phœnician cities for the control of the Suez trade route. The Melchizedek theory was that all property belongs to an International God, and should be held subject to the payment of tithes to an earthly trustee, who would use his influence to settle disputes between rulers. Abraham thereupon paid the tithes and agreed to accept these principles, though his Amorite allies refused to do so.

This theory, however, was not very convenient to the Pope, because it upset the doctrines of conquest on which Imperial Rome was built; so it began to be argued that the Pope had acquired his rights over territory by virtue of a cession made to the Pope by the Emperor Constantine in return for a healing of his body and forgiveness of his sins. Thus the Christian Church came to recognise the theory of conquest, which is the negation of international right.

The Portuguese, however, had to enforce their title to Africa just as we have to do in Ireland, and this would have been a much more difficult matter if it had not been for the extraordinary influence of the Christian Religion over the natives.

John II. of Portugal carried on Prince Henry's work, and in 1516 the King of Congo admitted his subjugation to Portugal. This was entirely because he was willing to do almost anything in order to secure missionaries to teach his people religion, and one native chief became himself a fanatical propagandist. The Geographical Society of Lisbon have preserved records of a vast rebellion which broke out in Congo in consequence of a proclamation favouring monogamy, including a wonderful story of the sudden appearance of a Red Cross knight on a white horse, who caused the rebels to fall into their own ambush, and left a small band of Christians masters of the situation.

The Papal Collapse.

During the sixteenth century the missionary zeal of Portugal began to wane, and, after repeated failures to secure priests from Portugal, the Congolese at last applied to Spain. Philip of Spain excused himself on the ground that he was engaged in conquering England, so the Pope was applied to once more, and he decided that the Congo must in future belong to Spain, who must send the missionaries. Here, then, we again find the only international authority stepping in to decide a question of title in Central Africa. It seems also that the Pope (Sixtus V) claimed the right to dispossess the Portuguese and to re-grant the overlordship to Spain. He was certainly not the kind of Pope to be afraid of creating a precedent, for he selected a Jew for his chief adviser, excommunicated our Queen Elizabeth, and published his own translation of the Bible. After the Reformation Protestant countries claimed the power to make grants of distant lands to chartered companies,

and during the Thirty Years' War (1616-1646) the Pope found himself unable to maintain his international status

I am not able to say whether Portugal acquiesced in its loss of Central Africa. It seems as though she did, but probably the Congo sank back to its barbaric condition, oppressed by a neighbouring Emperor at the head of an army of women warriors, who selected their own husbands and left men to act as nurses.

Portugal had done fairly well out of the Slave Trade, but her glory was now passing. The British and Dutch East India Companies were in progress of foundation, and in 1644 the Slave Trade with Brazil was commenced, the Arabs lending a hand, and no international authority could interfere with those sea Powers who made money in this way. The conscience of England was at last aroused by the evangelical revival of the eighteenth century, followed by the democratic doctrines which swept over the world

An American Theory.

There was then no international organisation for enforcing moral laws common to humanity; but America formulated a doctrine that land in the New World could be claimed by the first white occupier.

When the slaves were freed in America very grave practical questions arose, and in 1822 a Committee in Washington raised a fund and acquired a tract of land in Upper Guinea as a refuge for freed African Negroes. A Republic was constituted called Liberia, and Great Britain acknowledged her independence. Another similar Republic called Maryland was founded by the purchase of lands near Liberia, but Maryland was afterwards, by consent, annexed to Liberia. All this naturally introduced American influence into Africa, and aroused American interest in Africa as providing a possible solution for her black problems.

A New York daily paper had, therefore, no difficulty in raising the wind for Stanley's expedition through Central Africa, and he, of course, flew the United States flag as he went

Like Prince Henry, he combined business and philanthropy, but the United States Government understood the difference between the two, and was never under any delusion as to the danger of the philanthropic side disappearing, so she soon began to watch Europe very carefully. Her new theory began to appear, which was the basis of land law in America, viz. that African soil belonged to any European race which chose to claim and occupy it

King Leopold of Belgium had by means of expeditions in 1882, 1883 and 1884 secured the signatures of various native chiefs to some documents purporting to cede rights to a society called the International Association of the Congo, which had been founded

by King Leopold for the purpose of promoting the civilisation and commerce of Africa and for other humane and benevolent purposes. The Association published a declaration that a number of Free States were being established, and that the administration of the interests of the said Free States was vested in the Association, which would adopt a blue flag with a gold star in the centre. They undertook to levy no customs, to guarantee to all foreigners the right of navigation, commerce and industry, and to do all in their power to prevent the Slave Trade and to suppress slavery.

The World Conference of 1885.

England promptly recognised the International Association, and King Leopold then applied to all the world to do the same. For this purpose he summoned the Berlin Conference of 1885 to consider his proposition. All nations were invited, but the Pope, to his great chagrin, was refused a place at the Conference by Bismarck.

The first question which arose when the Conference assembled was the old problem, viz., by virtue of what right could such a Conference legislate for the world, and it was then agreed that the Acts should be issued in the name of Almighty God. So once more we see the quest for a moral sanction for International Law.

America at once played the principal part, as she claimed that the Congo was discovered by an American citizen flying the Stars and Stripes. America wanted the zone to be as big as possible, and got her way.

Free Trade was guaranteed to all nations; the principle of free navigation laid down by the Congress of Vienna in respect of the Danube was adopted for the Congo and Niger rivers; a declaration relative to the neutrality of the Congo Basin was made; perfect equality of treatment for the subjects of all nations regarding navigation rights was enacted. It was further enacted that this law should be recognised as forming a part of International Law; that any Power who had not signed the Berlin Act might at any time adhere to it; and that any Power which thereafter took possession of, or assumed a protectorate over, any coast land of Africa must notify all the signatories of the Berlin Act, in order to enable them, if need be, to make good any claim of their own. Portugal, therefore, claimed a good deal by virtue of her old title, and these claims were duly recognised.

America Protests.

Now, all this was to the good, but a grave difficulty arose over the neutrality clauses. Everyone was willing to bind himself to respect the neutrality of the Congo Basin, but the question arose as to what should happen if the Powers exercising rights of sovereignty or protectorates were engaged in war. How, then,

was neutrality to be enforced? Who was to do the enforcing? It was proposed that all should agree to enforce neutrality, so that Central Africa should be guaranteed neutral even if war occurred elsewhere. One Power alone stood out against this scheme, and that was America. She was estopped by the Monroe Doctrine from undertaking to use force in Africa, even to enforce peace. It is true she had proclaimed her special interest in Liberia, and had refused to allow France to proclaim a protectorate thereover; but to join the other European Powers in guaranteeing peace in Central Africa was too much for the Senate, who unhesitatingly threw over their own representative at the Conference, and dissented from his view. The clauses were whittled down and modified, but all to no purpose, and the American ratification was refused. Bismarck was furious, and made caustic comments on the inability of a democracy to conduct foreign affairs.

The fact was that the Senate was thoroughly disconcerted over the whole matter, and found itself quite out of harmony with European opinion about God and Africa. The view of the United States was formally placed on record in 1890, when the Senate was ratifying the Brussels Act regarding the Slave Trade. It was to the effect that America disclaimed any intention to indicate any interest whatsoever in the possessions or protectorates established or claimed by European Powers in Africa, or any approval of the wisdom, expediency or lawfulness thereof. This resolution was sent round to all the Powers, and certainly requires the closest attention at this moment from those who imagine Central Africa can be used as a counter in the negotiations after the war.

Evidence of the great gulf between the American and European point of view came only a few weeks afterwards, when King Leopold put the International Association of the Congo and Free States into the melting pot, and announced himself as Sovereign of the Independent State of the Congo.

International Bureaux.

In 1890 the Brussels Conference met to deal with the Slave Trade and to limit the importation of firearms for the use of slavers and natives, and the features of the Act were the foundation of a number of International Bureaux charged with administering the Act. One was to be at Zanzibar, where the Slave Trade was well understood, this was to collect all information regarding the Slave Trade. Another was a "Liberation Office"; there were to be auxiliary offices, with an international control office, attached to the Foreign Office at Brussels, and laws were made to suppress the trade and punish the offenders.

There have also been International Acts to limit the Liquor Trade in Central Africa, and it must be admitted that to some extent these laws have been effective; but it was not the Congo Free State which carried out these reforms; it was to a great extent

England, armed with the authority acquired from these general Acts. Our ships chased the slavers off the seas, and our shippers assisted in repressing the liquor traffic and the traffic in firearms. America appealed to the Acts when chiding Belgium for ill-treating the Congo natives, but there is at present no strong executive to see that the Acts are properly enforced.

Imperialism ousts Internationalism.

We note, therefore, the rise of a new theory of World Government, by which territory was granted by a World Conference, subject to certain International Laws, limiting the rights of the States so created and imposing conditions on the new governing authorities in this great area, as well as on part of the territory originally granted by the Pope. Unfortunately, however, there arose soon after the mad scramble for African territory which followed the discovery of gold in South Africa, and England, France, Belgium, and Germany all conceived ideas for acquiring African Empires. The British notion of a Cape-to-Cairo Empire was hampered by the effects of the Berlin Act, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes found his pet project held up by King Leopold, who had agreed to give France the right of pre-emption over the Congo Free State, and had made a will leaving all the property rights and privileges inherent in his Congo Sovereignty to Belgium. England and France had recently had trouble over Fashoda, and their relations were not good. Now Rhodes wanted in particular to run a telegraph wire along the Cape-to-Cairo route as the first step towards his goal, but the Kaiser was opposed to the whole project, and refused a request addressed to him by our Foreign Office for permission to cross German East Africa. In 1896 the Kaiser sent his famous telegram to Kruger, and to the ordinary diplomatist Rhodes' decision to try and square the Kaiser would doubtless have appeared to be of the wild cat order.

Inspiration came when in 1898 he visited Egypt to make certain proposals to Lord Cromer with regard to his Cape-to-Cairo scheme. The latter did not approve of Mr Rhodes' ideas of finance, for he himself was engaged in trying to prevent speculators from exploiting Egypt, but, during a visit to the Assouan Dam on the Nile, Mr. Rhodes heard about the project for irrigating the rich plains of Bagdad by damming the Tigris and Euphrates, and he also heard of the Kaiser's celebrated visit to Syria and Jerusalem and his aspirations for a German Empire in Mesopotamia.

This idea was good enough for Rhodes, and he went straight off to Berlin, which city he reached on March 10, 1899. Next morning he sallied out to see the Kaiser at Potsdam and the flunkys were surprised to see a travelling Englishman walk up to the Palace and offer his card, explaining in English that he wanted to see the Kaiser. They were probably still more surprised to find that the rules of precise German etiquette were all to be waived, and Cecil Rhodes was ushered into the august presence.

The Kaiser's deal with Rhodes.

Now there is only one record in this country as to what took place, and that was an account written by Mr. Rhodes himself and handed to the then Prince of Wales (Edward VII), who asked Mr. Rhodes for a record but various persons heard at various times various scraps of this most irregular diplomacy.

We know that the Kaiser referred to his telegram to President Kruger, and Rhodes explained that it deflected the British resentment felt against him to the Kaiser himself, because England resented the telegram. We know that the Kaiser brought out an atlas and at first resolutely refused to allow the Cape-to-Cairo wire to cross German East Africa. We know that at last it came to something like a row, during which Rhodes suddenly accused the Kaiser of wanting Mesopotamia, and that the Kaiser retorted: "What if I do?"

It was that reply that gave Rhodes his supreme diplomatic victory. He had won, for it was the admission by a responsible Sovereign that Germany was coveting territory owned by Turkey. Rhodes saw his advantage and changed his tone. Now he could talk plain English, and he dared to offer the Kaiser a free hand in Mesopotamia in return for a free hand in Africa.

The Kaiser was delighted; here was a man who offered him the chance of realising his glittering Oriental dream and swore that he could deliver the goods. The Kaiser took the bait.

I don't believe there was anything in writing, but each undertook to back the other. Three days later they met again at dinner, and the following day the Telegraph agreement was duly signed. The Kaiser told the British Ambassador that he only wished Mr. Rhodes could be his Prime Minister, as he personally was in favour of the Cape-to-Cairo wire, but that the Reichstag was not Imperial enough. Rhodes came back to England and delivered a great speech eulogising the Kaiser, and he added a codicil to his will by which five yearly scholarships of £250 per annum were established at Oxford for students of German birth, the nomination to be with the Kaiser; moreover, he announced his object to be that an understanding should grow up between America, England and Germany which would render war impossible, "because educational relations make the strongest tie." Rhodes then returned to South Africa and the Boer War began.

All this explains the reference in Prince Lichnowsky's recent revelations to what he calls "the programme of the great Rhodes."

It was a secret treaty made between two men, who merely trusted each other, and the following were the consequences. The Kaiser, on his side, first of all persuaded Queen Wilhelmina of Holland to urge President Kruger to give way to Rhodes' demand for franchise reforms in the Transvaal; he then urged Kruger to accept mediation by America. When Kruger had refused the

Kaiser's advice and war broke out, he proclaimed German neutrality and refused all invitations to join France and Russia against England. He refused to see Kruger when the old President reached Europe, and one of the last letters Mr Rhodes ever received was from the Kaiser congratulating him on the fact that his telegraph wire had reached Ujjj in Central Africa. It must be admitted that Rhodes did well out of the business.

Meanwhile the Kaiser had called in Mr Gwinner, the President of the Deutsche Bank, to draft a proposal for the Anatolian Railway Concession in Asia Minor.

A few weeks after the South African War broke out the Kaiser arrived in London with Prince Bulow, and during his visit, on November 27, 1899, the Bagdad Concession was authorised by the Sultan of Turkey, it was signed on the day before the Kaiser left England. The Reichstag doubled the size of the German Navy but there was no protest from England. Turkey decided to re-arm her fleet, and called for tenders. A British firm tendered £80,000 less than a German tender, but, to everyone's surprise, it was announced that the tenders would be open a second time. The result was the same, but the German tender was accepted. Tenders were asked for the construction of the Bagdad Railway. A British firm was in competition with the Deutsche Bank. The latter was demanding from the Sultan twice the guarantee that was necessary to cover the cost of construction, but the Deutsche Bank got it. To pay the interest, the Sultan found himself obliged to pay the tithes payable by the Armenian farmers, and Germany thus became the tax-gatherer of Mesopotamia. The Deutsche Bank secured the right to exploit the minerals near the railway, to cut the timber of the forests, to establish trading stations and a number of important trade monopolies. No wonder that Karl Liebknecht was punished for persistently interrupting Reichstag speakers with the words: "What about the Deutsche Bank!"

At last Russia took fright and the Balkan War broke out, but it is clear from Prince Lichnowsky's Memorandum that Germany intended to press her claims against Turkey till just before the present war.

We need not stray into the Balkan quagmire, but it will, I think, be clear that March 11, 1899, when Rhodes saw the Kaiser, was an important date in history.

Now the establishment of a telegraph wire from the Cape to Cairo was a very reasonable thing, and we may ask whether there was any more reasonable way of getting it done?

Here was a work of great international importance, which would admittedly have opened out a rich and almost unpopulated country. Here were laws laid down at Berlin and Brussels, made with the object of developing trade and civilisation in Central Africa. These laws enacted Free Trade in the very territory through which the wire was to pass. They introduced the International Conven-

tion of the Universal Postal Union, revised at Paris in 1878, as a law of Central Africa. Germany had with the other signatories solemnly declared that she was animated by the firm intention of putting an end to the Slave Trade, and that the establishment of telegraph lines was one of the most effective means for accomplishing this end. She was pledged by International Treaty to give aid and protection to commercial undertakings in Central Africa, and yet when it came to the point Rhodes was unable to secure from a country which claimed to occupy German East Africa by virtue of a World Title simply a permit to run a telegraph wire through that country except on terms which in effect have laid the whole world under tribute, and more especially the unfortunate Turks.

The Remedy: A New Executive.

Will anyone deny that all this might have been saved if the Conference at Berlin had gone further and established an executive charged with considering only international interests instead of omitting to create any body to enforce these interests? Even the International Pope could excommunicate and put countries under interdicts; but Rhodes had no such way, and it is evident that the European Powers were really taking no notice of their international obligations under International Law

England was by far the best. it really was keen on suppressing the Slave Trade, the liquor traffic, and on maintaining native rights, as the land laws of Nigeria prove; but France, Belgium, and Germany treated their Central African possessions as held by European feudal tenure, whereas the feudal system has not yet been formally accepted by the world as law in Central Africa.

The Berlin Act laid it down that foreigners without distinction should enjoy in Central Africa with regard to the protection of their persons and effects and with regard to the acquisition and transfer of their movable and real property the same treatment and rights as Nationals; at the same time, all the Powers exercising sovereign rights or influence bound themselves to care for the improvement of the conditions of the moral and material well-being of the natives. When Belgium formally annexed the Congo Free State she was supposed to take on her shoulders all the obligations of the International Association of the Congo, but the International Bureau at Brussels was practically a dead letter office, and the solemn laws promulgated by the world in the name of Almighty God were neglected and forgotten. It almost looks as if the old International God were thoroughly angry with us for having thus acted. Prince Bismarck told the Berlin Congo Conference in 1885 that the evils of war would assume a specially fatal character if the natives of Africa were led to take sides in disputes between civilised Powers; yet I am informed that on August 2, 1914, the Germans in German East Africa telegraphed to their military posts ordering the mobilisation of their native troops. A day or two afterwards England bombarded the German

port of Dar-es-Salaam, and these two acts smashed up the neutrality clauses of the Berlin Act providing that Central Africa should remain neutral in case of a European war

Spain's Intervention.

Probably neither the German Commander in German East Africa nor our Admiralty knew anything about these laws, but Belgium did, and at once called on the Powers to respect them, and Spain, acting as a neutral signatory of the Berlin Act, took up the question. There were many conversations, but on August 6, 1914, France told Belgium that she wished to get back that part of the Congo which she had to give up during the Agadir incident, and that a success would not be difficult to obtain. On the following day England told Belgium that as German troops had already taken the offensive, England was sending forces to overcome all opposition, at the same time undertaking to prevent any risings of the native population in Belgian Congo

The Spanish intervention, therefore, failed, and Germany complains that Spain never told her of the Belgian communication, because she would have acted differently had she known of the conversations among the Entente Powers and neutral signatories.

Germany, however, a week later conceived the same idea as Belgium, and approached President Wilson on the subject. The President replied that as the Senate had refused to ratify the Berlin Act, America would not depart from George Washington's doctrine of non-interference with European quarrels.

In the fall of 1915, however, the question came up again, and in the House of Commons Mr Bonar Law told us that the military position in East Africa was largely one of stalemate, and England admitted the very great desirability of neutralising this region if only it were possible

America and Holland held conversations on the question, but they came to nought, perhaps at that time Germany was pleased with the stalemate out there. This disappeared under General Smuts's influence, and to-day Central Africa is well nigh cleared of Germans. But it will never be the same as before the war—the influence of the tribal chiefs will disappear, the tribes will split up, the white man's influence will be different, and the missionary will have to battle with new ideas which are surging through the black mind.

Some natives will have seen England, some France; some will notice our strong points, some our shortcomings; and we are to-day faced with new problems as to the introduction of firearms and munitions into Central Africa, the growth of liquor abuse, the danger of tribal wars and the reconstruction of the Government in East Africa.

Now all these questions formed the subject of a lecture by Dr. Solf, the German Colonial Secretary, last December, in which he discussed the suggestion that Central Africa shall be internationalised, and told his audience that England would be the strongest opponent of the proposal. Now I submit that in view of the fact that the Labour party and Trades Union Congress have included this proposal in their published Memorandum of War Aims, which Mr. Lloyd George has accepted, there is clear evidence that Dr. Solf is mistaken, but it is not necessary to wait until the war is over to take action in this matter.

The League of Nations should act.

Here is ready to hand all the machinery for summoning a meeting of the League of Nations to consider the present state of Central Africa. Any signatory of the Berlin Act can do so, but perhaps Spain is the most suitable Power to take the lead, as she took action before. What stands in the way is the fact that England has refused her former approach, and so England must let it be known that such a proposal will be reconsidered.

This is what I desire to persuade our Government to do, and if Mr. Lloyd George can be induced to assure Spain that, in view of the "all clear" signal in Central Africa, England will now reconsider Spain's 1914 proposal, then I see no reason why a World Conference on Central Africa should not meet at once.

President Wilson demands an absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interests of the peoples concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government whose title is to be determined. Here would be the chance of translating these words into practical politics!

Mr. Young, the ex-Secretary of the Lisbon Legation, has told us that a policy of internationalism would save Central Africa from German and other Imperialism, and that we can count on Portugal to contribute her part. Portugal has historic claims to be heard. I have read that Belgium maintains the views she expressed at the outbreak of the war. Let King Albert and M. Vandervelde speak for Belgium!

It is not necessary that Germany or Austria should attend. They would be invited, of course, and the Conference should be convened at a city which they could reach. But the Berlin Act did not depend on Germany, and Central Africa will exist without her; but Dr. Solf's scheme for the development of Tropical Africa on international lines is so detailed that I cannot think he will be happy outside such a Conference. He will have the pleasure of arguing with Trotsky on equal terms.

General Smuts has suggested that the time may be ripe for an African Monroe Doctrine, and the Conference would be the very

place for him to promulgate his doctrine. In 1883 Bismarck lodged a protest against the idea of an African Monroe Doctrine, which, he thought, might have the effect of excluding other Europeans from participating in the African pie.

Now no one that I know has ever dreamed of excluding Europeans from Africa any more than the original doctrine kept Europeans out of America; it recognised the existing dependencies of European Powers, but said that the interposition of Europe in America for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the young Republics of the New World would be to manifest an unfriendly spirit towards the United States, and President Cleveland reformulated the doctrine on the ground that he feared the introduction of European militarism into America. Now Africa is vitally concerned to exclude European militarism from Africa, and I believe that no more favourable moment for the clear examination of such a doctrine will exist than at a Conference of signatories of the Berlin and Brussels Acts, to be summoned forthwith. If we wait till the war ends, one side may suffer a knock-out blow, and concentrate all her thoughts on revenge instead of harmony.

Germany has on several occasions offered to abandon her military policy in Central Africa; so there is a clear basis of agreement. The Conference should amend the present Acts by forming an executive charged with carrying the International Laws into effect, and the Belgian Bureau is the germ of this Executive, which can be developed on the lines of the old Danube Commission.

The natives are in practice represented by missionaries just as Irish villagers regard the Priest as representative. There should be a Board of Trustees (as we already have in Natal), including such people as the Pope, the Chief of Cairo University, the President of Liberia, the South African Minister of Native Affairs, and some suitable American acting under a well drafted Trust Deed.

I think it is important that the Pope should be induced to exercise the remnants of his old international authority solely in the interests of the natives, and in return for this he should cease to recognise the doctrine of conquest, which incidentally has resulted in his losing all his territory.

This appears to me the best possible way of protecting native interests. By such means the natives of South Africa have advanced, so that the whites in Cape Colony have granted them a limited franchise, and one day the Trustees will doubtless advise some such experiment in Central Africa.

In its reply to the Inter-Allied Socialists' War Aims, "Vorwärts" tells us that the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum* on the Western front is the only peace solution it can support, and pleads that the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine to France

would be a victory, not for Entente Socialism, but for Western Imperialism. Let England demonstrate her rejection of Imperialistic designs by accepting the International solution in Africa as a contrast to Germany's action in Russia.

The neutrals would attend and exercise a moderating influence, and Labour would not remain outside, nor allow the procedure of Brest Litovsk.

But best of all would be that the League of Nations would no longer be merely a theory, it would exist.

This is the proposal for which I venture to ask support.

The Temple,

May, 1918

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THE TEACHER IN POLITICS.*

By **SIDNEY WEBB.**

"Prodegius," we may imagine Dominie Sampson exclaiming, if anyone could convey to him the news that one professional teacher was the official head of a nation of a hundred million people; and that another was the King's Minister responsible for the whole educational system of England and Wales "Prodegius" would Dominie Sampson have thought not only the extension of education, but also the rise in status and salary, in influence and public esteem, of the teaching profession during the past hundred years. Yet we all feel that there is much justification for the conclusion that it is because we have not sufficiently heeded the teacher, not given sufficient scope to education, not got the best out of the brains with which the nation is endowed, that we have so far made only an equivocal success of our national struggle. When we come to face the difficulties of peace the need will be still more apparent. It is plain that systematic education must play even a larger part in the world during the generation to come than it has during that which is past. And as systematic education is now more and more predominantly a Government function, and the bulk of the teaching profession is enrolled in one or other form of public service, we have necessarily to treat all educational projects as being, in the strict sense of the word, politics, and as politics of the highest national importance.

The Teacher's Entry Into Politics.

Now, it is into politics in this sense that the teacher claims to come. The claim cannot be resisted. I venture to predict that during the ensuing decade (during which the public expenditure on education will almost certainly be doubled) the teacher in politics will play an increasing, and presently, so far as concerns the conditions under which education is carried on, it may be even a dominating part. The 300,000 men and women in the United Kingdom who, for the Census of 1911, described themselves as engaged in teaching, nowadays feel themselves to constitute, not

* An Address prepared for a meeting of teachers

only a substantial fraction, with their families, something like 2 per cent., of the whole community, but also a distinct profession, conscious of itself as such; with its own peculiar service to render to the State, and its own exceptional needs, about which its members realise that they possess special knowledge. It has, consequently, a claim to exercise a professional judgment, to formulate distinctive opinions upon its own and upon cognate services, and to enjoy its own appropriate share in the corporate government of its own working life.

The Organised World of Teachers.

This is a new social phenomenon. Organisation in the teaching profession was slow to begin and slow to extend. Half a century ago it can hardly be said to have existed. A quarter of a century ago it was still only sectional and fragmentary, struggling for bare recognition. Even now public opinion is unaware of the extent to which the profession as a whole is organised and corporately self-conscious. Confining ourselves only to England and Wales, where there are possibly a quarter of a million teachers of all sorts and grades (and omitting the one-fourth of them who are merely private tutors or governesses, or the music, dance, and drawing teachers paid by individual clients, and at work in their own or other people's homes) we discover that of the real "World of Teachers" in educational institutions at least 70 per cent. are already members of one or other professional association. On the one hand there stands out the powerful and now almost ubiquitous National Union of Teachers, with a membership approaching 100,000, claiming to comprise (besides other grades) about 90 per cent. of the elementary school teachers eligible for admission to its ranks. On the other hand, in a more complex organisation, but possibly including in its enrolment an equally large proportion of the aggregate of teachers in secondary schools, we have the Federal Council of Secondary School Associations, uniting the separate Headmasters' Conference, the Incorporated Association of Headmasters, the Headmistresses' Association, the Association of Assistant Mistresses, and—largest of all—the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters, the whole representing a membership of some eight or nine thousand. There is, in addition, a bewildering array of small associations of specialist teachers and separate interests. But more important than all these in its promise for the future of the profession as a profession is perhaps the statutory body known by the inadequate title of the Teachers' Registration Council, in which the whole world of teachers, including all the separate associations referred to, has been given an officially recognised representative organisation, empowered, not merely to construct a Register of Teachers, but also to voice the opinions and exercise the influence of the profession as a whole. If the teachers are behind the lawyers in their achievement of professional self-government, they are, in their possession of a statutory representative Council, in a position to put themselves presently on a level with the doctors and the pharmacists, and, at

any rate in constitutional form, they may claim to be in advance of such other professions as the architects, the various kinds of engineers, and the chemists.*

Why do I recite these facts? It is because what we have to realise is that it may to-day be said that the Teaching Profession in England and Wales has at last become an organic whole, conscious of itself as a profession, that it is now organised, throughout practically all grades and kinds, as constituting a single profession, and that the time has come when it is both willing and able to assume a greatly increased measure of corporate responsibility for the conditions under which its services are rendered to the community. What is claimed by the Teaching Profession, in agreement with other professions in all countries, is that on the one hand, in mitigation of bureaucracy, and on the other in bringing before public opinion the distinctive needs of the profession, professional intervention and professional responsibility are, in themselves, distinctly serviceable and advantageous to the community as a whole, and are, indeed, as we now see, necessary elements in Democratic administration, indispensable to the attainment or maintenance of the highest efficiency of the service which the profession has to render. This, and nothing less than this, is the meaning of the increasing participation of the organised teachers in public affairs. This, and nothing less than this, must be the sphere of the Teacher in Politics.

The Sphere of Professional Organisation.

Now I do not propose to embark on the whole philosophy of Vocational Participation in Public Administration, on which there is much that is interesting to be learnt and taught; nor yet to bore you with erudition as to the origin and the historical development of the claim of those engaged in each occupation to have a voice in the conditions under which it is carried on. More practical it seems to map out the proper sphere of action of a professional association; to make a hasty survey of the ground on which the influence of the Teacher in Politics is likely to be most useful, and to suggest some of the methods by which it may be most beneficially exercised.

The Protection of the Standard of Life.

The sphere of action of a Professional Association falls into two departments.† There is, first of all, the protection of the

* Detailed particulars of the origin, development, and present condition of the associations among teachers of all kinds and grades, with a statement of the problems before them, will be found in the monograph by Mrs. Sidney Webb, "English Teachers and Their Professional Associations," published as Supplements to *The New Statesman* of September 25 and October 2, 1915 (Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, S W 1, price 2s 2d. post free)

† A detailed study of the Professional Associations of England and Wales, with a critical examination of their aspirations and achievements, will be found in the two Supplements of *The New Statesman* of April 21 and 28, 1917. (Fabian Bookshop, 25, Tothill Street, S W.1, price 2s 2d post free)

position of the individual member of the profession. We may frankly admit that, among the teachers, exactly as in all other professions, and all varieties of Vocational Organisation, an improvement in the status—usually taking the form of an increase in the remuneration—of the individual members assumes a foremost place. Teachers are human beings even as others are; and there is nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to apologise for, in the claim of their Professional Associations for a more adequate (and periodically rising) salary scale. One result of the general apotheosis of wealth and of the almost universal acceptance of pecuniary profit as the test of worldly success, which dominated the nineteenth century, has been the tendency, in all public bodies, acting in the spirit of the capitalist employer, to cut down salaries and wages to the lowest possible figure. The public is callous; it is glad to have its State and Municipal services done as cheaply as possible; it is not aware of the tyranny or the oppression of which it may be guilty; and the influence of "The Treasury" of the nineteenth century has gone far to make a cheeseparing parsimony the ideal of public administration. The result is a permanent "downward thrust" of the community as a whole, against which the lowly and less well-organised classes of employees struggle in vain; often succumbing to remuneration so low and to conditions of employment so onerous and unfair, as not only to injure their own health and shorten their own lives, but also to make quite impossible any high standard of efficiency in service. Along with this is apt to go an autocratic tyranny, fortunately only sporadic and, we may hope, exceptional, against which the individual is practically defenceless. I need not remind you how severely the teaching profession has suffered in the past from such enormities. The time is not so far gone when the country clergyman treated the elementary school teacher as his menial servant; or when the humble "usher" in the contemporary secondary school was the most downtrodden of wage-slaves. Things are, even now, not by any means what they should be, in the more remote country schools, or among the lower grades of assistants. It is emphatically still necessary for the professional associations of teachers of all grades to formulate their own standard salary scales and their own standard conditions of engagement, dismissal, advancement, hours of service, freedom from extraneous tasks, holidays, etc., to endeavour to get all teachers to adhere to them; to press for the universal adoption of these standard conditions by all employing authorities, and to use all their Parliamentary and local political influence to make them compulsory, as *minima*, from one end of the kingdom to the other. There is nothing "against Political Economy" in all this. There is nothing against the public interest. There is nothing derogatory to the dignity of a learned profession. We may agree that it is not legitimate for the Teaching Profession, any more than any other section of the community, to extort from the public the utmost reward for its services that its economic strength may enable it to obtain. That is now rightly stigmatised as profiteering; and it is

encouraging to find such conduct denounced, to the bewilderment of the average shipowner or trader, as a disgraceful act of treason to the State. But it is, as we now see, not only legitimate, but actually a matter of public duty, for each profession very forcibly to point out to the community how gravely the public interests are suffering from every case in which a member of the profession is prevented from rendering his full service to the community by underpayment or oppression; to insist, in season and out of season, on the greater advantage that would be gained by the community as a whole, if the circumstances under which the services of the profession were rendered were such as to promote of their greater professional efficiency; and to propose, at every suitable opportunity, whatever widening of opportunity, whatever increase in influence, whatever rise in status is believed to be likely to promote the greater efficacy of the profession as an organ of the community. It is therefore not only permissible, it is actually the bounden duty of every profession to see to these things. There is no more honourable, as there is no more useful, work for any teachers' representative in Parliament or on Local Governing Bodies, than in persistently upholding the prescribed professional Standard of Life, whether as regards salary, pension, conditions of service, security of tenure, or the resistance to oppression or tyranny. No case ought to be too obscure, no injustice too trivial, no victim too lowly for this persistent defence in the interests of the profession as a whole.

The Development of the Profession.

The other legitimate field for the operation of the Professional Association is in the development of the service of the profession. It is, for instance, distinctly the duty of the teachers, through their professional organisation, to do what they can to promote national education. I need not remind you that each profession is an organ of the community, existing for the purpose of rendering to the community its own peculiar and specialised service. As a profession, it can have no object but to serve, no purpose but to increase its public usefulness. The community does not exist, and is not organised into a State, for the sake of the lawyers, the doctors, or the teachers: all these, and other vocations, exist for the benefit of the community, and therefore to serve the State. Social well-being depends on a duly proportionate allocation of the means and energies at the disposal of the community among all its varied needs and functions, and therefore upon the due apportionment among the several professions of opportunity for the exercise of their respective services, and upon the efficiency with which, taken as a whole, these services are rendered. Now, it is an old observation that the shoemaker thinks there is nothing like leather. The community is not prepared to take teachers, any more than lawyers or doctors, at their own valuation. We can all see how biased the other professions are in their estimate of the importance of their services to the community. Depend upon it, we are

likely to be just as much biased about the value of our own! This is why no community can properly grant, or is ever likely to grant, to any profession or vocation, either the right to determine how much of the means and energies of the community can be allowed to be put at the disposal of that particular calling; or what shall be its rights and privileges in comparison with those of other callings, or in short, anything like complete powers of self-government. But it is now coming to be generally recognised that, whilst no profession can be allowed to decide these things for itself, because it is, by its very nature, incapable of forming a correct opinion of the needs of the community as a whole, yet no proper decision is likely to be arrived at, nor is the fullest advantage for the community likely to be ensured, unless the profession or vocation has a very full and free voice in the matter. We are slowly learning what an elaborate and complicated piece of social organisation is Democracy. A hundred years ago the best possible governmental machinery seemed (as to Bentham and James Mill) to be exclusively lay in its nature; to be, indeed, nothing more than an array of directly elected councils of popular representatives, controlling the policy put into execution by an exiguous and practically unspecialised bureaucracy. The ardent Socialists of a generation ago, with all their magnificent ideas as to the functions of a Collectivist State, had scarcely a more adequate vision than Bentham and James Mill of the government they desired; and often, indeed (as with William Morris, and I suspect also, in his hours of ease, Karl Marx) saved themselves the trouble of precise thought about so dull a subject as administrative machinery by topping over into a Utopian Communism. We see now that even the most logically formed hierarchy of directly elected Councils, and the most perfectly equipped bureaucracy of salaried Civil Servants, will not, in themselves, give us either the general Consciousness of Consent or the universal Sense of Personal Freedom that we look for in Democracy; and, therefore, as we infer, they will not, in themselves, ensure us, in the long run, that aggregate maximum of personal development which alone can be accepted as the utmost civic efficiency. Accordingly, we nowadays look, for the most perfect democracy, to a higher degree of complication than either James Mill or Karl Marx ever contemplated—to a perpetual interaction, in council and in administration, between the representatives of the community of citizens or consumers, on the one hand, and on the other, the representatives of each vocation or profession, organised as producers of commodities or services.* The nation, organised as a united community, will necessarily insist on taking the final decision. But the community, great or small, is not itself endowed with any corporate consciousness, and its organs and instruments, whether popular legislatures or executive bureaucracies, are neither omniscient nor inaccessible to bias. They can decide only on what comes before them. Experience accordingly shows it to be necessary for each vocation or profession, like every other separate "interest," to

* *Industrial Democracy*, by S. and B. Webb, pp 818-823.

stand up for itself, to bring vigorously to public notice the importance of its own particular function, to explain to a necessarily uninstructed public opinion or to an official secretariat, what are the conditions of the fullest efficiency for its professional work, to emphasise the claim of the profession to be allowed to render to the community all the service of which it is capable; and, in particular, to demonstrate, as promptly and efficaciously as possible, the new developments and novel applications of its science and art, which the profession will be constantly discovering.

Service of the Entire Community.

On this point I have an observation to make which is applicable to all professions. It is, as I understand, the community as a whole that a profession has to serve, not merely those members of the community who happen to be its most profitable clients. As the brainworking professions successively arose, it was perhaps inevitable that their members, originally remunerated always by fees, should think of themselves primarily as serving those who paid them, and the classes to which these clients belonged. We do not find the lawyers—with honourable exceptions—troubling themselves much about how to make the law more serviceable to the poor who could afford no fees. The architects have sought, I am afraid, rather to improve the architecture of the relatively small proportion of buildings ordered by wealthy patrons, than to insist that the skill of the architect should be brought to bear on the common run of workmen's cottages, or on the mean streets hitherto put up by the speculative builder. Even the doctors, in their professional associations, have not been the most clamorous advocates of the sanitary legislation that would secure the health of the poor, or the most persistent agitators for such an organisation of the medical service as would guarantee to every family in the land, and not merely to those who can pay fees, the best available preventive and clinical attendance, and the most effective institutional treatment. We see now that it is the duty of each profession to take the needs of the whole community for its sphere, the whole kingdom for its province. It must claim as its function the provision of its distinctive service wherever this is required, irrespective of the affluence or status of the persons in need. It must emphatically not regard itself as hired for the service only of those who can pay fees, and it must therefore insist on being accorded, by public authority and where necessary at the public expense, the opportunity and the organisation that will enable this full professional service being rendered wherever it is required. In view of the devoted and valuable services rendered to the poor without fee or reward by so many professionals of all kinds and grades, it would be manifestly unfair to describe the brain-working professions as the servants of the wealthy. But what I have seen of the activities during the past half-century of the professional associations of the lawyers, doctors, and architects in particular—to name no others—leads me to the suggestion that, in their corporate capacity, these typical professional associations

have not been sufficiently alive to what is distinctly their obligation to the community as a whole—namely, to insist on their right and duty to be enabled to render their professional services to all who need them, irrespective of wealth or poverty, and to be accorded the means and the organisation permitting this to be done

The Danger of Class Fission.

The Teaching Profession is far less subject to this reproach than the lawyers, the doctors, or the architects. The Professional Associations of Teachers have been, almost from the first, honourably distinguished by the claims they have made for the extension of education to the very poorest. They have always been foremost in pressing for its improvement, and for its provision irrespective of wealth or status. Teachers have always wished to be permitted to take the whole community as their pupils, and to enrol in their schools all sections and even all ages. This is as it should be with every profession. What the Teaching Profession needs, perhaps, to be on its guard against, is a tendency to class fission, leading, unconsciously, to the assumption that some kinds and grades of education may legitimately be restricted to those families which can afford to pay for them at rates yielding to the favoured professionals who serve this class higher scales of remuneration, and more agreeable conditions of service than are accessible to what tend to be invidiously regarded as humbler grades of the profession. Let us strive to insist that genuinely effective access to the whole field of education shall be the common heritage of every member of the community

The Demand of the Labour Party.

This is the note struck by the Labour Party, which has, during the past few years, passed more resolutions, more insistently demanding specific educational reforms, than all the other political parties put together. It is, unfortunately, not the educated classes of this country, taking them as a whole, who are the advocates of educational progress. Resolutions demanding new Education Bills have not been favourites at either Conservative or Liberal Conferences. It is the newly reconstituted party of the workers "by hand or by brain"—not the Conservative or the Liberal Party—that nowadays supplies the Minister of Education with the driving force of educational reforms. What the conference of a thousand delegates from the branches of the Labour Party all over the country declared in June, 1918, was as follows:—

"That the Conference holds that the most important of all the measures of social reconstruction must be a genuine nationalisation of education, which shall get rid of all class distinctions and privileges, and bring effectively within the reach, not only of every boy or girl, but also of every adult citizen, all the training, physical, mental and moral, literary, technical, and artistic of which he is capable, and with due regard to its physical welfare and development, but without any form of military training

"That the Conference, whilst appreciating the advances indicated by the proposals of the present Minister of Education, declares that the Labour Party cannot be satisfied with a system which condemns the great bulk of the children to merely elementary schooling, with accommodation and equipment inferior to that of the secondary schools, in classes too large for efficient instruction, under teachers of whom at least one-third are insufficiently trained; which denies to the great majority of the teachers in the kingdom, whether in elementary or in secondary schools (and notably to most of the women), alike any opportunity for all-round culture as well as for training in their art, an adequate wage, reasonable prospects of advancement, and suitable superannuation allowances; and which, notwithstanding what is yet done by way of scholarships for exceptional geniuses, still reserves the endowed secondary schools, and even more the Universities, for the most part, to the sons and daughters of a small privileged class, whilst contemplating nothing better than eight weeks a year continuation schooling up to 18 for 90 per cent of the youth of the nation.

"The Conference accordingly asks for a systematic reorganisation of the whole educational system, from the nursery school to the University, on the basis of (a) social equality, (b) the provision for each age, for child, youth, and adult, of the best and most varied education of which it is capable, (c) the educational institutions, irrespective of social class or wealth, to be planned, equipped and staffed according to their several functions, up to the same high level for elementary, secondary, or University teaching, with regard solely to the greatest possible educational efficiency and free maintenance of such a kind as to enable the children to derive the full benefit of the education given, and (d) the recognition of the teaching profession, without distinction of grade, as one of the most valuable to the community."

The Teacher in Politics may, according to his knowledge or his temperament, belong to any political party. But when he presses for further advances in Education, or improved conditions of service for the profession, there can be little doubt on which side of the House of Commons he will find the greatest support

The Duty of the Teaching Profession.

The resolution of the Labour Party is necessarily couched in general terms. It demands for the students of all ages and classes, and for the teaching profession, the very best that the nation can give. But what is the very best, and how can it, in actual fact, be given? This, as it seems to me, is where the Teacher in Politics should come in. One of the most important duties of the Professional Organisation of Teachers is to instruct those who move for educational reform—whether belonging to the Labour Party or to any other—what exactly it is that they should demand and press for. It is, as I have suggested, not for the Professional Association to decide the policy of the nation, and therefore the Professional Association must not presume to dictate the programme of reform, even with regard to its own service. But it is the standing duty of the Professional Association, as it seems to me, to tender advice—to counsel the legislature and the nation as to what the decision should be, and therefore to counsel those who seek reform as to what should be their programme. I can imagine each Professional Association vigilant about projects and proposals

* Labour Party Conference, June 26, 1918.

with regard to its own service, from whomsoever emanating; prompt to study every problem as it presents itself, so as to be prepared to formulate the conclusions, for the time being, of the profession as a whole; ready, therefore, with its advice and practical assistance to every reformer or political party prepared to take up the subject; and influential in its authoritative public criticism of every programme of reform that is not in accordance with its own conclusions. Can we say that the Organisation of the Teaching Profession yet discharges these duties? Where is the authoritative criticism of the Profession upon the various projects of Educational Reform? Why is it left to the Workers' Educational Association—essentially an organisation of manual working wage-earners—to formulate almost the only programme of reform of the nation's educational system which is at once comprehensive and detailed? Why is the eager Labour Party—to say nothing of the more stolid Liberal and Conservative Parties—left unsupplied with a statement of what the Teaching Profession believes to be required for the improvement of national education? How can we wonder at the blindness and the ignorance of the politicians, or be surprised at the blunders of our Town Councillors, with regard to the needs of all the professions, if the professions themselves do not take the trouble to supply the desired programme?

Unsettled Questions in Education.

Such a conception of the Teacher in Politics points to the need for more systematic and more continuous corporate study of the requirements of the educational service than the Professional Associations of Teachers have commonly yet undertaken. And the task cannot with impunity be neglected. Bills will be introduced, administrative changes will be made, worse still, defects will remain unremedied, and urgently required alterations will not be effected—none the less because the organised Teaching Profession is silent, or speaks only with discordant voices. Generation after generation of little ones passes beyond our reach, imperfectly taught, inadequately equipped, too often actually maimed and scarred by the experience of what should have been to them a positive enlargement of faculty and development of emotional impulses, because our educational system is not what it should be. With the Teaching Profession, which has the knowledge of what is lacking, must rest the blame, until the Professional Associations have cleared themselves by at least informing the nation of the reforms that are required. And the survey needs to be a comprehensive one. I should like to see the Teaching Profession determine, by a series of investigating committees and professional conferences, what is the deliberate judgment of the Profession upon all the unsettled questions of educational organisation. What, for instance, is required in the way of Nursery Schools for the millions of children "below School Age"? What is needed to make the Infant Departments more efficient? What can be done to redeem the Elementary School from its present almost invariable ugliness, to make it a place of really educational sense-impressions in form

and colour, cleanliness and beauty, to make it positively attractive to the pupils? Are we satisfied with the condition of the school-room atmosphere—not to say also the condition of the pupils' minds—at the end of the day's work, and if not, what ought to be insisted upon in order to make children's sojourn in the school-room—they spend there quite a large proportion of their waking lives—actually healthful to them, and not, as is at present too often the case, an adverse influence on their physical well-being, to be counteracted by open-air games and exercises? What is the real function of the Open Air School? What changes are required in the school hours, the lesson intervals, and the term holidays to make the work most efficient, what in the curriculum, what in the school equipment and materials? What more is needed in the way of books, maps, pictures, specimens? Which is the best arrangement of subjects and classes, and how can the teaching of each best be organised? Is the distribution of functions (to say nothing of salaries!) between the Headmaster and the class or form or subject teachers exactly what it should be, and what is to be said for a periodical rotation of duties among the entire teaching staff, coupled perhaps with equality of salary scales? How should the school life, from entry into the Nursery School right up to departure from the University or the Technical College, be divided among a hierarchy of different institutions, at what ages should the transfer from one to another commonly take place, and what alternative roads for the student should be provided? What is to be done for the 5 or 10 per cent of the non-adult population which is, in one or other way, sub-normal? What, on the other hand, should be our course with regard to the like percentage which is distinctly super-normal? Do we at present get as much as we should for the nation out of our Secondary Schools? And if not, what ought to be done to secure them a much larger recruitment, a longer average period of attendance, and more effective articulation with the Elementary School below and the Technical College or the University above?

Do We Teach the Right Subjects in the Right Way?

Are we quite sure that the curriculum of our Secondary Schools and Universities comprises all that with which the nation's brainworkers need to be provided; and whether the slowly changing distribution of time—say, among the Latin and Greek classics, mathematics, the physical and biological sciences, geography and anthropology, and the languages, literatures and histories of the nations of the modern world respectively—is to-day, by some happy chance, precisely that required in the preparation for life of the citizen of the third decade of the twentieth century anno domini? What is required for the best professional or technical training of the doctor, the dentist, the pharmacist, the midwife, the nurse, the lawyer, the teacher, the historian, the scientific researcher, the social worker, the statesman and Civil Servant, the architect, the surveyor, the engineer, the journalist, the accountant, and the manager; and how far do our existing institutions supply it?

These are but examples of the issues which present themselves to the educational administrators, local or national. Are we, as a profession, sufficiently alive to the new discoveries and fresh developments that are being made outside our own country, and sufficiently prompt in considering the lessons to be derived from them? Would it be too revolutionary an idea for the Professional Associations, not merely to appoint committees, but also to establish Travelling Scholarships, which would enable selected members of the profession to take a year off in order to survey what is being done in particular questions in other parts of the world, and present to the Profession a detailed, critical report of what they have seen? I do not think that either the Teachers' Registration Council or the Federation of Secondary School Associations or the National Union of Teachers is at present doing as much as might be expected to assist the Local Education Authorities, the Minister of Education, and the House of Commons to come to the best decision and to take the appropriate action in the matters with which they have necessarily to deal.

The Professional Association as Scientific Society.

I have suggested that the Professional Association ought to be, on one side, something in the nature of a Trade Union, protecting the Standard of Life of its members, and on the other side, something in the nature of a Political Association, promoting changes in the public organisation of the State—strictly confining itself, in both these aspects, to the service which it is the function of the Profession to render to the Community. Ought the Professional Association to be also that in which it in many cases began, namely, a Scientific Society or "Subject Association," aiming at the continuous improvement and extension of the science and art with which the Profession has to deal? We have, on the one hand, such examples as the Institution of Civil Engineers, which combines in one and the same organisation the protection of the interests of its members, the promotion of such changes in public organisation as are conducive to the development of the Profession, and the advancement of the science and art of engineering. On the other hand, we see in the medical profession the Royal Society of Medicine pursuing its special science and art, apart from the British Medical Association, which looks after its members' interests, and promotes or resists Governmental changes.

On the whole, I do not suggest that the Professional Associations of Teachers should, in their corporate capacity, aim at the promotion of Pedagogy, or investigate the possibility of improved methods of teaching languages or arithmetic. I think that experience shows that science is best pursued entirely for its own sake, in a spirit of detachment from the interests of persons or professions. A Professional Association cannot escape a bias in favour of its own profession, in favour of the technique to which its members have become accustomed, in favour of the result which the Profession has been trained to achieve. This bias is no drawback

to its Trade Union aspect—the Community, which develops astonishing powers of resistance, needs to have such sectional claims forcibly pressed upon it! It is no drawback to what I have called its political aspect—so great is the inertia that nothing is accomplished without a certain amount of exaggeration in the zeal of its promoters! But such a bias is a distinct drawback to a Scientific Society, which ought to be quite free to pursue lines of investigation that look like leading to entirely revolutionary discoveries, which would be destructive of existing technique, and subversive of customary objects or results. Moreover, it is not only one Profession that is interested in a science or an art, and not even a group of Professions alone. Other professionals, and even lay amateurs, need to be admitted to a Scientific Society, of which they often constitute the most useful members. Thus, the advancement of pedagogy, or of the art of teaching, is, or ought to be, of interest not only to school teachers, but also to psychologists, prison administrators and prison reformers, nurses, medical men, and the directors of large establishments of all kinds; and some of these could throw very useful light upon teaching problems. My conclusion is that the Teachers' Associations are well advised to leave the work of the Scientific Society to such "subject associations"—mainly composed of teachers, but open to all who are interested—as the English Association, the Classical Association, the Mathematical Association, the Modern Languages Association, the Geographical Association, and the Historical Association, with which there should be associated an independent Pedagogical Society.

How Can the Teachers Influence Politics ?

In what way, it will be asked, is the influence of the Teacher in Politics to be exercised? There is, in the first place, the direct participation, in council and in administration, of the Teachers' Representative, whether as an elected member of the County or Borough Council, or of the House of Commons, or as a co-opted member of the Education or of the Library and Museums Committee. During the eighteen years that I sat on the London County Council there was always on the Council, as an elected member, an officer of the London Teachers' Association, and I am sure that all the Councillors came to appreciate the high value, to the Council itself as much as to the teaching profession, of Mr Gautrey's services. When the Council took up Technical Education and appointed its Technical Education Board, it invited the Headmasters' Association, the Headmistresses' Association, and the National Union of Teachers to nominate, as full voting members, their own representatives to this Board, to which large executive powers were entrusted, and the influence of these members proved of the utmost value. There will, no doubt, be an increasing number of such teachers' representatives on all educational bodies, whether elected or co-opted. But it is not by this method that I expect to see the influence of the Professional Associations of Teachers most effectively exercised.

Statutory Advisory Committees.

What I propose, for the improvement of education, and the increasing participation in its government of the teachers themselves, is a very great development of Professional Advisory Committees, to be attached to all Education Authorities, national and local. The Teachers' Registration Council should evolve into a Standing Advisory Committee to the Ministry of Education. Every Local Education Authority should be statutorily required to appoint a Local Advisory Committee, genuinely representative of all grades and kinds of teachers in the locality, to be nominated, as far as possible, by the local branches of the Professional Associations. These Advisory Committees—which ought to exist for other professions also, especially the medical—should be given no executive powers. Their function would be to advise and warn, to initiate and criticise, but not to decide. But they should have a statutory right to be consulted on all important changes which affected the profession or its service. They should be authorised to appoint Sub-Committees and to conduct investigations (a small sum being allowed them for expenses); and to report in whatever terms they chose, either confidentially or publicly. And they should not be prevented or restrained or hampered by any censorship, in reporting publicly to the ratepayers or to Parliament, whenever this was deemed necessary, however severely they felt called upon to criticise the Ministry of Education or the Local Education Authority, upon anything done or undone within the educational sphere. I believe that such a series of Professional Advisory Committees, constantly conveying to the official Authorities the responsible judgment of the Profession, would be of the greatest value. It would give a priceless education to the Councillors. It would greatly mitigate the undue authority which the Director of Education or other professional bureaucrat is apt to exercise over a lay committee. It would inform the Town Council and the House of Commons of the opinion of the main body of the profession, in contrast with the views of particularly prominent individuals. And if the officials—perhaps even the Minister himself—found this expert criticism inconvenient, whether in connection with administration or with legislative proposals, the remedy would be a more explicit argumentative justification of the official proposals, a public battle of wits between the bureaucracy and the profession, upon which public opinion and the Legislature would decide.

Here, then, is room enough and to spare for the Teacher in Politics, without once approaching the party struggles between "Blue" and "Yellow" which some people, fondly deeming themselves educated, still imagine to be the whole matter.

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NATIONAL FINANCE

AND

A LEVY ON CAPITAL

What the Labour Party Intends

BY

SIDNEY WEBB

A LECTURE—WITH CERTAIN MINOR AMENDMENTS BRINGING IT UP TO DATE—DELIVERED IN THE FABIAN SOCIETY'S COURSE AT KING'S HALL IN MAY 1918; IN A COURSE BY THE LIVERPOOL FABIAN SOCIETY IN NOVEMBER 1918; AND ELSEWHERE.

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NATIONAL FINANCE AND A LEVY ON CAPITAL.

WHATEVER may be our predilections and prejudices, the pivotal question of politics, not only in April when the Chancellor of the Exchequer produces the Budget, but throughout the coming years, must inevitably be that of National Finance. There are those to whom the most important issue in politics seems always to be that of our contemporary foreign relations. To others the supreme issue appears to be this or that projected constitutional change. Others, again, are most keen about Social Reform, general or particular. For the next few years, at any rate, these three sets of people will all find themselves limited, and controlled by, and whether they like it or not, to a large extent grouped and classified according to their assumptions and proposals in the sphere of National Finance. It is over the Budget, I venture to predict, that Parliaments for some time to come will find the fundamental party cleavage. The nation finds itself charged with a National Debt which may, as Lord Leverhulme has rightly warned us, notwithstanding the termination of the war, possibly amount in gross figures (including all that the Government will find necessary in Reconstruction) to something like ten thousand million pounds; and committed to a governmental expenditure, including the necessary services of the Local Authorities, of something like a thousand million pounds a year—sums never heretofore even contemplated by the wildest of theorists. The problem of how to deal with finance of this magnitude—involving, as it must, in the society of to-day, the sharpest issues between class and class—between those who, whether by hand or by brain, live by producing and those who live by merely owning—will presently dominate our politics.

The Labour Party is accordingly not wantonly or wickedly stirring up "class bitterness," or raising the "red spectre," when it discusses the present distribution of wealth, or propounds plans of taxation. It is merely facing an issue which cannot be avoided. But it is facing it publicly and democratically. It is asking the electors to consider the question for themselves, and themselves give a decision, so as not to leave it, year after year, when the Budget Day comes round, to a practically autocratic Cabinet and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

What is it, then, that the Labour Party desires and intends in this realm of National Finance?

No Currency Crazes.

Let it first be noted, for the comfort of those who are apprehensive of all sorts of unsound finance, that the Labour Party is exceptionally free from delusions in money matters. "Religion, love and currency," said Sydney Smith a hundred years ago, "fill all our lunatic asylums." They do not appear in the programme of the Labour Party. There is, at present, scarcely a trace in the British Labour Movement of "wild cat" ideas for solving all our financial difficulties by printing more and more paper money; or by some magic provision of universal bank credit; or by "Labour Notes" on the one hand or "Free Silver" on the other; or by any other Utopian manipulation of the currency. It does not enter into the heads of the adherents of the Labour Party that a simple way out of all our difficulties can be found by a "wiping of the slate." No one in the Labour Party suggests the Repudiation of the National Debt, or its redemption by an unlimited issue of international promissory notes guaranteed by all the Governments of the belligerents. I get projects of this kind sent to me from time to time, as doubtless other persons do; but they come, not from members of the Labour Party or from manual working wage earners, but usually from honest army officers, from simple-minded employers and business men of all sorts—some of them men of wealth—from perplexed country squires, and from lonely members of the Indian Civil Service. To whatever cause it may be attributed, it is a remarkable, and, as I think, a comforting fact, that on all this range of questions the British Labour Movement is, as Lombard Street would say, "as sound as a bell." We shall probably have in this country, as in the United States, a recrudescence of the currency crazes of past generations; but I see no sign that the British Labour movement will be infected by them.*

We must increase Production.

The British Labour Movement, which is, unlike the other political parties, made up almost exclusively of producers, is, indeed, quite keenly alive to the fact that the essential problem is that of production—*production, that is to say, not of profits or fortunes, but of the commodities and services by which the community lives.* We can replace the material wealth destroyed in the war only by new production. And we must therefore raise our national production—production, that is, of useful commodities and services—to its highest possible amount consistent with a humane and civilised life. It is a profound mistake to suppose that the Labour Party is indifferent to production. None of the revelations of the war is more keenly appreciated in the Labour Party than the lamentable failure that we now see that we have heretofore made, as a nation, in this

* Those who seek a commonsense and practical exposition of currency and its problems may consult one of the latest books, *Money, its connection with rising and falling prices*, by Edwin Cannan, Professor of Political Economy in the University of London (P. S. King & Son, 2/6 net), or *Gold, Prices and Wages*, by J. A. Hobson (Methuen, 2/6).

matter. Whether in agriculture or in manufactures, in industry or in commerce, in science or in social organisation, it is plain that we have, as a community, not produced anything like as much—I do not say of profits and wages, but of useful commodities and services—as we could have done, without any lengthening of the working day, or increase of strain, if the nation had really set itself to do its utmost. But I may make two observations which are usually not in the minds of those who talk about this slackness in production.

Private Capitalism.

First, it is against our whole system, not against individuals, that the gravest indictment must be brought. It is our agricultural system, the system under which we have done our importing and exporting, the system prevailing in our factories and mines, our system of wholesale and retail distribution, the system of our transport, our banking, our remittances—in short, our whole national organisation from end to end, that we now see to be, from the standpoint of maximum production of commodities and services, horribly imperfect. But this organisation in all its phases is the outcome of the private ownership of capital, guided by the individual striving for personal riches, and allowed a free run, under the impression that “competition” and the “law of supply and demand” would make the best of all possible worlds! It is this that has become, in all classes, so generally discredited. There is coming to be a very general feeling, not by any means peculiar to the Labour Party, that, *speaking from the standpoint of maximum production*, this whole system has been proved to be a failure.

The Prevalence of “Ca’ Canny.”

My second observation is that one of the evil incidents of the system, intensifying its inherent disadvantages, has been the almost universal prevalence of what is called “Ca’ Canny.” Looking back on the years before the war, it really seems as if hardly anybody who was not driven by the hardest of taskmasters was habitually pulling his full stroke, or putting his whole energy into his production—again, let me say, production of useful commodities and services, as distinguished from the very different question of the amount of profits or wages that he could extract. We have heard a lot about the “Ca’ Canny” of the manual wage-earner. It seems to me that the habit of “Ca’ Canny” was even more characteristic and even more habitual among the brain-workers, whether salaried or profiteering, than among the manual workers. The Civil Service was certainly not doing its utmost—was not even officially allowed or encouraged to do its utmost. I do not mean to say that the Civil Servants, “like the fountains in Trafalgar Square,” played only from ten to four. I mean that, from top to bottom, they were never even asked to put their brains into the task of *how to increase the efficiency of administration*. Ministers and Members of Parliament, so far as their official duties were concerned, lounged through life, taking long holidays, working only three or four days a week at

their ostensible tasks, spending a vast amount of their energy, not on working at their administrative and legislative problems, but on political camouflage and all that side of political life that other people call social entertaining. They were, for the most part, not bent on making the State Departments as serviceable as possible to the public. And business men were just as guilty. Employers and managers, partners and directors were very seldom putting in a full week's work. Most of them, especially the more prosperous, were habitually taking long "week-ends." They spent, in the course of each year, endless time in golf, in shooting or in their motor cars. It seldom entered their heads to consider whether they were getting out of their intellect and their capacity for the captainship of industry—not profits, but *the maximum output of useful commodities and services*. And, turning to other spheres, I don't see how the lawyers justify, from this standpoint, their absurdly prolonged annual Vacation; or for that matter, how the Universities can defend the laying idle of the educational plant that has cost many millions sterling for rather more than half the weeks in the year. And, to turn to another large class, consider the incredible aggregate of time spent, practically in social intercourse, by the entire class of tenant farmers in their largely unnecessary attendance on market day. The whole of British society, from top to bottom, was addicted to the habit, not of doing with all its might that which it had to do, but of doing only as much work, and putting only as much energy into its work, as it deliberately, for its own interest and pleasure, chose to do. And this habit of "Ca' Canny" was naturally far more restrictive of national production, and far more fatally effective in keeping down the aggregate output of commodities and services, when practised by the brain-workers, than when it was the manual workers who were in fault. It is not so much a question of the nominal length of the working day, as of intellectual integrity and the intensity of effort that is put into the work. I say nothing of the large class of the idle rich, who thought themselves (and, extraordinary as it may seem, still think themselves) exempted from the obligation of wealth production. This was (and is) merely so much dead loss, and it must necessarily raise the question to what extent we can afford to permit the inheritance of wealth by private persons. But the slackness of the organiser, the manager, the director, the administrator, the professional thinker, and the legislator, was even worse than the idleness of the idle rich, because it had a paralysing effect on the whole social machine. These things must cease. The Labour Party is keen on such a national reorganisation and such a reform, personal as well as social, as shall bring definitely to an end what John Stuart Mill called "the great social evil of . . . a non-labouring class";* such as shall stimulate to greater efficiency—measured by output of commodities and services—the producers of all kinds; and such as shall give to our industry and government the organisation securing to the producers of all grades the highest development of body and mind. The Labour Party, far from believing that all

* *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 455 of People's Edition.

may be made right by any mere redivision of that which exists, recognises—apparently, if we may judge from the timidity of their Reconstruction proposals, more vividly than either the Liberal or the Unionist members, or than that of the Coalition Party in which they have nearly all merged themselves—that it is essentially upon such an increase in the nation's aggregate output of *commodities and services* that the nation's financial policy must depend.

The Cost of the War.

After this preamble, let us come to the figures. We cannot yet estimate how much our country will have spent on the War because the bills for the aftermath are not yet presented, but it is already clear that the War will have cost the nation, first to last, at least seven thousand million pounds (£7,000,000,000), which is equal to nearly half the private fortunes, before the War, of all the people in this country who owned land or houses or stocks. But it is quite incorrect to say that we have lost half our investments. The investors, taken as a whole, have lost nothing—very much the contrary, indeed. Their lands and houses and stocks and shares still belong to them, and (although these investments may, by the change in the price level, none of them sell for as much gold as they did in 1914) they can still be exchanged for each other in approximately the same ratio as before; and, what is more important, they yield to their owners as much rent or interest or dividend in money as they did before. In many cases, indeed, they are yielding more income. And they have greatly increased in volume or amount—the best estimate puts it at £5,000,000,000. This is the estimated increase in private fortunes since 1914.* It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that the War will have lessened the sums annually drawn by the owners of land and capital (irrespective of any contemporary service rendered by them) from what is annually produced.

What will have happened, on the contrary, will be that the other great mortgage on our labours, known as the National Debt, will have increased more than tenfold. Instead of paying for the War as we went along, to the utmost possible extent, by taking what was needed in taxes, the Governments preferred, to an extent that the economists have criticised as unnecessary, to borrow the money from those who had it to lend, at high rates of interest, which the nation has now year after year to provide, and subject to an obligation of repayment of the capital, which the nation has eventually to honour. Thus, so far as we have financed the War out of loans, we have put off the evil day; but we shall have to pay for

* See the careful estimate of Dr J. C. Stamp, of the Inland Revenue (author of *British Incomes and Property*), in *Economic Journal*, June, 1918. It may be pointed out that although the selling value of each old security has, since 1914, fallen by about twenty-five per cent. on an average, owing to the rise in the rate of interest, and in some cases has been further depreciated, the aggregate value of the whole volume of securities now quoted on the Stock Exchange has (owing to the creation of so vast an amount of new securities by the British and other Governments, and the exceptional appreciation of others) increased by thousands of millions sterling.

the War twice over, first in interest, and then in repayment. After the War, and after all the necessary expenses of the long period of demobilisation have been paid, together with the measures of Reconstruction that are being found to be imperative, the gross amount of the National Debt will probably be £10,000,000,000; and even allowing for recoupmets, and for repayments from our Dominions and our Allies, it is difficult to estimate the annual net charge for interest and the necessary sinking fund at less than £400,000,000. This huge sum will have to be paid by the Government in our name to the investing classes, and it certainly constitutes an addition to their incomes, which goes far to explain their aggregate increase in capital wealth. And it is not evenly divided. In spite of Supertax and Excess Profits Duty, the rich, taken as a whole, have become richer, even if the poor have not become poorer. Those watchful silent officials at Somerset House, through whose hands now pass the detailed income accounts of the 30,000 families enjoying incomes exceeding £2,500 a year, know that, whilst the individuals to some extent shift, the class, as a whole, becomes steadily both more numerous and, in the aggregate, more wealthy. The official records show, without doubt, that this small class of 150,000 persons (including children), maintained on the 30,000 super-taxed incomes—drawing in 1918 probably £300,000,000 sterling, or about one-tenth of all our national production—has been, on the whole, greatly enriched by the War.

It may be said that the termination of the War, and the possible repayment of part of our expenditure by our Allies and our Dominions, a possible (but, in my own opinion, not very probable) recovery from the German Government of something by way of reparation or indemnity, and at any rate the sale of our own surplus stores (said to be worth as much as £1,000,000,000) will prevent our National Debt and the annual debt charge from reaching anything like so great a sum as Lord Leverhulme talked about. On the other hand, we have to add the very considerable expenditure in the way of capital outlay that the Government will have to incur under the head of Reconstruction. We must not leave out of account the fact that if the Government succeeds in doing what it has repeatedly promised to do, namely, put right the shortage of houses, and therefore within the first three or four years of Peace manages to build a million healthy and commodious cottages in the United Kingdom; if we should think fit, as the basis of national reorganisation, and as the Government has already in principle decided, to appropriate all the shareholders and stockholders of our railway and canal companies; * if, as the Labour Party urges, we should do the same with our coal and iron mines; † if, in order to get the cheapest possible power, light, and heat, the Government sticks to its decision to nationalise the generation of electricity; if we bring equally

* See *A Public Service of Railway and Canal Transport* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*

† See *The Nationalisation of the Coal Supply* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.

into public management and control the banks and the life assurance companies,* in each case paying in compensation the full Stock Exchange value; even if we thought it necessary, for the sake of reforming our farming, to resume possession of all the nation's agricultural land, buying out the British rural landlords as the Irish are being bought out, *all this would make a nominal addition to the National Debt of less than £3,000,000,000 sterling*, or not nearly half the amount piled up by the War. Any such addition to the gross debt would, of course, be merely nominal, as these services would at least pay their way as they now do. The very extensive, but somewhat indefinite, assets left in our hands, both in accumulated stocks and stores of all sorts, and in debts due to us from our Dominions and our Allies, must clearly be devoted to the expenses of demobilisation. Lord Leverhulme's figure of £10,000,000,000 for the gross National Debt is therefore one that we can take as a standard.

In addition to the interest and sinking fund on the National Debt, we have to provide for the ordinary expenses of Government. In the Budget for 1914-15 the various departments and services of the National Government (including the Grants-in-Aid) were to cost, in round figures, nearly 175 million pounds. We know that this will be increased after the War, owing partly to the increased cost of everything, partly to the heavy burden of War pensions, partly to the greater provision that must necessarily be made for health, education, housing, insurance, etc., and partly to the need for maintaining, at least for some time to come, an army and navy larger than in 1914. I venture to say that, on these heads alone, four hundred millions a year will not pay the normal bills of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus, in all probability the gross total of the expenditure of the National Government, including the debt charge of 400 millions, will be 800 million pounds a year, together with at least 200 millions spent by the Local Authorities of the United Kingdom—making, in all, 1,000 millions, or four times as much as in 1913-14. Can the nation endure such a load (in addition to the levies of rent, interest and profits by the landlords and capitalists) without the poor being crushed into destitution? This is the problem before us—not put by the Labour Party or wantonly raised by the Socialists, but imposed on all parties by the facts of the case.

How to get the Revenue.

Now the Labour Party approaches this problem with no other desire than that of discovering the solution most calculated to promote the well-being and prosperity of the community as a whole. As a party it accepts, as its guide, the highest and most authoritative science and wisdom on the subject wherever it can be found. It has no panacea of its own discovery. Why it is specially concerned—more concerned, apparently, judging from the speeches, than the Coalition Party—is that it remembers that, after every previous war,

* See *A State Insurance Department* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.), reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.

notably in 1815, as is now universally admitted and deplored, the private interests of the landlord and capitalist classes have been so powerful as to cause the adoption of financial measures which have neither been warranted by economic science, nor yet determined by any consideration of the well-being of the community as a whole. There are, so the economists tell the Labour Party, three considerations to be borne in mind in deciding how the unprecedented taxation shall be levied, which are of paramount importance. The first is that there is no calamity to a nation so great, and of such lasting injury to the general well-being, as any general lowering of the Standard of Life of the vast majority of folk who at present live on weekly wages. The second is that no burden is so onerous to a nation as anything that lessens its annual productivity, *not indeed of profits and wages, but of commodities and services*; and that it is therefore vital to do nothing to diminish either the powers of production or (without necessarily depending on any particular system or motive of the past) the springs of action that set the powers to work. And the third consideration is that the way to make the national burden press least heavily upon the community is to cause it to bear upon us, not equally, at so much per head, not even proportionately at so much per pound sterling of income or fortune, but, as far as may be reasonably practicable, without flying in the face of other indispensable considerations, according to the principle of *equality of sacrifice*. I will add a fourth consideration of no less importance. It is vital to our character that nothing should be done that would outrage, not justice, as to which there is no abstract definition of validity, but the sense of justice of the community. This, I hold, is as essential as the other three. I venture to believe that, whatever else he might urge, no instructed person will deny the force or the scientific validity of these four considerations. It is upon these considerations that the financial policy of the Labour Party will be based.

What do these considerations point to? I do not pretend to formulate the Budget for what I predict will be a series of different Chancellors of the Exchequer of the next few years. But we see at once that the old controversies about Free Trade and Protection have practically no relevance to this financial problem. Not even the most infatuated supporter of a protective tariff has ever imagined that it would yield more than ten or twenty or forty millions a year to the Exchequer. What is this when we need to raise a thousand millions? The same considerations dispose of those amiable people who bother us with projects for taxes on cats, or on titles, or on the pretentious names given to suburban villas, or on all the host of other new taxes that are suggested each year to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These imposts, all put together, would not yield enough to meet the deficit of a single week in the year. There is no way out but deliberately to submit to heavy taxation *upon persons*—that is, upon ourselves, collectively—which is exactly what none of us likes! There is no getting away from the fact that all taxes fall upon people's wealth—that is to say, they leave people with less to spend as they choose than if there had been no tax. We must not be deluded, therefore, by any idea of taxing "land," or "luxuries," "dia-

monds," or "imports," or "foreign-made articles." It is never a thing that we tax, but always a person, whom the Government thereby makes poorer in money than he would otherwise have been.

What the Government can earn.

There is, however, one proposal on which the Labour Party will insist, in order to enable this taxation to be as small and as little onerous as possible, and that is, on the Government making the best of the national estate. We want a rich and prosperous Exchequer, not a starved and bankrupt one. We want the Government, whilst paying to every person employed proper wages, to push the productiveness and to develop the serviceableness of every part of the public domain, so that it may yield the utmost possible profit to the community as a whole, even if this means that fewer opportunities for private profit are left to capitalist speculators. To take one instance among many, we want the Post Office to develop its profitable business in all directions, so as to employ for the public advantage its magnificent national organisation, instead of timidly stopping short, at this point or that, because the bankers, or the railway companies, or the carriers, or the remittance houses, or the insurance companies, prefer not to be competed with.* This is virtually to plunder the national Exchequer for the benefit of private profitmakers. We want the new national electricity plant—the score of super-power stations that are to give us electric heat, light and power for next to nothing—to go ahead for the public benefit, without regard to the feelings of the Standard Oil Company or of the gas shareholders or of the coalowners. What the Labour Party asks for is the abandonment of the tacit convention of the nineteenth century capitalists that all the opportunities for profitmaking should be left as their private monopoly. We must have a free hand for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consistently with the proper treatment of the persons employed and of the public of consumers, to gain as large a revenue as he can from the public enterprises, even if this means that there are fewer opportunities for the piling up of private fortunes.

This "non-tax" revenue of the State after the war will necessarily be of vast dimensions. What with a Post Office doubled or trebled in the range and extent of its useful services; with a united public service of railway, canal, road and also harbour transport—the harbour is only a peculiarly specialised bit of a line of communication, and should be dealt with as such—the whole organised with the single aim of national efficiency; what with the national service of electricity generation, and of the coal supply, which plainly cannot be allowed to be monopolised against its largest consumers; what with the extensive public enterprise in life assurance (for the sake of giving security to the policy-holders), and banking (to avert the consequences of the rapidly approaching monopoly) it is plain the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be able to look, for the interest of a quarter or a third of the National Debt of £10,000,000,000—being at least that portion represented by the compensation paid to bring

* See *The Development of the Post Office* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.; reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*.)

these services under public control—to the non-tax receipts that they will yield to him as the successor to the former shareholders. All the rest of his eight hundred millions a year the Chancellor of the Exchequer must get by taxes. We want the Local Authorities in the same way to develop to the utmost their own magnificent public services of gas and waterworks, of tramways and omnibuses, of ferries and docks, of markets and milk depots, of houses for the people and places for their recreation and entertainment.* They ought to yield them a considerable revenue. All the rest of their 200 millions (apart from Grants-in-Aid) they must get in rates. It is clear that we shall all have to pay a great deal more than we shall like. How can we make the burden most endurable, bearing in mind the four fundamental considerations that I have mentioned?

Who gets the National Income ?

Let us first recall how our aggregate national product is shared. The national income—that is to say, the aggregate annual output of commodities and services—may perhaps be roughly estimated, at present prices, at three thousand million pounds. This, however, is at present very unequally distributed among the eleven million families of the United Kingdom. We have chosen so to arrange our society (largely by the purely artificial institution of private ownership of the means of production, and the equally artificial device of abandoning the management and control of our services to the guidance of private profit-making) that a small class of some 30,000 persons (including, with their families, only about one two-hundred-and-fiftieth part of the community)—the payers of the Supertax—enjoy incomes of between £2,500 and a million pounds a year per family, amounting in the aggregate to about three hundred millions (£300,000,000). A second great class, comprising nearly three million persons (including, with their families, between one-fourth and one-fifth of the community), enjoy incomes of between £130 and £2,500 per family per annum, averaging perhaps £500 per family a year, and amounting, in the aggregate, possibly to as much as fifteen hundred millions (£1,500,000,000). The great mass of the people, comprising more than two-thirds of the whole community, find themselves getting from a few shillings to a few pounds per week, the aggregate income from all sources of the humbler thirty-two millions of the population probably not reaching (including all income from investments, pensions, etc.) twelve hundred and fifty millions (£1,250,000,000); allowing thus, *on an average*, even at the new high level of earnings and prices, scarcely more than 15s. per week *per head of population*, men, women, and children, for all the needs of life, happiness, and citizenship. Of course, something like half the families have less than 15s. per head per week, and many much less. There are still many thousands, notwithstanding the rise of prices, "round about a pound a week."¹

Now it is the very emphatic deliverance of Political Economy that it is of vital importance to the permanent welfare of the com-

* See *What about the Rates? or, Municipal Finance and Municipal Autonomy* (Fabian Tract No. 172, price 1d.).

munity not to diminish the standard of life of the great mass of wage-earners. To take by taxation from scanty livelihoods averaging only 15s. per week per head, with the present excessive cost of living, must be, as far as possible, avoided. But, depend upon it, this will be attempted. Under every specious pretext—the desirability of making every elector feel that he is bearing his share, the equity of penalising working class luxuries, the convenience of concealing the levy by indirect taxation, the pretence that the foreigner can be made to pay Customs duties, the delusion that a Protective Tariff will make wages higher and employment steady—a very strenuous effort will be made to throw a large part of the burden on the poor. This will be for years to come the crucial issue of our home politics. There will be proposals for continuing the present excessive taxation on tea, coffee, sugar, cocoa, matches, and lamp oil instead of promptly abolishing it. There will be attempts to maintain the present high prices of commodities, so that the Government can in one or other way get revenue from them. There will be proposals for levying new taxes on all sorts of imports on the plea of protecting our trade against the foreigner—protection which, if it is necessary in the national interest, ought to be secured at the expense of those who can afford to bear taxation, not (in higher prices) at the cost of the poor.

The Wage-earner's Share of Taxation.

But shall the great mass of the manual working wage-earners be wholly exempt from taxation? It might be answered that they are anyhow by no means exempt; that they contribute enormously, in proportion to their means, by the extraordinary abstraction from the produce of the vast tribute of rent and interest in which they, as wage-earners, have no share; and that, in any systematic reorganisation of society, on a basis of equitable distribution of the product of our combined effort, there would be, instead of a tax-paper, a bonus or dividend to come to the wage-earner over and above his wages, as there occasionally is to this day to the burgher of a German commune. But we need not take up that position. The Labour Party does not assert, and has never asserted, that the wage-earning class should be wholly exempted from taxation. What we demand in the way of exemption (and that not at all exclusively for the sake of the exempted, but, according to the accepted orthodox teaching of the economists, in the interest of the community as a whole) is that there should be no encroachment by taxation on the necessary subsistence of the poorest family—no diminution, by any decision of the Government, of what is required to allow to the whole of the wage-earners their full development of body, mind, and character. This, so the Labour Party suggests, can be secured by confining any deliberate taxation of all the people below the Income Tax level to imposts on what are definitely luxuries, not necessary for this development; and specially to those luxuries of which there is good reason for preventing the consumption in excess, and even also for restricting the consumption in moderation. Thus the Labour Party makes no protest against the Government obtaining

the largest possible revenue from alcoholic drink and tobacco. It would not, as a party, if the State needed the revenue, resent the taxation of admission to race meetings, or any practicable tax on betting and gambling; and it would be disposed to consider favourably any plan by which any working class luxuries, which yield little or nothing in subsistence or refinement, could be made the vehicle of any necessary taxation. What we say is suicidal is any inroad on the Standard of Subsistence, and any hindrance to an advance of the average working class family in security, culture, and fulness of life. As a matter of fact, any such economically injurious taxation is unnecessary to make up the quota of taxation of the wage-earning class to any sum that could be justified by an honest apportionment, according to the principle of equality of sacrifice. It is, as experience indicates, quite easy to get, merely out of taxation of luxuries enjoyed largely by the wage-earning class, more than a hundred million pounds a year. This is one-twelfth of their aggregate income. If the whole revenue had to be raised by direct taxation, and if there were any genuine graduation on the principle of equality of sacrifice, no one would propose to get more than some such quota—equal, as it would be, to an Income Tax of something like one and eightpence in the pound—from the class below the Income Tax level. The Labour Party is accordingly fortified in its demand that any deliberate taxation of the class below the Income Tax level, carried out by the vehicle of Indirect Taxes, ought to be absolutely confined to luxuries not entering into the essential Standard of Life and unnecessary for the advance of the wage-earning family in security, culture, and fulness of life.

Apart from the development of revenue from the national estate and the taxation of the more questionable of the luxuries of the whole people, including the wage-earners, there are certain special sources of wealth that should be looked after by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the mere assertion of a national claim. That the Direct Taxation of Land Values should be applied, at least to the extent of effectually diverting to the Exchequer the unearned increment of urban land values, is an old proposal, not of the Labour Party in particular, but of many of the political economists for three-quarters of a century. Even Mr. Gladstone, reactionary financier as he was, got so far as to talk about it. We have, at present, only such tentative and trivial applications of the principle as the Increment Duty on Land Values and the Mineral Royalties Duty. Mr. Bonar Law has applied the same principle to capital gains on the sale of ships, and now to profits on the sale of businesses and stocks of controlled establishments. Other countries have gone much further. There seems no reason why every realised accession of capital value should not be shared with the Government, which was long since declared to be—though our Chancellors of the Exchequer seem habitually to forget it—the sleeping partner in every undertaking, and the only righteous heir to every increment due to the progress of the nation in population and wealth.

With all these contributions, we are nevertheless left with an

enormous deficit to be made good. The Labour Party suggests that this must necessarily be met by Direct Taxation; and that what we have to do is unflinchingly to apply the principle of equality of sacrifice, not, indeed, as between individual cases, which would make taxation arbitrary, and therefore inevitably outraging our sense of justice, but, as far as practicable, between different grades and kinds of "ability to pay."

Now, on this matter there is always a great scare, which the wealthy classes and the financiers for their own sakes foster, among the great army of the thrifty and industrious folk of narrow means. Just as the lord of broad acres is entrenched behind the peasant proprietor, and the millionaire owner of urban land values behind the man who is buying his house through a building society, so the man of ten or fifty thousand a year cowers behind the bulwark of the poor widow, the "lean annuitant," and the people who have laboriously accumulated a few hundreds in Government stock by way of provision for their old age. Speaking of this class as a whole, whether people earning by hand or by brain incomes between £130 and £1,000 a year, or humble annuitants, or men and women painfully purchasing their houses by instalments, or depositors in the Post Office Savings Bank, or holders of little lots of house property, it is not too much to say that, in this matter, their financial interests are really the same as those who are merely wage-earners. At present both are suffering in common. The political helplessness of the middle class has long made them the special prey of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In all sorts of ways, some of which they feel but do not identify, they are at present taxed quite out of proportion with any principle of equality of sacrifice. Of course, they will again be mobilised against the Labour Party. They will be deliberately scared by false accusations that the Labour Party is going to repudiate the National Debt, confiscate all houses and land, forfeit everybody's shares in joint stock companies, seize all the savings bank deposits, destroy the Co-operative Societies, and, finally, as the crowning horror, conscript all the wealth of the country! I don't suggest that the Liberal or the Unionist candidates, who are all honourable men, will themselves say these things. But these things will be said, in the interests of these candidates, and for the protection of the rich—indeed, they are already being said.

No Confiscation.

Now, I wish to declare, very emphatically, that these allegations are untrue. The Labour Party has no project of taxation that will make things worse for the large class who are painfully saving to secure themselves a little independence. It has no sort of hostility to these small fortunes. On the contrary, what the Labour Party is out for is that every man and woman should have, for his or her own, not only the assured possession of a home, with all its paraphernalia, but also an equally secure provision for old age, in no stinted measure, and freedom to hand on this little family hoard, whether represented by house and garden, furniture and paraphernalia, insurance policy or invested savings, to family or other legatees.

To say that Socialism would destroy these little fortunes is simply untrue. It would make them more secure. The social danger of inheritance, which it will be necessary to avert by steeply graduated Death Duties, begins very much higher up in the financial scale than anything we are here contemplating.

Thus, what the Labour Party proposes in Direct Taxation, far from piling new burdens on this large class of thrifty folk, would actually redress some of the fiscal grievances from which they now suffer. How unfairly burdensome, for instance, are the heavy stamp duties levied on the man who buys a house or a little plot of land. How unwise it is to make the widow and orphans, who are left on the death of the breadwinner with no more than a thousand pounds or so, pay any Death Duties at all. With regard to the Income Tax, too, the Labour Party asks for nothing less than a revolution in the method of assessment, so that the burden is adjusted to the number of persons to be maintained. Moreover, the Labour Party will insist that every woman, married or unmarried, is treated for Income Tax as an independent human being, exactly as if she were a man. The Labour Party accepts the principle of differentiating in rate between earned and unearned income, and would carry it further.*

What the Labour Party expects, then, is a much greater use than at present of the Income Tax and Supertax with their existing unfairnesses remedied and a more equitable graduation introduced. If these taxes were assessed on a family basis, and the amount chargeable in each case fixed in inverse ratio to the number of persons to be maintained; if the net sum chargeable were taxed from, say, 1d. in the £ at the lowest level up to 16s. in the £ on incomes exceeding £100,000 a year; and if the present differentiation in rates between "earned" and "unearned" incomes were extended, *there seems no reason why the so-called rate of Income Tax, which only the holders of incomes above the highest Abatement level would pay, should ever fall below a nominal 10s. in the £.* Subject to the same conditions of graduation and differentiation, even this rate may not be sufficient to meet the whole charge of the National Debt.

The Capital Levy.

Here we come to the suggestion that has caused a quite unnecessary amount of alarm, namely, that of a tax assessed in proportion to each man's fortune or riches—called indiscriminately a Capital Tax or Capital Levy, and the Conscriptio of Wealth. I need hardly say that this is not specially an invention of the Labour Party. It is the expedient to which those who are facing the alarming financial situation ahead of us—bankers, economists, serious politicians—have for some time been considering. It is being proposed by financiers and economists in all countries. It has not been absent, as Mr. Bonar Law has revealed, from the considerations of the British Exchequer. When the sum to be annually levied is very large—suppose, for instance, that it came to equal fifteen shillings in the pound of the

* See *A Revolution in the Income Tax* (Fabian Research Department, price 1s.; reprinted from *How to Pay for the War*).

whole assessable income—the question inevitably arises whether it would not be easier and equitable, and more in consonance with the principle of equality of sacrifice, to apportion the assessment among the contributors partly upon the capital value of their several fortunes instead of wholly upon their incomes. There is every gradation—to take only the classes paying the full rate of Income Tax—between the business man or doctor earning £2,500 a year, and as yet without any appreciable accumulated wealth, and the owner of £50,000 in Government securities who is doing no productive work and earning nothing. At present it is literally true that both are made to contribute equally to Income Tax and Supertax.

There is an extraordinary delusion among the middle-class—a delusion fostered by the wealthy as one of their means of defence against being made to contribute equitably to the taxes—that the project of a Tax on Capital is put forward in the interests of the wage-earners, in order to spare the mass of the people from paying any taxes at all. But, as a matter of fact, it is not as a substitute for the taxation of the wage-earners that the Capital Tax is proposed. It is proposed as a substitute for a crushingly heavy Income Tax on the whole body of professional and business men. The alternative for the doctor or teacher or minister of religion to consider; for the farmer or shopkeeper or manufacturer or merchant to ponder over; for the man or woman living on an annuity or on the proceeds of scanty savings to reflect upon, is whether it is better to go on for all time paying an Income Tax at the nominal rate of fifteen shillings in the pound without a Capital Tax; or to have a properly graduated Capital Tax once for all, in order to get the Income Tax down to something like the pre-war rate.

One thing is certain. The high Income Tax and Supertax is what the millionaires, and generally all the wealthy families, very much prefer to a Capital Tax. And the reason is plain. If the Government must raise a very large sum by Direct Taxation it is very much more profitable to the owners of great estates and huge investments, if this large sum is levied entirely in proportion to people's *incomes*, than if any part of it is levied in proportion to people's *fortunes*. On the other hand, those people who have incomes without fortunes (or whose capital wealth is small in comparison with their incomes), stand to gain by getting part of the sum levied, not in proportion to incomes, but in proportion to capital wealth. Thus, practically all those who are earning incomes—the professional classes, the authors, the men actually engaged in business, and the great salaried class—would (unless they were already wealthy) benefit by the substitution of a Capital Tax for a great part of the crushing Income Tax that will otherwise be indispensable.

It will be realised that the imposition, once for all, of a Capital Tax, as an alternative to greatly increasing the Income Tax, is in strict accordance with the principle of equality of sacrifice. The man with £100,000 invested capital can more easily spare £50,000 once for all than the man earning £5,000 a year—dependent on his continuance in life and health, and contingent on all the chances of

business—can spare an annual Income Tax of £2,500, or even £2,000 a year. Of course, the Capital Tax would be steeply graduated; probably charging nothing on little fortunes up to £1,000, or even up to £2,600, where the owner is now exempt from Income Tax; small percentage only (perhaps 1 per cent) up to £5,000; possibly 5 per cent up to £10,000; 10 per cent up to £20,000; and only rising to 50 per cent or upwards on the estates of the millionaires. Of course, too, all fortunes would be assessed at their present net value, after deducting all debts, mortgages, jointures and other charges.

Is it not the most sensible course to take? When a man is in debt, and subject to onerous annual charges for interest, it is nearly always economical for him to clear off his debts, even at the sacrifice of part of his property. It was not I but Mr. Bonar Law who suggested that it would be to the interest of the property owners of this country, as well as that of the community as a whole, that at any rate a large proportion of the National Debt should be repaid, once for all, soon after the war, rather than drag on for a whole generation, necessitating the payment, at the cost, year after year, of a colossal Income Tax, of much more than the actual expense of the war—that is to say, first the interest and then the repayment disguised in a Sinking Fund. In so far as the property owners have to pay this Income Tax, it would be more profitable for them to discharge the capital liability at once, and thus greatly reduce their own burden. This is the financial case for a drastic reduction of the National Debt, by means of a Capital Levy, perhaps down to a total no greater than is represented by the tangible or productive assets of the Government.

It has often been rashly asserted, by those who have given the matter no study, that the practical difficulties of a Capital Levy are insuperable. Such critics might remember that a universal Capital Levy was actually made by the German Government in 1914 and 1917. Or they might reflect that exactly the sort of Capital Levy that is now proposed is actually made in our own country every year in the shape of the Probate and Estate Duties, which yield over thirty millions annually. It is true that not all the property in the kingdom is simultaneously assessed in this way; in fact, only one-thirtieth of the wealth passes by death each year. A Capital Levy might be made without a new tax, if every person were, by statute, on some prescribed day, deemed for this purpose to be dead, and at the same time to be his own heir! Such a Capital Levy might probably involve thirty times as much trouble, and thirty times as numerous a staff, as the existing Death Duties necessitate. This cannot be supposed to be prohibitive. In reality, by prescribing that all securities should be taken at the Stock Exchange quotations, and that different classes of other property should be automatically taken to be worth so many years purchase of the income—according to the ascertained ratio of the last ten years' practice for Probate—with personal effects, pictures, jewellery, and so on, arbitrarily assessed in the light of the fire insurance policy, mitigated by such evidence as to cost as the owner chose to produce, the valuation could be reduced to little more than a matter of rendering an

account. Once more, let it be said that the man who declares a Capital Levy to be impracticable, may any day find himself an executor, and he will then see the incredible actually existing, and the impossible going through the hollow mockery of taking place!*

Sometimes it is urged that a Capital Levy would involve ruinous loss through the simultaneous necessity of realising land, houses, and securities in a depreciated market. There would be, it ought to be needless to say, absolutely no such realisation. During the War, it is true, the Government has needed cash, not wealth. But after the War, for this purpose of getting rid of the burden of the National Debt, the Government wants wealth, not particularly cash. It would therefore naturally be quite willing to take payment by instalments, even spreading the charge over ten years. It could offer, in the alternative, to take over all Stock Exchange securities (including the shares of companies quoted only on the Scottish and provincial markets) at the current valuation. They would be just as useful to the Government as to their present owners, and would be just as productive. It would equally accept, up to the amount of the levy, mortgages on lands and houses, ships and private businesses, if the contributory preferred not to pay in cash. It would not need to ask the taxpayers for a penny more in cash than they themselves preferred to pay. All these forms of wealth would be equally welcome to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt. The interest received on these securities and mortgages would year by year discharge the interest payable on an equivalent amount of War Loan. Gradually these securities would be unloaded, first, under the privilege of pre-emption during a certain time that might be accorded to the mortgagors; secondly, by exchanges with holders of War Loan, who could be tempted by a slight bonus voluntarily to surrender their Government stock in return for these other securities; and, thirdly, by gradual sale on a market for securities that would be continually expanding, to the extent of the simultaneous repayment of Government Debt with the proceeds of such sales.†

* It would be reasonable to make the Capital Tax a substitute for the first payment of Death Duties that falls due after its levy. It would thus take the form, to this extent, of an anticipation of the Death Duties to which all property is already liable on the death of the present owners. But the Death Duties (which yield about thirty millions a year) average only ten per cent of the fortunes on which they are levied. The Capital Tax might be, on an average, in excess of that percentage.

It has been suggested that an alternative to a Capital Levy might be found in increasing the Death Duties four or fivefold, in the expectation that, with the greatly increased aggregate of private fortunes, in the present generation, with the income of £200,000,000 a year from this source. It is suggested that any such expectation is delusive, as Death Duties of such magnitude would be evaded by the rapidly increasing tendency to make transfers during life from parents to children. Such transfers would be of no avail against a Capital Levy, which would naturally be based on fortunes as they stood at a date prior to its introduction.

† For a careful examination of the whole financial position, and of the proposed Capital Tax, see *A Levy on Capital*, by F. W. Pethuck Lawrence (Allen & Unwin, 1s. 6d.); see also *A Levy on Capital for the Discharge of Debt*, by F. Y. Edgeworth, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford (Clarendon Press, 1s. net), and the articles in the *Economic Journal* for June and September, 1918.

And now I have given you all I know, in broad outlines, of the financial proposals of the Labour Party. There is nothing in them, so far as I can judge, that is in the nature of economic heresy, or the special invention of "wild Bolsheviks" in the Labour Party. They are, in fact, taken from the most orthodox political economists; they are distinguished from the financial proposals of the other political parties only by their candour and frankness, and by their resolute facing of the facts of the situation. They are based on the four fundamental considerations that I have named, which no instructed person can ignore or deny. There must be no lowering of the Standard of Life, and therefore no encroachment upon (and no undermining of) the necessary full and adequate subsistence of the people. There must be no impairment of production, rather a determined reorganisation of our industrial system, so as to secure an actual increase of production of useful commodities and services, and therefore no weakening of the springs of action necessary to set the powers of production to work. The huge burden that we have to bear must be adjusted according to the principle of equality of sacrifice. And nothing must be done that outrages the sense of justice of the community.

"No cake for anyone until all have bread."

What we must do is to develop to the utmost the revenue from the national estate, irrespective of the cupidity of the private profit maker.† We must levy taxation on those below the Income Tax exemption level only through the very large amount that the members of this class divert to luxuries of no social value. We must courageously intercept, for the benefit of the Exchequer, not only the growth of urban land values, but also every form of unearned increment. And we must rely, for our main source of revenue, on the Direct Taxation of Income and Property.

Fundamentally, the position is this. The nation must forego its fat. If we are to retain our health and strength, and keep up both our race and our production, we must imperatively—to use a liquidator's phrase—"marshal our assets," on the principle of "First things first," allowing the allocation of our possessions, in order to meet the most pressing requirements of the community, to whatever extent is necessary, *in the order of their urgency*. In the words of Ruskin, there is no wealth but life; and the nation must in all departments put its life above riches. In the hard and strenuous times before us there must be "*no cake for anyone until all have bread.*"

† *How to Pay for the War* (Fabian Research Department, 6s. net).

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