

# LINES FROM "MASSES AND MEN." By Ernst Toller.

Group of young working men: We waste ourselves with words of hate and

fury. masters build their palaces, while our The

brothers Rot in the trenches.

Meadows and dancing colours, play, Blossom about us—in our nights Blossom about us—in our nights We read of it and howl to heaven A craving lives in us for knowledge when they took the best of life It turned to evil.

Sometimes we touch it in the theatres, So tender and so fine, it mocks

Us with its beauty. They have destroyed our youth in schools, Our souls are broken and our lives Shout want-raw want.

We are the steaming stench of want. What else are we to-day? We will not wait!

Group of farm labourers :

We have been hounded off our mother earth. Rich masters buy the land As they buy venal women; Make sport of her-Our blessed mother earth; Thrust our rough arms nto munition factories, Where we, uprooted, wither. yless towns break our strength. We want the land ! The land for all! The Masses in the Hall:

The land for all ! The land for all ! The Woman : When I passed through the poor quarters, Where grey drips Through shingled roofs

And fungus grows on bedroom walls, sick man stuttered : The street is better—almost better— We live in sties, don't we? in sties! His eyes were shy, And I was shamed with him. . . . But would you know the way, brothers, The only remedy for us

Weak ones, Who hate the cannons? Strike! Not a hand's turn more! To strike is action.

# WAR.

War abhor, And yet how sweet The sound along the marching street, Of drum and fife, and I forget, Broken old mothers, and the whole Dark butchering without a soul.

Without a soul save this bright drunk Of heady music, sweet as hell; And even my peace-abiding feet, Go marching with the marching feet, For yonder goes the fife, And what care I for human life? The tears fill my astonished eyes, And my full heart is like to break; And yet 'tis all embannered lies A dream those drummers make

O it is wickedness to clothe, Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks, Hidden in music, like a queen That in a garden of glory walks, Till good men love the thing they loathe.

### **ON FOREIGN POLICY.** By Sylvia Pankhurst.

Several readers ask whether there is any alternative to what is called a "British" foreign policy, and to the building up of a balance of power to counter that of France or government which may seem to threaten British Empire? anv

Our answer is: Yes; there is an alternative foreign policy which is the only policy for Socialists, Communists, Anarchists—all, what-ever they call themselves, who oppose the capitalist system.

To gain a proper perspective view of the international situation it is essential to realise that the governments of all the powers are con-tending to secure the advantage. From this cause arose the Great War. At the close of the Great War the Allied

At the close of the Great War the Alled victors contended amongst themselves for the spoils of victory. Undoubtedly the British Government secured at the time the lion's share, in the German colonies, Palestine and Mesopotamia, with its oil. Undoubtedly, too, the British Government got the better of the French in the arrangements made shortly after is arbitish to all ad othe generations. both in relation to oil and other concessions, both in French territory and other parts of the world.

Undoubtedly since that time the French Government has become more and more openly aggressive in its efforts for supremacy. The British Government has stolen a march in re-gard to oil. The French Government has retaliated by taking possession of the Ruhr. coal. It recks as little how the workers who dig Ruhr coal are affected, as the British cared the natives of the German colonies

for the natives of the German colonies. The guileless pacifist, who is unconsciously affected by the prevailing propaganda of British policy, protests that one cannot com-pare the natives of African colonies with the workers of the Ruth. That, however, is not the workers of the Ruth. That, however, is not the reason why British policy at once objected to the invasion of the Ruhr. The objection was based on the fear that France, by securing control of the Ruhr mines and iron and steel works, would become both militarily and industrially a greater force than Britain. British policy, perhaps, regretted the starvation of German people, but British policy did not shrink from imposing starvation during the blockade of Germany or Russia, and British policy was not deterred by such considera-tions of humanity when it invaded Soviet Russia, or when it provided the Czar with funds for a bloody coercion of his people after the 1905 Revolution, and the establishment of first Duma

There had been nothing to choose, morally speaking, between the policies of governments of the great powers, over a long period of years —each has been striving for supremacy—in wealth, in fighting strength, and in the pos-session of the machinery and raw material from which munitions of war may be produced The powers have contracted alliances with other nations, not from friendship or the love of peace, but in order to add the strength and resources of their allies to their own strength

Art, thou hast many infamies, But not an infamy like this; O snap the fife, and still the drum, And show the monster as she is. RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

and resources, in case of war with the great and resources, in case of war with the great power which they have regarded as their imme-diate rival. In order to crush Power A, Power B has united with Powers C, D, and E, whilst Powers F, G, and H have been called into alliance by Power A. Power A being crippled, Powers B and C have begun to fear each other. Power B then forms an alliance with Power A, which it lately fought, and all the other powers re-group themselves about the principle anta-gonists. Again and again repeated, that is the history of modern Europe.

Our correspondents, who still believe in the necessity for a national policy, will go thus far with us. They will agree that the whole mad rivalry for power is an ignoble thing; but they protest that one must take the world as one finds its "What is one to do?" Living within the jurisdiction of Power B, they worked for peace by negotiation with Power worked for peace by negotiation with Power A, protesting with earnestness that they were, nevertheless, as patriotic as any, and were anxious their own country should thereby lose no advantages. They devoutly prayed that should there be a fight to a finish, the victory must, by all means, fall to their own Power B. Now that Power A is vanquished, and Power C emerges as a rival, whilst anxious to maintain the peace, they are determined that Power C emerges as a rivit, whilst anxious to maintain the peace, they are determined that Power C shall secure no advantages which might threaten the superiority of Power B. They are eager to heal Power A from its war disasters, both from motives of humanity—and also that it may prove a useful bulwark against the aggressive tendencies of Power C. Their desire to check the growth of Power C they declare to be entirely altruistic. Power B has secured by aggression an Empire on which the sun never sets, and the rulership of the seas. Our pacifist correspondents desire their own Power B to retain these advantages, both in order to assure its national prosperity, and in order that it may have the power of the big stick to prevent the other governments behav-ing naughtily to each other. ing

Our pacifist correspondents are aware that the big stick is not an ethical weapon, but they urge that if Power B does not wield it mightily, Power C will snatch it. They reflect that though equality may be best of all, if one Power is to be strongest it were best that it should be the Power within whose borders they happen to reside.

This is why the Socialist Parties of the world supported the late war.

"No," protest our pacifist correspondents; "this case is different! The pretext for British participation in the last war was the invasion of Belgium and the desire of Germany to rule the world. We know that Belgium was to rule the world. We know that Belgium was never neutral, and that the German Govern-ment was no worse than the French; whilst the British was not guiltless. We believe that the late war could have been avoided, or at least ended, by negotiation. Consider," they urge, " the invasion of the Ruhr, and the suffering of the German people; consider the way in which France is subsidising the armies of Poland and other States and the military alliances she is making. We cannot be alliances she is making. We cannot be expected to stand by and see the French Government make itself the military dictator of the world." Moreover, they ask : "What would you have us do? What is your policy?"

Our policy is to stand altogether aloof from capitalist patriotism. So far from approving the maintenance of armies and navies to pro-tect the Empire, we say: Let the Empire be

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broken up into its component parts. Let the subject nations work out their own salvation as they please; it is from the inner life of their not from the domination of an alien ilitarism, that their salvation will arise. As preparing that the country we happen to nay be victorious in the next war, we internationalists, that it does not matter which country is victorious, and we observe that the country which is beaten is perhaps that which will make the greatest in social evolution.

When the scare cry is raised that the French Government will dominate Europe, we answer that we must leave it to the people of France und to the people of invaded Germany to deal with French aggression

It is objected that the French working masses support M. Poincaré in his Ruhr invasion. Certainly the patriotic French Socialists are saying that, regrettable as the invasion may be, the prestige of France is now involved, and there can be no evacuation till success has been achieved. Capitalist patriotism has widespreading roots in all countries.

It is worth considering, however, whether he hold which aggressive French militarism has on the French masses will be weakened by the menace of the big stick in the hands of Britain. Obviously it will not.

It is argued that British troops must be kept any to counteract the aggressive action of the French, or to maintain the interests of British trade. Those who are working for the destruction of capitalism will not recognise trade interests as a part of their objective. They will understand that British troops in my will oppose any uprising of the people against the dominant capitalism, whether it be German or foreign. British troops have, in fact, been used to coerce the German workers forcing workers to submit to the abandonment of the eight-hour day. We should demand and endeavour to secure the recall of British troops from the Ruhr

Our pacifist patriots are concerning them-selves because the French Government does not repay its debt to the British; some of then still think that the German Government should pay what may be declared by the more moder ate experts to be reasonable reparations.

Such things should not concern those who to end the capitalist system. We should not lift a finger to secure the payment either of French debts or German reparat Some of our pacifist patriots suggest that the one of contention in the Ruhr should be shared between the rival claimants to avoid a quarrel. They suggest an international company in which there shall be German, British, French and Belgian shares. Others suggest an inter-allied Committee of British, French, Belgians, and perhaps Americans, to control the finances of Germany. Both these suggestions are immoral even from the standard of the honest bourgeois who believes in private ownership of production, distribution and transport. That such suggestions are made and seriously entertained by people who want to be humane and honest, shows the demoralising effect which the great war has had. Such foreign control or the purpose of exploiting the production of the country, places the yoke of alien militarism upon the workers of the country concerned. It raises a barrier against all progress. The fact that the proposed military yoke would be inter-allied, instead of merely French, would but make it the more difficult for the German ers to overthrow

When the measure ratifying inter-allied con when the theastile that any magnetic at the second trol of Austrian finance was passing through the House of Commons, the Labour Party voted unanimously for it. Yet now it is recognised that the Allied financiers reaped the greatest benefit from the consequent loan as oon as control came into force, every prole tarian organisation in Austria, even the more moderate, began to protest against the hard-ships it was inflicting upon the workers. The control has merely stabilised capitalism in Austria for a time.

Platitudes about the high intentions of ish foreign policy are easily uttered, bu a British policy is a policy primarily directed to securing the most that can be obtained without war for British traders and concessionaries, and building up a balance of naval, military and air forces which will give the greater strength to the British Empire and its Allies. That is a capitalist policy. Inevitably it is a war policy in the long run. The same must be said of a French policy, a

German policy-any national policy. the alternative?

The alternative for us in Britain, as for other peoples in other countries, is to stand aloof from the alliances and the rivalries, endeavour-ing, whilst refusing alliances with the Governits, to fraternise with the peoples. And should war come?

If war should come our business would be to declare the general strike against it, to declare the workers' revolution, and to frater-nise with the invading armies should they

And should our action result only in the defeat of our country's arms, should we suffer the hard fate of a beaten nation?

Then we should only endure the lot which ight have been ours even had we fought the ipitalists' war with all our fervour; we should endure the lot which we have many times elped to impose on others.

Moreover, we should have lit a beacon in the hearts of men and women which would not be extinguished until the capitalist system and wars were destroyed for ever.

Call the British troops back from Germany the workers there will throw off the yoke of

capitalism more easily without them. Leave the French Government, if it will, to attempt the subjection of all Europe. Leave the French people to rebel under the strain of maintaining the resultant vast militarism. Leave the peoples of Europe to throw off the yoke of a single militarism. Do not multiply the forces with which they must contend.

# SOUTH AFRICAN NEWS.

At the annual Conference of the South African Labour Party, held at Pretoria on January 3rd, the following resolutions were carried unanimously

1. " That this Conference approves and endorses the agreement between Col. Creswell and General Hertzog, as defined in Col. Creswell's letter of April, 1923, and confirmed by General Hertzog in his reply of April 19, both of which letters were published in the South African Press," 2. "That the South African Labour Party

reciates the actions taken by the British Empire Labour Congress in August, 1921, purpose of discussing matters of common interest and agrees to the request that the South African Labour Party be represented by five delegates, and that such delegates be elected at this conference, and that the Party incurs no financial liability n the matter of the delegates' expenses to the London Congress.

We are turning the corner. In 1919 the number of summonses issued at Caledon Square, Cape Town, was 5,281; in 1920, 5,584; in 1921, 7,989; and in 1922, 8,610. According to the local press, the present year is showing signs of being even larger-8,543 being already issued. Writs of execution and arrest have shown alarming increases also right through the Cape Peninsula. It will, therefore, be seen that in spite of South Africa "turning the corner" so many times, this year's insolvencies are well ahead of last

At the South African Commercial Traveller's association held in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Association held in the Y.M.C.A. Hall, Jokannesburg, at which 60 delegates were pre-Hall, sent, the view was generally expressed that it was undesirable to admit lady commercial European capitalism. The peasants are the travellers to membership. The Secretary ex-

plained that application had been made b ady for membership, to which the Gr Council could not see its way to accede. T rule book, said the Secretary, showed that t les were framed to deal with 1 Wherever women were employed, contin the Secretary, it had the tendency of a co-petitive nature against the labour of me The Association's aims were to help to assi women, but it would be well advised not t admit women as members. One delegate said: "We have no room fo

vomen in an organisation of this character Applause.) That the Grand Council acte iselv in excluding women from the Assoc

At the S.A. Party Congress Dinner M Hallard, K.C., in referring to the said: "The recent decision in the Johanne burg Magistrate's Courts declaring that the regulation which had been in force was es, was not going to make the slighte difference in the policy of the party. The S arty policy had always been that it would a olerate the intrusion of black or coloured Provinces or spheres of white South Africa. That was the policy laid dow rom the first and reiterated by General Sm and other members of the Ministry. unalterable foundation of the S.A. Par programme. ISAAC VERMONT

### THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' **REVOLUTION.** By HERMAN GORTER

II.

The proekamation by the Bolshevists of th right to self-determination of all natio caused the detaching from Soviet Russia Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, t Ukraine and the Caucasus. This resulted the downfall of the proletarian revolution st of these countries.

The self-determination slogan was a bo geois-capitalist one. Either the Bolshevist proclaimed it from weakness in the fear th if they did not give these States their freedo they could not smash up Czarism, or, as appears now, they wanted, even then, national Russian State. The doubts both the power of Communism to triumph a the necessity of nationalism were inspired he peasants

The enrolment of the proletariat into the Red Army was a proletarian-Commun measure. The admission of the peasants in the army was a bourgeois-capitalist measu for the peasants would, and will, prove the elves the enemies of Communism, bot conomically and militarily

Undoubtedly the peasant was willing to fight against the counter-revolution, in so far as threatened the private property of the peasant n the soil. The peasants fought agai Judenitch, Koltchak and Wrangle: 7 in the soil. Bolshevists might be able to keep both th peasants and the Proletarians in the army iving them better food and clothing than th get outside, but could the peasants s fight for the Bolshevists after their own priva property was secured and the counter-reve tion of the big landowners was no more? the peasants would certainly not do that.

A very interesting question in this rega was the fate of the Bolshevist campaign Poland in 1920. Why did the Russian Arr then suddenly retire? When the writer, behalf of the Communist Workers' Party asked this question in Moscow at the sittin of the Executive of the Third International November, 1920, Trotsky and Karsky gave clear answer. The explanations were c fused. One said the fault lay with the c service, another with the military. We no believe the true answer which was kept from us is that the peasants did not want to cor tinue the attack on European capitalism. soon as their property was secured against the foreigner they would not war any more against

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whole people.'

proletariat.

ger reckon on their assistance in a Euro- that of a leading minority in the name of the cally away. revolution

genuine proletarian revolution will not peasants in its army, for its army must Ily Comm

re peace of Brest Litovsk was a bourgeois, apitalist-Democratic one. A real prole-n revolution would have remained the y of all capitalist Powers, whilst waiting and assisting the rising of the proletariat er countries

was proletarian-Communist to give politito the workers. It was bourgeois to to the peasants. A proletarian revoluin Germany and England will not give cal power to such elements until their have proved them Communists.

he suppression of the independence and expression of the workers was also rgeois-capitalist. The workers and their sations did not get the leadership and l of industry, transport and distribution. The Bureaucratic despotism of the leaders also bourgeois-capitalist. The corruption also bourgeois-capitalist. e party dictatorship of the Bolshevists was

highest degree bourgeois-capitalist. ictatorship will always become so. In er-dictatorship lies the kernel of the bour--capitalist revolution, and in it is the atest proof that the Russian revolution was fly, and in its origin, a bourgeois-capitalist

The party dictatorship was in its origin urgeois-capitalist. It began through the wer of the peasants, the non-proletarian iss. A party dictatorship could overpower lead the peasant class in Russia. A pro-ian class dictatorship could not do this, dictatorship of the proletarian class will ys aspire to pure Communism. Once it the power to govern the proletariat will content itself with less. The enormous r, the great numbers of the peasants preted pure Communism from being achieved

The proletariat as a class could not lead the tatorship. This could only be done by a -the Bolshevist Party, and this only by r introducing pure Communism, by making decisions to the peasants, the private ners of the land, and to the capitalists. A n class would never do this. The akened proletariat will not make conceswill demand everything for itself. watchword will remain unto the end:

We have been nothing: we shall be erything." The Bolshevist party held the dictatorship

ugh the might and power of the peasar party dictatorship, because of the might peasants, was of necessity mainly capi-It dominated instead of representing, proletariat, over which it was the desp ay be that this dictatorship was inevitable; ay be that, under the circumstances, it the best that could be had; nevertheless, was a despotism. It dictated to the workers t concessions they must make and what antages were to be given to the peasa

t could not have been otherwise in a land largely agrarian. Having originated from of the peasants, the dictatorship the Bolshevists was necessarily bourgeois

We are proud that Rosa Luxemburg in her from the grave has painted the nature of party dictatorship and its effect on the ution, just as we have done. She says few dozen party leaders of inexhaustible ergy and endless idealism direct and rule. longst them are in reality one dozen nent heads who lead and an elite of the orkmen which is called from time to time to oplaud the speeches of the leaders and to ote unanimously for the resolutions laid bethem. At bottom, therefore, it is a it arrangement—a dictatorship it is true; t not a dictatorship of the proletariat, sim-a dictatorship of a handful of politicians; short, a dictatorship in the bourgeois sense.

"Yes: dictatorship . . . but this dictator-hip must be the work of the class and not

ENVIRONMENT. ' Rubbish !'' snorted Mrs. Vavasour. " If these people who live in slums want to leave them, they can." Houses are to be had anywhere for the asking," I replied mildly, " and wages will be raised to pay the bigger rents, I presume." "I don't see what difference it makes to

people whether they live in slums or not. retorted Mrs. Vavasour, smoothing her fur coat with a caressing hand. "If they work hard and save, instead of drinking and gambling, they will be able to live in respec-

Third International.

table homes. 'Truly a worthy ideal,'' said I, "but where are they to get their ideals from-these people who live among dirt and squalor? " "Every man is born with noble instincts," said Mrs. Vavasour, loftily, " and if he has a spark of manhood in him, he will rise superior to such trivial circumstances." With that parting shot she swept majesti-

class: that is to say, it must, step by step, arise from the active participation of the class, remain under its direct influence, and be sub-ordinated to the control of publicity and be the outcome of the political experience of the

The Communist Workers' Party and the Communist Workers' International can echo the words of Rosa Luxemburg, but instead of whole people " we always read the

Rosa Luxemburg did not understand that all this could not happen in Russia; that no class dictatorship was possible there, because the projetariat was too small and the peasantry

She did not see, because her life was too short, that the Bolshevists had built their party dictatorship not only out of the might of the peasants, but that they were compelled to use their dictatorship through the might of the peasants, for the bourgeois revolution in Russia. They used their party dictatorship always more in the interest of the peasants— that is to say, in the interest of capitalist sour wit private property, and against the proletariat and Communism.

The productive and class conditions in Russia forced the revolution to be to a great extent a bourgeois one. The proletarian class conditions gave the Bolshevists the leadership. This leadership could not, on account of the productive and class conditions, be a c dictatorship; it had to be a party dictatorship and these very conditions compelled the part dictatorship to be a bourgeois capitalist one.

Party dictatorship is typical of a bourgeois revolution, in a society based on private property. By such a revolution one class dis-poses another class, but itself remains on the basis of private property. The newly risen class uses and cheats the class beneath it. A bourgeois revolution is always a revolution

of a minority against the majority. The proletarian revolution which aims at

being truly Communist, must be a revolution of the majority against the minority. fore it must take place, or at least have its beginning, in a truly proletarian country.

If the revolution comes from the majority, or, at least, represents the interests of the majority, then it does not require a party dictatorship, it has no need to cheat the masses by such means. Then the dictatorship of the class is inevitable

The Party dictatorship in Russia was the surest sign that the revolution was bourgeois-

We shall postpone, till we have treated the second period, a detailed exposure of the fact that even in the first period of their power, the Bolshevists showed their bourgeois-democratic or capitalist policy by their influence on the proletariat other countries through the

These violets are lovely, are they not? And how the sweet scent brings the happy springtime near," said Mrs. Vavasour, senti-

Lovely !" I exclaimed, " and where have

these come from, so long before spring? " " Glorious Devon ! where the sea laps at the foot of red cliffs, where the air is pure and untainted by the foul smoke of manufacturing towns," said the lady, sighing enviously. "But I don't see why we should not grow violets as nice as those, even in this dirty I said innocentl

Rubbish !" cried Mrs. Vavasour. " Why, the smoke and the soot, the poor soil and the lack of sunshine make it well-nigh impossible." "That's strange," said I, still speaking innocently. "A lady told me a few days ago that such things make no difference. If the violets are planted, even in poor soil, they know when spring comes it is time to be

Well that lady is a fool," said Mrs. Vavasour with conviction. "Anyone with the smallest intelligence knows how much effect od soil and sunshine have upon flowers. Ridiculous !'

"I am very sorry, Mrs. Vavasour," I said, edging away, " but that lady was yourself— wait a minute—only you were speaking of men, not flowers. She never talks to me now.

# E.D.

# PROFESSIONAL WASHER-WOMEN

"I rather like washing," said the lady at the villa. I stared. "Of course," she con-tinued, "I send all the heavy things out." Of course!

No woman dislikes washing blouses or ser-viettes, but where can one find the woman who enjoys washing half-a-dozen blankets or two pairs of grimy, greasy overalls? Washing day is the bane of all working-class

families; particularly those who live in houses which do not possess a wash-house. In such, houses washing day turns the kitchen into a miniature pawnshop; bundles of clothes scattered about in confusion. Cooking has to squeezed in between periods o whites " and wringing " coloureds." Cold meat for dinner always accompanies a wash ing day. When the copper lid is lifted clouds steam fill the house, and the roof turns black with dampness, while the paper begins to peel off the wall. How the canary manages to live through this weekly occurrence of steam and draughts-doors and windows must be open-is beyond comprehension

Yet these hard-working house-wives who weekly turn the wringer are well off when compared with the woman " who takes in wash These poor struggling ones are the ing." slaves of the wringer. Not one day, but often four and five days they spend over the tubs. Widows with young families to support, and wives whose husbands are out of work, are condemned to carry the burden of others who can afford to pay for their unpleasant work being done.

A house-wife once confided to me that she felt ten years older after a day's washing. What must the "professional washer-woman" feel like after four days? Four days among the steam and soap-suds! Four days among bending over a tub and whirling the handle of a wringing machine. And the payment, which is often as low as five shillings, can never be sufficient. The " hired help " who goes out to wash is even worse paid than this because she has her meals provided. Meals which are only too often given grudgingly and contemptuously as one feeds a dog.

Such heroic struggling to keep the home going and the family respectable must have its reward some day. The pity is that often the heroine does not live to see the fruits of her labour.

E. D.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT



## Workers' Dreadnought Founded 1914. Ele or: SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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# Our Diew.

This Government is a Coalition Government, in fact, whatever it may be called in name, that factor must always be borne in mind. This has been, and will be, clearly evident in all its actions. If proof of this were needed, no better proof could be asked than Lord Chelmsford's statement, that Lord Parmoor, Lord Haldane, and he have agreed to enter the Government, being persons de-tached from politics, because the Government programme has been disclosed to them, and they have agreed to it.

Some Social Reform Measures will undoubtedly be introduced by the present Govern-ment, because every party has regarded the increased support given to the Labour Party at the last election, as a sign that the elector are impatient with existing conditions, and that some ameliorations are required to placate

The retiring King's Speech of Mr. Baldwin's admission of this view, Government was an admission of the will use and Mr. MacDonald admits that he will use the Baldwin speech as a quarry to which it would be safe to go for his reform materials. It must be clearly realised that any concession to popular need which may be looked for, will be measured, as is always the case, by the extent of the pressure coming from the people outside.

The Parliamentary Session opened ignom-iniously, with an ill-mannered rush for seats, n which an old man was knocked down, and xomen members were thrust out of their places in the queue.

Questions at once revealed the old-time officialdom triumphing over that visionary "new spirit," which has been so lavishly promised. Mr. Stephen Walsh adroitly scrapped an election pledge of Mr. Mac-Donald on pensions for ex-Army ranker officers.

Mr. Snowden asserted, like his predecessors, that he is defending the interests of British traders against the refusal of the Gernan Government to refund charges under the

Reparation Recovery Act. Mr. MacDonald indicated that the only re-duction in Cabinet Ministers' salaries is that the Lord Chancellor had asked to be paid  $\pounds 6,000$ , instead of  $\pounds 10,000$ , and had relinquished the pension of  $\pounds 5,000$ , which he has been drawing for having done the same work before; also that Mr. MacDonald himself will be content to draw a salary only as Prime Minister, and will relinquish the further £5,000 a year he might get as Foreign Secre-On the other hand, Mr. Clynes is to get  $\pounds 5,000$  a year, instead of the usual  $\pounds 2,000$  as Lord Privy Seal, because he is also acting as leader of the House of Commons. The office of Lord Privy Seal is, of course, one to which no duties are attached. In some of the wartime Coalition Cabinets, the salaries were

pooled, but in reply to questions, Mr. Mac-Donald said that the whole question ought to be reviewed, as it is most inequitable, but "I will not agree to it being reviewed whilst we ourselves are in office, unless it comes spontaneously from the whole House of Com-

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It seems that tradition is to have its way under the new Government in this and every-

thing. "The expenses are enormous," Mr. Mac-Donald has told the press, but expenses of dining and wining the Government cliques, both national and international, are not compulsory, except to those who are afraid to defy the conventions.

As to " Poplarism," it is fighting its due with the more Conservative elements in the Coalition behind the Labour Government. "Poplarism" is the policy of the dole and he bandaging of the sore wounds of poverty. It may wash the feet of the poor from pity, and for the welfare of its soul, but it leaves the poor still in poverty. It will have to con-tend with the stern economics of the thrifty who once were poor, but who, through good constitutions, and the accentuated development of their acquisitive and managing facilities, are longer. It will have to contend with the small prejudices and the impecuniosities of the small middle-class, the hardships of the small-wage workers, and the anxiety of Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues to prove they are not extravagant.

"Poplarism" has scored a point in the withdrawal of the Mond Order, and the surcharges which arose under it; but Mr. Mac-Donald has protested that this was only a small administrative matter, the revision of which was already under consideration by his predecessors, and that its withdrawal is not to be the signal that "the Red is to be flown vevery Board of Guardians from Land's End John o' Groats." It is not, he asserts, be a charter of extravagance for the Boards Guardians or any other spending body, for Labour Government is seeking to secure confidence of all classes.

One cannot attack capitalist vested interests and retain the confidence of those interests. That is clear, but obviously vested interests need fear no serious attack from this Government.

Housing is the one question in which the Labour Government may be expected to produce tangible and substantial results. Heavy Government subsidies will be required to modify the prevailing capitalist conditions, in order to produce a large number of habitable dwellings at rents the workers can manage to pay. It will turn out to be an expensive business, attended by much profiteering. An army of non-producers will draw sustenance from the scheme. These things are inherent in the capitalist system. Nevertheless, from the vast costly mountain which will arise, it should safe to anticipate that enough houses will be brought forth to provide a definite ease-ment of the over-crowding situation. Otherwise the political careers of Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues will be truncated more quickly than would otherwise have been the

The strongest guarantees that something substantial will at last be done for housing, are that the workers who build the houses be brought more or less into direct consultation-and that the people who want, houses have grown impatient.

Unemployment is the other great problem with which the working classes expect the Labour Government to deal. Wheever may be persuaded that nothing much can be done by palliative methods, the Labour Government asserts its competence to cope with the ques-tion, and Mr. MacDonald declares that great schemes are under weigh. He announces the abolition of the gap, and of the selection of uncovenanted benefit; the uncovenanted bene-

fit is to apply in all cases which meet the conditions laid down.

What further modifications may be intro duced into Unemployment Insurance, and whether insurance is to replace the relief to the unemployed by Boards of Guardians, Mr MacDonald has not made clear. We await the development of the scheme. One curious fact, however, he has strongly emphasised.

It is as physician-in-chief to the capitalist system that Mr. MacDonald has taken office He does not regard the condition of private enterprise as at all hopeless. He does not consider the patient as suffering from a morta disease. Some drops of State medicine, from prescriptions already made up by his predeces sors, he believes will induce a swift recovery That is the really amazing fact about th Labour Government. Amazing as it is, how ever, it is not a new phenomenon in th world, that those who have won their wa amongst the people as prophets of a new social order, should take office with promises t with promises restore the old system to its full vigour. Suc a one was Dr. Hilferding, in Germany, whose ignominious failure has but lately been recorded.

Here are the most pregnant sentences uttered by Mr: MacDonald, in declaring to Parliament the policy of his Government:

We shall therefore concentrate not firs of all on the relief of unemployment, but or the restoration of trade.

We are not going to diminish industria capital, in order to provide relief. . . "I wish to make it perfectly clear that

the Government have no intention of draw-ing off from the normal channels of trade arge sums for extemporised measures which only be palliatives. . .

The necessity of expenditure for subsi dising schemes in direct relief of unemploy ment will be judged in relation to the greate necessity for maintaining undisturbed th ordinary financial facilities and resources of trade and industry.

We therefore propose to speed up th trade facilities which lapsed in November 1923, and which require to be re-invigorated We shall deal with export credits, and e the period for which they will operate That does not mean that we shall requir to ask for more money, because there ar unexpended balances which will practical the extended period of the operation

The Cabinet . . . has to consider how certain forms of taxes enter directly far into the cost of production, and hamper th trade of the country, and how far certain other taxes are only taxes upon luxury." To consider taxation and the foreign ex

nanges, Mr. MacDonald proposes to Committee of business men-no new pro-beeding! There is something of a decidel Lloyd Georgian flavour about much that Mi MacDonald says.

Calling capitalism back to health is the policy of the new Government. Liberals and Tories have tried to work the miracle and have failed. Why does anyone believe that Mr. MacDonald may succeed where the older parties could not? Some believe that a Labour Government will be able to induce the worker to subordinate their interests and safeguard for the sake of their employers' trade, as the did during the war for their employers' victory Some believe that temporary sacrifices whic capitalism must make for its ultimate health agreed to by the rival capitalist politicians behind the screen of a Labour Gov rnment which can be blamed in case failure

The difference between Poplarism and Reformism of the MacDonald type is that whilst Poplar attempts to patch up the disorders which capitalism has created amongst the Have Nots, MacDonaldism attempts to deal with the disorders afflicting the Haves, - Harris, Britting .

working classes as before. end capitalism is attempted neither by Labourism, nor by MacDonald Labour

MacDonald's foreign policy, if one may e from his first Parliamentary utterance rime Minister, already approximates much closely to that of its predecessors than when he was in opposition. Instead of firm treatment of France, which he and eagues declared necessary, nothing is heard, but stories of the good impression Mr. MacDonald has made upon France. Labour Premier is at pains to show his dliness towards the French Government, dropping into the phrase, "M. Poincaré I," as though to emphasise the perfect rstanding which has been arrived at. n Mr. McNeill, Lord Curzon's late assisasked the Labour Premier to explain his policy differs from that of his pre-sors, Mr. MacDonald replied; " I think l hetter not

hen out of office, Mr. MacDonald never of complaining that Britain was being the tool of French policy : in office he that the British relations with France unfriendly when he arrived, and that he pursuing the task of reconciliation. aving adopted the rôle of the all-wise tor of Europe, perhaps Mr. MacDonald poses to grant his reassuring forgiveness the erring Power before he proceeds to

he Nationalisation of the land is an old ular slogan, to which Mr. MacDonald gave ouragement in his programme, although has just issued a report on the ques-He promises a scheme for agricultural g reform, and Government loans or guarstart co-operative enterprises for lying manure, machinery, and so on, and

deal with agricultural produce. Deviously, composed as it is, and depending it does on the support of other parties, the Donald Government could not hope a measure of land nationalisation through

he I.L.P., however, has just declared for reform, and has produced a report giving views on the subject, in order to prepare way for realising the project, perhaps, ild the Labour Party secure a majority in next election.

his report, coming from an alleged Socialist. anisation, is really a remarkable document. laving declared that the land should be onalised, it apparently proceeds to ignore own dictum, and puts forward the followonosals

A revival of war-time Country Agricultural Committees, to consist of one-third farmers, and one-third labourers (nominated through the respective unions in each case), one-third experts nominated the Ministry

The C.A.C. should have power to dist niss tenants who cultivate below the standard, or to dispossess landlords who tolerate bad cultivation.

e would not expect to find landlords when and had been nationalised-but this, reper, is I.L.P. Socialism-we are assured it is a special brand. The report adds :--

All proposed transfers of tenancy should registered with the C.A.C., which should omote arable farming, and "make oppor-nities for the big industrialised farm." As Ag nd fell to it by dispossession and voluntary compulsory purchase, the C.A.C. would

rm it through a manager and Board, or to individuals, companies, or coperative groups. these are quite indifferent to the

list I.L.P.

their prosperity may be renewed, and from him the other day, in his story of the The Friend. By Adelaide Phillpotts. (Heine-ibs may fall from their well-laden tables secret pact for French occupation of the left mann, 7s. 6d.) This payel, by a new author secret pact for French occupation of the left bank of the Rhine between Messrs. Wilson and Clemenceau. Obviously, there was no secret, but even Mr. MacDonald's desire to be friendly to France cannot dim the effect cast by the revelation that Wilson agreed to the cupation even before Lloyd George. Signor ando further discloses the inconsistencies of the late ex-President, by explaining that Wilson accepted the French plans for occupying the left bank of the Rhine in order that Clemenceau would support his own scheme for keeping Italy out of Fiume.

The theory of Moscow's infallibility in directing the world revolution will be some-what shaken by the complaints of Zinovief that it was Radek who frustrated the German revolution at the opportune moment, by in-ducing the Moscow executive to call a halt. We fear that such an obedient revolution as that conceived by Comrade Zinovief would have been a very tame little mouse, indeed, had it appeared.

We cannot attribute, either to Radek or to the Moscow executive of the III. International, the power to hold back so easily a full-blooded revolution, even though the desire to assume such a responsibility may have been theirs. Nevertheless, we declare that the Moscow

executive has failed in such propaganda and organisation as is necessary to prepare the way for Communism. It and its German auxlilary have failed steadily to point out to the German workers that their hope of emancipa-tion lies in the downfall of the private property system, and that they themselves can build up Communism in their land. In spite of the failures of both Socialists and Parliamentary Communists, however, the workers of Germany are still moving left-ward. Whilst in Thuringia, the Socialist ward. Whilst in Thuringia, the vote at the recent election dropped from 265,000 to 145,000, the Communist vote rose from 73,000 to 163,000. In a little while the orkers will realise that they must take other action and other policies.

The movement for Indian Independence would be ill-advised to place any hopes on what might emanate from the proffered enquiry into the defects in the working of the present machinery of Indian Government. We do not think the non-co-operators will pay the least attention to such an offer. They will require something much more tangible. The "emphatic negative" which Sir Mal-

colm Hailey gave to the suggestion that the Government of India should be transferred from Westminster to the Indian legislature and that Dominion Home Rule should be accorded, shows that the independence move-

struggle The Railway Strike agreement, which alows the railway companies to take "disciplinary action" in the event of any "breach "amicable working" between railwaymen, which really means between the members the rival railway unions, is a serious matter. The clause permits the railway companies to interfere in the relation between Union and Union, worker and worker; indeed it permits the companies to be the sole arbiter in such disputes. That the rival Unions have agreed to it shows how far they have fallen in solidarity. The Union which makes the strongest fight for its members is the Union against which the bias of the companies will naturally be turned.

YOUR SUBSCRIPTION A blue mark in this space indicates that your subscription is now due. he olives of peace sported by the late ex-ident Wilson were already faded before Harold Spender attempted to snatch them

ment will not be allowed to win without a

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

mann, 7s. 6d.) This novel, by a new author, ontains the following interesting passages Mr. Webburn read a passage here and there the stray papers :-

" Civilisations have perished through war; and education, which alone can destroy it, is being perpetually by it destroyed. . . . Educa-tion is promoted by the free mingling of all classes in the community and all races in the world. . . Thereby diverse individuals come into collision—strike the fire of thought from the flint of the brain. . . . Electricity should help to destroy war. . . . . Liberty is educa-"Liberty is character. . . . Liberty is educa-

tion.... Liberty is that state in which a man can develop to their full capacity all his worthiest powers—which obtains from him the fullest and best expression of himself, and renders him wholly self-responsible. Liberty cannot exist without organisation and

order, which themselves are dependent on law and rule. . . . Man, to be free, is not necesand rule. . . . Man, to be free, is not neces-sarily to be fettered-to be kneaded into any sort of artificial state dough and baked hard in the oven of political despotism. . . The ideal to be aimed at is for man to become his own master—his own sovereign—each man a State unto himself, without interfering with his fallows, but owing allouing to himself alone "

fellows, but owing allegiance to himself alone." "Capitalism is like a mustard seed, which, being planted in the world, has germinated, thrust down roots, heaved forth branches, so that the human birds of the earth-the more fortunate-can lodge in the shade of it; while others, less lucky, threaten to set axe at the roots, hack down the tree, and burn it. . . . But this prodigy of economic horticulture will not endure for ever. We may expect that this Gargantuan growth, limbs of which have already withered, will continue to be modified by evolution, and, let us hope, turned, like by evolution, and, let us hope, turned, he primeval trees, into something more beneficial to humanity than it now is. Out of its knotty wood may good coal be formed, to light fires in the brightness and heat of which all future men may rejoice.

There is only one remedy for the evils of unemployment... The principle, which is the corner-stone of the ideal temple of industry, ought to be: That the livelihood and welfare of an individual do not depend upon his employment. This principle involves the recognition of a new relationship between the worker and his work, and his work and his wages, . . . Now men must work that they may eat, and cat just so much as the value in money set upon their work can buy. . . . Men ought to be paid, not for the commercial value of their labour, not even for their willingness to toil, but because they are men and must live. This new link between men and money, replacing that between money and unemployment, might gradually bring about the abolition of money, and substitute for it that free service of mankind by mankind, Utopian models of which the architects of ideals continue patiently and hopefully to build on the treacherous sand of dreams, in spite of their perpetual demolition by the succeeding waves of time."

# DEAR EDITOR.

It seems to me that it is necessary to unify all those who agree that Parliament is an institution used by the masters to bolster up their The capitalist Press bandit system." applauds the leaders of the Labour movement or taking office, because it is thereby hoped to make discontented workers believe salvation store for them though being governed by their leaders.

Capitalism is now in a stage of progressive collapse. There is only one chance of its stabilisation. That is, if the workers can be induced to put their faith in a Labour Govern-ment. Those who favour an entire change of system are boycotted. All Governments aim at, and are the result of the apathy and ignorance of the many who sanction them. All Government, by parties, or groups, tends to suppress the liberty of the individual mind to express its thought. The Parliamentary

### THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Communist Party must be classified with other parties, because their policy is the leadership of individuals who claim the right to dictate to the party by right of "leadership," and who claim also the right to govern the mass of

I am of opinion that the only hope lies individually in ourselves to educate the workers to what Communism really means before we can expect any progress in our social con-ditions. We cannot have a system of Communism without a majority of mankind being conscious Communists. When this is accomplished, and the sooner the better, there will be no need to talk about Communism; it will

I am, yours fraternally F. A. Gow. Dundee

## THE MERRICK FRAME-UP.

"Essex County, Massachusetts, bears an unsavoury notoriety for its frame-up attempts on active members of the working class. The Ettor-Giovannitti case it world-famous, and the planting of dynamite by that tool of the mill barons, Breen, with the intent of throwing blame on the striking workers, is equally well known. The masters are making another desperate attempt to railroad an active worker, but his time the scene of the plot is laid in the shoe city of Haverhill in the same county We refer to the Merrick case.

"In January, 1923, a dynamite bomb was found near the shoe factory of Knipe Bros., Inc., in the Ward Hill district, Haverhill, The plant had been on strike since the previous October. The firm had just secured an injunction declaring the strike illegal and prohibiting picketing. But despite the injunc-tion the firm could not get workers, and they found that injunctions did not make shoes. A short time after the injunction was issued the "bomb" was found. Great excitement prevailed in Haverhill! News articles and ditorials pictured the city in the hands of the 'Reds,'' "Communists,'' "Radicals,'' etc., and the police—State, Federal and City—were urged to get busy. For two weeks no arrests were made, although various people known to be radicals were grilled by the police. One morning the captain of the Haverhill police— Captain Hurson—bald a reaformer with the Captain Hussey—held a conference with the Knipe Bros, firm. That evening the police announced that the firm was to offer a \$2000.00 reward for the arrest and conviction of the perpetrators. A few days later John E. Mearrick was arrested by the local police, although State officers were working on the

"Merrick was running a small automobile repair shop in Haverhill at that time. He had the bosses saw to it that he could not get work in the factories. He had been too active. He was called down to the local police sta-tion for the apparent purpose of being ques-tioned. While he was in the police station being questioned the local police staged a raid on his shop. They "found" wire, solder, bits, a part of a wooden box, and the back of clock with two small sorews standing on their heads near it, all of which material they claimed was part of the material used in the construction of the bomb. When these things were brought to the police station Merrick was placed under arrest. He was held in \$20,000.00 bonds and no one was allowed to see him. At the preliminary hearing the charge of being a principal was dropped and he was held over for he Grand Jury on the charge of accessory. The bail was doubled to \$40,000.00 on one charge. The bail was later reduced to \$15,000.00 by the Supreme Court, and friends of Merrick secured the bail and bad him released. The police claim that there was dynamite in the bomb, but up to date no one but the police and members of the firm of Knipe Bros, have seen the dynamite. court at the time of the earing. The Grand Jury indicted Merrick on wo counts—principal and accessory. hearing.

"Immediately after the arrest the local wspapers put Merrick on trial and convicted him in their columns. In news items he was referred to as " the dynamiter," and editorialthe authorities were congratulated for run-ing down "the perpetrators of the outrage." He was held up as an " avowed communist," and great fears were expressed at the power held by an organized Communist group in held by an organized Communist group in Haverhill. He is not running the repair shop now. After his arrest business dropped away and the rent for his place was doubled. He had to quit. Merrick is married and has lived in and around Haverhill all his life, being born a short distance from the city.

His trial is due to come up in January. He has absolutely no money. His friends have financed him up to date, both personally and by means of appeals to the working class throughout the country. The Workers' De-fence Conference of New England investigated the case and helped to the best of their ability. He needs money now badly in order to secure proper representation in court."-From the Lawrence General Labour Defense Committee

## FROM THE PUBLISHERS

Masses and Man. A fragment of the Social Revolution of the Twentieth Century. By Ernst Toller, translated from the German by Vera Mendel. (The Nonesuch Press, 4s. 6d.)

Toller says of this play that, when he wrote ' the immensity of the days of revolution had not yet formed an ordered mental picture. The play is, in fact, chaotic and confused. Apparently it is a plea for a bloodless revolu-on: a demand that the revolution shall be a strike and not a war. But it may be that Toller is merely intending to portray the struggles of the idealist amid conflicting impulses and considerations. The Nameless may either have been intended to represent baser passions and spirit of mob cruelty against which the Woman, the idealist, is contending, or Toller may have intended the Nameless to represent inevitable necessity. The play is less beautiful, varied and picturesque in diction than is the same author's Machine Wreckers. It contains, however, some striking passages; for instance, the gr some song of the people's sentries in the courtyard : First Sentry (sings)

My mother bore me-
In a ditch one night,
Lalala la
Hm, hm.
cond Sentry:
Father spawned and ignored me
In his cups one night.
the Sentries :
Lalala la
Hm, hm.
ird Sentry:
Three years they shove me-
'Tis a jailbird's plight.
the Sentries:
Lalala la
Hm, hm.
From anywhere the Nameless approaches
h ghostly, noiseless steps. Stands behind
lantern.
st Sentry:
My father maintained me-
' But forgot to pay.
the Sentries:
Lalala la
Hm, hm.
cond Sentry:
My mother—in pain she
Walks the streets, as they say.
the September 1

Th

All

Fi

Lalala la

Hm, hm.

Contempt for the greedy, vulgar bourgeois is also shown. Thus on the Stock Exchange Third Banker : It sounds a good thing ;

What's the product? Fourth Banker: We call it

Convalescent Home; For strengthening the Will to Victory In fact, it is

State-managed brothel. Third Banker : Splendid! I'll take up

One hundred thousand One more question, Who organises? Fourth Banker Experienced generals Of tested regulations. Third Banker Is the system Planned?

Fourth Banker : By regulation, As I said. Three prices And three categories. Brothel for officers, Stay over night. Brothel for non-com Stay one hour. And the third brothel. Men in the ranks, Stay fifteen minutes

Third Banker I thank you;

When does market open?

There are indications that when Toller wro this play he was beset by a torturing pessimism. In a dream-picture The Woma is shown in a cage. Beside her is the guid in the form of a *warder*. He tells her that sh is in "the showhouse of humanity." Headles shadows appear and accuse her of their death because she kept silence at the storming of town hall, when weapons were stolen, wh the reserves were called up. She protests I innocence, then declares : "I am guilty !" The guide in the dress of a warder replies

You fool! You sentimentalist ! Were they alive They'd dance about the gilded altar Where thousands offered sacrifice. You, too. The Prisoner I am guilty Being man ! The Warder Masses are guilty. The Prisoner Then I am doubly guilty. The Warder : All life is guilt. The Prisoner But, then, it had to be That I am guilty? The Warder: Each lives his life. Each dies his death. As trees and flowers, So do men Grow in a pre-ordained And fated form. A form created in unfolding And in its own destruction Still created. Find the answer For yourself.

### But life is all That is.

This is a prisoner's play, written amid t first gloomy horror of the prison following the crushing defeat of high, bright hopes a

A bitter contempt for the proletarian mob betrays itself there and in other passages. Brisoners will recognise the da mood under which it was created. Prisoners will recognise the dark, hopeles

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOLIGHT

# THE FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS.

ATIUS LOYOLA. By Henry Dwight Sedgwick. Macmillan, 15/- net

The author of this work calls it an attempt n impartial biography." He confesses ortheless, an admiration for Ignatius bla, the founder of the Jesuits, or Society us, and claims him as the foremost iard at the time of Spain's chief glory. oite of his admiration, Mr. Sedgwick does ucceed in making Loyola an inspiring

in 1495, the son of an aristocratic blue in the Basque province of Guipuscoa, bla was in early youth a rather wild, blous young soldier. It is recorded that he without justification, to claim fit of clergy in order to escape punishment ome riotous scrape.

Then the French crossed the Pyrenees to de Spain in 1521, and marched on plona, Loyola, who was in the Pamplona ison, was wounded in the leg. His very is said to have dated from the feast of Peter and St. Paul, and he ascribed it to intervention of St. Peter. The saint had, ever, done his work indifferently, for the had been badly set, and had to be re-The convalescence was slow, and g its progress Loyola apparently became the Salvation Army would call " saved."

ter this he took to seeing visions, to fastnd sometimes spent seven hours upon his , and flogged himself three times a day mes he saw a beautiful creature resembling pent. This gave him great consolation, he believed it came from God, but after e he changed his mind, and decided it from the devil

ola set off from Pamplona riding on a and fell in with a Moor by the way. a attempted to convince the Moor that nother of Christ was in truth a virgin. Moor was willing to admit that she might be a virgin after she had conceived, but not understand how it was possible for be still a virgin after the birth of the Finally the Moor tired of the argument rode on. When he had gone Loyola to gallop after him and stab him in the When he reached the point in the road he knew the Moor had turned aside, ould not make up his mind whether to turn nd follow to run the Moor through or He allowed the matter to be decided by or the mule, letting the reins hang loose e mule's neck. The mule decided to go ight on, and the Moor was spared.

aving given up his mule, and taken the im's dress of sackcloth, with staff and d, Loyola took to begging, and in 1523 off for Jerusalem to convert the Turks to stianity He sailed from Barcelona. The e him a free passage, but insisted he should bring his food, and not play the far on board. Many others were making same pilgrimage in those days, and itable persons helped the beggars upon

Jerusalem Loyola was received into the scan monastery, but when he announced tention to remain in Jerusalem saving the prior refused him permission him orders to leave at once. The Roman blic authorities evidently did not wish to friction with the Turks on account of zealous disciples. Loyola agreed to obey Desiring to make a last visit to prior. Mount of Olives, to see what are said to be mprints of Christ's feet on the stone, he without guide or permit, contrary to h rules. He secured admission by sh rules. g the guard with the gift of his penknife, having forgotten which way the footprints ted, went back again to see, and procured her look by a gift of his scissors. On the

The Renaissance in Italy and the Reformation in Germany were the two movements now stirring Europe. The latter was seriously menacing the prestige of the reactionary corrupt Roman Catholic Church. corrupt Roman Catholic Church. Pope Leo X. required much money to maintain the Papal dominion over sundry Italian cities, as well as for the upkeep of his hunting lodge at La Magliana, for jewels, for Latin and Greek manuscripts, and for building the basilica of St. Peters. Therefore he issued indulgences " which were hawked about all over Europe. A quotation from an advertisement of the indulgences displayed by the hawk-ing "pardoners" is given by Mr. Sedgwick: "Whoever puts into the box a tester for a soul in Purgatory, at once sets that soul free, and the soul infallibly goes to Paradise; so, by putting in 2 testers for 2 souls, or a 1,000 for a 1,000 souls, they go forth to Paradise."

At almost every stage of his career Loyola seems to have been befriended by enthusiastic ladies, who nursed him, fed him, provided Such indecencies were the strength of the Lutheran movement for ecclesiastical reform. Loyola was for reaction in all directions : he hated both the Renaissance and the Reformahim with lodging or money. On this occasion He disliked and feared the devotion to he went first to Barcelona, and there was assisted by women who sent him on his way to Paris with a bill of exchange for 25 crowns in his pocket to sustain him during his studies. beauty and the intellectual inquiry, the art and the literature, the study of history and science that were characteristic of the Renaissance, even more than he opposed the Reforma-The money was stolen from him by a fellow Spaniard who lodged at the same inn. tion which was a direct attack on the Church Loyola again took to begging his bread, but this inter-fered with his studies, and finally, on the advice of a friend, he went to Bruges and The famous Erasmus, the Dutch scholar who was received with honour in Paris, Rome, Venice, and Padua, and became Margaret Pro-fessor of Divinity and Professor of Greek at Antwerp, where rich Spanish merchants gave him the money he required to return to Paris Cambridge, was more hated by Loyola than Luther himself. Erasmus attacked the corrupand study there. In 1529 he began a course in philosophy, and after three years took tion of the ecclesiastics, though he did not break away from the Church. He translated master's degree. Then he began a theological course, but left Paris without completing it. He did not preach in the street whilst in Paris, the New Testament, and wrote in Latin a work called Enchiridon Militis Christiani, at the rebut drilled some of his fellow students in his quest of a lady, in order that he might arouse her profligate husband to duty and religion. Spiritual Exercises." He was twice brought up before the Catholic inquisitors, but his book of "Spiritual Exercises " was this time Loyola was advised to read this latter but, according to his own story, felt a numbapproved, and he was not punished.

ness of the soul and was obliged to lay it down. The leaders of the Catholic Church eventually condemned the Enchiridon, and the Jesuits denounced Erasmus as a heretic. The monks declared that Erasmus had laid the egg which Luther hatched.

Loyola himself was suspected of heresy by the Spanish inquisitors. Whilst at the Univer-sity of Alcalá de Henares, he and some com-panions begged their bread, and wore sackcloth garments. They prayed in the streets and discoursed to their admirers in their lodgings. They were suspected of being "illuminate," persons who follow inward illumination, rather than the teachings of the Church, a habit the Church would not tolerate. After an inquiry before the Vicar General, they were ordered, on pain of excommunication, to doff their sackcloth and conform to the ordinary dress of clergy or laity in the Kingdom of Castile. In spite of his doctrine that a person should believe what seems to him to be black is white, if the Hierarchical Church says so, Loyola was indignant at being questioned by the Church authorities. He and his friends changed the colour of their smocks and continued holding services as before. Those who attended the services of Loyola and his friends seem to have been women, a large number being girls of 16 or 17 years. They were seized with fainting and hysterical attacks during the prayers and preaching. A second investigation was soon held by the Church into the activities of Loyola. In April, 1527, he was arrested by home a messenger sent by the friars came the ecclesiastical authorities and later brought before the Vicar General. He was ordered to rily to fetch him. ly to fetch him. wear the ordinary dress of clergy or laity, and urning to Spain after twelve months, to refrain from teaching or holding meetings

tion, and spent twelve years in schools and colleges in Spain and Paris. As a pupil of 34 he began in the grammar school with little

loyola devoted himself to securing an educa- for three years, and thereafter only to do so if for three years, and thereafter only to do so if licensed by the proper authority. Loyola, so strict a disciplinarian for others, was deter-mined not to submit. He appealed to the Archbishop of Toledo, who merely advised Loyola and his friends to go to the University of Schemenne and a strict of the University of Salamanca, and offered money for the journey. The offer was accepted, and the young men continued their preaching, which was probably their only means of livelihood. Loyola was the youngest of eight sons. He had been brought up from childhood by the Governor of Arevalo, and at the Govern death his widow apparently only gave Loyola two horses and a purse of 500 crowns. He seems to have disposed of these very soon. The young preachers were soon in prison again. After twenty-two days they were again. After twenty-two days they were found orthodox and liberated. They were given permission to preach provided they would not touch on the difference between mortal and venial sins. Loyola said he could not abide by the sentence. No doubt the spice would have been taken out of his teaching, both for himself and his pupils, if he might not adjudicate on the confessions of frail women. He therefore departed for Paris.

> Whilst in Paris Loyola fell in with Pierre Lefèvre, with whom he shared a room, and whom he induced to fast, to sleep on logs of wood and to meditate in the snow. Loyola gathered in Paris a small band of young masters of philosophy who became his first disciples in founding the Society of Jesuits.

> Mr. Sedgwick insists that Ignatius Loyola was a reformer. It is true that, if Mr Sedgwick's account may be relied on, Loyola desired to endeavour that in his order there should be neither corruption nor self-indulgence, but a spartan adherence to the vows of poverty and chastity. It is true that in his own person he seems, in his youth, to have practised with much vigour his precepts on the mortification of the flesh

> He stood, however, pre-eminently for the dark cruelty and superstition of the middle ages against reform and in opposition to all tendencies towards enlightenment.

> Mr. Sedgwick quotes documentary evidence which proves that Loyola was unctuously slavish towards powerful personages, both spiritual and temporal, in order to win their support for his order, or to remove their

The persecution of heretics was at its height whilst he was studying in Paris. He had neither sympathy for the victims nor con-demnation for the cruelties. His only effort was to ingratiate himself with the rich and powerful, whatever evils they might be guilty of. Francis I. of France was in those days disputing the right of Charles I. of Spain (Charles V. of Germany) to be Emperor of Germany. Francis at first appeared to favour Church reform, his sister Marguerite had

openly befriended the reformers, and his mother, Louise of Savoy, had shown similar tendencies. When, however, Francis was defeated and taken prisoner by the forces of Charles at the Battle of Pavia, Louise, acting as regent, endeavoured to gain the Pope as regent, endeavoured to gain the Pope's support, by attacking the reformers. The Paris University, the Sorbonne and the Parle-ment were pillars of reaction, and alike opposed to the Protestants. Louise now asked the Sorbonne for advice "how to eradicate Luther's dumnable doctrine from their very Christian land." Decrees were issued pro-hibiting the printing or owning of the Bible in France. A young man accused of heresy had his tongue pierced and was strangled. His body was burned in the *Place Maubert*. A Lutheran, who said there was no advantage in praving for the dead, sprinkling holy water praying for the dead, sprinkling holy water or worshipping images, narrowly escaped death and was sent to prison on bread and escaped water for seven years. A deacon accused of heresy was burned alive in the *Place de Grève*. In 1527 a clerk was buried alive in the same square for blasphemy. In December of t year a boatman was burned there also In December of that Lutheran heresy. A friend of Erasmus, who had translated the Enchiridon into French, was strangled and burnt. In 1534 three hundred persons were arrested, and there were many persons were arrested, and there were were hangings and burnings in public squares. Men were suspended over fires and burnt alive whilst the populace looked on. There were whilst the populace looked on. processions of expiation, in which Francis I. walked bare-headed, carrying a wax taper and accompanied by Church dignitaries and nobles hangings and burnings continued till The found it necessary to come to Francis understanding with the German Protestaits and the Pope, Paul III., thought it advisable that the terror should be stopped. Religious zeal against the heretics then conveniently abated

Loyola approved these atrocities, and had nothing to say against the ambitions of their unscrupulous perpetrators. He interceded with the Apostolic See to get the fearful Inquisition set up in Portugal to please King to be of Portugal John of Portugal.

The inconsistency of the founder of the Jesuits is plainly instanced by his attitude towards begging. He lived for many years by it himself, and, indeed, was ostentatious in his parade of begging his food to show his poverty. He criticised the "Teatini," an order of monte founded shortly before his an order of monks, founded shortly before his own, because they were not allowed to beg for food, but had to wait till it was given them.

Nevertheless, on returning to his native place in 1535, he procured the passage of an ordinance to punish begging. He boasted of The ordinance provided his memoirs. this in that the sheriffs and other officers should choose two citizens, one a cleric, the other a layman, to collect alms for the poor. These alms they should distribute amongst the poor "according to their needs and qualities." Only those poor who had been investigated and qualities. listed as unable to work should be entitled to alms. No alms were to be given to mendicants from outside the jurisdiction except those who were unable to work, or who were on a pilgrimage, and even such as these might only be harboured one night in the city. "No alms gatherers or solicitors from any hospital, house, or Church, whether in this province or out of it, shall dare to

this province or out of it, shall dare to ask any alms, whether from door to door or in any other manner.

Breach of the ordinance was to be punished Breach of the ordinance was to be punished in the case of the beggar by imprisonment and strokes of the cat; in the case of the donor by ines. Directors of hospitals, who admitted into their hospitals beggars from outside the jurisdiction or persons capable of working, were to be imprisoned and fined.

Strange regulations these from a man who was supposed to be living by door to door begging at the time !

Loyola is supposed to have walked from his native place to Venice, where he lived a year, waiting the arrival of the nine disciples he had enrolled in his new order. Meanwhile, he studied at the University, and prayed at the

bedside of incurables. Isabel Roser, who frequently befriended him, provided the means for his support. In the following spring the Jesuits went to Rome, and procured the consent of the Pope to the charter of their order, which most particularly expressed its allegiance to the Pope, "The Roman Pontiff" and "Vicar of Christ." The Pope, Paul III., fresh from subduing and fresh from subduing riots caused by his own salt taxes, expressed his approval on September 3rd, 1539, and about a year later a "bull of confirmation" was issued. on

The Society of Jesus pledged its members to unquestioning obedience to the Pope, and also its General, whom they were to acknowledge and reverence " as though he were Christ, " present in person." - Loyola it was who drew up this provision,

intending that he would be the the order. Later on, after he had of course, intending that he would be the General of the order. Later on, after he had become the General, he drew up the constitution of the order. It was here stated that the members must obey the Superior in everything on the mere indication of his will, and that they must "think as the Superior thinks," and believe what he ordains is right, ' laying aside, in blind obedience, their own opinions.

After the Pope had approved the order of Jesuits he appointed its members to teach Jesuits he appointed its members to teach the boys of Rome. The teaching can hardly have had other than bad results, the doctrines of the Society and its founder being so morbid and terrible. Loyola was excessively jealous of his authority, and fierce in his punishments. He advocated flagellation and fasting and mortification of the flesh for young people. He liked to see them underful even dirty in liked to see them neglectful, even dirty in person, regarding this as proper to the young. A youth who found it distasteful to work in dirty kitchen of the monastery rolled himself in filth, in the hope of overcoming his repugnance to dirt, and in this state returned to his labours in the kitchen. Loyola commended his act.

Father Rodriguez, one of the first members of the order, when journeying with his com-panions, was offered a bed in which the sheets were dirty and spotted with blood. He went to another hostel in disgust, and afterwards blamed himself because he had not accepted a bed as an exercise in humility. Soon dirty after he was offered sheets which, he was told, had been placed under the dead body of a man who had died of the "lousy disease." He eagerly accepted these sheets, because he saw great lice upon them, and hoped, by suffering the vernin to bite him, he would atone for his previous pride. The lice, it is recorded, did their part in punishing him for

his previous pride. If this is not true, it has been set down as true by the Jesuit chroniclers.

Later on the same Rodriguez became head of the Jesuit Mission in Portugal. It is not surprising to learn that, under his influence, such excesses were committed in the Jesuit College there, that responsible persons pro-For an exhibition of humiliation, tested. to which they had not been ordered by Rodriguez, two students were boycotted by his command, no one being permitted to speak To placate Rodriguez, one of them to them. entered the refectory bare foot, his hands tied and a cord round his neck, to which his torgue was tied between two sticks. The other delinquent came in stripped to the waist, a rope round his neck, and a scourge in hand. These acts of penitence were unacceptable to Rodriguez, because they had not received his permission.

Another lad, whom Rodriguez had refused admission to the college, overcame the denial, by walking through the streets, carrying a skull, and asking the crowd of boys which followed to kick him and throw stones at him. One of the students went through the streets, ringing a bell and shouting : "Hell for all those who are in mortal sin !" Another went out half naked, and tying himself to a pillar in the town, stood there some time, crying : " O Lord Jesus, who for our sins wast tied to a pillar in Pilate's house, forgive the sins of this city !'

Though it was clear that Rodriguez was

causing trouble in Portugal, Loyola retained him there for some time, because Rodriguez had become a favourite of the King.

Some curious incidents are recorded of the isit of the Jesuit fathers to Ireland, in 1542. his own recognition as the temporal and spiritual head of Ireland and to stamp out Roman Catholicism there. The three strong-est Irish princes had been summoned to Dublin to pledge their allegiance to Henry, and two of them had already obeyed. The mission of the lowing Henry VIII. was then endeavouring to secure and two of them had already obeyed. The mission of the Jesuits was to establish peace between the princes of Ireland, in order that they might unite against Henry. They reported their failure, declaring the disease of They

internal feud to be incurable. Whilst in Ireland the Jesuits granted pardons for bastardy and incest, of which they wrote there was "a vast amount." They explained the matter thus :

"Many of these pardons we gave gratis for love of God. From a few we collected some money, but not much, be-cause the country is incredibly poor and we did not wish to get their money, but by them out of sime for bordow or we to lift them out of sin; for, pardon or no pardon, they would go on doing the same way till the day of their deaths, as ample the money experience testifies. But all collected we gave away publicly to the poor or to some pious charities, to the great astonishment and edification of the bishops who saw it, and of others who heard of it."

The italics are ours. It is interesting to observe that the Jesuits assumed incest to be harmless, once they had given a pardon for it Humanity has travelled some little distance

in enlightenment since the sixteenth century but the Churches are still playing their par in fostering superstition. The following passages from Bishop William Montgomer Brown's "Christianism or Communism?" following

form a fitting conclusion to this review : "Knowledge is the Christ of the World. The saviour-gods of the supernaturalisti interpretations of religion are symbols of

this one. "Ignorance is the devil of the world The destroyer-gods of the supernaturalinterpretations of religion an istic symbols of this one.

Knowledge consists in knowing facts and truths. Every real fact or truth is a word of the only gospel which the world

possesses. "The desire and effort to learn facts, interpret and live them constitute morality.

### SPICE HERRIN AGAIN.

Do not imagine that the Ku Klux Klan war in Williamstown County, Illinois, U.S.A., is about Prohibition. It is a continuation of the bitter Labour struggle which has been going on between the miners and the employing class there for a long time.

FOR EXCESSIVE BRUTALITY. To Sir John Butcher, a peerage.

# THE PRIVY COUNCIL.

Mr. Baldwin has created five more Privy Councillors. On reflection, what a terribk body the Privy Council must be !

LORD CHELMSFORD. Mr. Maxton, M.P., believes that Lord Chelmsford was taken into the Labour (7) Cabinet because "the Sea Lords put down their foot."

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT Meetings. Sundays, 3 p.m., Hyde Park. N. Smyt

and others

Sunday, March 2nd, 7.30 p.m. Hamilto Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden Green Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

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