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The Materialist Conception of History.

PREFACE.

The author of this monograph desires to remain anonymous. I respect his modesty, though I detest its necessity. I consider that his brochure takes rank with anything I have seen upon the subject in the world's literature of introductory exposition. Written from week to week, these clarifying chapters appeared as a series of articles in the "Socialist" of Melbourne, Australia, and are reprinted as they originally appeared. The author is a busy man — as busy a worker as he is brilliant a thinker. It is the thought herein rather than its expression upon which emphasis is laid; nevertheless, the literary grace of many of the passages will be evident. As to the theme of this work, let it be repeated, even though it be trite, that no Socialist can afford to ignore the significance of this fundamental branch of study. The doctrine of the Materialist Conception of History is a discovery which will eternally make the nineteenth an outstanding century. I am disposed to think of those great laws of proletarian purport enunciated by Marx and Engels that the one of which this book deals

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is the most epochal. It is the Key which unlocks the vaults of History—the Sign in which the workingclass shall conquer. It is the Tongue which decrees emancipation from wage-slavery, and the noisome superstructure reared thereon. I venture to affirm that we live to-day in the revolutionary period out of which that Emancipation shall issue in the shape of Socialism. In the jubilant hour of liberation, possibly some will not be unmindful of the Marxian discoveries which, making Socialism a science, also made liberation inevitable.

It will, I believe, be admitted that this unpretentious work meets a want. Great as is the Socialist movement in its literature, not nearly enough attention has been paid to the Materialist Conception of History, or, to give it Enrico Ferri's apter title, Economic Determinism. I had hoped this little volume would have included a guiding bibliography, but it may follow later. Fortunately, the student made ambitious or inquisitive by "Dogmatist's" outlines will have no trouble in obtaining most of the interpretative masterpieces of the subject through the agency of Charles H. Kerr's magnificent co-operative publishing house in Chicago, U.S.A. I find myself sometimes marvelling upon the surely remarkable fact that the best Socialist literature is reaching Australia via America, rather than via Great Britain. Let me add that it is in the spirit and upon the theories of this literature that the classic Australian Socialist movement is getting itself based and builded.

And this brings me to chronicling that "The Materialist Conception of History"

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marks a pivotal departure in Australia, inasmuch as with all the Commonwealth's talk of Socialism—and much as its "Socialism" is talked about—no book of any worth or weight in harmony with Marxian philosophy and science has hitherto been published in Australia! Whatever our friends abroad may think of this book, it is brutally obvious that Australia needs it as much as Socialism needs Australia. For in simple frankness, it cannot pass unmentioned that ninety per cent. of what is in Australia called Socialism—"Australian Socialism," an you please—is demonstrably a libel upon the International Socialist Movement and a menace to its organisation and principles. At the risk of growing tedious, it seems fitting to insist that Laborism (or "Australian Socialism") in its parties and policies is as far from being legitimately Socialist as it is lacking in essential knowledge of the conditions of social progress.

This, then, is No. 1 of the S.F.A. Library. "S.F.A." stands for the Socialist Federation of Australasia, the headquarters of which is 274 Pitt-street, Sydney (general secretary, H. E. Holland). To Australia the Federation seems destined to be the requisite link in the International chain girdling the world for Freedom's sake and cause.

Go, little book!—a Beacon thou, little book!

R. S. ROSS,
(Editor "Socialist").

Melbourne.
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The Materialist Conception of History.

CHAPTER I.

The Development of the Technique.

What would the world be to us if history were no more? As far as the nation is concerned, it would be like the individual that had lost all memory.

Take away the past. The present is unexplained and the future inscrutable.

It has long been one of the platitudes of middle-class writers and speakers, that in a knowledge of the past is to be found the word of prophesy as to the future.

But if you would get that knowledge of the past, and get it in the form that is of use because of the light it throws upon the present, and of practical interest because it explains the present and shows how "in it are spontaneously developed and are ripening the conditions of the future"—if you would get this knowledge in this form you will need to go outside the writings and speeches of those self-appointed mentors of the people of the order just referred to.

To understand history we must come to a knowledge of the artificial (man-made)

foundations upon which it rests. It begins precisely at a certain stage of human advancement in the production of the means of life. Advancing this way, the social life arose; thence social changes till the social movement took on the historic phase and history commenced.

History is the work of man. How he came to set foot on this earth in the first place. Whether all started with Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, or whether "our ancestors ascended by slow process from lower forms of animal life and through struggle and suffering became man" [Sir Oliver Lodge] does not matter.

This we know: Man is here. Can think, do and perform. Has been here a long time, has thought, done and performed. And whatever the origin of mankind, just as the individual starts as a child, thinks as a child, so mankind must have started unskilled, unequipped with tools, untutored and unlettered—knowing nothing whatever of aught that we take account of to-day.

But he was potentially wonderful. He had brains. He could profit by experience and learn by example.

Man the Inventor.

Having brains, as we would say, he would come to know that with a stick he could not only use his arms to help himself along a wearying journey, but with a stick also he could pull down a bough and pluck fruit that would otherwise remain out of the reach of his hand. From that time it was the same to him as if he were many feet taller.

With a stout stick he could lever over a rock of, say, a ton or more in weight, and

from that time it became the same to him as if his strength had been multiplied several times over.

He would not remain defenceless because in stick and club we have two words—two names—that indicate different uses for the same thing; and with a stick in one's hand, the power of suggestion is so great that given a menace the rest follows.

As from hitting to thrusting is only a turn, then from pointed stick or dart to spear—from spear to arrow and a bow to shoot it with—were a succession of achievements following in their natural order, man seeing and seizing on the means. Each age has its originators, and the imitators are always sufficiently numerous to ensure general adoption of the more excellent way.

If missiles should be referred to, well from stone-throwing to sling and catapult—up to repeating rifles if you like—is just how we would guess they had come even if we had no knowledge of the order of their appearance.

Along this line we are in touch with man's progress in the arts of the chase and war. But the chase wasn't everything he could see. So he turned his attention to the taming and domesticating of animals and came to have flocks and herds for food. The dog as companion and help, and beasts for locomotion and transport.

He would come to a knowledge of plant life—the round of the seasons and their influence—the time of fruiting and of harvesting.

And if in getting things out of the soil—or putting things into it—men at first used their finger nails, it would be sure to occur to some that a pointed stick would facilitate

the work. Later, to the end of this stick a metal blade is fastened; this in the course of time gets widened out and finally the shovel appears, of which the stick is now the handle.

Joining the power of the ox with his own he gets a bent bough pulled through the soil to loosen it up, and teaches his neighbours ploughing.

Man gets afloat on a log, in a hollow log, in a bark canoe of his own making—boat, ship of his own construction.

And so we could keep on multiplying instances on land and water, but sufficient has been said to bring into clear relief the truth of this statement: That by the discovery of better ways and means—by the invention, creation and use of tools—man gains his mastery over nature; artificially changing things to suit his needs, and his surroundings to suit his purposes; planning, contriving, shaping; coming on to the time when he uses implements of stone; then a better material is discovered in bronze out of which to fashion his weapons and tools. Afterwards a better material still is found in iron, that replaces the bronze and stone, and to-day we are in the age of steel.

Thus has man improved his position by the development of the technique. And in this connection Technique is to be taken as meaning all the tools, implements, machines, engines, plant, buildings, etc., that men use in their work; also, applied science as chemical and electrical processes; together with the acquired special skill and knowledge which is applied and realised in improved results in stock-raising, agriculture, mining, etc. All these things we will

group under the heading of this one word Technique. Shortly, it stands for tools and all else that man uses in his work, including the necessary mental and manual training and skill.

Franklin has called man the tool-using animal; and so much do tools—so much does the Technique mean to man—that the very materials of which the tools have successively been made have given their names successively to these three great epochs of human existence—The Stone Age, The Bronze Age, and The Iron Age. So much does the Technique mean that we in our minds associate man's successive limitations and possibilities in this world with the materials of which successively tools have been made.

Human Character.

But when we leave the Technique out of mind and only give thought to the successive stages of improvement in the character of man, we say he has come up from Savagery through Barbarism into Civilisation, which he is destined to carry to a higher level.

And thus has man climbed up a ladder of his own making—the ladder of the Technique.

Improving his tools, improving his means, man improves his environment, raises himself on to a higher plane of existence, and in this manner improves his own character. These successive environment are the material, the artificial foundations, of his social life, the artificial foundations of history.

There is a great difference between us and our ancestors of The Stone Age, but with their tools we should be practically the

same as were they. Could they be resurrected and given our advantages, it is a practical certainty that they would be indistinguishable from us.

Since their day sufficient time has not elapsed to permit of any appreciable amount of human organic change—that is, change in brain, blood, bone and muscle, and their combinations in the organism. Just the lives of, say, fifty men joined on end to end—if you can look at it in that way; their place and ours being at the opposite ends of the technical process, that long course of improvement in tools.

And so men's stepping stones to higher things are found in the means of production.

Human Genius.

Man has developed the technique because he had the genius for it.

And what is genius?

Without going into a lengthy definition at this stage, we get a good working knowledge of it in these words of Labriola's: "A responsiveness to the suggestions of experience."

For example. A man finds himself on the bank of a stream, wishing he had an easy means of crossing to and from the other side. The current is dangerous, and a safe journey is many miles round. It comes to his mind that he had crossed a stream at another time by walking over a tree that had fallen and lay across it. Then remembering that incident, acting at the suggestion of that experience, he selects a tree and works at it to make it fall across the river and be to him a lasting bridge.

Again: Being observant, impressed by occurrences, he would notice what happened to seeds, how they germinated under certain conditions. And at the suggestion of these experiences, he tries to make them grow where he wished; and succeeding, seedtime gets added to harvest in the yearly round of work.

And so has man gone on discovering, inventing, improving; responding to the suggestions of experience, thanks to the action of his unsatisfied needs, which ever are added to with every successful attempt at their satisfaction. That which we see as a result of this is what is called Human Development. Human development in simple English meaning just this—he makes a better man of himself as his means and opportunities increase.

Man the Experimenter.

While the great American has called man the tool-using animal, the great Italian, Labriola, has called him the Experimenter. And this brings us into closer touch with that underlying process of human endeavour which keeps the technical process going—that slow march of invention and improvement in the instruments of labour, and specialisation in skill—that continuous course of perfecting the ways, means and modes of production—that has gone on through the ages to our own day.

This process has gone on, of course, because man is the born contriver, because he had the genius for it, because he was capable of responding to the suggestions of experience.

Now, taking Labriola's view—Man is the Experimenter. That is to say, he makes

a trial of this, he makes a trial of that, with a view—to proving. He experiments; which is the same as saying he resorts to experience-making. He makes his own experiences in order to learn therefrom and profit thereby. Pursuing this course, man has tried, tested, proved, adopted—the lever, the wedge, and inclined plane; the screw, the roller, wheel and pulley. And long before there was anything of what we would call civilisation, man had invented the boat, the oar, the rudder, sail and wheel—all of them inventions of the first order. But the wheel was really a marvellous one. It probably followed on the roller, and was at first a disc cut off the end of a log.

Now, just run your minds over the following, and think what the poets, philosophers, orators, and others on the lookout for inspiring subjects have missed. How is it none of them have taken wheels for a theme?

With wheels plain and wheels geared; on wheels, by wheels, with wheels, man moves things along, moves himself along, on land and afloat. Moves the world along.

Take them away—the world is empty, and all human greatness snuffed out. Cart, coach and waggon; bicycle, motor car and railway train; engines, machines, watches. Set in motion with man-power, animal-power; wind, water, steam and electricity.

Here is development! All the work of man, product of his labour, mental and manual.

Thus has time been economised, distance shortened, new epochs wheeled in; and on machines we are at this time sliding

into a new world of experiences, responding to the suggestions of which men will accomplish that social transformation which so many are beginning to look forward to with a deepening faith that it is near at hand. Wheel out the old, wheel in the new, wheel in the things that are to be.

Now for a more intimate acquaintance with that for which the word experience stands. Either as a result of one's own action, the action of others, the operations of nature, or what not, things and processes arise and unfold in the world around us, and the reflections of these the mind receives and works up into impressions and remembrances.

"Experience—and what is this if not the reflection and the mental elaboration of the things and the processes which arise and unfold either outside our volition, or through the work of our activity."—Labriola.

Our experiences are our impressions of what we see, hear, and feel. When we have got these impressions, these remembrances, we can each say: This much I know. Over and above this—on top of this that I know (these experiences) comes thought. Thought completes the knowing. That is, it is the complement of experience. "Our thought. . . The conscious systematic complement of experience."—Labriola.

It is the complement necessarily of what we know, for we cannot give thought to what has never entered our mind.

And so, surveying the world without—working on all with which the mind has become furnished—man, because he feels inclined, because he must, thinks, pon-

ders, meditates — doubts, believes — reasons, judges—imagines,—forms fancies—conceives notions, hypotheses, theories—in a word, he forms and shapes ideas.

Thought is a form of work, which may be mental or manual, and ideas are simply labour products. They are entities, mental things; can be considered, made the objects of thought; stored, communicated and shared in by others. They are part of man's possessions, and along with those which are the work of his hands make up the beginning and ending of everything in which consists the superiority of one generation over another; and for that matter, of one social class over another.



CHAPTER II.

Technique and Social Development.

And now, man working mentally and manually; discovering, inventing, improving, preserving, remembering and using; by making more blades of grass grow on a given patch than had grown there before; by clearing the land of other growths and substituting food-yielding plants; by the finding of an increased quantity and variety of clothing materials and of building materials—that is by the development of the technique, man made it possible for a continuously increasing number of people to maintain themselves on a given piece of territory, to live on this earth.

On this the growth of population rests—the giving up of the nomadic for the settled life in fixed communities, and as the material foundations strengthen families grow into clans, into tribes, and tribes into nations, into empires.

This development of the technique—this invention, modification and addition of tools through the ages up to the great machines and grand industry of our own time—has called for and given occasion to the division and subdivision of labour, the separation and allotment of tasks in the community. That is, with wood working tools have come boat builders, wheelwrights, carpenters; with metal working tools, blacksmiths,

engineers, goldsmiths, and so on; millers, bootmakers, tailors—all making their respective appearances when conditions had been ripened for their advent, special tools calling for the specially acquired skill that went with continuous use by the same persons.

Thus to simple labour are added the handicrafts, the trades, arts and professions, and with this separating off into occupations villages spring up, grow into towns, into cities, with their teeming millions; yet, still continuing to grow, not because it is the people's best and greatest wish to form part of this "herding animality" of the superior and contemptuous Mr. Nietzsche, but because, according to the stage of development of the Technique, conditions of soil and site, in the hills, on the plains, on river or on coast, determine where the work can most profitably be done. And in the determination of this is determined also where the people shall live.

With the development of the Technique and the increase in the productivity of labour comes the increase of products, of wealth, of property; also the struggle for its possession, and consequently the differentiation of the people into owners of property of varying amounts and non-owners; into buyers and sellers, masters and servants, capitalists and wage labourers. And come also with these the economic relations between them, which, in their interlacings, form the invisible network that binds all together and holds them in their respective places in the community—in the society which has changed and changed until it came to have the well-defined strata and structure such as we find in ours to-day;

with the power of these over those in it. These economic relations are "the underlying economic structure of society," and when they change in character the form of society changes, as from the antique to the mediæval and modern forms, as the relations between freemen and slaves change to those between overlords of the soil and serfs, and then give way to those between capitalists and free wage labourers.

Politics, Law, Moral Codes.

Man using the ever-improving instruments of labour produces more and more of food, fabrics and structures, from the smallest articles to the greatest engineering works: that is, he lays, maintains and strengthens the material foundations of the social life that grows and develops through the ages. When these material foundations have acquired the strength to carry a population whose needs are met to such or such an extent; because at such stage there will be not only manual labour, but also mental activity; and for each member of the community an inner life of feelings, notions, knowledge, likes and dislikes, and an outer world of persons, things, restraints and obstacles; in a word, when men have produced and live in an environment of such and such character their responsiveness to the suggestions of experience will be manifested in certain definite aims and purposes, and the efforts put forth for the accomplishment of them.

Thus, as the artificial foundations strengthen, and the corresponding social life develops, "there always and necessarily appear"—(Labriola):

"Premeditated designs."—Where there

are brains there will always be plans and schemes thought out to realise certain ends and purposes for the benefit of these, or those, or for the common good. Not forgetting the designs of those who have profited and profit by the injury or robbery of others.

"Political views."—Views as to how people should be controlled for their own or somebody else's benefit, and by whom controlled—themselves or others. There must be a certain collective life before politics can appear, and when that collective life has come politics cannot be escaped.

"Plans of Conduct."—Notions as to how people should regulate their actions and what should be their behaviour towards one another, this or that according to view and circumstance being considered right or wrong, moral or immoral, to be approved or reprobated.

"Systems of law"—which are regulations for the protection of certain interests by meting out pains and penalties to those who encroach thereon. "Every rule of law is the customary, the authoritative, or the judicial defence of a definite interest."—Labriola.

"Maxims."—Supposed to be the words of the wise as to what is the most rational thing to do in given circumstances.

"General and abstract principles."—If an example is desired: The secondary principle of representative government was derived or abstracted from the general principle that the voice of the people should be law. As the State grew by the addition of new territories, or as the central authority strengthened, only the voice of those around the seat of government could be

heard, and from this circumstance sprung the device of Representative Government.

Thus through the development of the Technique, people came to make their livelihood together in settled communities, and as this meant the use of surrounding lands and waters, different occupations in the production of food and other articles of use, some trading, the growth of property and of property distinctions and the corresponding growth in society of class distinctions and cleavage, misunderstandings, clash of interests, attempts to gain personal advantage, disputes and struggles within the community and between communities—because of these things, to the material products man added those other human products, such as politics, law, moral codes, etc. By the time they reach this stage the social life is up to a certain level, has assumed a certain character: the State as an institution has been formed, and further developments still are made possible.

Arts, Science, Religion, etc.

And so in the midst of these products—that is, not because a certain number of people are present but because those present are conditioned by the presence of these products, these developments and the accumulation of experience—in the midst of these products spring up also the arts, science, religion, philosophy, history, etc.

Man's first object is necessarily the satisfaction of his primary needs, but as these cease to occupy his time, others in endless succession arise to claim and receive his attention.

There is an old saying that "a hungry

man is an angry man," and when hungry he is all stomach, but all of us are conscious of how it retires into the background as the cooking art and palate respond to one another in an upward development.

The first need and aim of man in his work is utility, but that attained he goes on to make the things pleasing to his aesthetic sense, and even in the Early Stone Age our ancestors, after having chipped the flint implements into the best possible shapes for use, then went on to smooth and polish them.

Man found warmth in the skins of animals, but these are laid aside with the incoming of the fabrics and fabrications of the clothing arts.

Any four walls and a roof would give shelter, but architecture and ornament are developed in the pursuit of human satisfaction.

And thus arise the Arts, the conception and execution of the beautiful in language, form, colour, and tone, they being in themselves but other modes of manifestation of that underlying process of human endeavour already referred to, which, seeking expression in rude attempts to add beauty to usefulness, comes by practice and invention to the production of things whose usefulness is found in their beauty.

"The beautiful is as useful as the useful," said Victor Hugo, but he was not a Philistine.

After a complimentary reference to the effects in his pictures, John Opie, the Cornish painter, was asked what he mixed his colours with. "Brains," he replied.

It is with these man works, and though art may be all lost, as was that of the anti-

que-buried in the ruins at the fall of the Roman Empire; yet was it re-created little by little, line upon line, colour upon colour, when and where the social conditions in Europe permitted it, till we got the crowning glories of this new birth in the works of Dante, Raphael, Angelo, and Shakespeare.

"The sense of the beautiful and of the great is universal, which appears in the uniformity thereof in the most distant ages and nations."

Science is the collection and orderly arrangement, after critical investigation, of the facts and results of man's considered experiences, with a view to placing man's mind at will in a proper and understanding relationship with the things and processes of the universe.

History and learning could only appear when a written language had been discovered, writing instruments and materials introduced. Much has been accomplished since the days of Father Herodotus, who was to history what Homer was to poetry. The Technique has been developed, printing introduced; and printing presses are not among the least wonderful works of man.

Regarding Religion, it may be said that if at a certain stage of intellectual development mankind found itself religionless it would have to make one, for looking out upon earth, sea and sky, man could not help being affected by what passed before him, what went on around him. And not because of having deliberated and come to a decision that he would make a study of these things—no, not from free choice, but because he could not act otherwise. "Human

thought must sum up this life and theorise upon it."

And looking out upon an unexplained world what would man think of the thunder, the lightning, and tempest—sunset glow, eclipse, "darkness which can be felt"—strange noises, murmurs, sighs, echoes, shadows? He would feel there were unseen tongues, hands, eyes, ears. He would people the unseen with personalities, and in this way the hypothesis of gods would appear. Gods, as many or as few of them as were necessary to account for all that was not understood in this unexplained world. The accepted hypothesis, the accepted belief, would be instilled into the minds of the generation growing up and passed on by them as other products of thought are.

But some of this mystifying phenomena of nature would later come to be understood; then the hitherto accepted hypothesis would become unacceptable to the informed minds, and would consequently need to be modified to suit, or be expelled altogether from the human mind. So a study of the history of religions would show the cruder and more mythical productions being successively discarded and replaced by other human creations more mysterious and mystifying. And as the mystic is always with us seeking satisfaction in new creations, new religions are always in the making. It is a pity we have to be so hard upon him by stripping these things of their sacred and poetic attributes and showing in so matter of fact a way that they are just profane and prosaic labour products, thought being a form of work.

CHAPTER III.

Economic Determinism.

As with the development of the Technique there came to be a surplus after meeting the wants of those who wrought in production, and as this surplus meant the ability of the producing section of the community to maintain those who could supply the articles and render the services that satisfied other needs—while it also called forth the robbery and the violence with which usurpation necessarily begun and continued till the robbed gave over their resistance as useless—it is this surplus which made possible the human effort put forth in other directions; that occasioned the establishment of the social institutions and corresponding offices, professions and callings—civil, military, juridical, artistic, religious, educational, and scientific which have come into existence and, these, besides answering their other purposes, added to the number of diverse interests, occupations, and ways of making a livelihood in the community.

As this surplus grew, property, which was at first held in common by the community, became broken up into family possessions, and eventually passed into the private ownership of individuals as a result of the struggle for mastery over the labour of others, for men have never cared to get their living by the sweat of their brows when they could get it by the toil of others,

or been satisfied with the product of one pair of hands when the product of many pairs could be had. And at the suggestion of experience or profiting by example, circumstances have ever been availed of that permitted some men to gain an advantage—to acquire dominion over their fellows to the end of robbing or making a profit out of them. Besides in other ways such circumstances would arise out of the differences in occupations, as hunters and warriors against cultivators and craftsmen. An armed body of free citizens owning and working their slaves; an armed nobility robbing the serfs; law and order defence of those in possession, and the right to traffic freely in their property and in labour. These give us the economic forms in which are successively expressed the balance of forces in the class struggle corresponding to the stages of development of the Technique.

Economic inequalities having arisen, and the rights of property established; the rights of creditors to the property of debtors, and in satisfaction of a debt to even enslave the debtor, as in Greek or Roman times, or to send him into the ranks of the proletarians—the propertyless wage class—as in our day; society has ended up as we now have it, when of a given community it can be said—

Because of the present development of the Technique a definite number of persons are required in each kind of employment, as, for example, an exact number of carpenters to do the carpentry work. Not one man more. Any extra will be unemployed, and prove this statement.

Go into an ironworks; it employs an

exact number of labourers, blacksmiths, moulders, fitters, patternmakers, foremen; and in the office draftsmen, clerks, etc., up to the manager—a definite number altogether—no work and therefore no room for any more. Now, add establishment to establishment till all industry is embraced, and join these to the agricultural, pastoral and mining occupations, and in them all combined will be found the total number employed in production. This production will mean a definite number employed in its transportation, in the trade and commerce, and even the finance connected therewith, because the transactions will be an exact number.

Passing from the employees to the capitalists, we should find a definite number of them, each possessing so much capital. If we look at things in their movement—their development—we shall see ever larger concerns superseding smaller ones, increased production, and an increasing turnover on the market; larger masses of capital, fewer and bigger employers, merchants, and financiers; bigger masses of profit and surpluses for investment and fighting funds to exterminate competitors, on the market, property passing into fewer hands, erosion of the capitalist class, and growth of the wage and salaried class; this is the story of change in the mode of production, but at any given time each possesses so much capital and is receiving so much income.

Now we can say, the development of the Technique results in the use of tools of a certain character, and the character of the tools of industry determines the nature of the work to be done, and the distribution of employments, and as corresponding to

the kinds of employment each will get so much as wages or salary; or as corresponding to his position as capitalist, employer, or merchant, etc., he will derive so much income, we can say further that granted private ownership of the means of production—the character of the tools of industry in determining the manner in which owners and non-owners shall join in production, it determines also the economic grading of them, as in the manner corresponding to their present incomes.

But there are other functions and offices besides those immediately connected with production, and so we find a certain definite sum spent by the community in education that commands the services of a definite number of persons. Troubles and disputes between proprietors and others give employment and incomes to a certain number of lawyers.

The same can be said in connection with medicine, art, religion, science, vice, and so on, through all the ways of making a living in present civilised society that are shown in and hidden from the Census Returns, which vary with the changes in the Technique and growth of population.

As by the nature of the work to be done, some, from want of nimbleness or from other disqualifications associated with time of life, find their occupation closed to them at a certain age.

And as certain work is necessarily seasonal, and as through the development of the technique certain occupations disappear—for these and other reasons, not forgetting the ups and downs of trade; at any given time there will be a definite number of unemployed, and consequential scramble

for billets in those occupations calling for no special skill or strength, and consequent sweating therein, and as in so far as working people have next to no resources to fall back upon in times of enforced idleness, sickness, old age, etc., there is always a definite amount of misery in society.

And now we can say, the character of the tools of industry privately owned determines all the practical activities and the distribution of incomes to those making a livelihood in society to-day, as well as the exclusion of a definite section of society from all opportunity to link up with production except to such extent as charity gifts permit.

We are not members of society because we live near one another in the same street or district, but we live near one another because we are members of society, which is before anything else a human association for the production and distribution of the means of life. And the form of this association—that is, the social form—at any given time corresponds to the manner in which people make their living together, to the mode of production, that is, to the manner of working either separately with hand tools or co-operatively as in manufacture and machine industry carried on by capitalists and wage labourers; and to the manner in which the products are afterwards either directly consumed by those who produce them as in medieval times, or, as in present day society, they are appropriated and circulated amongst those connected as well as those not immediately connected with production through the processes of exchange which took the form of commodity for

commodity or barter in ancient times, but which since the introduction of money has given us the money-commodity-money transactions of the trader seeking a profit, and the commodity-money-commodity transactions of the producer or possessor of labour power who sells what he has and purchases other articles required. Here is Carlyle's cash nexus.

While those connected with production are becoming more and more distinctly divided into the two classes of non-working capitalists and non-capitalist workers, yet at its present stage of development the capitalist mode of production gives us a collection, in the so called breadwinners, of owners of property and those whose only property is in their brains and bodies, of buyers and sellers, landlords and tenants, borrowers and lenders, creditors and debtors, of capitalists and wage workers with the power and command of certain of them derived from the ownership of land, of the artificial instruments of industry and raw materials, and of money—over the others because of their needs. But of the total revenues derived from all sources, as from production, trade services, etc., in society, the proportion that goes to each section as wages, profits, rent or interest, is not determined by the greater greediness of this lot as compared with that lot, but by the power to take or withhold on the part of each. We have here the action of contending forces, which end in the results we see, and which are summed up in economic statistics, but for an explanation of the laws determining wages, profits, etc., our readers are referred to works on economic science.

By the operation of these economic laws, that are relative to the capitalist mode of production, society has taken on its present form and character, and even if all in it were born with equal powers of development in brain and body, faculty, aptitude and desire, yet would everything still be just as it is in this society in which all are bound together and held in their places, linked up in a network of economic relations, grouped according to their occupations, graded according to their possessions and their incomes, or degraded as outcasts with no economic claims and charity gifts their only hope. And as the people are circumstanced economically, so are they allotted their places in the social classes, which are not developed like organic species, by nature, but arise historically in certain economic conditions determined by the development of the Technique. "Not nature but fortune makes the slave" Philemon remarked in ancient times, and that it was the lords of the soil who "held the people in serfage" John Ball saw in the Middle Ages as we see, only wage labour is open to those without capital in modern times. And further "It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist. Leadership of industry is an attribute of capital just as in feudal times the functions of a general and a judge were the attributes of landed property."—Marx.

Thus, as the people are economically circumstanced so are they socially conditioned. "Economic distinctions engender all the social distinctions" (Labriola), and

give us inevitably in society the rich and poor educated and illiterate, intelligent and ignorant, refined and brutal, and so on through opulence and squalour, culture and philistinism, the tempted and shielded, virtue and vice qualitatively and quantitatively definite in amount, as social phenomena are the inevitable expression of the underlying economic process.

And that this is no mere off hand statement is shown by the constancy in the statistics relating to social phenomena and their variation with the variations in the economic process. Men will act in such and such way in such and such conditions, but the conditions are subjective as well as objective, which is saying that their past has not ceased to rule in their present. And this brings us to the consideration of the connection between psychology and economics.



CHAPTER IV.

Social Psychology.

Wonderfully has man wrought and thought. Every success was a gain, every failure a gain, because he had to come to a knowledge of error as well as truth. In the harvests, flocks and herds—homesteads, roads, and cities—everywhere, everywhere may be seen the work of his hands. In the stock of ideas, which the mind has to go upon, when it thinks, is to be found the work of his brains, which we cannot open our eyes and behold, but can place our mind in an understanding relationship with.

This stock of ideas is used in the production of further ideas, as wealth is used in the production of further wealth—and knowing the ideas in man's head would be knowing how he would sum up this life and theorise upon it, as he looked out over the world of people, processes, and things that surrounded him. But this world changes as a result of man's work, and as the world changes his ideas change. The march of things determines the march of ideas.

Opening his eyes in the early world what did MAN behold? A flat earth, a firmament overhead along which moved sun, moon, and stars. The horizon was the world's end. At times noises came from overhead, and then obviously the men above were at cross-purposes and hurling thunder bolts and javelins at one another. Now

and again as a man below met an unusual fate, it was supposed the men above had stricken him down because he had in some way offended them.

Thus spoke immediate thought, as in the age of myths it filled in explanations of all that was. Its word no one could gainsay. As brainy men as any this age knows were trained up in these beliefs, and these same were what their minds had to go upon as they found occasion to sum up their experiences and theorise upon them for themselves. They gave the earth four corners, reason placed pillars under it, and the death penalty was promised to anyone attempting to remove them.

But man must think—and must act. Problems and obstacles are pressing invitations. Truth he will pursue, known error he will rid himself of. Not consciously will he in his mind have error jostling with truth, any more than from choice he would have a head extraordinary on his shoulders bumping, as he moved, against the one already there.

So he worked away. Here making an improvement, removing an obstacle, there spelling out something new and solving a problem, hieing away to other lands for knowledge; gaining a mastery over the ocean and with the load stone for guide he sets out on voyages of discovery, circumnavigates the earth, and proves it round. He discovers the telescope, gazes through it at the heavens, and finds himself looking away and away into space. The stars become worlds, the planets move in paths that encircle the sun. He measures them, weighs them, and calculates their distances apart. Wonder alluring is succeeded by

wonder alluring, in these new experiences, and as he sits down to ponder them over and theorise, yet wonder alluring again succeeds wonder alluring as the mind is carried forward to new truths.

But where are we now? Those four corners of the earth have disappeared—the pillars have vanished from under it, and it is now a spinning ball. The firmament has dissolved, the men above have lost their foothold, and they are gone too.

To the conception of greatness, man has added vastness and infinitude, and the microscope has taken him down to the infinitely minute.

Ideas in some regards completely changed: Creeds modified.

Now notice—Man lives in economic conditions, and is conditioned by them. These are determined conditions—determined by technical stage of development, because character of tools, etc., determine what man can do with them. In above illustration from history technical development brought new conditions, from these he derived new experiences, out of the consideration of these arose new ideas inconsistent with the old, the hitherto accepted ones, and these became discarded. Thus the mental contents of the head, whether looked at as a number, a particular lot, set, or stock, a fabric or formation—become changed little or much, as circumstances determine, and changes in the conscience, motives, desires, mental feelings, sentiments—follow, and are manifested in the changed character and conduct of the people.

And so following the genetic process—that is, tracing what we see to their

genesis, their origins—we find the final origins of social changes, not in the mental feelings, or ideas of the time, but in the previous changes in economic conditions; not in the head, but outside and away from it. These social changes include changes in the conduct, character, morals, customs, etc., of people living the social life.

Those who think they see the final causes of social changes in the head—in the idea—are ideologists.

And now just as in the case of the technique a word was needed and taken to represent the group of things spoken of, so here we will take the word psychology and let it stand for these mental forms, things, feelings, bias, ideas. These have been formed as a result of man's work; and they make up that formation which the mind has to go upon when it acts. Referring to these as the psychological forms and formations indicates what the word stands for in this connection, and nothing else is meant. With a supposed collective spirit pervading all, a psychological fluid diffused through all, a social soul, or apparitionism, we have nothing to do, nor with any other of the fantastic notions and conceits associated with psychology, the origin of which is accounted for when we say, the mystic mind will conjure.

Education and Culture.

Again to illustrate: A child with its child mind and surroundings. It sees and wants, proceeds to act as it inclines and is checked, disobeys and is punished, till associated memories begin to determine its conduct, and parent the controller and thwarter to

loom up in its mind as the big, strong power to be conciliated and obeyed—later on not to be caught disobeying. Truthfulness and the avoidance of stealing are instilled, insisted on, beaten into it, planted. Child's tendency to waywardness when out of sight and future well being are considered and attended to further by telling it of the unseen and all-seeing One, with His eye for good and evil. Now associated memories supplemented with further fears as parents, church, and all around speak with the same voice in these matters and lend to their warnings the weight of one another's corroboration. In this manner is the child's mind formed not by itself, but by others—made, not born—even its hopes and fears occasioned.

It is a slave child. Parent having regard for its future instills obedience, if possible willing obedience that it may not invite, but avoid cruelties. Parent knows the master's will—teaches the child God's will. The two wills are one. For God's morals see the slave code. Child reared up a slave and its mind formed to remain a slave. Parent fearing for the safety of its offspring, feared to make a rebel of it, probably coined consolations for it. Thus the world was owned. If turned adrift, it would starve. It was a mercy it was somebody's slave. To the serf it was a mercy he was not a slave. Today it is a mercy if you are not—a millicaire.

It is not a slave child. Boy passes to school. Learns to read and write, that is how to use brain and hand in a way that will enable it to receive and communicate ideas; how to draw the symbols invented by the Arabs to represent numbers, and to

follow their methods of using these to arrive at answers now possible in arithmetic. Learns of this earth, its geography, place amongst the other worlds and suns. Gathers ideas on this subject and that, literary historical, moral, scientific, and philosophical, and though still a boy has a mind that deals with time, space and millions with an ease and familiarity that would have astonished the greatest thinkers of all past ages who lived before the ideas of how to do these things had been conceived. Except reading and writing, and nearly everything the boy is taught was unknown in the Middle Ages. These discoveries have been made since, and like the instruments of production, transmitted from generation to generation. No generation could discover everything anew for itself—nor could do the work of all generations. It merely receives, learns, assimilates, uses, makes its little addition and transmits to the next to do the same.

Thus has discovery been added to discovery, and they form the rungs ever being added to in the ladder up which man mentally climbs—up which the boy is taken by his teachers and mentors, and from the height he reaches looks out over the world and sees what the men of old never sees as the men of old never saw. His ideas are not theirs, their beliefs are henceforth impossible to him. He is their critic: they could not be his. But the superiority of this boy over them is not self derived—not due to nature, but to nurture—it consists in the difference between the psychological formation in his head and theirs. This has been given, imparted to him by those around, and like the clothes on his

back as to the fabric, make or fashion of either, the say or choice he has had is not worth mentioning.

He is now a youth. Goes on to the university. As the work of the professors shows itself in the psychological formation, his mind is further stored, trained, in character changed, and given more or less of an impress of the culture of the age.

So, proceeding, linking up conditions with conditioned, we come to this—comparing the past with the present—those informed with the neglected—we have a changed man. This change is the work of the discoverers, teachers, authors, professors. What they have wrought into the minds of others these minds have to go upon when they think. Through the heads of those sharing largely in the culture of their age run currents of thought that ignorance is completely shut off from and could not know even by a miracle, and the heads of ignorance are haunted by hopes and fears impossible to intelligence. Halley's comet could not now excite such fright and foreboding fears as to set the church bells ringing throughout Europe to frighten it away. Nor could it now be believed it slunk away out of sight because those bells had been rung.

So were it possible to look into people's heads, yours, mine, anybody's, and take stock of the mental contents, each head would be found to contain a particular set of ideas, fancies, reasons, prejudices, sentiments.

Why this particular set? Whence their origin? From them eliminate first what has been thought by the individual himself, next those ideas derived from and known to have

subjective are paired. Prosperity—gladness. Injury—resentment. Commercial crisis—fears. Financial crash—frenzy. Bereavement—grief. Success—delight. Promise—hope. Brutality—hate. Happenings or doings—affected by same. Cause—effect. Conditions—conditioned. Antecedent—consequent.

And further: Conscious that at him a blow is aimed man must attempt to ward or avoid it. Conscious of where business or employment is to be found, thitherward men will go. Conscious of a better way of making a livelihood, to it they will turn. Conscious a community may be blackmailed by force, by pretence of rendering service in return, or by simply keeping it in ignorance thereof, and the community will be blackmailed. Let the community become conscious of this, and of how to end it, and ended it will be. In trouble, embarrassment, pain, man seeks a way out, and finding the same, follows it because he must or suffer.

Thus do circumstances by revealing the situation condition men mentally, that is, occasion the subjective, such as, a strong conviction, a hope, zeal, enthusiasm, determination, courage; and occasion the staking of their possessions, their lives, and the willingness to endure toil and hardship in struggles to achieve the purpose to them desirable and possible—condition them into conspirators against popular liberties, rebels against renounced authority, promoters of order and progress, or anarchy and confusion to fish in troubled waters.

And if this is so, then to know the circumstances that are to arise in society would be to know what the different classes of men

will become conscious of, how they will act and what will happen. For just as an individual will, if conscious of the possibility, improve his surroundings, provide for himself a better existence, so will a social class, so will society.

And now to be clear as to terms. Individual psychology, or individual consciousness, refers to what is in the individual mind, the consciousness of one's own life, separate existence and interests. National psychology, or consciousness, that which is common to the minds of the people thinking of themselves as a nation, consciousness of separate national existence and interests as against those of other nations. Class psychology or class consciousness, consciousness on the part of a section of the people of their separate class existence and interests as against those of other sections or classes of society. Social psychology embraces all. In society there could not exist a consciousness of class interests if these interests had no existence, but if circumstances place men in antagonism to one another, then the consequences cannot be escaped.



CHAPTER V.

The State.

As the efficiency of labour and of production increased, so correspondingly increased the material possessions in communities. But because of the manner in which this increase was gained—such as by different sections of the people following such different occupations as had arisen through the development of the technique—and because the circumstances and situations could not be the same for all, some economic inequality was in the nature and process of things, and accordingly showed itself amongst the people as agriculture was developed, settlement extended, and the dealer in merchandise appeared.

At a certain point in the rise of this differentiation of interests and inequality, those having economic advantage, becoming through circumstances alive to their interests, showed it in a joint endeavour—a movement—to conserve and perpetuate the same by imposing restraints upon such of their neighbours as would encroach upon these interests; in a word, by making their will law and imposing it upon the rest of society.

In this banding together of a section of society and their success in a joint endeavour to rule the whole of society and co-ordinate all its interests, we have the origin of the State, which came into existence, and exists, to balance and give stability and

continuance to this society composed of individuals having diverse interests or unequal amounts of property, and those that may become inclined to lay hands upon the same. It has never existed to realise righteousness, but to prevent the propertyless taking a short cut to equality.

Thus arises the State. The mandate of the State is the law for society. And law is nothing more than the authoritative expression of the will of the party which has triumphed in it. And as State parties are drawn from classes of men who stand for certain interests as against other interests, with the rise of the State rises the class movement—class frictions and struggles, and the joint endeavours of the classes above, as against the joint endeavours of the classes below, the endeavours of these as a nation against other nations; the aggregate of these endeavours—these movements—is the Historic Movement. This is history, which from its commencement to its present stage, has in its essence been a succession of changes in the manner in which economic sway has been maintained by one lot of men over their fellow men, commencing with chattle slavery or the straight-out ownership of drudges at the time of the common drudgery that went with the simplest technique; passing through serfdom of the soil, that stage of technical improvement and increased production; to the employment of the very many kinds of free wage workers by the owners of the highly-developed means of production now used in the community in which the law is in accord with the will of the proprietors of these to remain proprietors.

As the State sprung into existence with

the struggle of social classes for economic supremacy, so is the State, in its essence, these struggles within the nation and of the nation.

And as class distinctions have their foundation in economic distinctions, so should a form of production come into existence for society which allowed of all the producers taking for themselves all they produced, so that no economic advantage remained in ownership of any means of production; then would disappear the class supremacy that rested on this, and the basis being gone, so, too, would go the class friction and struggle, and the State.

By thus arriving at a clear explanation of the State, we become clear as to the nature of the problems connected with it. We have intellectually mastered it, and that is what is meant by the phrase, "We have conquered the State."

But to rise up against the State and attempt to abolish it by striking at its instruments and the servants that fill its offices after the manner of the anarchists is an irrational proceeding.

The affairs of State, that is, the affairs of those who represent the different material interests of the nation, in time become the matters dealt with by those who act in its behalf. Government, as an institution, comes into existence; the exercise of State authority passes over to it, and its official head, who becomes the head of the nation, succeeds at times in arrogating to himself the final say in what should be done in the affairs of the nation—the whole people on a given piece of territory under the rule of this government. In such cases, while his will coincides with the will of those in the

State having greater power than his, or while his power is greater than any that may be arrayed against him, his will is law. But in 361 years certain sections of the people of England dethroned, with or without killing, six of their kings, which shows kings sometimes miscalculate. They only had divine right, not omniscience. The others did not have omniscience either; they had the divine right of revolution. These are the two divine rights of history. When they come into collision, the side of the stronger battalions prevails.

As through economic development society becomes more complex, interests multiply, and responding to the suggestions of experience in State affairs, Parliament is established, judicial administrative and political functions are separated and become the affairs of separate State institutions, in which men find billets, do the work associated therewith, and all proceeds along established lines, in established grooves, till some new interest rises up, changes the balance of political power, and brings some change.

"History is a history of class struggles" (Marx), and the struggles between the classes within the State, and between these and the rest of society, have been in appearance complicated by struggles between them and those filling positions in the State, as the Crown, but in all these struggles there are alliances of interests to maintain material advantages or to encroach on those of others.

State institutions in existence as going concerns, those who can get into them and fill the positions take the emoluments whether getting in by competitive exam.,

influence, birth, or getting a sufficient following to fight and capture them as thrones have often been won.

The form of its institutions and the size of the State, that is of, say, an empire, have their limitations, its bounds can not for long extend beyond the distance over which effective sway can be held by the central authority. An Alexander or a Napoleon may by their own genius build up an empire of any dimensions, but all that is the product of the individual's effort over and above what can be done by ordinary men who succeed them will fall to pieces.



CHAPTER VI.

-Civilisation.

As man maintains himself and wins his way by the continuous production of all that stream of articles for immediate consumption, and the more permanent works such as roads, bridges and buildings; by grand and bold achievements on land and sea, conquests of nature, victories over enemies, the breaking down of bounds and barriers, and the removal of obstacles in their many forms, by producing works of decoration and culture, making advances in art, science and writings; working singly or joining with others; organising, forming phalanxes, establishing social institutions—by all these manifold works in every direction man has successively produced his environment, and be it noted, in producing this environment, he has produced himself in all that he is over and above his ancestors who lived the non-intellectual life that unfolds to the mere surroundings of nature unaltered or added to by his work.

Blot out all this environment and the knowledge that corresponds to it and civilisation is blotted out, which word in so far as it can relate definitely to things, stands for the presence of such human products as, say, political views, legal systems, plans of conduct, arts, sciences, religions, learning and history; and for that in men's character which is derived from the presence of these things. The conditions out

of which these spring being, as before shown, economic.

But there is an organic evolution, an improvement in the race of men, say you? Where? It is said poetry is one of the highest forms of art. Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton were writing for a period of about ninety years. Where during the last two and a half centuries, and in whom are equals, let alone superiors, to these to be found? Go back to Chaucer, take a leap of twenty-eight centuries to Homer, at the same time review philosophy, making due allowance for the accumulated experiences of the times in which the greatest thinkers of each age wrote, and who, traversing backwards over the historic period, can find a dwindling genius?

Turn to works in which are to be found the measure of trained intelligence and skill in the use of hand tools, as in architecture, decorative art and the handicrafts, and where is the superiority in native ability in the Englishmen of to-day over their ancestors of five centuries ago? No evidence of any. Twice 500 is a thousand years, and we are almost back to Alfred the Great (d. 901); double this, and we are back in a mixed bronze-stone period; but twice or four times nothing is nothing in a dwindling capacity to do and perform in given circumstances with hand tools. We could instance the arts of Greece which took five centuries to bring line upon line to their perfection, and go three times as far back into the past to those who executed the works unearthed in recent years in Mexico, the portrait sculpture of which people not only show their ability, but also their probable kinship to present European races;

but nowhere can evidence be found of any organic improvement in the races of men that counts to the least extent in social development, and only those whose knowledge, though broad as the universe, is as shallow as thinnest veneer, could admit the contrary.

During the historic period, so far as they can be judged by their works, special or general, as men were, so they are organically, for all purposes in the practical discussion of social problems, and this is to be taken as a qualification of the foregoing statement.

But change the environment of the individual or of a people and corresponding changes in their character, physical, mental and moral inevitably follow, whether up or down. History is full of instances in proof thereof, and nowhere shown in a way more valuable to the scientific investigator than in the ups and downs in the life of the English, because here for a thousand years we have the march of events that followed the process of economic development, its corresponding class developments, frictions and legal-political consequences, and the general course of social development that these prescribed, uninterrupted by devastating invasions or even, to any extent, by pressure from without.

When the Arabs conquered Persia they were described by historians of the time as a race of "naked lizzard eaters." But in conquering Persia they conquered the leisure and means of a new environment for themselves and came in no great while to be noted for their refinement and culture, founding schools and libraries, advancing the arts and sciences, and sending

out scholars to copy manuscripts and gather such treasures of thought and work as could from anywhere be obtained. Had they remained in their old surroundings they would have remained "naked lizzard eaters."



CHAPTER VII.

The Materialist Conception.

Now we come to this statement. In all these products, changes and developments, which in their combination make up the continuous and manifold expression of human endeavour, in the outer world and inner life, from the beginning until now, we have the great human processus, or process.

This human processus includes the technical processus, on which rests the productive processus that has determined and occasioned the social and legal-political processus, and to these the psychological processus has been complementary.

But these processus must be treated as parts interwoven, and forming a whole to avoid the many errors that arise through studying them in an abstract fashion—that is, abstracting one part from a whole and treating it as having a separate existence.

To simplify the story of these processus—changes in the tools are followed by changes in the manner of producing and sharing out wealth, which bring changes in society, as alterations in the relative power of its classes, leading up through changes in thought, political views, and so forth, to the events and incidents which are history. This is the Materialist Conception of History—Historical Materialism. It means that in the last analysis, the manner, and

changes in the manner of producing and sharing the material means of life, determine the succession of events. It finds an explanation of ordinary history by linking it up with economic history.

Can it be said history is explained or events accounted for in such phrases as this? "The memorable events of history are the visible manifestations of invisible changes in human thought." (Gustave Le Bon.) But how came these changes in human thought? Historical materialism provides the answer: as the subjective is conditioned by complementary to the objective, new forms of consciousness have arisen with changed experiences in changed environment.

The following from Marx should now be clear:—"In making their livelihood together men enter into certain necessary involuntary relations with each other, industrial relations, which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive forces.

The totality of these industrial relations constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The method of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general."



CHAPTER VIII.

Philosophy.

"Philosophy is the mother of the sciences." That is, as the sum of knowledge increased, as the field of investigation enlarged, men specialised in the different branches and domains of study, and in this manner the sciences were developed. So the scientists may be regarded as being, in the pursuit of truth, specially concerned with the laws underlying phenomena in their own particular spheres of activity, as of mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, etc., while the philosopher looks out over all these several domains and branches of work, and noting the results obtained, sums up and theorises upon them in their combinations and their totality. Viewing these scientific collections of truths as they are brought together, he sees them to be contained in yet larger truths. Tracing the discovered uniformities as he passes from one domain to another, he arrives at yet larger generalisations, and discovers underlying processes of which the observed appearances and movements of things in the different domains are the expression. Thus the scientists specialise in branches or parts while the philosopher co-ordinates and unifies knowledge.

With the discovery of uniformities, that is laws and processes, the mind is assisted to further conquests, in that the known in these forms suggest, the accumulated experiences suggest, to thought the direction

keeping to which it may pass from the known to the probable; this is making that scientific use of the imagination which has led to valuable discoveries, but this use of the imagination is not the same as giving free play to the fancy and following it, which is mere mind wandering, though it lead into the enchanted realms that delight mystic souls and poets of a kind—poets without a message, a mission, or worthy purpose.

“Imagination’s power creates,
While fancy only decorates.”

It is the work of scientist and philosopher to break the spells of illusion, to overcome errors by explaining how they have arisen, and arrive at truth—that is, arrive at ideas that correctly correspond with reality. Truth is subjective, a correct impression and view of the objective. There is no objective truth. And as a stone post has no wisdom, so a fact, a tree, retrogression, progress, a comet, the sky, wealth, death, can be neither true nor false but in the mind there may exist a true or false view of either. But while men’s stepping-stones to higher things are found in ever-improved means of production there can be no final form of truth. A final form of the technique must precede this. Thus we should expect no final form of philosophy, only stages and levels in the unending psychological procession. “Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers. Why does wisdom linger? Because new knowledge has to settle down with what is already in the mind to form a new blend from which come new convictions, more enlightened judgments. This takes time and that is why.”—Mrs. Alicia Katz on “Popular Illusions.”

Turning to Darwinism for an example, there would be found in the different domains of science a progressive accumulation of considered experiences, facts added to, sifted, tabulated, reduced to orders, and fitted into systems, and at a given moment, a certain stage of this process the mind of Darwin became alive to, conscious of the dominant suggestion contained in these facts seen in their combination, and thus at a certain moment in the human processus arose the idea of evolution. It then remained for Darwin to formulate it in terms that would bring it home to the understanding of his generation and array such evidence as was necessary to carry conviction. And as evolution took its place in people’s minds, out of their minds went such beliefs as inharmoniously jostled against it. But no Darwin, no evolution, says anyone? If Darwin were absent, Wallace was present. Both had the genius that could under the circumstances arrive at this generalisation. Though considering genius as a responsiveness to the suggestions of experience, yet all men are not equally responsive, and just as an approaching object is first seen by him who has the most perfect vision, and as it gets nearer others can see it, till finally it becomes plain to all who have eyes, so the progressive accumulation of experiences was emphasising the suggestion of this generalisation of evolution; and so had there been no Darwin or Wallace then at a later moment in the progress of knowledge it would have fallen to others less endowed with the perceptive faculty, to have their names associated with the discovery. Men must become conscious of that which the nature and process of things disclose to them. To

repeat, the processus of things determines the processus of ideas, phases of thought have to be passed through. And the foregoing indicates the services and the position of the great man in the human processus. It is his merit to be first, not that had he not been born men would have had to do without that with which his name has become associated.

"Genius—the individualised, derived and acute form of thought which arises through the suggestion of experience, in many men of the same epoch."—Labriola.

Turning to Marxism, it is the same story. Men had to become possessed of the materialist conception of history, which is saying society had to become conscious of the laws of its own process, labour had to become conscious of the laws of its own movement. To say otherwise would be prophesying the disappearance of brains and trained as modern developments determine, which can only happen with the disappearance of himself. He cannot be degenerated by any means possible to such as might wish to have it so. Nature permitting no abnormal varieties of him, will only allow of his extermination, and shows this by branding degeneracy with sterility.



CHAPTER IX.

The Principles of Socialism.

The period preceding the discovery of the materialist conception was one of great technical development and rapid change in industry and society. In the great coal deposits had been found an unlimited supply of fuel. Better facilities and cheaper ways of producing iron had resulted in an ever extending use of it. The great machine inventions had succeeded one another, while concurrently a new motive power was being to an increasing extent turned to account as the steam engine became more and more perfected. Industrially, progress met the eye on every hand, commerce expanded as with wheels, steam and rush in production and transport development went on apace. Villages soon became towns, and soon after cities, some with harbours, all linked up with railway systems.

It was a changing world of people, processes and things that those who had eyes looked out upon and according severally to their temperaments, training, gains or losses, that is nature, nurture, and circumstances, their inclinations and affinities differed, and while this attracted these, and that affected those, so there were in the different minds varying subjective impressions of the objective, of that combination of things and changes that was to be observed in the outer surroundings.

Some saw only progress and success and

were satisfied, optimistic, elated. Others, only a retrogression and failure that nothing else could compensate for. Yet others saw a mixture of progress and retrogression, success and failure, and according to their varying views, things would, or would not, right themselves; could, or could not, be righted. But it was a time of continuous action, the class frictions and antagonisms, the attack and defence of material interests allowed of no peace, and the many social questions and problems arose to claim and receive the attention of the thoughtful.

Working with patience, tracing effect to cause, cause to effect, linking up antecedents and consequents, the connections between social phenomena and the underlying forces were discovered. Economic science was developed, and though all were not working with the same motive, as some wished to swing thought round to a higher appreciation of the services and estimate of the position of the newly risen capitalists as compared with the older class of the landed gentry, while others were intent on the solution of the poverty problem, amongst whom were Marx and Engels, who gave us the materialist conception.

In industry it was seen as machinery was installed, the cost of production lessened, and capitalist profits increased. It was also seen that the greatest and more powerful leaders in industry were those with the largest masses of capital at their disposal, and that these could, and did, use their power to prevent new men with smaller means from entering the field against them, as well as to exterminate and drive weaker rivals out of business.

Economic forces urged the capitalists on

to add to their machinery and plant, and the size of their battalions of the industrial army, for in larger scale production was the greater profit, in smaller scale, weakness and the way to the wall.

But this immense increase in the production of wealth did not diminish the aggregate of the nation's poverty, and why? Well, here is a recent spread of poverty over a large area in the country—what was the cause? These people had till recently been producing with hand tools for the market. Prices were now unpayable. Capital has seized on the industry and taken their means of livelihood from them. Again: here is a great centre of industry but also a centre of poverty and squalor. Why? These people whose form of industry has been ruined are from those other districts crowding into these new centres of machine industry faster than their labour can be absorbed, and by their competition wages are reduced to bare subsistence level. Here is vice, crime. What are the circumstances? These people are economically conditioned, they are trying to make a livelihood. All linked up with the same underlying economic forces. Yet again, here are struggles between capital and labour, on this side violence threatened or attempted, on the other the servants of the State are brought on the scene to prevent violence or to punish those who rise up against property. Or here is a struggle on the part of labour to obtain rights, that is, authority in the State, the struggle now takes on the political form, but the moving forces are economic and the aim nothing more than a change in the form or distribution of property.

Sufficient has now been said to indicate the method of investigation and the grounds on which rests the claim that the principles of Socialism have been discovered. They have been summed up in the following statement:

The chief evils of modern society are inherent in existing economic conditions. The only satisfactory remedy for these evils lies in a revolutionary change in these conditions. From the class ownership of the means of production arises the subjection and the exploitation of the class which has no ownership in the means of production. Out of this arises, moreover, a class antagonism, a class struggle, a class war, which must go on relentlessly until the fundamental cause of this antagonism, as of class exploitation and subjection, is destroyed by the abolition of the class ownership of the material means of existence, and this can only be achieved by the collective, common, social ownership of these things for the common good.



CHAPTER X.

The Coming of Socialism Affirmed.

And now, looking out upon society, in the light of the materialistic conception—that is, equipped with the knowledge that now makes us capable

Of tracing to their origins and accounting for the existence of social classes, institutions, laws and practices;

Of tracing changes in thought to social changes, and accounting for these by showing the connection between them and previous economic changes, that came with the adoption of new tools, or an extended subdivision of labour;

Of noting how men, by their action, affected their environment and their fellow men, and then in turn became affected by these, amidst the growth of population, the springing up of organised society, and rise of class cleavage in it, the appearance of the State, nations, and cities, and the problems connected with them;

Of thus proceeding from one to another of—inner life, suggestion from without, human action, objective change, subjective consequence, consequent human action, and so on, men thinking, doing, performing, and thinking again—knowing or not knowing the best way to proceed or best thing to do, but always acting according to their lights, that is, limited and conditioned as

the while incidents and events follow one another in their order. We note their succession and account for the order of their succession, as we come to understand how history is made.

Thus we arrive at this view, that action and reaction succeed one another in a process that occasions the formation and transformation of society, that occasions historic events. This is the materialist conception; this is Marx's "guiding thread." It is only a method, but no contemporary of his can be credited with a greater discovery—a greater conquest of thought. As Engels shared in the work, he shares in the glory. Reverently of both: Sanft ruhet Ihre Asche.

Now it can be truly said, that in a knowledge of the past is to be found an explanation of the present, and in so far as this is an explanation of a process that must continue, what of the future? The answer must be discovered by studying this process objectively.

Tracing the process: With economic development the social class that gets its living by working for wages came into existence and as manufacture, and later the machine industry, supplanted the older forms of production, this class grew in numbers greatly, but has never flourished exceedingly. It has had no golden era to which it could wish to return. To be a wage labourer is to be a servant and have a master; and to be a master over the labour of free men is to be the possessor of instruments of industry, stocks of materials and some money in hand or at call—is, in a word, to be a capitalist. But to remain master over the

labour of these free men, they must be cut off from the means of making as good a livelihood on their own account; and in that men working singly on bits of raw material with hand tools are at first undersold on the market by the capitalists, and as then a generation grows up unskilled in the use of these hand tools—these free men become so cut off. In this manner capital seizes on industry after industry and in them lowers the status of those engaged to that of wage workers, without property in the means of production—proletarians. After those connected with industry and trade have become divided into capitalists and wage-workers—technical development continuing—numbers are continually being passed out of the capitalist class into that of wage labour by "the automatic action of competition," and so as a result of friction and erosion the capitalist section of society diminishes while that of wage labour grows, economic dominion extending more and more over society as the capitalists become fewer, individually wealthier, and more powerful.

Thus have capital and labour come and brought their problems with them.

But in the struggle between these two social forces, the materialist conception leans to neither side. It merely investigates, collects the facts, and so arrays them as to make them disclose to us the message that they contain in themselves as to what is to be the outcome of this class struggle, what social transformation is to result.

And now, assuming the presence in society of the capitalist and wage classes as we know them—their origins traced out and existence accounted for—studying them ob-

jectively, allowing no subjective preference, hopes or fears to sway our judgments, but merely arraying the facts with a view to finding the answer to this question, How will the struggle between capital and labour end? Will labour overthrow capital as history shows the rising middle class overthrew the dominion over them of the landed aristocracy?

As each class and section of society comes through being similarly affected to have a class life in a world of its own, out upon which it looks from its own point of view, so through the head of labour run currents of thought corresponding to the conditions of life and circumstances surrounding it.

However it started, whatever according to time and place its degree of enlightenment, standard of education or level of class wisdom, it is a part of this mankind whose history we have been reviewing,—a section of society—and, therefore, has brains. Historically he lived in some comfort or in stint, according as employment was regular or intermittent or as wages allowed. He saw machines set up in place of himself, and his heart sank as he went forth to walk the roads in search of a master, and not for a time finding one, suffered and saw those dependent on him suffer. Left native village, town, and even country in search of work and wages: Lived through commercial crises and financial panics, but did not understand them; only knew he had passed through periods of distress, and that thereafter he met many newcomers in his class who had been bred higher up, but somehow lost their footing in the class above.

Out of work he goes anxiously begging for employment, perhaps envies those in it, and wishes the master would give him the opportunity to show that he would serve him better than some other one that he employs. In work he looks on the anxious applicant for a billet as his enemy, fears he might be given his job; workers from other places he dislikes, but immigrants from other countries he hates, and would almost see the hand of a divine providence behind a calamity that destroyed these people before they could come and take jobs he and his should have. Earning a wage that enables him to do so, he will provide for his wife and have his children educated, and try to set them out on a better career than his own. Stinted, he will overwork his wife and have her supplement the family income with her earnings outside the home in addition to doing all the work in it; and rob his children of their childhood to turn it into something to eat and drink or to pay the landlord with.

He looks out upon a civilisation that he does not share in, but when shops, works, and the units of business capital were small and new countries were opening up for colonisation, he had hopes of starting for himself, or trying his fortune in new lands as he saw others do. As these conditions change, openings through which to rise become fewer and fewer; even those above are tumbling below, and such hopes fade.

But Labour has struck a new line. It lives in the midst of organisations, civil, political, military—the organisation of itself by the employers where it works. Accepting the wages system because it knows

no other, it organises into trades unions, fights its employers for concessions. Hopes rise and fall with success and failure, and as results become disproportionate to cost, the prospect becomes less alluring. There is always the reserve army of unemployed.

Labour longs for emancipation from what it feels to be a thralldom. Experience succeeds experience, impression succeeds impression. It dawns on some that it is useless attempting to conquer a position that will satisfy within the framework of capitalist society. The cry is raised that this framework must be shattered, that the economic relations must be changed. The position taken and occupied by capital and by labour are studied and thought out. Labour begins to think that as idleness produces nothing, labour produces all. Capital is pressed to justify its position, and its existence is threatened in the proclamation of the principles of Socialism. Labour becomes convinced that while it permits capital to exist, it will be outraged, oppressed, and exploited.

As the workers circumscribed by this framework of present capitalist society fail to achieve their aims, and as failure causes them to think, ponder, meditate, become conscious of this framework, and as a study of their position within capitalist society gives the worker's mind those impressions which are summed up in the principles of Socialism, so is the road that labour will travel mapped out for it, so is Socialism accounted for, and the certainty of its coming affirmed.

Thus has capitalist society raised up a class trained, skilled, educated—capable

of performing all the functions in connection with the making and maintenance of the instruments of labour, the production and transportation of wealth in all its forms from the simplest article to objects of decoration and ornament—of performing all the services from those involving only the rudest toil to the filling of offices in which the highest trained intelligence is required. This class coming to occupy this position could not do so without becoming conscious of its work, its capability and its life, and of the difference between the amount it produces and the amount it receives, that it must work several days for the wages that will only purchase what it makes in one day. In this experience alone is the suggestion that the capitalist should be abolished.

Thus in the light of the materialist conception, that stage of economic development which is the capitalist process, as it turns the means of production into capitalist property and concentrates this into the hands of the few who become, though overlords of industry, mere investors; at the same time, because it cannot do otherwise, raises up, adds to and increases the intelligence of the propertyless wage-workers (including salaried), and in doing this, capital is raising up a rival power in society that increasingly objects to remain in subjection to it—is calling into existence the industrial army, which, though at first commanded and furnished with officers by capital, is through being instructed, organised, trained, allotted functions, and at the same time so treated as to provoke discontent in its ranks—while becoming conscious of a feeling that it

could, with the means of production, produce for its own use without apparently useless drawers of dividends, who do not even see how work is done—this army, for one reason and for another, is having its mind swung round to the acceptance of proposals to appoint its own officers and leaders, and renouncing the authority of capital, enter in and take charge of the means and instruments of production on its own behalf, and thenceforth use them as partners in an association the membership of which produces for its own use. This is Socialism. A something in itself concerning which different heads may have in them different notions, different ideas as to what it will be like, and how it will come, or whether that or something else would be preferred. But these subjective preferences may arise and change or differ accordingly as the mind sums up and theorises from this or that point of view, while looking out upon a more or less explained or unexplained world of capital and labour.

Capital looks out upon this world; labour looks out upon it; their situations, points of view and preferences differ. The materialist conception accounts for and explains all these varying phenomena, and shows how the frictions and antagonisms arise; that the form of production in grouping men into the representatives of capital and of labour it groups them into opposing forces that will fight on the industrial or the political field wherever their interests clash or an advantage can be gained. Labour cannot leave capital alone, because capital cannot leave it alone. Labour cannot leave the State alone, because the State

cannot leave it alone. As every line of study brings us back to economic conditions, so the principles of Socialism are often discovered anew; often are men who have started to think found to be on the way to their discovery. And, again, it may be said, if in the statement of these principles is summed up the inevitable effect upon the mind of capitalist conditions, then, because no other line, way, or method of emancipation can, from the nature of the economic process, be discovered for labour, SOCIALISM IS IN THE NATURE AND PROCESS OF THINGS.

Thus the materialist conception of history affirms the coming of Socialism. And it is to come, not because by few or many of our neighbours it is more or less strongly desired, hoped for, or aspired to. These are only mental feelings, preferences and affinities, only subjective states that may change as their position in society changes. A change in the economic process foreseen, a consequent change in these would be foreseen. Socialism is not a mental feeling, so not a hope, nor an aspiration, neither is it a conjecture—which same is only a thought.

Nor is it the realisation of a great scheme, plan, or design, thought out by one or another of the would-be architects of new social orders. Such products of ingenious minds—utopias—society cannot rearrange itself in accordance with, fit itself into, or put on, as one would a new suit of clothes.

Nor because of the existence in society of the different grades of rich and poor, for many a one living on rent, interest, divi-

dends, or benefactions is poor. This does not give the line of cleavage.

But because as a result of economic development, because of that procession of changes in the conditions of industry and trade, the people have become divided into these two classes—these two opposing social forces of capital and labour, the Capitalist Class and the Working Class.



CHAPTER XI.

Vexed Differences Made Plain.

Society not an Organism.

In the light of the materialist conception, society is an organisation held together by the need of people making their livelihood together. Within it and connected with it are other lesser organisations and establishments to which the general name of social institutions is applied, such as the state, municipality, church, judicature, school, university, etc. Considering society as an organisation, tracing out the positions taken and occupied by these lesser institutions, so studying as to come to a knowledge of them and the functions associated with them, we come to understand society as a whole and in its parts.

Like other human organisations, it has had its laws, regulations, routine, servants who turned masters, contending factions, etc., and its parties that, becoming dissatisfied with the old order, became also at times, strong enough in swords or votes, to effect changes. Nevertheless as regards the similarities existing in some little particulars between society and an organism, those who spend much time looking for them may find them. Very ingenious minds have in such manner spent their hours and thought themselves clever; but research along such lines, even by a Herbert Spencer, does not lift the

veil and bring into view the connection between the changing economic relations, the class struggle, and the succession of events which is history. Does not give even a hint that the form of production in grouping men into capitalists and wage-workers, at the same time, specifies their feelings and their aims, and the side they will take in politics—that is, in the struggle for and against the will of some set of persons being the law of the land. Nor that a commercial crisis may find its expression at first in wide-spread suffering and clamour for its relief; and that as the sufferers and their sympathisers may become divested of tender feelings for those whose interests are opposed to their own, and as a study of the situation may discover to them a way of escape from this suffering by an encroachment on the rights of property, so this commercial crisis may later realise itself in a struggle for the enactment or repeal of a law affecting these rights, now come to be regarded as merely State authorised privileges by the attacking party.

The chief cause of social progress is the class struggle, but this has no parallel in an organism, except perhaps on those occasions when the living being is so very hungry, as it is said, that the great organs are chasing the small ones.

But may not a man use the term social organism if he pleases? Yes, it is a free country to that extent. But after all, society is not an animal nor a plant—a jelly-fish or mammal—and thinking of it in terms drawn from the sciences connected with these does not help us to become clear as to social problems and their solutions.

As light has come into the world and made it possible for us to link up social phenomena with their underlying causes, we do not need to call a biological conception of society into existence to answer such a purpose. We turn to the clock and understand how those hands keep time because we are aware of the mechanism and movements behind the dial. No one now-a-days would ever dream that the hands were kept going by some little invisible imp or other in behind, after the manner of the ancients, who saw the work of the genii in everything that they could not otherwise account for. In battle it was seen the bigger and apparently stronger did not always prevail, and immediate thought, that is intuition, said—that is, in plain English, they jumped to the conclusion—that the on-looking gods weighted the souls of the combatants, and the man with the lighter one was slain. And it was so for those generations. Later, generations came, who behind things and happenings, saw destiny, fate, chance, and providential direction; but now the logic of events and the inevitable course of events are the phrases with which men may learnedly, as Labriola says, “fill up the gaps in their knowledge.” In that events follow a course of their own, and in that an organism develops by laws of its own, social organism is on a level with the logic of events, only fills up a gap in knowledge. A boy gets astride of a broom handle and pretends it is a horse. A biological sociologist looks out upon society and pretends to see the circulatory system, nerves, head, and what not. Such a hobby has the social organism been, but, after all, it was intended that it should serve some purpose.

And oh, the wonderful wisdom of the wonderful century that gave us this, in which full-grown men were to see, as in a mirror, that they were cells in an organism, the laws governing which they could not alter, and must therefore be contented in that position in which it had pleased the laws of the organism to place them. Face to face with social problems, turn to biology and never get them solved.

There would be more sense perhaps in regarding society as a school of fishes, flock of birds, swarm of bees or colony of ants. Yet not because these things can be made to point a moral or adorn a tale do social adjustments take place. But because consequent on changes in the form of production men find themselves in social situations from which they would escape and finding a way, do so.

Neither are the working class now heading for Socialism because of its being a return to the communist ways of their ancestors of a hundred generations ago in gentile society—as a return to freedom after having passed through slavery, serfdom and wagedom. They are not going into Socialism to complete a circle, or get to the end of a coil placed in behind things, nor to imitate the wonderful ways of insects, but to escape what they call exploitation with a capital E.

No Economic Factor.

In the succession of events and incidents are to be found only manifestations of man's motive and action. As he alone produces, so he alone makes history, and outside of him and his endeavours, his struggles, there are no historic factors, not even

an economic one. Neither can any factor be discovered in law, science, art, philosophic system or religious doctrine. These are all the work of man, and therefore parts of history—and history is not explained by the description of a part of it. These things themselves have to be accounted for, and until that is done, history is not accounted for. Making history rest on nothing else but a part of itself, strips it of its foundations and places it in the air, to float without a whence or a whither.

Man takes a stick or a bar of iron which he has shaped, and uses it as a lever. He makes wheels, gears them, sets them to run down hill, to be turned by flowing water, to have motion imparted to them by the wind, or by being linked up with a piston placed where it will be pushed to and fro by the current of steam passing along the way provided for its escape from the boiler to the open air. Man makes a law and uses it as an instrument or a weapon. Formulates a philosophic, religious, or political doctrine and uses it to influence the minds of his fellows. He expresses himself in artistic productions and derives satisfaction in the contemplation thereof. Produces wealth and meets his needs. But none of these things do anything. That which is economic does not create or assist in the creation of, the means of production do not create value—they are a part of the values in the midst of society, that as a result of man's work mental and manual are created, replaced, and added to. To refer to any of these human products, these plans, things or ideas, as historic factors, is to attribute to them properties, powers and energies which they do not possess; and that is the sense

in which it is intended these words shall be understood when so used. But it is not that such a use of this word "factors" is merely verbally unscientific; it is mischievous, because it involves that false view of the social complex which leads men to look in the wrong direction for causes and to proceed in the wrong way to arrive at clearness as to social problems and their solution, and cuts the mind off from that view of society in its movement that makes of the next social form a something foreseen.

Marxism and Darwinism.

Marxism and Darwinism may each be summed up as a method of research, and the results obtained by following it. In Marxism the social evolution is the subject of investigation and in Darwinism the cosmic evolution. Marxism in its own way accounts for all that is in society as a result of the work of man, and Darwinism in its own way accounts for all that is in nature, organic and inorganic, as a result of the operation of natural law. Marxism and Darwinism are two different domains of investigation—each has its own order of problems distinct and different from that of the other. In Darwinism we are in the domains of physics, chemistry, geology, and the biological sciences, zoology, botany, etc. In no amount of knowledge of these would be found an explanation of historic events, or how to vote in politics; and no amount of knowledge of economics, politics, ethics, etc., would enable a man to explain natural phenomena.

The social process is not a prolongation of the cosmic or natural process, nor is the social evolution a prolongation of the cosmic

evolution. In Darwinism, that which endures is the cosmic process of which the cosmos—all nature ordered as we see it—is the product, and of which the collection of living forms at any given time are the transitory expression. This "evolution is not an explanation of the cosmic process, but merely a generalised statement of the methods and results of that process." "That process involves a constant modelling of the organism in adaptation to new conditions," Huxley. In Marxism man works to change the surrounding conditions to suit himself. The social forms are the expression of the underlying economic process which is also explained. Darwinism in its own way accounts for the appearance of man on this earth; in Marxism man is accepted as a fact; he is here, and Darwinism and Marxism are parts of his work, parts of history, and their appearance accounted for.

Attempts have been made to put this doctrine to use, too, by pretending to find the origin of the different social classes deep down in the cosmic process, and seeing in the people different grades of superiority and inferiority that have found their natural levels which correspond to what they have in them as natural endowments. It should now be unnecessary to say that those who take this view turn their eyes away from the truth. As already shown, the social classes have their origin in the forms of production. When the economic basis, which is removable, is taken from them, these supposed natural endowments do not keep men from falling into the class below.

whether it was stuck into the brain like a pin into a pin cushion, as some said, or whether it resulted from the uniting of certain chemical elements together in certain proportions in an organic compound of a certain form and structure, as existed in the brain cells. One leading scientist expressed his belief that if a man could be built up in a mortar and, as it were, set going alive, he would be able to think. In the following the argument for the scientists may be said to be in its essence shortly summed up.

What is mind? Whatever it may be it must include thought, feeling, consciousness, memory, judgment, etc. Well, a mouse has these. Now, given two mice and a barrel of flour, and we in a little while have, say, ten mice, and, further, it goes without saying that these ten mice will have amongst them five times the amount of the sight, thought, consciousness, memory, judgment, etc., as the parent couple had. Where did this consciousness, etc., come from? It was of course inherent in the barrel of flour. Well, what of man's consciousness, etc.—where do they come from? Inherent in the food of course. And so the argument proceeded. The men of theology of course denounced the men of science reasoning thus, notwithstanding that their own Milton had thought that perhaps "matter up to spirit grows."

But sufficient has been said to show that all this has nothing whatever to do with the materialist conception of history.

CHAPTER XII.

Conclusion.

Science of Socialism.

Gathering facts, which show when properly considered, that in the production and distribution of wealth, better results can be obtained for society by substituting socialisation for individual ownership of land and tools, and collective for private authority over industry and the results therein, gives us the science of Socialism.

Embracing the larger truths and generalisations derived from considered experiences spread over economics, history, ethics, etc.—as, for example, The doctrine of historical materialism—gives us the philosophy of Socialism.

With the rise of a movement to put its principles into practice, Socialism becomes an art.

And when Socialism is an accomplished fact it will be a system. As it is now said, man has come up from barbarism into civilisation, so will it then be said, he has come up from civilisation into Socialism; up from a society of classes with separate class interests, frictions and wars, into one from which the economic basis of these things have been removed by the abolition of private property in the means of production. This economic basis removed, these class distinctions disappear, class society disappears. Then: no separate, opposing econo-

mic interests, and consequent frictions, no quarrels over them; no maintenance of the powers of these to stand over and exercise dominion over those, their fellow freemen in industry, no State functions, no State, only the administration of things industrial and educational by the trained intelligence charged with such functions; nothing so irrational as assemblies of parliamentarians representing territorial electorates, but gatherings of talented men representing the industries and services in the community.

Social Revolutions.

Social revolutions or transformations have their origin in previous economic changes. Taking the seventeenth century Revolution in England as our example, we may, in attempting to trace it to its origin, go back, say, to the middle of the fifteenth century, when it was felt that a market existed for a larger food supply. This expressed itself in the building of larger and more seaworthy boats, in which to go seeking new fishing grounds at a distance. This led to an extension of enterprise on the sea; the transfer of merchandise and growth of trade with the coastal towns of the continent of Europe across the water. This growth of commerce called for greater efforts in certain lines of production, which was responded to. Other nations followed in the same course. International rivalry sprung up, navies were called into existence, and naval battles followed. All being summed up in this, where there was money in it, there enterprise was to the fore. Shipbuilding, commerce, production, trade, growth of towns and cities. The rise of merchants, traders, employers of labour in manufac-

ture, grazing, farming, mining, etc.—the rise of the middle class. Standing over and ruling them was the State—the crown and nobles. The State had taken on new functions, and needed larger revenues. These were for the most part derived as taxes from this middle class. Middle class became dissatisfied, objected, having grown in numbers, and having economic power. That is having the money, they rose up in rebellion, overthrew the class above, and joined with them in the control of the affairs of the nation. In this way society became adjusted to these new ways of making a livelihood, to the new economic form. This middle class had to win its way step by step, bit by bit economically, man by man, till it acquired sufficient force to overmatch the forces arrayed against it, as they would not forego the exercise of their power till so overthrown. In the success of this uprising, and the consequent social adjustments, we have a social revolution, a great social change that men struggled for, and realised to bring it into harmony with its new economic basis, to bring equilibrium to social forces. Because of that development in the technique which placed more effective weapons of destruction in the hands of those exercising authority in the State, before the classes below felt the need of a political and social revolution, the old order still by force maintains itself in Russia, but against increasing odds, before which it will inevitably go down. Thus are these revolutions seen to be moments of crisis in the continuing process of history.

Again: What would the world be to us if history were no more? But without the materialist conception it is not explained,

not understood; it remains a mere succession of people and things mixed up with birth, breath and death, with no message as to the future. In the light of this conception all the events and incidents are the expression of an underlying process, and the reign of law is seen to be extended even over the moral world—the world of human affairs. This conception is in itself an expression of an intellectual revolution, and the sign that old things are passing away—passing away as the result of man's work in this the sphere of his activities. And now, in conclusion, reviewing all that has been accomplished and impressed with the potential greatness, the power and perfectability of man the inventor, experimenter, and creator, the maker of history, "the thinking being" (Dict.), who has formed and reformed society continually, and is still further to transform it, we may affirm that, as there is no limit to the size of the lever of the telescope, microscope and machine that he may make, to the natural forces that he may turn to account, to the facts that he may accumulate and systematise in the development of the sciences, to the means and instruments with which to realise himself in art, no limit to the heights to which he may attain, and as philosopher look out upon what has been and is, nor limits to his powers of persuasion, when he would have the minds of his fellows enlightened as to who or what are the obstacles that stand between them and a nobler social life, so are we as assured of the perfecting of society as we are of man in the light of his achievements being equal to the work.