ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 43. January, 12th 1924. WEEKLY.

WILL THERE BE A CENTURY OF STAGNATION?
A REPLY TO MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD
BY SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Mr. MacDonald, in the *New Leader*, predicts a century in which public opinion will remain practically stationary, and no great social changes will occur.

"If we adopt proportional representation," he says, "we may not have one majority in a century." He adds: "Everything points to a continued stalemate."

The *New Leader* editorial, commenting on Mr. MacDonald's article "with peculiar pleasure" emphasises his statement by remarking: "Labour will probably be in Office some months; a Liberal or a Tory administration may follow it."

Mr. MacDonald's article studiously discountenances the view that we are entering a period of speedy progress, that the workers are rising to their emancipation, that the downfall of class society is at hand. He indicates that popular opinion will remain oscillating between the various aspects of capitalist politics making no move towards a new social order. He seems even to discountenance the possibility of a new social order, and to put it out of court as the goal towards which the Labour Party should aim. He suggests that during a lengthy period, even a hundred years, parties "will rule in the House of Commons, more by their administrative success than by party force." Though Mr. MacDonald says: "On balance that will be good," because it will make parties "more public servants than public dictators," his statement also certainly means that he anticipates few, if any, important legislative changes during the long period of "stalemate" he has predicted.

Amazingly, Mr. MacDonald seems undismayed by his anticipation of a century of stagnation. Indeed, he seems inclined to safeguard that stagnation, for he expresses anxiety, not to dispel it, but to limit the frequency of General Elections.

He suggests that it may be necessary to fix a minimum period for the life of a Parliament, within which no Dissolution can take place. The minimum, he proposes, is three years. As an alternative, he suggests, that the Prime Minister might be prevented from advising a Dissolution of Parliament, except after an affirmative vote of the House of Commons. Having made these suggestions very tentatively, Mr. MacDonald, most typically, refuses to sponsor them, and expresses a provisional sort of confidence that Prime Ministers will restrain themselves from advising Dissolutions too lightly. He finally affirms that "until we see a little more clearly how things are to work out, the Prime Minister must retain what he has gained by constitutional practice."

It is strange that we should find the man who anticipates becoming within a few days the first Labour Prime Minister who has ever taken Office in this country, pre-occupying himself with discussing: "How is the nation to be guarded against too frequent Dissolutions!"

Such words as the following come strangely, indeed, from the pen of the expectant Labour Prime Minister:

> "Supposing the Liberals were to defeat a Labour Government, and the Government resigned, what would happen? I do not know. Everything would depend on circumstances. The Liberal assumption that the only thing that could happen would be for their leader to be sent for is certainly erroneous. The Tories would still be the largest party, and they might be sent for, *especially if the outgoing Prime Minister were to advise it;* a Dissolution might be granted, and who is to say that some new leader might not have arisen in the meantime?"

The italics are ours. Add now these other sentences of Mr. MacDonald's:

> "The idea that a Prime Minister can go to the King just when it suits himself, and, *within a short time after an Election* ask for a Dissolution, is absurd."

The italics are Mr. MacDonald's.

> "If . . . the Minister thinks that an Election is necessary and that the country would accept it, it belongs to his responsibility to have his advice in that respect taken, *just as if he advises that another party leader should be sent for, his advice in that respect should also be taken.*"

The italics are ours. Mr. MacDonald appears to be warning the Liberals that if they defeat his expected Government, he may probably advise the King not to put them in Office, but to revert to a Tory Government. Mr. MacDonald claims that the King will be under a constitutional obligation to accept such advice from him, if and when he is the outgoing Prime Minister. Yet earlier in the same article he was denying the right of Mr. Baldwin to exercise a similar discrimination against himself.

Such political fencing is decidedly inconsistent and uninspiring.

We are of those who regard Parliament as a vanishing institution, an institution doomed to disappear. Therefore, we are undismayed by the prospect that Parliament might buttress itself against the pressure of popular influences by enacting that a General Election cannot take place until three years have elapsed. The less responsive Parliament becomes to popular pressure, the more speedily will come the day when, in some wave of popular unrest, the Workers' Councils will shoulder Parliament from the stage of time for ever.

It is, however, surprising to find the Leader of the Labour Party, a loudly professing believer in Parliamentary democracy, thus proposing means to prevent the electorate from being consulted for three years, however obviously the country might disagree with the Government in power.

We are of those who have parted company with Reformism and who count all propaganda effort lost which is not directed towards the complete supercession of Capitalism by a new order. Therefore, we are not distressed that the Reformists should present themselves in unheroic guise.

Nevertheless, we are amazed that the chosen Leader of the Labour Party should content himself with discussing the petty trifles of Parliamentary wire-pulling at this time when the Labour Party is on the eve of securing a Parliamentary majority after a generation of striving. Compare Mr. MacDonald's pronouncement as the "New Leader," with what would have been written by Kier Hardie, Bebel, Liebknecht, or James, under these circumstances.

Mr. MacDonald forecasts a century of stagnation, in which neither Liberal, Tory, nor Labour Party will secure a clear majority in the House of Commons.

We differ absolutely from Mr. MacDonald in that prediction. We believe that if it pursues even moderately wise tactics, the Labour Party will shortly secure a Parliamentary majority. We believe even with the grossest blundering of which Mr. MacDonald is capable, and the most extreme and halting timidity he is able to display, though these may retard and reduce the electoral victory of the Labour Party, a Labour majority at the polls must, nevertheless, inevitably be recorded in the early future. The only thing that could long postpone such a victory would be the advent to power of a Labour Government before a victory at the polls had been secured. Even in that case, we believe a Labour victory at the polls will follow unless circumstances have made it exceptionally clear that the Labour Government has failed because its policies were themselves inadequate, not because it lacked a majority to see them through. Because the Tory-Liberal majority in Parliament is unlikely to give a Labour Government a free hand to do as it pleases, the Labour Party, if it is permitted to take office as a minority, will be able to put the blame for its inevitable failure upon other people. Therefore, even though Mr. MacDonald should commit the blunder of attempting to administrate without power, the Labour Party will most probably obtain a Labour victory at the polls.

A Labour Party Government, with a Parliamentary majority at its command, will then take Office. Inevitably, it will fail to retain popularity and to bring substantial benefits to the people. It will fail because its proposals are inadequate, contradictory and unpractical, and because it will shrink from seriously attacking vested interests and the private property system.

The failure of the Labour Government, with a Parliamentary majority, may mean a period of apparent reaction. If so, it will be due to the neglect of educational work amongst the masses by those who are able to see further than the programme put forward by the Labour Party. If the masses have been educated by those whose eyes are already open, so that they will be ready, when the Labour Party panaceas are proved futile, to pass on to more advanced ideas, then reaction will not follow the inevitable failure of a Labour Government.

We have only one question to ask of those who are pessimistic and down-hearted because their fellows are backward and advanced ideas spread too slowly. It is this: "What are you doing to educate?"

We have no faith in Parliamentary Socialism. We believe that its doctrines and practice must be out-tired before real progress is made. Nevertheless, that a competent Parliamentary Socialist Leader would refuse to accept Government Office until the electorate had given him a Parliamentary majority. Were he to accept Office, it would be merely to dissolve Parliament.

He would put forward a bold and attractive programme which, though it might be Reformist, would have marked Socialist features. He would endeavour to secure a majority for it in the country.

He would jealously repudiate any suggestion that the Labour Government should be restricted in its right to call for a General Election, as and when it thought fit, and would refuse to make any bargain, either with the King, or anyone else, which would hamper its freedom in that matter. He would repudiate emphatically the claim now made, that the outgoing Prime Minister should decide who shall succeed him and what Party shall replace his own when it goes out of Office.

He would work for a new Election at the earliest possible moment, and would strive that his Party should secure a majority at the polls. Should it fail to secure a majority, he would do everything in his power to secure yet another General Election, and to render it impossible for any Capitalist Government to remain in power.

We scarcely think that Mr. MacDonald is so poor a tactician as to be willing, in the event of his expected minority Government taking Office and meeting defeat, to call either Liberals or Tories to succeed him, instead of advising a Dissolution which might perhaps give him a majority.

Mr. MacDonald appears to be indicating, however, that he is prepared to accept Office, even should the condition be made that he shall not ask for an early Dissolution.

Such opportunism would seem to us bad tactics, to be explained only by a pessimistic disbelief in the possibility of social change and radical improvement.

THE TALE OF AN ISLAND.

(Continued from Last Week.)

George was both astonished and indignant. He tried to rebuke Flora and to explain how unscientific were her opinions; but she stormed on, drowning his protests:

"You had the whole thing in your hands! You actually had Socialism, and you let it go! You threw it away, all of you. You didn't know it when you had it! No police, no army, no vested interests, everything common property, and yet you handed it all over to those vampires because they had a few bank notes in their possession. Bank notes forsooth! And you've let them make a bank to back them. How could you be such fools! Oh, how could you?" She rung her hands. "I feel as though I could never bear to look at you again!"

George strode out of the house in anger.

Flora looked disdainfully about her new home—the half room, curtained off from the half that was occupied by the Thomas family. It contained a bed and two chairs, a deal table, an over-turned packing case, on which was a candle to light the room, and an oil lamp for cooking by. The electricity had been cut off, and all the former conveniences removed. A saucepan and a frying pan hung on nails in the wall. There were a few cheap crockery utensils on the table. These poor furnishings George had engaged to buy on the hire purchase system. He had obtained work as soon as he knew Flora would be well enough to leave the hospital. He had borrowed from an old woman, who had begun business as a money lender, enough money to pay the first instalment and to buy a little food. Hitherto, Joe Thomas and other comrades had provided George with food and shelter, because they looked up to him as a leader, and felt he was entitled to their support for his work in organising the employed and unemployed workers. The day before Flora came out of hospital, however, George had obtained work as odd job man at the island printing shop, which was working to its fullest capacity turning out the new government's edicts and regulations.

Flora dashed impatiently to the window, and saw that at the rear of the house was a charming garden, well stocked with flowers, vegetables, and fruit trees heavily laden. This garden had been fenced off, so that it could no longer be entered from the house, and notices were posted:

"Trespassers Will Be Prosecuted."
"This Land To Be Let or Sold."

All the working-class houses had thus been deprived of their gardens, and, looking from one to another, Flora readily understood this.

"What we have missed!" she ejaculated, and hid her face, weeping with rage. Then with returning courage, she added: "Surely it cannot be hopeless:"

She sat down on the edge of the bed, thinking eagerly:

"Surely the women, at least, have felt the rapid change acutely! Surely they understand what has happened. It ought to be possible to rouse the women, even if the men are too hide-bound to realise. . . .

"I wonder what the children think of it? Probably they have a clearer idea of where things went wrong than their elders. . . .

"Oh, why wasn't I there! Even one voice raised at the critical moment might have made all the difference. . . .

"There is nothing for it but to get busy at once!"

Flora's action followed with torrential speed on the heels of her resolve. She was certainly very busy from that moment; but George had not the remotest idea what she was doing. At the printing shop there was a demand for more women to learn folding, as the shop was overwhelmed with work. Not only were government publications being rushed out at top speed; but also hymn books and prayer books for the church, as the Scotsman's rule had left no traces of any sort of religion, and the ship's supply of church accessories had all been lost in the wreck. Even the clergy had lost their devotional books; but a few bibles, hymn books, and prayer books had been recovered from some of the older emigrants, who had preserved these books rather than their money, imagining that they would serve as a charm against drowning. The tattered little sea-soaked relics were now taken for the use of the clergy at the services and cut up as copy for the linotype operators. Some of the old people wept at being deprived of what they treasured as charms and keepsakes, but the needs of the church, of course, were paramount.

George said he would speak to the foreman at the printing shop and get him to take Flora on to learn folding; but Flora indignantly spurned his offer, declaring that she would not help the government and the church to dope the people.

George was surprised that Flora, who had always been self-supporting and independent, now made no attempt to contribute to their joint support. Flora even failed to prepare his meals. She was out of the house before he awoke each morning, and rarely returned until after midnight. When he asked her where she had been, she made no reply. He noticed that she always threw herself on the bed exhausted when she returned, as though obliged to rest awhile before she could summon the energy to undress. She was usually too tired to eat the food that Mrs. Thomas considerately prepared for her. George could not help pitying Flora, in spite of himself, although he was so angered at her mysterious conduct that he could scarcely speak.

He found himself comparing his wife with quiet, serviceable Mrs. Thomas, greatly to Flora's disadvantage. Yet there seemed to be an understanding between the two women, and Mrs. Thomas, though always kind, was distinctly reserved towards George, and he felt somehow that she was kind to him rather from habit than for his own sake.

All unknown to George, Flora was toiling strenuously amongst the women, stirring them to revolt against the tyranny that was daily being more firmly rivetted upon them. She was working also among the children and, as she had expected, she found them even quicker of understanding than their mothers.

"You must talk every night at home," Flora told the children. "You must explain to your parents how easy it would be to get everything back as it was when we first landed. You shall be our scouts and messengers. There will be much for you to do as soon as the action begins."

To the women Flora said: "We must refuse to acknowledge the government, the church, and the property-owners. We must be as we were in the first days after we landed. Everything must belong to us all. We must give up money, and buying and selling; but all of us just use what we want, as we did at first: there is plenty for all, plenty and to spare.

"We must all go on a certain day and take back the houses and the furniture. We must break down the fences that bar us out of the gardens and throw away those horrible sign-boards. We must take back the common rooms that have been turned into government offices and burn all the stupid laws and regulations.

"We must all act together. The day we take the houses, those who are working in the factories and on the land must let the owners know that they are not owners any more, and that the work is to be managed by mutual service and consent, as it was in the first days. The houses that have been turned into shops shall be houses again."

Flora went from door to door, talking thus. She found many of the women already thinking as she did, and most of them quick to respond. When she had called on all the women in a group of houses, she would return again, and, if necessary, again, until she had got the women to agree to meet together and get to know each other, and to choose one of their number to whom she could send when something should be doing.

"You must talk to your husbands and sons and daughters and lodgers," she urged the women. "You must get all those of your household who are at work to prepare their comrades in the factories and on the land for joint action. Each of you must be able to report how many of your household are ready to act with us when the time comes!"

The women were as enthusiastic as Flora: "When the day comes for action," they said, "those who are not prepared to join us will have to be kept at home." The women laughed. They were thinking out many ingenious plans. "Wait till I get my house back!" became the commonest saying amongst them. "When the storehouse opens!" was the usual answer to that cheerful slogan.

The children were busy collecting pieces of rope: "They might be wanted," their mothers told them.

Mrs. Mary Thomas was hand in glove with Flora. So was Lucy Billings, whose father was so deaf that they could safely talk before him. Most of the plans were hatched in Lucy's half of the little room she and her father shared. At last, one afternoon, the scouts collected from the house-mothers the papers telling how many workers were prepared to act and how many were reluctant or hostile.

The majority for action was overwhelming. The scouts took out the message:

"To-morrow Morning."

Every house-mother who had joined the conspiracy, and few indeed had not, now knew that her business was to awaken early those of her family who were ready to take part in the revolt, and to warn them that this was the day. Those who were unwilling, or faint-hearted, were to be kept at home; by what means was left to the woman's own initiative.

Most of the house-mothers were able to send all their household forth in confidence. The

precaution of keeping the laggards at home was really unnecessary, for the majority for revolt was so great. The few who were unwilling were mostly either policemen or foremen in the factories. The strategy was, nevertheless, faithfully and efficiently carried out. Most of the unwilling were merely left to slumber on, and being undisturbed, they slept till the afternoon, by which time the revolt had obviously triumphed. In the case of those hostile ones, who were apt to bestir themselves early, clever expedients were devised. Some mothers put the clocks back and took away the clothes of their black sheep. Some put the clocks forward, and declaring it to be Sunday, busied themselves in cooking the only proletarian dinner of the week. The woman told her man that he had been delirious in the night, and that the doctor had said he would die suddenly, if he rose from his bed within twenty-four hours. Another, knowing her neighbour and his wife to be both untrustworthy, warned them that there was a warrant for their arrest, and induced them to come to her house and conceal themselves under the bed. The wife, whose man was apt to be violent, took his clothes away, poured treacle on him, and locked him in, having removed all by which he could cleanse himself of the treacle. In a few cases the neighbours hid away the clothing of a whole family; an easy thing to do, since the families were herded together with only curtains to divide them in many cases.

It had been calculated that danger could arise from the doubtful people only at the starting. Once the revolt was in full swing, there was no force or influence that could stay it. This assumption proved correct. When the day was won the only complaint from the laggards was that they had been prevented from taking part in the glorious revolt. Some of those who had been kept at home actually boasted of the brave things they had done in the revolt.

Meanwhile, a confident band of children had gone to the Scotsman's palace, prompted by mischievous curiosity to see how the rulers would accept the overthrow undoubted by the children.

A noise of shouting and laughter outside the palace aroused the great ones and those of their servants who had not left them to join the revolt. Strange cries in children's voices assailed the disgusted ears of the startled great ones:

"Come to work!"
"Have you joined the snail's club?"
"Look sharp; the foreman is watching for you!"
"You will get the sack if you don't clock on by six!"
"Come out old guys!"
"Our mothers are taking the houses!"
"Walk into my parlour you old spider!"

The great ones heard themselves called by name and by approbrious nicknames.

"You are needed behind the plough, old shovel hat. Come and show us your gaiters." The Bishop heard himself thus disrespectfully addressed.

"Let me look through your eye-glass, Mr. Chummelhump!"

"Is her ladyship cooking her pearls for your breakfast?"

"Let me swing on your watchchain, Mr. Fatty!"

"Where are your batons now, Mr. Chief Constable?"

Those words had an ominous sound. Where, indeed, were the police to allow this to continue?

"Why didn't you walk the plank, Mr. Pirate? What a pity you left your pistol in the sea!"

"This way, Mr. Footman!"
"Oh, my shirt front!"
"Where's the butler?"

Every sally was followed by bursts of laughter. Youngsters strutted up and down imitating this or that personality amongst the great ones, while their companions screamed with delight.

The great ones, watching the scene from the palace windows, were more alarmed than if the entire population had assembled to threaten them. What were the people doing when their children behaved like this?

The great ones seized their telephones, but there was no response. The operators had joined the revolt. The Scotsman's system had provided automatic connection between the palace and most of the other buildings, but the operators had cut the palace off completely.

Meanwhile, all willing men and women who had a knowledge of some useful trade, whether they had been employed or unemployed the previous day, had gone to the places where the work they were accustomed to was carried on, and these, with little discussion and mutual agreement, had taken up each the tasks they were fitted to do. Those who worked in industries which were not an immediate need, such as printing, and those whose work qualified them for the task, went with the housewives to restore the houses and the common rooms to the state in which they had been found when first the shipwrecked people saw them.

The work of restoration was carried on all night, and by the evening of the next day signs of the private property usurpation were already few.

Meanwhile, the great ones had remained terror stricken in the palace. The minor officials and supporters of the usurpation had either joined the revolters against it, or had fled to the woods or the caves by the sea.

The great ones inside the Scotsman's palace barricaded it as well as they could, hoping that since it was well stocked with food, they might hold out till help came from somewhere. At first they momentarily expected an attack, but the palace was left unmolested, and even the children's interest in the great ones who had lost their power quickly waned.

Indeed, the palace and its occupants appeared forgotten. One by one the servants who remained to them were stealing out to take their places, as unostentatiously as possible, amongst the working population outside; whilst the fugitives from the woods and caves were also returning and trying to fit into useful ways of life, in the hope that no one would remember they had supported the usurpation.

At last, a couple of months after the revolt, when the inhabitants of the palace were growing lean from self-imposed short commons, the smaller fry amongst the great ones also began to steal out of the palace in the night, and did not return. Steadily the exodus continued, until only the very great were left. They who still clung to the shelter of the palace did not know what had become of their companions who had gone and whom they reviled as traitors. Each morning the palace inhabitants were found to be fewer in number, and those who had disappeared were generally they who had most bitterly denounced the departed the night before.

The wine was drunk to the dregs, the dresses of the few remaining ladies grievously required the attention of their maids, the rooms of the palace were dusty and disordered. The food and fuel were almost gone.

The day came when all had left save the bishop and the greatest of the bankers.

When their last morsel of food was gone they crept out: two gaunt, terrified old men. In the darkness they did not see that a wagon of food was standing at the gateway. It had been placed there by the people outside lest the fallen great ones should need it, for no one desired them to die of hunger.

Unaware of the food for which they were craving, the two old men made their way stealthily past the houses, shrinking from every ray of light, trembling at every noise. At the first faint glimmer of dawn they crawled timorously into a disused pig-sty, on the outskirts of the settlement, thankful to find a refuge from the eyes of men.

There they remained for many years, refusing to come out, except at night. Then, under cover of the darkness, they would furtively seize and drag into the recesses of the sty, the food and comforts, which were left for them every day by those who came to bring utilities to the nearest houses.

As for George, he never could bring himself to forgive Flora for leaving him out of the revolution. As a matter of fact, Mrs. Thomas had forgotten to call him on the eventful morning. Flora had taken to going out without waking him, and he had come to depend on Mrs. Thomas. When George got up at noon, and found that everything had been arranged without his knowing anything about it, he felt so much offended that he went back to bed until the revolution was over.

Once the pirate property system and its government had been overthrown, Flora would probably have settled down with George as accommodatingly as any other wife, but George was too deeply offended for that. He insisted that they must part.

Flora easily accustomed herself to the parting as she was already engrossed in organising a school for the children, whose education had been left in abeyance by the Government of the great.

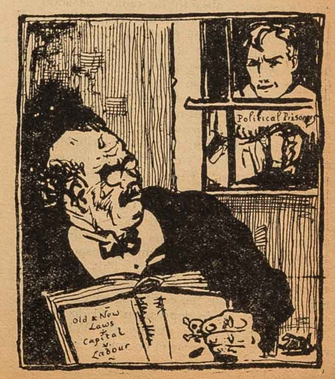
George moped for a time, but he soon became interested in the wife of the great banker who was hiding with the bishop in the pig-sty. The banker's wife was a lady of title a good many years younger than the banker, and only a few years older than George. She assured George that she had left the palace finally in order that the last of the food might be reserved for her husband and the bishop. George thought this very noble of her. She asked George whether he thought it her duty to go to her husband in the pig-sty, urging that there was only one apartment inside and that it would scarcely be proper for her to sleep there since the bishop shared it with her spouse. George assured the unfortunate lady that it would be most unsuitable for her to live in the pig-sty. He thought it a most remarkable instance of wifely duty that she had even contemplated such a course.

After a time George and the lady decided that they might regard the banker as dead and set up housekeeping together. The lady was not domesticated, but George had learnt to be; and the island arrangements were such that housework was really a negligible quantity. George was apt to be a little jealous when his lady met any of her old associates from the first-class cabins; but a spice of jealousy only made him think the more of her. He counted himself a lucky man to be permitted to brush her hair and fasten her dress at the back.

As for the Scotsman, he never came to reclaim his island. His ship went down with all aboard her in the same storm that cast George Budd, the bankers, and all the others on to his island.

So it was that the shipwrecked people lived happily ever after.

(THE END.)



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Our View.

ITALIAN DICTATOR'S NEW ATTACK ON TRADE UNIONISM.

Mr. Mussolini's Fascist Government has overturned the administration of the Italian Seamen's Federation and has sequestrated the funds, which amount to 19,000,000 lire, and are said to be the largest Trade Union fund in Italy.

The pretext which the Fascist Government has manufactured to explain its action, is that the Seamen's Conference at Genoa was disturbed; but the disturbance, in which shots were fired, was created, says Giulietti, the Leader of the Seamen's Federation, by men who are not members of it. Obviously, these men were reactionaries, since they called for cheers for Mussolini and D'Annunzio, and made the latter their president.

The Government has appointed three Commissioners, Admiral Gagni, Captain Barenghi and Captain Manzutto, to direct the Seamen's Federation, Captain Barenghi being called the Lord High Commissioner for the Seamen's Federation.

The capitalist press is now stating that Giulietti is a Communist. On the contrary, he is one of the Moderate Labour Leaders of Italy.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the Italian Seamen's Federation has carried on a vigorous struggle against the Fascisti. It is for this that Giulietti and his colleagues have been expelled.

It should be remembered that in connection with the Italian Seamen's Federation is the Garibaldi Marine Co-operative Society, which was founded in 1919, the increases in pay then obtained by the seamen being invested in it. At the end of 1922 the Garibaldi had 65,000 members and a share capital of 54,000,000 lire. Of a net profit of 1,319,822.75 lire in 1922, 10 per cent. was paid to reserve, 45 per cent. to sinking fund, from which disabled members and relatives of deceased members were being repaid the value of their shares and other members were also to be repaid as soon as possible, 20 per cent. to welfare fund, 25 per cent. to development fund. It is on the pretext that the funds of the Federation might be dissipated by the men who organised this Co-operative that the Government has seized them. Oden Por, a writer, who is now attempting to whitewash Fascism, in an article in the *International Labour Review* last spring, reported that the Garibaldi then owned seven large steamers, one oil tanker, and smaller craft. Five of its ships had been bought from the State.

It was inevitable that the Garibaldi, engaging as it did in production and sale for profit under capitalist conditions and dealing with capitalist firms, was in many respects run like a capitalist concern. This doubtless caused discontent amongst the workers, when the Garibaldi, like the capitalist concerns, met the period of trade depression and decided to discharge some of its employees. Whilst the workers might feel reason to complain of that, however, the upholders of capitalism have no call to do so. The American Seamen's Federation has been attacked because it was a bulwark of resistance to Fascism.

British workers should now respond by a boycott of Italian ships until the Government dictators of the Seamen's Union are removed. *Now is the time to show solidarity.*

What representations will be made to the Italian Government, if and when there is a Labour Government? We shall see.

Italian workers should respond by forming ship committees independent of the Union.

Now is the moment to act.

* * *

STATE SUBSIDIES FOR CAPITALISM.

Many Labour politicians are to-day toying with the idea of State subsidies for capitalist industry. The plan has been tried extensively in Germany.

It is wholly unsound from the standpoint of those who would emancipate the workers and build up the industrial republic of free communism.

British Labour Leaders are dallying with proposals to subsidise the capitalists, and this is a tendency against which we must use our efforts.

The South African has declared for "the fostering of manufacturing industries by a bounty or a protective tariff." The South African Labour Party has entered into an alliance with the South African Nationalist Party in the hope of defeating the Smuts Government. The South African Nationalists make no pretence of opposition to capitalism as such.

* * *

WILL THERE BE A RAILWAY STRIKE?

The N.U.R., of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Cramp, has accepted the Railway National Wages Board award; the Locomotive Engine-men's Society, of Mr. Bromley, has rejected it. The engine-drivers hold the key position: if Mr. Bromley's Union wills it a strike is inevitable. Unless the Army is used to supply sufficient engine-drivers a strike must mean either that Mr. Bromley's Union will win, or that the workers will be literally starved into subjection after a long and bitter struggle in which all transport will be disorganised.

There is another alternative; but it is one not yet tried in this country. It is to use Government powers to coerce the locomotive men and their Union. That expedient has been used through conscription in France; it has been used by injunction in America; it was used in Italy the other day. It may not be tried in this country yet, though it was threatened when the E.T.U. was on the verge of a strike not long ago.

A strong Labour Party in the House of Commons might be held to provide a complete safeguard against Government interference against the strikers; but Socialist Ministers have not refrained from such interference in Germany.

It must be remembered that there is a sharp rivalry between the Unions of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Bromley.

It must also be remembered that Mr. Thomas has declared that Mr. Asquith, when Prime Minister, would have been justified had he interfered to prevent a former railway strike from holding up the supplies of the community.

Great efforts will be made to prevent the railway strike on the plea that it would injure a Labour Government. The fortunes of the Labour Party will in the long run suffer more if it sets itself in opposition to the demands of the wage-earners, than if it assists the wage-earners to flout their employers.

* * *

AMERICA'S ARMADA.

The U.S.A. Atlantic and Pacific Fleets are to be mobilised for the largest manœuvres ever held. They are to rehearse their procedure should an enemy fleet appear in the North Atlantic. The Army and Navy are to co-operate in keeping the Panama Canal open in case of attack.

Our peace-loving cousins!

AT HOME IN THE WORKHOUSE.

The Ashby-de-la-Zouch Guardians have taken into the local Workhouse sixty persons evicted from their homes owing to shortage of houses. The Guardians have cruelly decreed that the husbands and wives shall be separated and the families broken up, as is the case with all the other unfortunate inmates.

Those who have taken shelter in the Workhouse should refuse to accept such conditions. To those of our readers who are interested in this matter—and who, indeed, is not—we recommend a penny pamphlet, Law and Authority, published at this office, which shows the single-handed fight put up by a poor father in Kensington to insure that his family should secure something like home conditions, even in the Workhouse.

The end of this hideous private property system is, indeed, overdue!

* * *

DOCKERS AND MINERS.

Notices to terminate the existing wage agreements by both dockers and miners may cause embarrassment to the next Government, whatever its Party may be. In the case of the dockers, the existence of the new rival Union, the National Amalgamated Stevedores', Lightermen and Dockers' Union, may add some of that spice of vigour to the struggle which will be supplied by the Engine-drivers' Union in the railway contest.

* *

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

A *Daily Telegraph* correspondent repeats some criticisms of German Social Democrats which are current in Germany:

"Sitting in the seat of Government, they acquiesced in the income-tax being deducted regularly from the workman's wages; while the employer, in consequence of the depreciation, paid practically none at all. Till it was too late they did not understand that depreciation in itself constituted perhaps the heaviest tax that has ever been levied on the classes least able to pay. Under this Socialist or semi-Socialist régime there was, in fact, created in Germany a situation analogous to that existing in France just before her great Revolution, when nearly the whole burden of the State was borne by the impoverished peasantry, and the wealthiest nobles paid nothing whatever into the public treasury.

"In like manner the Socialist leaders failed in their capacity as trade union officials. They allowed themselves to be hocussed by the capitalist parties and Press into the belief that the economic stress of depreciation was being felt by all classes of the population alike. When at last they discovered that precisely by means of depreciation the old agrarian and industrial fortunes had been enormously increased and vast new ones built up from the very foundation, they were ashamed to admit their earlier ignorance and its appalling consequences for the people who had sent them up to the Reichstag. Thus it happens that even to-day the bulk of the nation does not know that its evaporated wealth has condensed in the pockets of other Germans, and not in the coffers of the Reparation Commission. Unable to cope with such comparatively simple problems as these, the leaders could hardly be expected to track the wealthy industrialists through the labyrinths of cooked balance-sheets and discover that the share given to Labour from the actual profits of manufacture had never been so small as it has been during these years of Socialist predominance and participation in German Governments.

"If the lot of the German working classes is to-day a pitiable one—and it undoubtedly is—they have to thank for it mainly, if not entirely, the ignorance and inability to think of their well-meaning and doubtless, for the most part, honest but incompetent and inexperienced leaders."

Wanted: "Red Rubber," by E. D. Morel. Secondhand copy. "Economics Without Headaches." "Two Glorious Triumphs, 1916—1918."

* * *

RUSSIAN POEMS.

Modern Russian Poetry. An Anthology Chosen and Translated by Babette Deutsch and Avrahm Yarmolinsky. (John Lane.)

This delightful volume contains a varied selection of new poems by new authors, as well as some that are justly known and familiar. An interesting note on each writer precedes his work.

We have selected the following poems from the anthology.

"BEHOLD A SOWER WENT FORTH TO SOW."

By ALEXANDER PUSHKIN.

With freedom's seed the desert sowing,
I walked before the morning star;
From pure and guiltless fingers throwing—
Where slavish plows had left a scar—
The fecund seed, the procreator;
Oh, vain and sad disseminator,
I learnt then what lost labours are. . . .
Graze if you will, you peaceful nations,
Who never rouse at honour's horn!
Should flocks heed freedom's invocations?
Their part is to be slain or shorn,
Their dower the yoke their sires have worn
Through snug and sheepish generations.

* * * *

"WITH MY FANCY I GRASPED."

By KONSTANTIN BALMONT.

With my fancy I grasped at the vague shadows straying,
At the vague shadows straying where the daylight had fled;
I ascended a tower, and the stairway was swaying,
And the stairway was swaying underneath my light tread.

And the higher I climbed, ever clearer were rounded,
Ever clearer were rounded dreaming hill-tops aglow;
And from Heaven to Earth twilight voices resounded,
Twilight voices resounded from above and below.

And the higher I rose, strange horizons defining,
Strange horizons defining, did the summits appear;
And my eyes as I looked were caressed by their shining,
Were caressed by their shining, their farewell, sad and clear.

Now the night had appeared, earth in darkness lay dreaming,
Earth in darkness lay dreaming, like a slumbering star;
While the smouldering sun, his dim embers still gleaming,
His dim embers still gleaming, shone for me from afar.

I had learned to ensnare the vague shadows far straying,
The vague shadows far straying, where the daylight had fled;
Ever higher I rose, and the stairway was swaying;
And the stairway was swaying underneath my light tread.

EVENTIDE.

By VALERY BRUSOV.

The posters shout, their gorgeous motley blares,
The signboards' groaning fills the street,
And from the shops a shrill light sharply flares,
As cries of triumph mock defeat.
Behind the glimmering panes soft fabrics sleep,
And diamonds pour their poison daze,
Above massed coins the lottery numbers leap
Like northern lights ablaze.
The burning streets like long canals of light
Flow on—the city is alive.
It swarms to celebrate the dawn of night
Like some unloosed and monstrous hive.
The sky and all its sentient stars are hid
By scattered arc-lamps beaming blue.
And harlots jostle sages where they thrid
The dancers in a rippling queue.
Between the gay quadrilles the form and break,
Among the waltzers, clanking slide
The tramways, with blue lightnings in their wake;
Like sheaves of fire, the motors glide.
Shame, like a leader his bright baton wielding
To the rank music of the wheels,
Has fused the thousand-throated throng, the yielding
As one, a holy chorus peals;
"Dust, we enthrone thee; brief and radiant dust,
Dancing the round, we glorify,
About electric altars where they thrust
Their spears into the empty sky."

* *

"THE CAPITALS ARE ROCKED WITH THUNDER."

By NIKOLAI NEKRASOV.

The capitals are rocked with thunder
Of orators in wordy feuds.
But in the depths of Russia, yonder,
An old-age awful silence broods.
Only in the wind in wayside willows,
Coming and going, does not cease;
And corn-stalks touch in curving billows
The earth that cherishes and pillows,
Through endless fields of changeless peace.

TRANSFIGURATION: III.

By SERGEI YESENIN.

Eh, Russians,
Foolers of the universe.
You who trailed heaven with the net of dawn,
Lift your trumpets.

Beneath the plow of storm
The dumb earth roars.
Golden-tusked, the colter breaks
The cliffs.

A new sower
Roams the fields.
New seeds
He casts into the furrows.

A guest of light drives toward us
In a coach.
Across the clouds
A mare races.

The breech-band on the mare:
The blue;
The bells on the breech-band:
The stars.

Germinal

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FROM THE PUBLISHERS

The Day Dream, a Study in Development, by George H. Green, B.Sc. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon.), (University of London Press, 6s.). Mr. Green's theory is that day dreams indicate the character and development of the individual, and that the various day dreams of a particular individual are variations of the same theme and possess the same characteristics; also that certain types of day dreams are common to individuals at certain periods of development. Mr. Green asserts that day dreams, like dreams, are the outcome of actual experiences and desires variously combined.

These contentions are doubtless true in a broad sense, though the application of the theory may easily be strained. Mr. Green's handling of his subject is interesting, and he gives a number of really fascinating instances of day dreams, which make his book more readable than the average novel. Nevertheless, in order to present his thesis scientifically, it would have been necessary for Mr. Green to give a record and analysis of the day dreams of a number of individuals over a period of years, as well as the day dreams of various children at different ages.

Several of the day dreams given by Mr. Green seem to call for marked criticism of those responsible for the care of the child, and in one such case at least, the interpretation given by Mr. Green is far from satisfying.

In this case a child of three is said to have taken a pride in being "naughty." His school teacher tells him that all naughty boys will burn for ever in a fire, called Hell. He hears the same story in Sunday School. He wishes, according to Mr. Green, to continue being naughty, but to escape the fire which he believes is awaiting him. On several consecutive Sundays this three year old baby wakes up screaming: "Mother, take me out of the fire!" He says that he had been "naughty," and someone was putting him in the fire. The boy refuses to wear a red jersey in which he went to school on the plea that it is "red like fire." He presently refuses to say prayers. When his brother kneels the boy of three says to him: "Are you going to talk to God? Don't talk to him; he's a nasty wicked man. He sends boys to a wicked fire. If you're going to talk to him, I'm not going to listen. If you talk to him you will die. He makes people die. Don't talk to him."

The boy covers his head with the bed clothes. Mr. Green draws from this the conclusion that the boy will not pray, because the prayers contain a request to be a good boy, because he wishes to be a bad boy, that he wishes to escape from God because God will punish him for being a bad boy, and that if he cannot otherwise avoid Hell his mother will rescue him.

To us it would seem that foolish people have been cruelly threatening a child with an outrageous and disproportionate punishment for asserting his personality in childish mischief. That, young as he is, the child's sense of proportion shows him that to punish his actions in such a manner would be wickedly cruel and unjust. His experience has taught him that his mother would try to prevent such an evil from falling upon him. The child shows more intelligence than his elders.

As for the jersey incident, the child has probably been teased by his companions on account of it.

Political Crime, by Wilfred George Carlton Hall, B.C.L., M.A. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W.C.1. This is quite a useful manual on a subject always important to pioneers of social change.

It will be news to many people that under the Official Secrets Act of 1920, any persons carrying on the business of receiving for reward letters, telegrams, etc., for delivery or forwarding, are required to be registered by the police, otherwise they are liable to a month's imprisonment and a fine of £10.

The author is an apostle of severity. He desires that an alleged political motive for a

crime should not be regarded as a reason for the exercise of clemency, but rather the reverse. He regards the question of preventing political crime as one of urgency, and would by no means shrink from imposing the death penalty in cases of political offenders. He desires to see flogging made the punishment for treason and felony.

The book is a sign of the times. Some people are afraid of revolution.

WHY RUSSIA SHOULD BE RECOGNISED, by W. P. Coates. "Hands Off Russia" Committee.

EXPORT CREDIT SCHEMES AND ANGLO-RUSSIAN TRADE, by W. P. Coates. "Hands Off Russia" Committee.

These pamphlets argue that "Russia 'has now created the conditions essential to sound trade,' and important banks and firms have 'come forward and offered to share in the risks of the export credits system with the British Government.'"

M. de Monzie, a member of the French Senate, is quoted: "In the last twelve months Russia had made a great step towards getting out of chaos. That effort had not converted me to Bolshevism, but it made me sincerely Russophile. I am convinced that the attitude of abstention is inimical to the interests of France and Russia alike."

The provisions of the Rapallo Treaty are given.

THE BIBLE, v. THE SEPHER.

CAIN, a Dramatic Mystery in Three Acts, by Lord Byron, translated into French verse, and refuted in a series of Philosophical and Critical Remarks, preceded by a letter addressed to Lord Byron, upon the motives and purposes of this work, by Fabre d'Olivet. Done into English by Nayán Louise Redfield. G. P. Putnam & Sons.

This work, written in 1823, is mainly of interest, not for its criticism of Lord Byron's poem, but for its discussion of the text of the Bible, and its explanation that the Greek text of the Bible is by no means a faithful rendering of the Hebrew Sepher of Moses from which it was compiled.

D'Olivet argues that the Hebraic tongue, in which Moses wrote, altered during the successive revolutions to which the Hebrew people were prey during nearly a thousand years, was lost during the Babylonian captivity. It no longer existed when, four hundred years later, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, built the library at Alexandria and desired to enrich it with all the most precious literature of the world. He had received from Eleazar an example of the Sepher, and desired its translation into Greek; but it was difficult to find Jews able to undertake the work. The Essenes alone were able to do this for him, but they believed it would be criminal to reveal the text to strangers. Coerced by the authority of Ptolemy's order, the Essenes found a method of satisfying, both the King and their conscience. The text of the Sepher possessed three meanings: the first, proper; the second figurative; the third, hieroglyphic. These they compared to body, soul, and spirit. By the body of the book, they understood the gross and material sense; by the spirit and soul, the spiritual and mysterious sense, lost to the vulgar. "In giving the body of the Sepher, they obeyed the civil authority, and in retaining the spirit, their conscience. Thus they made a translation that was neither wholly exact, nor completely inexact." All this Fabre d'Olivet had explained in an earlier work, La Langue Hébraïque Restituée, which has been translated and published by Putnam.

Byron based his poem on the text from the Greek Bible:

"Now, the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field, which the Lord God had made." Gen. iii. I.

Fabre d'Olivet shows that the text of the Sepher, from which the Essenes made the Bible, should be translated as follows:

"Now, Nahash (cupidity) was an insidious passion (blind principle) in all elementary life which Yahweh Ælohim had made."

Our readers will observe that there is mention neither of serpent, subtlety, beast, nor field.

Fabre d'Olivet explains the matter thus:

"Let us now consider what these same personages are, not in the translators of Moses, but in Moses himself.

"Adam, in his universal essence, cannot be explained without a previous instruction; for European civilisation not being nearly so advanced as that of Asia and Africa was before Moses, it has not yet acquired the same universal thoughts, and lacks in consequence the terms to express them. These terms can only be formed as the thoughts are developed. . . . Adam, in his particular essence, can be explained; although this idea particularised in the thought of Moses, is still presented to us under an universal form. Adam is that which I have called the *kingdom of man;* it is *man,* conceived abstractly; that is to say, the general mass of all the men who compose, have composed, or will compose *humanity,* who enjoy, have enjoyed, or will enjoy *human life.* This mass, conceived thus as one sole being, lives a proper, universal life, which is particularised and reflected in individuals of the two sexes. Considered under this latter relation, Adam is male and female.

"Whether Adam is conceived in his universal, or in his particular essence, Eve is always his creative faculty, his efficient force, his own will, by means of which he manifests himself exteriorly. In the principle of his universal existence, Eve is not distinguished from the universal creative faculty from which Adam emanates. It is not until the moment of his distinction that Adam becomes a free and independent being, and that he can exercise exteriorly, according to his own will, his efficient, creative force. It is always through Eve that Adam is modified in good or in evil. Eve makes for him everything within him and without him.

"Cain and Abel are the two primordial forces of elementary nature. These are the first two cosmogonic beings produced by Eve, when after a certain movement toward elementary nature, she has lost her name of *Aïsha,* which designated the intellectual nature of Adam, to take that of Eve, which expresses no more than the material life of this universal being. It is in this material life that Cain and Abel took birth, and that their principles, which were in power of being from the origin of things, passed into action to produce all that which must in the future constitute that life. Cain can be conceived as the action of compressive force, and Abel as that of expansive force. These two actions, issues of the same source, are hostile from the moment of their birth, according to the manner by which everything exists in nature. They act incessantly the one upon the other, and seek reciprocally to dominate, and to be reduced to their own nature. The compressive action, more energetic than the expansive action, always gains the ascendancy in the beginning; and overwhelming it, so to speak, compacts the universal substance upon which it acts, and gives existence to material forms that were not previously.

"In personifying these two actions under the names of Cain and Abel, and in considering these two elementary beings as *brothers,* one has been able easily to see a *murder* in what was a cosmogonic act of momentary destruction, and poetically to call *fratricide* that destruction of the action of one by the other, so that thanks to the translation of the Hellenists, there has been transformed into an historical, positive fact, into a murder, into an execrable crime, into a fratricide at last, a cosmogonic act which began at the origin of elementary life, which still endures, and which will endure until this life gives place to another.

". . . The fatality of our destiny depends no more upon the fratricide of Cain than it does upon the fact that when fire has reduced bodies into vapours, these bodies condensed by a certain elementary action, fall again as water and extinguish the fire that gave birth to them. . . .

"As to Lucifer . . . Moses . . . gives him no other name than that of *Nahash,* which characterises properly that deep, inner sentiment which attaches the being to his proper individual existence, and which makes him ardently desire to conserve it or to extend it. This name, which I have rendered cupidity (original attraction), has been unfortunately translated in the version of the Hellenists as serpent; but never did it have this meaning, even in the most vulgar language. . . . *Nahash* is rather, if I can express it thus, that radical egoism which urges the being to make a centre of himself, and to draw everything to himself. Moses says that this sentiment is the blind passion of elementary animality, the secret spring or the leaven that God has given to nature. . . . This name characterises, in nearly all the idioms of the Orient, that which is central, hidden, mysterious, sealed, obscure. Thus, according to the spirit of the *sepher* . . . *Nahash harym* could not be a distinct, independent being, such as you [Lord Byron] have depicted Lucifer following the system that Moses borrowed from the Chaldeans and Persians; but, indeed, a central motive given to matter, a hidden spring, a leaven, acting in the profundity of things, which God has placed in corporeal nature to elaborate its elements."

It thus appears that the Bible tale of Genesis is but a mis-translation, and that the Hebrews who conceived the Sepher, of which it is a distortion, were merely musing upon the various characteristics in the nature of man.

Such a revelation has more important bearing upon the teaching of the Churches than upon the poem of Lord Byron, who replied laconically to Fabre d'Olivet that he was "a poet and not a metaphysician."

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

By DEFENCE NEWS SERVICE, U.S.A.

A fourth political prisoner has entered on a ten-year sentence with the arrival of Edwin Krier at the State penitentiary at Boise. Krier was convicted at St. Maries under the criminal syndicalism law on evidence that he was a member in good standing of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union. The case will be appealed by Attorney Harold Pease, acting for the General Defense Committee.

Extraordinary rulings were made by Presiding Judge Steele, of Moscow, who instructed the jury that "slowing down" is criminal sabotage and teaching it is a felony, and that strikes off the job for political prisoners are criminal.

Sunday, December 23rd, began the campaign for the release of the 120 Labour prisoners in State penitentiaries. This date, originally set aside as Amnesty Day for the Federal prisoners, became Amnesty Day for the State prisoners, following the pardons by President Coolidge.

At Sacramento, California, Homer Stewart and Peter Mukusich were convicted on December 21st, adding two more to the 95 men serving terms on criminal syndicalism charges.

The case rested on the testimony of the notorious stool pigeons, Coutts and Townsend, with additional support from Diamond. These detectives, former I.W.W. members, ran the gamut of confessions in arsons and sabotage by themselves. The prosecution's argument was that if Coutts and Diamond, as I.W.W. members, had committed these acts, therefore the I.W.W. as an organisation was then and to-day an association organised for purposes of crime and violence. Coutts, under cross-examination, admitted that he was paid $200.00 for his testimony, and Townsend $200.00.

Calexico, California.—Forty and fifty day sentences were imposed on James Hartford and H. Comey arrested with I.W.W. cards on their persons. Hartford is a member of the I.W.W. marine workers' organisation, and Comey a construction worker.

California's total of labour prisoners is far ahead of all other States.

Ford and Suhr, Mooney and Billings, serving life terms after conviction on perjured evidence, add to the California roll of shame.

The magnitude of this five-year war on organised labour since the syndicalism law became operative can only be shown when we consider its details. There have been 79 trials, involving 289 persons, all but three of whom were members of the I.W.W.

The apparent exclusion of James Price and Nicholas Senn Zogg from the presidential amnesty, is leading to an investigation by the General Defense Committee. Price was one of the Sacramento defendants, who, while out on bail, was jailed again in California under the syndicalist law, and is now in state prison. Zogg, an anarchist, is serving a ten-year term at Atlanta as a war objector. The administration is said to have charged that he aided a draft evader to escape into Mexico. But all imprisoned draft evaders have long been freed.

LET'S GO, a journal of fundamental economics. Ten cents., 5d. per copy, or one dollar, 4s. 2d., a year. Gerald Geraldson, 24, Clarkson Street, New York.

LABOUR AND FREEDOM, by Horace W. Chatterton. Heath Crauton, Ltd. 3s. 6d. We cannot recommend this book, it is both reactionary and poorly informed, and contains many obvious mistakes and mis-statements.

JOTTINGS.

Soviet Russia buying aeroplanes on a large scale.

* * * *

Plague rising in India.

* * * *

Mr. H. G. Wells says many teachers do not realise the world is a going concern, but "regard it as a finished affair."

The Scottish I.L.P. Conference rejected a motion to call the Council of Action and declare a general strike if British troops are used for violence against the German people.

The I.L.P. seems to be moving backwards.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. INDOOR MEETINGS.

Sunday, January 20th, 7.30 p.m., Hamilton Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden Green. Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

Sunday, February 3rd, 7 p.m., New Morris Hall, 79, Bedford Road, Clapham. Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth.

Sunday, February 17th, 7.30 p.m., Hamilton Hall, Willesden Green.

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Law and Order

UNDER THE STARS AND STRIPES.

By Defence News Service.

U.S. President Coolidge ordered the release of the 30 remaining Federal war opinion political prisoners before Christmas Day. These

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Jack London.—Michael, Brother of Jerry, 2s.; Mutiny of the Elsinore, 2s.; Revolution, 2s.; The Human Drift, 2s.; John Barleycorn, 2s.; The Jacket, 2s.; The Red One, 2s.; War of the Classes, 2s.; The Night Born, 1s. 6d.; When God Laughs, 1s. 6d.; The Road, 1s. 6d.; The Scarlet Plague, 1s. 6d.; The Strength of the Strong, 1s. 6d.; Before Adam, 1s. 6d.; The House of Pride, 1s. 6d.; Love and Life, 1s. 6d.; Children of the Frost, 1s. 6d.; The Valley of the Moon, 2s. and 6d.; He Renounced the Faith, 1s.

Karl Marx.—Capital (Vols. I., II., III.), each 12s. 6d.; The Paris Commune, 2s. 6d.; Value, Price and Profit, 6d.; Wage Labour and Capital, 3d.; The Gotha Programme, 3d.; Critique of Political Economy, 6s. 6d.; Poverty of Philosophy, 6s. 6d.; Revolution and Counter-Revolution, 2s. 6d.; Civil War in France, 3s.; Civil War in France (Kerr's edition), 1s. 6d.

Marx and Engels.—Communist Manifesto, 3d.

Olive Schreiner.—Woman and Labour, 4s. 6d.; Woman and War, 6d.; Dream Life and Real Life, 1s.; Dreams, 2s.; The Sunlight Lay Across My Bed, 6d.; Trooper Peter Halkett, 1s.; Story of an African Farm, 3s. 6d.

GERMS OF MIND IN PLANTS. By R. H. France. The author shows us the dramatic experience of plants; how they feed the insects honey to reward them for carrying the fructifying pollen; how they know the law of gravity; how they bait and trap their prey. Still more, Mr. France shows us how the sense organs communicate news to the whole plant, and proves that plants possess a high degree of consciousness, and even the germs of mind. 3s.

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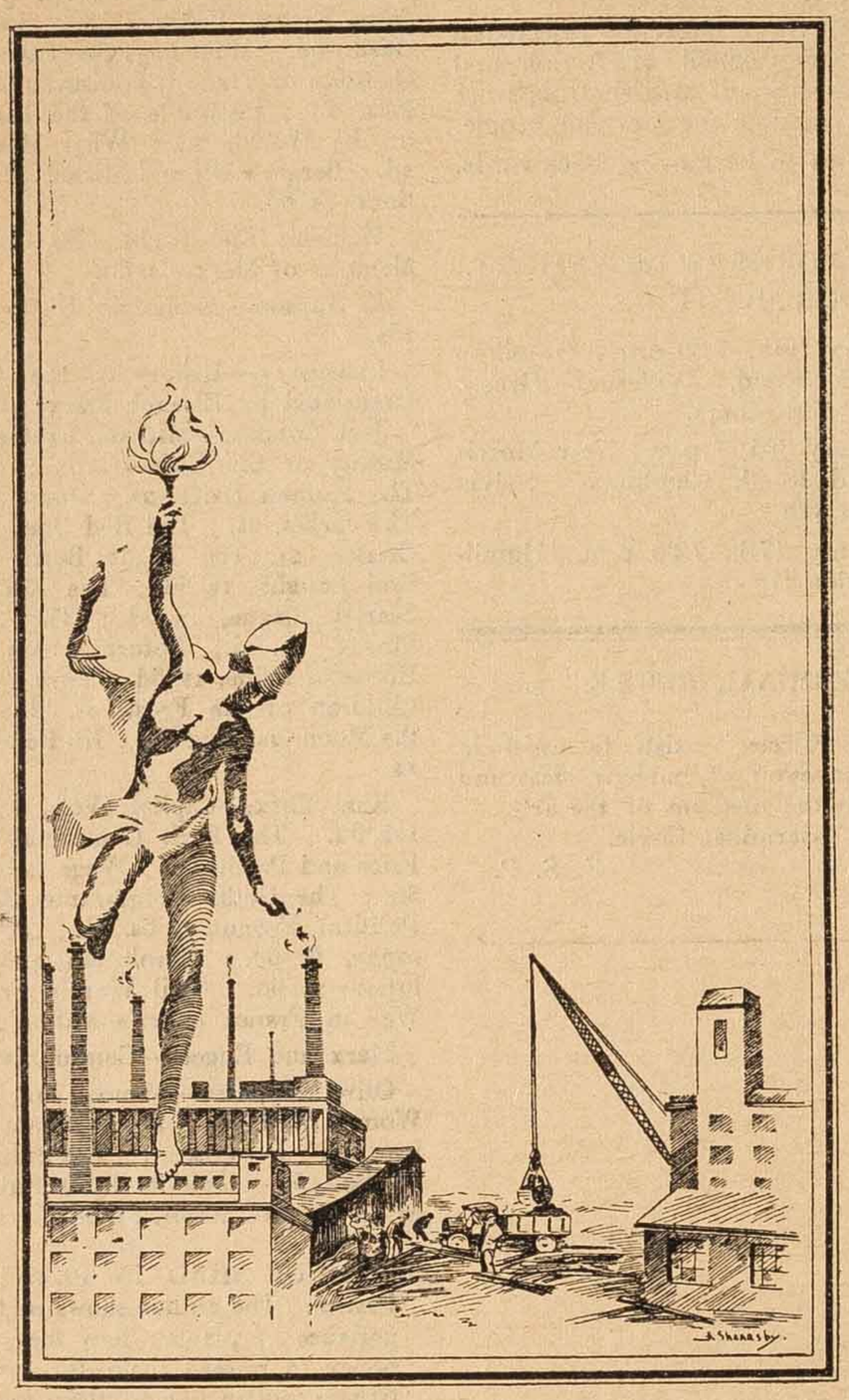

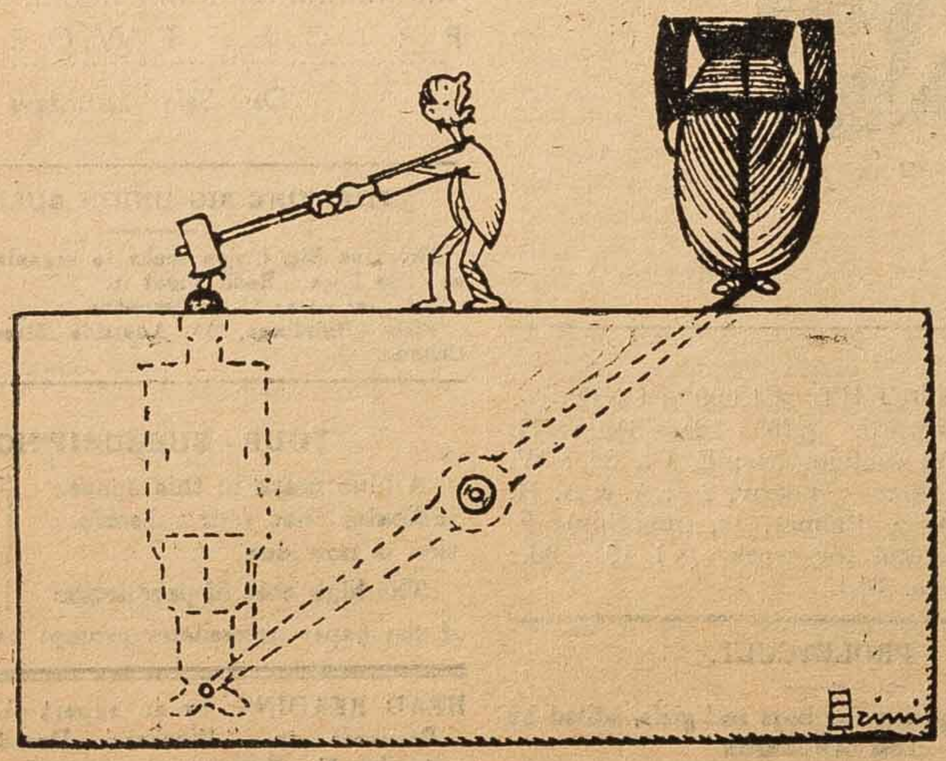

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