

7185

718
21 JUN 1928

Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.1



Messrs.

George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
have pleasure in sending the accompanying
work for review. They request that
the notice should not be inserted be-
fore publication and they would
be glad to receive a copy of
the issue in which it
appears.



Title *Hyndman*

Price *10/6* net

Date of publication *May 1*

Servant of India

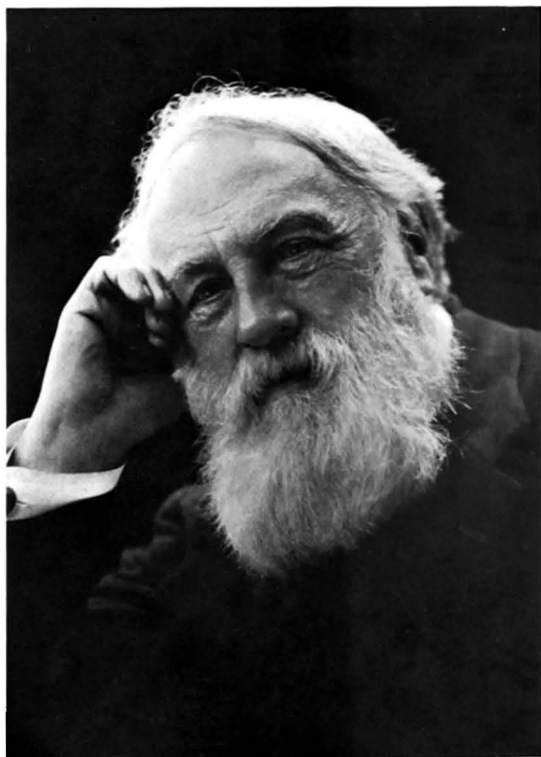
HYNDMAN: PROPHET OF SOCIALISM

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-007185

21 JUN 1928



[Beresford, London, S.W.]

H. M. HYNDMAN
(1919)

HYNDMAN
Prophet of Socialism
(1842-1921)

BY
FREDERICK J. GOULD

*Author of Biographies of
Thomas Paine and Auguste Comte*

PREFACE BY
THOMAS KENNEDY, M.P.
(Chief Whip of the Labour Party)

Published on behalf of the
HYNDMAN LITERARY COMMITTEE

BY
GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD.
40, MUSEUM, STREET, LONDON, W.C.

First published in 1928
(All rights reserved)

X : 3M w M42

F8

7185

CONTENTS

21 JUN 1928

PREFACE	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
CHAPTER I—YOUTH.	1842-1865	...	...	...	...	...	19
CHAPTER II—TRAVELS, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL, 1866-1880	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
CHAPTER III—THE CHALLENGE, 1881-1885	...	...	...	...	...	...	65
CHAPTER IV—THE GREAT PROPAGANDA, 1886-1913	...	...	...	...	...	...	103
CHAPTER V—ROSALIND TRAVERS	...	...	...	...	...	...	159
CHAPTER VI—THE WAR YEARS, 1914-1918	...	...	...	...	...	...	189
CHAPTER VII—THE THREE CLOSING YEARS, 1919-1921	...	...	...	...	...	...	251
INDEX	...	...	...	...	...	...	299

PREFACE

THE fact that Revolutionary influences in varied form, economic and political, are to-day at work throughout the whole of the civilised world, can no longer be ignored by the most conservative mind. Nowhere are those influences more highly developed, and more likely to find expression in a Socialist direction, than here in Great Britain. This is, indeed, a remarkable development, since it was only in the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century that the theoretical basis of inevitable and fundamental social change began to be generally understood, and to take the form of an organised political movement. In June, 1881, H. M. Hyndman published *England for All*, and presented first copies to the members of the Democratic Federation, a body which shortly afterwards became the Social-Democratic Federation, the first Socialist organisation to be formed in this country. For the ideas and much of the matter contained in Chapters II and III of that little book, as the author explained, he was indebted to "the work of a great thinker and original writer which he hoped would shortly be made accessible to the majority of his countrymen." The Social-Democratic Federation still lives. Influenced by its propaganda, the working-class movement in Great Britain very soon began to assume a definite Socialist character and direction. The old Chartist programme and policy of class struggle and independent political action had been revived, and reshaped to meet existing needs and conditions. "Practical remedies for pressing needs" were embodied in a national programme of "stepping-stones" leading up to the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth based upon the collective ownership and democratic control of the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange.

In 1864 the International Working Men's Association was founded in London. In 1867, Marx, the "great

PREFACE

thinker and original writer" referred to above, had published the first volumes of *Das Capital*. Prior to that—in 1847—Marx and Engels had issued their Communist Manifesto. But the "First International" made little or no impression on the mind of the British people, and it was not until the early 'eighties, and mainly through Hyndman's efforts and writings, that the Marxian theory of value, and its revolutionary implications, found popular expression on British platforms.

Had Hyndman then, in his earlier years, been able, as he never was, to appear to suffer fools gladly; had he been in the slightest degree inclined towards political compromise, or the achievement of merely temporary personal success and recognition as an economist; had he even deigned to compete for the doubtful prize of nominal leadership of a political Labour Party, we can only speculate as to what he could or would have accomplished. But his deliberate choice led him in another direction. "If there are," he wrote in 1896, "among educated and thoughtful men two diametrically opposed and incompatible theories in regard to what regulates the exchange value of the commodities which constitute the wealth of our modern society, nothing is to be gained by shading over the antagonism between these conflicting schools of thought. Far better is it, in my opinion, to accentuate the differences which undoubtedly exist on this point, in order that students may be led to think out the whole question for themselves uninfluenced by mere authority, or great reputations, on either side."

Thus he ran, full tilt, against old ideas and prejudices and outworn economic theories. And thus he had to see the formation of the Fabian Society, the Socialist League, and a decade later the Independent Labour Party, all offshoots, although this may not be acknowledged, of the parent body. And thus it is that the estimate of Hyndman, which still persists in certain quarters, is that of an arrogant, quarrelsome, tactless person, unreasonably impatient of the ignorance and in-

PREFACE

competence of his followers, and studiously resolved to dissipate and destroy every opportunity of political leadership that came his way. Such a view of Hyndman and his life work is historically untrue and wholly unjust. He never, it is true, sought or received the applause of the foolish. It may be admitted also that for the politician, as such, he had little respect. "Mere Parliament men trimming their sails to suit the breezes of popularity, or manipulate the votes of the day." So he described them, seeking neither their patronage nor approval. Hyndman neither hesitated nor temporised when pompous phrasemongers or self-seeking and pretentious windbags had to be exposed. His undiluted contempt and scorn of anything that savoured of Liberal-Labour compact or compromise he made no effort to hide. Successful politicians therefore bore him many a grudge, although there are not a few, who still survive in one department of public life or another, who owe to him the direction and knowledge that enabled them to reach a level of self-advertisement and self-assertion that otherwise would have been beyond their reach.

Hyndman's differences with the Fabian Society were neither personal nor temperamental. They were deep-rooted and fundamental, and related solely to matters of economic theory and political method, as his lecture on "The Final Futility of Final Utility," the seventh of the series published in 1896 as *The Economics of Socialism*, clearly shows. His quarrel with William Morris, which led to the formation of the Socialist League, occasioned him deep concern and pain. He called it "the saddest episode in the entire course of my Socialist career." Morris afterwards, as is well known, frankly and fully acknowledged the impetuous error which led Bax, the Avelings and others to secede with him from the Social-Democratic Federation, and a complete reconciliation and understanding followed. "Hyndman was quite right," said Morris on a

PREFACE

Burnley platform, "and I was quite wrong"! Not all of Hyndman's critics and detractors have been so generous.

Take, for example, the school of thought which regards internationalism as synonymous with anti-nationalism. The Russian Revolution of 1917, and subsequent events in Russia, and still more perhaps the unsettling effects of the Great War, have given a temporary stimulus to a sort of cosmopolitan anarchism which professes to regard national frontiers and national and racial characteristics as more or less accidental, if not indeed undesirable. When, therefore, Czardom fell and, later, the Constituent Assembly, elected by popular suffrage, was dissolved by armed force in order to secure Bolshevik domination of the Government machine, and to prepare the way for the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," every advocate of "direct action" saw in those events the beginning of a simultaneous, uniform, and world-wide social revolution. That illusion was short-lived. But while it lasted it bred an infinite amount of mischief and did great harm to International Socialist organisation throughout the world, the full effect of which has not yet passed away. Even now, the so-called Communist Party of Russia, and its off-shoots and dependent sections in other countries, including what is called the "Third International," justify Russian interference in the domestic affairs of other countries on the ground that propertyless wage-earners owe allegiance to no country. Did not Marx say: "Workers of the world, unite"? Why then pay the slightest regard to national institutions, customs, traditions, political forms, or economic organisation? Raze them to the ground as the machinery of a capitalist conspiracy to enslave and exploit the workers, and from their ruin there will arise the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World! Utopian fanaticism could surely go no farther than that. Ardent Internationalist as he was, striving as he always strove for the reign of peace and

PREFACE

goodwill amongst the nations, Hyndman nevertheless clearly saw that social revolutions cannot thus be made to order; that economic ripeness for change and intellectual appreciation on the part of those concerned of the need for change were essential, especially amongst the workers, if changes affecting the whole field of class and property relations were to be peacefully and permanently accomplished. Living in a competitive world market, wage-earners should cultivate close relations and understanding with each other, for purposes of mutual protection against their exploiters. But "the social problems in separate nations must be solved in accordance with the stage of development which each country has reached, and the historic traditions which it has inherited. . . . In the past I thought that only when all, or nearly all, nations and peoples had reached the comprehension of Social-Democracy, and the economic development of each had embraced the Co-operative Commonwealth of all, could men attain to that higher communal life and fraternal intercommunication towards which humanity, formerly unconsciously, and now in part at least consciously, is tending. This view I hold no longer. On the contrary, I believe it is possible that one people, which is in the latest period of developed capitalism, can so transform their national life as to be able to attain alone to that brotherhood of democratic collectivism or Communism which shall not only enable them to suffice for themselves, but by the social happiness secured for all their citizens shall also serve to lift others to the same level more rapidly than would otherwise be possible. This island, although it has fallen behind both the United States and Germany in the struggle of national capitalist competition, is, nevertheless, further advanced than any other country towards the desired reconstruction. The reason is that here the working population is wholly divorced from the soil. But, it may be argued, if we admit that when all which it is possible to produce within the limits of our

PREFACE

populous island is produced, still there will be necessities and luxuries that cannot be grown or produced within its limits. Here collective in place of individual exchange at once steps in, and it is certain that a highly organised society could and would produce so vast a surplus for exchange or barter that a higher offer could be made for desirable imports than any non-Socialist country could afford. The waste in all directions, from coal onwards, under our existing system is so great that, apart from infinitely improved methods, the mere cessation of this bootless extravagance would vastly increase national capacity for exchange." Words these of tremendous import to the British people. And to none, perhaps, should they appeal with greater force and with greater reason than to the members of the British Labour Party. They suggest sound national fiscal policy, and they cut right athwart the crude pretensions of Tory Protection and the equally crude doctrines of Liberal Free Trade.

For several years prior to 1914 Hyndman did his best to arouse European peoples, his fellow countrymen in Great Britain, and his Socialist colleagues in particular, to a recognition of the impending danger of war. On the International Socialist Bureau, the German Social-Democratic delegates, relying on what they believed to be the pacific intentions of the Kaiser, even while they were fully aware of the preparations for war on a large scale, by land and sea, refused to believe that any such danger existed. Here at home Hyndman was regarded by many Socialists and Labourists as a jingo and a scaremonger. Unthinking pacifists and equally thoughtless statesmen and politicians, especially Liberal politicians, were unanimous in their desire to prove that even if war did break out, British intervention could and would be prevented out of consideration for our financial and trading interests. Thus a powerful, even if wholly unwarranted, influence was cast in the scales to confirm German militarists in their view that in their policy of

PREFACE

aggression they had nothing to fear from Great Britain. The early days of August, 1914, brought disillusionment. For mere preachers of peace in the industrial or military sense, in a world in which there *can* be no peace, Hyndman had a hearty and healthy contempt. He regarded them as only a shade less culpable and dangerous than those who were directly responsible for provoking war. With him, when the Great War broke out, neutrality was unthinkable, and while he maintained throughout his abhorrence of militarism and war, he at the same time faced the realities of the world war and came to the conclusion that while capitalism "standing on its own demerits" was bad enough, capitalism dominated by German Junkers would be infinitely more dangerous to the cause of human progress. For that reason alone, had there been no other, he refused to associate himself with British Socialists and Labourists who, in their "ecstasy of pacifism," sought to help the cause of Peace by means of a strike in the British industries engaged in the production of the munitions of war, regardless of the fact that no corresponding restrictions were likely to be imposed on the industries engaged in the production of munitions on the side of the Central Powers! Pro-Germans he called them, and pro-Germans in effect they were, whatever their intention. But Hyndman had other reasons for his fervent hope that German militarism and Imperialism would suffer a decisive defeat. Unrelenting in his opposition to British Imperialism and aggression as he had always been, he was equally unrelenting in his opposition to German militarist Imperialism. Victory for the Central Powers would mean, he saw, German domination of Europe, and the permanent menace of war till that domination ended. Realist as he was, he viewed the war as a horrible fact, and not merely as a subject of pious exhortation and prayers for peace. Looking ahead he saw the collective machinery and organisation, State-owned and State-controlled, brought into being to meet an emer-

PREFACE

gency for which private enterprise was totally inadequate, used, when the war ended, by a united, disciplined army of free citizens for the purposes of the peaceful national organisation of the British Co-operative Commonwealth. He sadly under-estimated the capacity of his fellow-countrymen for patient endurance of social wrong, and over-estimated their capacity to claim their due share of the fruits of victory.

Regarding direct action, as he did, as a method which pushed to a conclusion involved the risk, if not the certainty, of civil war, and firmly believing, as he did, in the possibility of solving every national and social problem through the will and consent of the majority, expressed politically by legal enactment, the purely negative policy of the industrial strike, sectional or general, had for Hyndman no attraction. The propagandist value of a stoppage of work in order to resist the imposition of intolerable conditions, not otherwise curable, he appreciated. As an expression and evidence of class struggle he understood that the right to stop work was practically the only economic distinction between the modern wage-earner and the chattel-slave. But a mere stoppage of work, if entered upon in order to achieve a fundamental change in social and property relations, he looked upon as unnecessary, dangerous and futile. Of the idea of a General Strike in this connection, his view is definite and clear,—

“It must be noted that every General Strike yet attempted in Belgium, France and Sweden has completely failed. This would be by no means a conclusive argument against it, if it were the only objection. The U.K. differs from all these nations, and from every other nation, as has already been pointed out, in one very important particular. The whole of the working classes of England, Scotland and Wales are divorced from the soil. There is no Conservative peasant population as there is everywhere else. . . . The agricultural

PREFACE

labourers sympathise with and are impelled by the same motives as the wage-earners in the towns. . . . It cannot be doubted, however, that if direct action took so wide a sweep as is contemplated, involving the cessation of work in the mines, on the railways, at the docks, wharves and elsewhere, this would almost certainly lead to civil war. There may easily then arise differences between the strikers themselves; for it is by no means certain that men who are too careless and slow to vote for their own class champions would develop a whole-souled eagerness to fight for themselves or their class. Starvation is apt to turn even enthusiasts for overthrow into partisans of a military dictatorship. No Government, also, would or could surrender at once to such an organised arrest of the functions of the whole national life without a desperate effort, in which all the resources of civilisation would be used! Is it advisable even to threaten to resort to such desperate tactics, when the alternative of political action is still open? Is it well to risk a defeat, which might throw back for a whole generation that steady advance towards the greatest economic and social revolution the world has ever seen, a revolution which the intending strikers are convinced is now inevitable within a calculable period? . . . In short, direct action, though it may be useful in argument as a possibility, leads to anarchy when resorted to in actual fact, and unnecessarily risks defeat. Political action is a continuous education and training for administration of affairs.¹

In addition to *England for All* (1881) and *The Historical Basis of Socialism in England* (1883), his published works include *The Economics of Socialism* (1896); *The Record of an Adventurous Life* (1911); *Further Reminiscences* (1912); *Life of Clemenceau* (1919); *The Evolution of Revolution* (1920); and *The Awakening of Asia* (1920). No student of economic science can afford to be ignorant of this rich product of

PREFACE

Hyndman's genius. To the practical politician his works are of inestimable value, in this transition period. Now, more than at any time, in order to avoid confusion, disunity and disappointment, men and women charged with the responsibilities and endowed with the opportunities that are ours, should read the lessons of the past and thus be able to avoid the pitfalls of the future.

It is always a difficult matter to measure and value the extent to which great men, through their knowledge, initiative and vigour, really determine the political events in which they play a part. It may be that they are but the selected instruments through which currents and tendencies, stronger than themselves, are expressed. Whether that be so or not, none will deny that Hyndman was a great Englishman. There can be no manner of doubt as to his place in history as the Father of British Social-Democracy; a pioneer in the cause of British working-class political independence; the foremost British exponent of Marxian economics; an orator of the first rank; and a writer with powers of clear, fluent, and forcible expression, unsurpassed by any other writer of his time.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

House of Commons.
July, 1927.

INDEX

- ADLER, Friedrich, 211
Adler, Victor, 226
Agriculture, 155, 191, 194, 210, 240, 252, 254, 281, 294; labourers, 44
Aladin, 161
Allen, Sir T., 272
Anarchism, 123, 126, 193
Anarchy, Way to Avert, 252
Appeal to the Young, 94
Applegarth, R., 23, 128
Arch, J., 44
Archer, W., 84
Army, National Citizen, 94, 137, 141, 143, 149, 265
Asquith, H. H., 132, 136
Asia, 37, 130, 136-7, 213-5
Awakening of Asia, 266
- Balfour, A. J., 247
Bankruptcy of India, 52
Banks, 185-8, 241, 252, and see *Finance*
Barnes, G., 123, 127, 210, 247
Barry, Maltman, 61, 135
Bax, E. B., 58, 64, 72, 79, 85, 115, 118, 122, 135, 148, 168, 174, 176-7, 210
Beaconsfield, Lord, 47, 66
Bebel, 134, 137, 141, 148, 151, 222
Beesly, E. S., 29, 36, 90, 112, 127, 148, 207
Bellers, J., 81
Benesh, 290
Bepin C. Pal, 146
Berger, V., 221
Bernstein, 128
Besant, A., 93, 106, 110, 113
Blackley, Rev. L., 78
Blackstone Edge, 109
Bland, H., 84
Blanqui, 109, 133
Blatchford, R., 22, 119, 130, 142
Bloody Sunday, 107
Boer War, 129-130, 134
Bolshevism, 215, 229, 232-3, 241, 260, 285
Bondfield, M., 138, 197, 295
Books of a Lifetime, 263
Brace, W., 210
Bradlaugh, C., 23, 48, 53, 86, 90, 103, 116, 118

INDEX

- Bramley, F., 296
Branting, 148, 226
Brasted village, 154
Breshkowski, Catherine, 164, 229, 253, 269
Bridges, Dr., 36, 42
Bright, John, 81
Britons for the British, 119
British Socialist Party (B.S.P.), 147
Broadhurst, H., 52
Brousse, P., 112
Broz, A., 288
Buer, M. C., 47
Buelow, Prince, 139
Burgess, J., 22, 87, 116, 120, 123, 207, 210
Burns, John, 93, 95-7, 100, 104-5, 107, 110, 112-4, 122, 140
Burnley, 122-3, election (1895), 123-4; election (1906), 139; two elections (1910), 145-6; 209, 282
Burrows, H., 62-3, 79, 98, 105, 160, 235, 294; sermon, 107
Burt, T., 52
- Cachin, 226
Caillaux, 262
Capitalism, 55-58, 220, 293
Carmichael, D., 239, 272
Carpenter, Ed., 77, 84, 113, 148, 215
Cartwright, 133
Catholicism, 39, 129, 144, 150, 213
Cavour, 35
Champion, H. H., 78-9, 84, 86, 89, 105, 114, 147; letter, 279
Charter, People's, 20
Chelmsford-Montagu, 261
Children, 70, 123, 138, 143, 153, 285
China, 214, 267; Christianity in, 287
Cipriani, 148, 222
Citizen Army, *see Army*
Clavion, 119, 148
Clark, G. B., 62-3, 148, 294
Clarke, William, 64
Class War, 55, 281
Clayton, Joseph, 93, 121, 131
Clemenceau, 113, 140, 202, 243, 294
Clemenceau, 261
Clynes, J. R., 114, 126, 185, 240, 245, 296
Coal-miners, 138, 182, 252, 254, 287
Cobden, R., 20, 81
Cote, G. D. H., 64, 150, 221, 261
Coller, F. H., 272-4
Commercial Crises, 124
Commonweal, 96
Commune for London, 111
Commune, Paris, 41
Communism, 235, 253
Communist Party of G.B., 287
Communist Manifesto, 25, 58, 632, 272
Comte, A., 23, 36, 50, 55, 257, 265

INDEX

- Congreve, Dr., 36
Connell, J., 114, 148, 295
Connolly, J., 212-3
Conscientious Objectors, 198-200
Consumers' Council, 240
Cook, A. J., 287
Co-operative Movement, 205, 219, 252, 281
Cotton, Sir, H., 51
Cowen, Joseph, 62, 283
Cramp, C. T., 239
Crane, Walter, 88, 135-6, 143, 148, 193, 307
Cremer, R., 29
Creswell, 226
Crompton, H., 36
Curran, Pete, 114
Czecho-Slovakia, visit, 288
- Davidson, M., 62
Davitt, M., 84, 108-9, 127, 140, 222
Dawn of a Revolutionary Epoch (article), 65
Dearmer, P., 84
De Brouckère, 226
Debs, 193
Declaration of London, 206, 210
Delcassé, 139
Democratic Federation, 70
Derzhinsky, 231
Despard, Mrs., 139, 141
Digby, W., 133-4
Dilke, Sir C., 147
Direct Action, 253, 277, 281
Disraeli, *see* *Beaconsfield*
Dobson, J. E., 123
Dockers, 106-7; Strike, 114
Dod Street, 100
Donaldson, Canon F. L., 84
Douglas, C. H., *Social Credit Theory*, 149, 150, 196, 259, 261
Dublin Rebellion, 212-3, 270
Dukes, P., 267
- Economics of Socialism*, 125
Education, 83, 85, 118, 277, 285-6, 294
Egypt, 222
Eight Hours Day, 116, 140-1, 285
Ellis, Havelock, 84-5
Enfield, visit (November, 1921), 294
Engels, F., 61, 124
English (British) Spirit, and relation to Socialism, 66, 69, 101-2, 179,
182, 191, 204, 212, 234, 271, 276, 291-2
England for All, 62-3, 204, 212, 254
Evolution of Revolution, 276
- Fabian Society, 84, 130
Fascism, 156
Featherstone shooting, 121

INDEX

- Finance, 95, 129, 150, 195-8, 206, 217, 218, 221, 241, 252, 282, 288-9,
274-5
Fineberg, J., 194
Finland, Trafalgar-sq., 161
Fisher, H. A. L., 258, 285
Fison, L., 38
Fitzgerald, M. P., 154
Fletcher, A. E., 128, 135, 207
Food Ministry, 240, 245
Food Consumers' Council, 239, 272, 274
Foote, G. W., 128, 137
Fordham, M., 84
Fourier, 66, 133, 144
France and Paris, Hyndman's view, 43; France in the War, 256
France, Anatole, 168
Frazer, Sir J. G., 185, 257, 263
Free Meals, 138, 153, 285
Free Russia, 164
Free Trade, 135, 144
Further Reminiscences, 149-150
Future of Democracy, 192
- Garibaldi, 29, 33, 222
Garnett, Dr. R., 160-1, 218
Gas Workers' Union, 113
Gavronski, 241, 259
Geddes, James, 51
George, Henry, 48, 86-7, 71, 97, 113
George, D. Lloyd, 144, 147, 182, 210, 247, 251-3, 255, 280
German Menace, 134, 140, 143, 146, 147, 150-1, 163, 189, 194, 243
German Socialists, 119, 122, 129, 146, 190, 259
Gimson, S., 127
Glasier, J. Bruce, and wife, 120, 203, 278
Gold Standard, 259, 274
Gooch, Dr. G. P., 152, 190
Gorle, F. H., 148, 169, 210, 239, 295
Gorst, Sir J., 138
Gosling, H., 147
Graham, Cunninghame, 107, 112, 129, 144, 294
Grayson, V., 143
Green, J. F., 84, 141, 144, 161, 251
Greenwood, F., 33, 43, 142
Grey, Ed. (Earl), 147, 206
Guesde, J., 112, 148, 222
Guilds, Socialist, 132, 150, 221
- Hague Peace Conference, 126, 148
Haig, Earl, 242, 255
Hall, L., 148
Hardie, Keir, 22, 110, 120, 130, 139, 143, 146, 148, 161, 189, 198, 202,
207
Hardy, Thomas, 183, 185, 247-8
Harney, G. J., 27, 122
Harrison, Frederic, 36, 43, 143, 149; letter, 222

INDEX

- Harte, Bret, 40
 Hartley, E. R., 158
 Headingley, *see* Smith
 Headlam, Stewart, 84, 93, 148
 Henderson, Arthur, 185, 210, 226
 Herron, G. D., 167, 283
 Hervé, G., 141, 147, 164
 Hicks, G., 295
Historical Basis of Socialism, 80-83, 163
 Hobson, J. A., 198
 Howell, G., 29
 Huysmans, C., 140, 151, 211, 225, 241-2
 Hyndman's father, 24; grandfather, 24; mother, 24
 Hyndman, Henry Mayers; birth, 24; childhood, 25; schools, 26; in Germany, 27; Norfolk, 28; Cambridge, 28, 177, 263; reads for Bar, 29; Italian experiences, 33-4; in East End, 35; visits Mazzini, 35; round the world, 36-40; re-visits America, 45; first marriage, 46; Devonshire-st., 49; interest in India, 51 (*and see* India); candidate Marylebone, 53; again U.S.A., 53; reads Marx's *Capital*, 53; meets Marx, 60-64; "Dawn" article, 65; interviews Beaconsfield, 67; *England for All*, S.D.F. and *Justice*, Chap. IV; Old Bailey trial, 105; appearance, 124, 142, 144, 248, 263; expelled from Mansion House, 127; illness, recovery, 135; off Int. Soc. Bureau, 146; *Autobiography*, 1st vol., 147; seventieth birthday, 148; *Further Reminiscences*, 149; second marriage, 183; from Queen Anne's Gate to Hampstead, 236; proposed for Peace Conference, 245; last open-air speech, 278; debate with Duke of Northumberland, 284; visits Prague, 289; thoughts on Death, 283; death, 294; bust in Nat. Portrait Gallery, 185; *see also* Burnley
 Hyndman, Matilda, 46, 80, 105, 110, 135, 139, (death) 152-3, 162, 165, 169, 170, 172-3, 180, 183
 Hyndman, Rosalind Travers, 46, 63, 80, 149; Chapter V; 248-9, 262, 263, 269, 294-5
- Independent Labour Party (I.L.P.), 120, 211, 202, 253
 India, 50, 51, 69, 124, 127, 131, 133, 139, 141, 143, 146, 213-4, 222, 247, 260-1, 265
 Insurance, 141, 147
 Ireland, 69, 108, 133, 151, 212-3, 222, 270
 Irving, Dan, 148, 185, 187, 210, 254, 271, 295
 International Socialist Bureau (I.S.B.), 131, 134, 146, 211, 226
 Int. Soc. Congress, London, 126; Paris, 131, Amsterdam, 137, Stuttgart, 141; Copenhagen, 146
 Inter-Allied Soc. Conference, 226
 International Working Men's Association, 29, 30, 34, 36
 Italian Bolsheviks, 269
- Jameson Raid, 126
 Japan, 136, 201, 266
 Jaurès, 129, 189, 194, 222, 261
 Judwine, 271, 279
 Jewish finance, 129
 Johnstone, Butler, 154
 Jones, Ernest, 26-7, 133, 149

INDEX

- Jones, Jack, 205, 210, 254, 282
Jowett, F. W., 120
Joynes, J. L., 79, 84, 89
Justice, 85, 86, 88, 97, 152, 211; Hyndman's last article, 293
- Kameneff, 231
Katayama, 137, 201
Kautsky, 128, 148, 294
Kennedy, Thomas, 138, 185, 202, 253, 271, M.P., 282, 285, 295; *and see Preface*
Kerenski, 223, 230, 235, 240-1
Kinnear, Boyd, 35, 84, 154, 282
Knee, Fred, 197
Kienthal, 225
Kitson, A., 275
Khaparde, 222, 261
Kropotkin, 48, 94, 112, 222, 233, 282-3
- Labouchere, H., 123
Labour Churches, 119
Labour Colleges, 165
Labour Party, proposed, 107
Labour Party, 192, 245
Labour Representation Committee, 130
Labroff, 222
Lacey, E., sculptor, 185
Laing, S., 29
Lajpat Rai, 139, 214, 222
Land League, Irish, 108
Land Nationalisation, 83
Lamennais, 19, 20, 65, 155, 278
Lansbury, G., 120, 122-3, 148-9, 189, 287
Last Years of H. M. H., 185
Lawrence, Susan, 197
League of Nations, 59, 116, 255, 258-9
Ledebour, 148
Lee, H. W., 85, 97, 102, 148, 152, 183, 185, 187, 210, 258, 275, 294
Legros, 154
Leicester, 87, 127, 153, 211
Lenin, 231, 234, 287
Leslie, J., 126, 213
Life to Come, 184
Linnell's death, 107
Liebknecht, W., 129, 131, 222
Longuet, J., 149, 228
Lucraft, B., 29
Lynch, A., 295
Lynn Linton, Mrs., 85
- Macarthur, Mary, 197
MacCurdy, 272-3
Macdonald, James, 62, 79, 120, 236-7, 294
MacDonald, J. Ramsay, 84, 87, 124, 130-1, 133, 137, 149, 182, 198, 202, 223, 226, 251-2, 272, 286

INDEX

- Maddison, F., 139, 145
Mann, Tom, 22, 93, 98, 109, 113-4, 118, 145, 147-9, 151
Manning, Cardinal, 114
Marx, Eleanor, 60, 97, 127
Marx, Karl, 29, 42, 53; *Capital* outlined, 54; materialist conception, 58;
Communist Manifesto, 25, 58, 71; *Capital*, 3rd vol., 195; 222, 232,
260, 263
Masaryk, 288, 294
Maudsley, W. H., 148
May-day, First Labour, 116
Mayers, Caroline S., 24, 26
Mazzini, 35, 148, 222
Mellor, W., 287
Meredith, G., 28, 49, 142, 144, 154
Merric England, 119
Middleton, J. S., 197, 239, 295
Mikner, Lord, 247
Miners' strike (1893), 121-2
Money fetish, 275; and see *Finance*.
Montagu Chelmsford, 261
Morel, E. D., 198
Morgan, Lewis, 38, 49, 263
Morley, John, 53, 126, 141, 144
Morley, Samuel, 76
Mormons, 45
Morning Post, 214, and Hyndman, 245
Morris, William, 11, 52, 74, 79, 83-4; *All for the Cause*, 87; 95, 97, 105,
107, 113, 115, 122, 126
Morrison James, 20
Moscheles, F., 237-8
Mussolini, 270
- Naoroji, D., 51, 127, 135, 139, 222
National War Emergency Committee, 197, 216
National Socialist Party, 210, 236, 247, 254; and see *S.D.F. and B.S.P.*
Norman, C. H., 198
Northumberland, Duke of, 284
- O'Brien, Bronterre, 20, 27, 109, 135, 149, 262, 293
O'Connor, Feargus, 27
Odger, G., 23, 29
O'Grady, J., 144, 161, 223, 232, 242
Okey, T., 154
Olivier, S., 84
Orage, A. R., 142, 150
Osborne judgment, 151
Owen, R., 20
- Pacifism, 227-8, 253
Paine, Thomas, 81, 133
Pankhurst, Mrs., 141, 150
Parikh, 294
Paris Commune, 111
Parliamentary Labour Party, 139-140

INDEX

- Parnell, 108
Paul, Herbert, 47, 76, 103
Paul, Kegan, 84
Pay, E. J., 282, 295
Pease, E. R., 84
Penty, A. J., 261
Petty, Sir W., 81
Phillips, Dr. Marion, 272
Plechanoff, 137, 198, 201, 222, 229, 232, 233-4
Podmore, F., 84
Pollitt, H., 287
Poland, 143, 256, 258-8
Poulton, E. L., 272
Poutsma, 194
Prague, visit to, 289
Price control, 273-4
Priestley, 133
Progress and Poverty, see George, H.
Proportional Representation, 281
Protection, 135
- Quelch, Harry, 77, 79, 85, 101, 105, 111, 113, 119, 124, 142, 147-8, 152,
161, 278
Quin, Malcolm, 115
- Radek, 231
Rakovsky, 231
Reading, Lord, 123, 206, 246
Reckitt, M. B., 281
Reddie, C., 110
Red Flag, 114
Referendum, 294
Religion and Social-Democracy, 258
Renaudel, 226
Revolution, significance of, 276-7
Riches, conscription of, 217, 219
Roberts, G., 210
Robertson, J. M., 130
Rochdale, Pioneers, 21
Rodbertus, 81
Rolland, R., 223
Rowley, Charles, 26, 75, 87
Rothamsted, 83
Rothstein, T., 129, 143
Roubanovitch, 149, 222
Russell, B., 222
Russell, Chas. E., 40, 242, 294
Russia, 136, 139, 141, 144, 161, 166, 179, 201, 222, 229, 241, 260, 267
- Sadler, M. T., 133
Sadler, W. J., 70
Saffi, 222
St. Helier, Lady, 154, 185, 290-1
St. Paul's, demonstration at, 106
St. Simon, 66, 133

INDEX

- Sanders, S., 232
 Scheidemann, 190
 Scheu, A., 75, 95
 Secular education, 37, 138
 Serbia, 208
 Seton-Watson, 185
 Shaw, G. B., 84-5, 97, 106, 120, 135, 149, 154, 161, 185, 221, 226
 Silvertown Compensation, 255
Similar Cases, 117
 Simons, A. M., 242
 Singer, P., 141, 146
 Single-tax, *see* *George, H.*
 Smillie, R., 22, 286
 Smith, Adolphe Headingley, 42, 110, 111, 137, 148, 161, 194, 210, 237, 241, 286
 Snowden, P., 143, 226
 Social-Democracy, 20, 85, 244, 272
 Social-Democratic Federation (S.D.F.), 94-5, 120-1, 122, 130, 133, 142; [N.S.P., 206, 210, 247, 253-4]; resumes name S.D.F., 272, 285; Hyndman dedicates book to, 216; *see also* B.S.P.
 Socialism, bureaucratic type, 277
 Socialist League, 95
 Socialists, Allied-Nations Congress, 223
 Socrates, 264
 Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, 222-3
 Sorge, F. A., 63
 Soutter, F., 101
 Soviet, 230-1 *and see* *Bolshevism*
 Spargo, J., 242, 294
 Sparling, H., 105
 Spence, T., 70
 Stalin, 231
 Stanley, H. M., 45
 Stead, W. T., 129
 Stepniak, 85, 124, 222
 Stetson, Mrs., 117
 Stockholm Conference proposed, 223-4, 226-7
 Stokes, J., 210
 Strikes and General Strike, 15, 82, 99, 118, 136, 146, 150, 252, 272, 277
 Suez Canal shares, 43
Summary of Principles of Socialism, 83
 Surplus value, 55
 Swanwick, Mrs. H., 167, 198
 Swinny, S. H., 130
 Syndicalism, 132, 145, 149, 151, 164
- Taff Vale case, 134, 140
 Tawney, R. H., 84
 Taylor, Helen, 79
 Taylor, Jonathan, 86
 Tchecho-Slovakia, 268
 Tea Porters' Union, 106
 Territorial Army, 141
 Thomas, Albert, 226, 262
 Thorne, Will, 23, 106, 113, 127, 136, 143, 148, 216, 232, 242, 254, 295

INDEX

- Thyrsis and Fausta*, 160
Tilak, 261; letter, 265
Tillett, Ben, 106, 113-4, 120, 147, 149, 168, 197, 237, 242
Toynbee, Arnold, 76
Trade Unions, 35, 43, 71, 82, 107, 281; and *see Strikes*
Trafalgar Square, 105, 107, 120
Trajan, 160
Trevelyan, G. M., 21, 110
Trevor, John, 119
Troelstra, 224, 226
Trotsky, 231, 234
Twentieth Century Press, 119
Two Arcadias, 160
- Unemployed, 140, 280-1
Ulster, 151
Union of Democratic Control (U.D.C.), 198
United States, British debt, 266
- Vaillant, 208, 222, 261
Vandervelde, 124, 129, 141, 202, 226
Van Kol, 148; 211
Vera Sassulitch, 222
Verdun, 209
Verinder, F., 94
Versailles Treaty, 255, 258
Volkhovsky, 189, 222
- Wallas, Graham, 84, 148
Walling, E., 223, 269
War Emergency Committee, 197, 230
Ward, John, 108-110
Warwick, Countess of, 138, 140, 144, 167, 185
Ware, Matilda, 46; *see Hyndman*
Watts, Hunter, 84, 93, 105, 148, 210, 294
Webb, Sidney, 84, 106, 197, 226, 266
Weiler, Max, 269
Wells, H. G., 140, 149
Wilhelm II., Hohenzollern, 129, 137, 139
Williams, Jack, 62, 79, 95, 100, 102, 105, 148, 168, 236
Williams, R., 197, 287
Wilshire, Gayford, 136
Wilson, Woodrow, Hyndman's open letter to, 222
Woman Suffrage, 141, 150, 247
Woodroffe, W. A., 119, 185, 210
Workers' National Committee, 217
- Young, Brigham, 40, 48
Yugo-Slavia, 208
Yule, Sir H., 45
- Zetkin, Clara, 222
Zimmerwald Conference, 225

WORKS BY H. M. HYNDMAN

EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTION. H. M. HYNDMAN. 406 pp.
Cloth, 5s. ; by post, 5s. 6d. (Published at 21s.) Cheap edition;
paper boards, 2s. 8d. ; by post, 3s.

A whole philosophy of history is here crystallised into 34 vivid and instructive chapters. As in a moving panorama, the student sees before him a succession of events and epochs, interpreted on the economic basis—Primitive Communism, Slavery, Rise of Gold Money, Feudal Society, English and French Revolutions, Growth of Capitalism and of Socialism, and so on to the League of Nations and Bolshevism. The happy closing pages prophesy a new ethics and a new art.

THE RECORD OF AN ADVENTUROUS LIFE. H. M. HYNDMAN.
460 pp. 5s. ; by post, 5s. 9d. (Published at 15s.)

Hyndman's personal history is not only brimful of excitement and picturesque incidents; it throws an indispensable light on the social development of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and the earlier decades of the twentieth. Mazzini and South Sea Island wanderings, William Morris and Karl Marx, West End Riots (1886), and the International Congress of 1889 (the final date of the present book), and a vast miscellany of other scenes and persons crowd the thrilling pages; and all is illumined with Hyndman's common sense, good humour, and keen social insight.

FURTHER REMINISCENCES. H. M. HYNDMAN. 545 pp. 5s. ; by
post, 5s. 9d. (Published at 15s.)

The bright, eventful history flings a wonderful variety of pictures on the screen—Michael Davitt, Lady Warwick, Eleanor Marx and Edward Aveling, Bernard Shaw, W. T. Stead, Blatchford, Labouchere. Congresses, South African War, Woman in Revolt, etc. Stern criticisms of the pre-war Labour Party form a valuable element in the record. The "Reminiscences" close in 1912. To this volume, as also to the "Adventurous Life," a useful Index is attached.

ECONOMICS OF SOCIALISM: MARX MADE EASY. H. M.
HYNDMAN. (New and enlarged edition.) 286 pp. 10s. 6d. ; by
post, 11s.

Thousands of the earlier British Socialists, 1894 onwards, learned Economics from this series of clear-cut, logical and powerful expositions of Methods of Production, Value, Surplus Value, Profit, Rent, Interest, Wages, Industrial Crises, etc.

Works by H. M. Hyndman

THE AWAKENING OF ASIA. H. M. HYNDMAN. 300 pp. 2s. 6d. ;
by post, 3s. (Published at 7s. 6d.)

With keen foresight, Hyndman saw the tremendous significance of the social and political emergence of Japan, China, India, etc., from the ancient passive attitude towards the white race. In this book of 16 chapters, penned in a style of masterly clearness and force, he sounds the warning to Europe and to the United States, and supports the principle of "Asia for the Asiatics."

THE LIFE TO COME (Introduction to). By H. M. HYNDMAN.
32 pp., with cover, 6d. ; post free, 7d.

This introduction to the larger work of what the Socialist Commonwealth might be is in itself a clear, complete and vigorous statement of Socialist principles. The MS. was begun by Hyndman before the war, and finished during that terrible struggle. "The Life to Come" is based upon the address he gave frequently in the early days of the Socialist movement in this country, "The First Monday Morning Under Socialism."

A SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM. WILLIAM
MORRIS and H. M. HYNDMAN. 64 pp. 6d. ; by post, 7d.

A valuable and readable sketch of economic history (slavery, serfdom, capitalism, etc.) occupies the main part of the pamphlet, and leads up to a vision of a world of "enfranchised art, with our social creed as our only religion." Issued for the Social-Democratic Federation in 1884.

H. M. HYNDMAN AND THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.
Verbatim Report of Debate at the House of Commons. Introduction by THOMAS KENNEDY, M.P. (Chief Labour Whip). 16 pp. 1d. ;
by post, 1½d.

It was a memorable scene, and one of the most notable in Hyndman's life, when, in a crowded Committee Room of the House of Commons, June 8th, 1921, the veteran Socialist exchanged arguments with a Duke.

Works by H. M. Hyndman

AN APPEAL TO THE YOUNG. PETER KROPOTKIN. Trans. by H. M. Hyndman. 16 pp. 1d.; by post, 1½.

The pamphlet is not a political programme. It is a noble trumpet call.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY, THE BASES OF ITS PRINCIPLES, AND THE CAUSES OF ITS SUCCESS. H. M. HYNDMAN. 24 pp. 1d.; by post, 1½d.

In his Queen's Hall (1904) lecture Hyndman eloquently described to an intensely interested audience the nature of capitalism, and the educational and general ideals of Socialism.

HYNDMAN AS PROPHET OF SOCIALISM, 1842-1921. F. J. GOULD. 16 pp. 6d.; by post, 7d.

Memorial Lecture given at South Place Institute, 1924, and portraying, in a graphic and concise manner, all the leading episodes of Hyndman's remarkable foundation and development of political Socialism in England.

THE LAST YEARS OF H. M. HYNDMAN. ROSALIND TRAVERS HYNDMAN. Illustrated by four photographs. 326 pp. 10s. 6d.; by post, 11s.

Hyndman finished his noble career in 1921. In 14 chapters, his devoted and brilliant second wife tells the story, crowded with personal and national and international interest, of the period 1910 onwards, aided by citation of letters. The Great War, of course, forms the central feature, and Hyndman's European experiences and connections render the story of high importance. On the lighter side, Mrs. Hyndman supplies delightful anecdotes and glimpses of her husband's contacts or friendships with Will Thorne, Belfort Bax, Clemenceau, Masaryk, Catherine Breshkovsky, H. W. Lee, and many others.

THE HYNDMAN LITERARY COMMITTEE
Hyndman Club and Institute
54, COLEBROOKE ROW, LONDON, N.1

Printed by
Twentieth Century Press (1912), Ltd.
103, Southwark Street, London, S.E.1
