

ON THE HORNS OF A DILEMMA

(Continued From Page Two.)

amount of misery and want afflicted the people under former systems of production, it never resulted from production itself; it was the result of a disturbance of production, brought on by failure of crops, drouths, floods, invasions of hostile armies, etc.

Today the existence of the exploiter is not bound up in that of the exploited. At any moment the workman, with his wife and children, can be thrown upon the street and given over to starvation without the exploiter, whom he has made rich, being the worse for it.

The misery of enforced idleness is today rarely the result of a disturbance in production caused by outside influences; it is the necessary result of the development of the present system of production. Just the reverse happens of what occurred under the former systems of production; disturbances of production often improve the opportunities for work rather than lessening them; remember the results of the war of 1870 upon the industrial life of Germany and France in the years immediately following.

Under our former system of production on a small scale the income of the worker was in proportion to his industry. Laziness ruined him and finally threw him out of work. Today, on the contrary, unemployment becomes greater the harder and the longer the workman toils; he brings enforced idleness upon himself through his own labor. Among the many maxims from the world of small production which capitalist large production has reversed is: "A man's industry is his fortune."

Labor-power is no more a shield against want and misery than is property. As the specter of bankruptcy hovers always over the small farmer and the craftsman, so the specter of unemployment hovers always over the wage-earner. Of all the ills which attend the present system of production the most trying, that which harrows men's souls deepest and pulls up by the roots every instinct of conservatism, is the permanent uncertainty of a livelihood. This constant uncertainty as to one's own condition undermines one's belief in the permanence of the existing order and one's interest in its preservation. Whoever is kept in eternal fear by the existing order loses all fear of a new one.

Excessive work, lack of work, the destruction of the family—these are the gifts that the capitalist system of production brings to the proletariat, and at the same time it forces more and more of the population into proletarian conditions of living.

BRITISH TRADES CONGRESS

LONDON, Dec. 3.—The final agenda of the special trades union congress to be held in London next week, shows labor's intention is to defer definite strike action on the question of the government's refusal to nationalize the mines, until yet another special Congress assembles in February. The interval will be used to conduct a campaign in the country to obtain public support for the miners' demands.

Evolutionary Scheme.

It is probable this delay in throw-

From the History of Politics, by Prof. Jenks.

THE origin of the State, or Political Society, is to be found in the development of the art of warfare. It may be very sad that this should be so; but it is unquestionably true. Historically speaking, there is not the slightest difficulty in proving that all political communities of the modern type owe their existence to successful warfare. As a natural consequence, they are forced to be organized on military principles, tempered, doubtless, by a survival of older (patriarchal) ideas.

Development of Warfare. The question may naturally be asked at this stage—How came military principles to receive such a startling development after society had, apparently, succeeded in organizing itself on more peaceful lines? Fighting there had always been, of course; wars between tribe and tribe, clan and clan, even between village and village, town and town. But this was more in the nature of a feud, a sort of standing quarrel which broke out again and again, and then slumbered for a while; it was nothing like the organized and determined warfare which resulted in the formation of States. It may be described as amateur rather than professional fighting.

Increase of Population. Although we can not speak with certainty as to the causes of this development, it is not difficult to suggest one or two facts which may have led to it. First and foremost comes the increase of population, with its consequent pressure on the means of subsistence. This increase is always, under normal circumstances, steadily going on; and it is dealt with in various ways. Sometimes, pestilence breaks out; and the super-abundant population, enfeebled by short allowance of food, is swept away by disease. Sometimes, whole-

ing down the gauntlet is due to the unsettled state of labor administration, consequent on the proposed early abolition of the Parliamentary committee of the trades union congress and its substitution by a general council which will assure all duties of the original body and undertake co-ordination under one control of all branches of trade unionism, together with the co-operative movement.

Details of the evolutionary scheme of labor administration will be discussed and sanctioned during the next week's proceedings.

Profiteering Resolution.

With the nationalization question and direct action temporarily shelved, the congress will devote its attention to profiteering and one resolution calls on the government to assume effective control of raw materials required for house building, production of food, clothing and other essentials. A resolution also reaffirms the decision of the previous congresses calling for national ownership of land, mines, minerals and railways as the only effective method of adequately protecting the community against monopolies and profiteering interests.

Articles are desired on the Socialist Philosophy or on current events interpreted in the light of its principles.

The State and Feudalism

sale migrations take place to less thickly populated districts; this may be regarded as a real remedy, though perhaps only a temporary one, for the trouble. Sometimes, again, a great new invention enables a largely increased food supply to be produced: the changes from hunting life to pastoral life, and again from pastoral life to agriculture, are examples. Finally, war may break out on a large scale; and the weaker peoples may be either exterminated or (more probably) reduced to subjection by the stronger.

Increase of Wealth. Another cause may have been, the great increase of realized wealth attendant upon successful agriculture, and, still more, industry. Pastoral wealth has this advantage, that it can be moved about with tolerable ease. A weak tribe can fold up its tents, and drive its cattle and sheep out of harm's way. But the wealth of the husbandman can not be so disposed of. His wealth is in his fields, which he has patiently cultivated, and in his barns and presses which he has filled with corn and wine. He has built himself a permanent house, and he will not leave it while a chance of safety, or even of existence, remains. He is a very tempting bait to the military adventurer. Still more is the craftsman, with his rich store of wealth, a tempting object of plunder. The sack of an industrial town, with its shops and its stores of goods, is the dream of the freebooter. *Wass fur Plunder!* was Blucher's exclamation, when he was shown London from the dome of St. Paul's. It was the old instinct of the professional soldier.

Improvement in Weapons. Once more, it is natural to suppose, that the improvement in the art of working in metals did much to stimulate the military spirit. The superiority of iron, still more of steel weapons and armor, over the old wooden bows and arrows and leather shield and corselet, would give a natural impetus to warfare. Above all, with the tendency towards specialization which, as we have seen, is one of the master principles of developments, this improvement in the means of warfare would tend to produce a special military class, the professional warrior of the modern world. In primitive times, every man was a soldier; as civilization progressed, the bulk of people became interested in other things, and fighting became the work of specialists. This fact is directly connected with the origin of the State.

The German War-bands. In the interesting account given by Tacitus of our Teutonic forefathers in their ancestral homes, we notice one very significant feature. Not only does the historian distinguish between the princeps, or tribal chief, who was chosen for his noble birth, and the dux, or war leader, who was chosen for his valor; he shows us the latter surrounded by a band of adventurous companions, who took no part in the ordinary pastoral life of the tribe, but were constantly engaged in warfare, either in defence of their own tribe, or in plundering expeditions against strange tribes. These "companions," as they are called, were fed at the leader's table, were

furnished with food and garments by the women of his household, and shared the booty of their leader's expeditions. The devoted loyalty which they displayed towards their leader is described in a spirited and well-known passage. They counted it a disgrace to leave the field alive, if he was dead; their dead bodies were found thickly piled around his in the disastrous day of defeat. It is probable that at first, this band of companions was composed mainly of the kinsmen of the leader, his *gesiths*, as the Saxons called them; but ultimately, they became simply volunteers who joined the band from love of adventure and a military life. They were the *thanes* (or servants) of the *heretoch* (or host-leader.)

Foundation of States. A State is founded when one of these host-leaders with his band of warriors gets permanent control of a definite territory of a considerable size. And, practically speaking, this always occurs in one of two ways.

Consolidation. The host-leader, after firmly establishing his position as ruler of his own tribe, extends his authority over neighboring tribes, until he becomes ruler of a large territory. This is what seems to have happened in the England of the ninth century, when the so-called "tribal kingdoms" of the Heptarchy, after fluctuating for many years between the Bretwaldship of the various tribal chiefs, became more or less consolidated by conquest in the time of Egbert. The same movement showed itself also in the neighboring country of Scandinavia, where, also in the ninth century, the innumerable tribes became gradually consolidated, as the result of hard fighting, into the three historic kingdoms of Norway, Denmark and Sweden, under Harold Fairhair, Gorm the Old, and Eric of Upsala, who, as the *Heimskringla* strikingly puts it, subdued all rival chiefs "with scatt (taxes) and duties and lordships." Much the same appears also to have been done in the gradual consolidation of the Celtic tribes of Scotland under the line of Malcolm Canmore, and of the tribes of Wales under the hereditary Princes who were found to be ruling the country at the Norman Conquest. In Ireland, the trouble was, that no successful warrior succeeded in making permanent a powerful dynasty. And, in central Europe, the too ambitious efforts of the Frankish warriors, Clovis and his successors, though brilliantly successful at first, resulted finally in a similar period of anarchy, which is known by the expressive name of the "Dark Ages." In fact, the State formed by consolidation is always rather liable to break up into its former elements.

Migration. Or a State is founded by the successful migration and conquest by a band of warriors to and of a strange country. This was the history, in very early times, of the foundation of the kingdom of Lombardy (a Teutonic conquest of a Latin land;) likewise of the Visigothic kingdom of Spain. Somewhat later it was the brilliant history of the Normans or Northmen; who, in the ninth century, became the ruling power in Russia; in the tenth founded the practically independent Duchy of Normandy; in the eleventh the new kingdom of England; in the twelfth the kingdom of the Sicilies, and the short-lived kingdom of Jerusalem.