

him in two million frs. this year. There are 35,000 foreigners who decline to register themselves at the Prefecture of Police; they can for disobedience be ordered to the frontier within twenty-four hours. In the meantime the penalty of 50 frs. will be inflicted on them; that will bring in a wind-fall of one and three-quarter million frs.

Z.

DOM PEDRO.

[Earth brought from Brazil at the time of his banishment was placed in Dom Pedro's coffin.]

Rest, Pedro, on the soil thy hand made free
While yet it swayed the sceptre, prouder far
Of that poor handful thus entombed with thee,
Than if thou wert a Caesar whose draped ear
Might traverse zones his sword had won in war
Through conquered hordes that bent a slavish
knee.

Thy little empire, which no blooddrops mar,
Hath couched thy kingly corse right royally.

Rest, noble heart, whose ashes ostracised
Would find too mean and cramped a burial
place

Even the wide realm of Amazonia's flood,
Retained o'er craven subjects terrorized,
Or cursed with labor of a fettered race,
Or bought, a base Aeeldama by blood.

WILLIAM MCGILL.

A PLEA FOR SOCIALISM.

Not a favorable time is this at which to speak a kindly word for Socialism; with the air still echoing with the brutal bomb of Vaillant, with the world still shuddering with righteous horror at that dastard deed; with the pretty openly expressed sympathy of certain Socialist sections with the aims and methods of Anarchism; with all these, I am well aware, one might have chosen a more propitious moment at which to propound even the mildest form of Socialism. And yet truth is always truth, however much it may be wounded in the house of its friends. The evils of the present condition of society are no less grim and great because fools and fanatics seek for them frantic and frenzied remedies. From responsibility to heal the growing hurt of modern life, no earnest man can hide himself behind the madness of criminals and cranks. Granted the reality of the evil, the gravity of the danger, no fault of others will relieve the earnest thinker who loves his country or his race from making some effort to avert the incidence of the manifold perils which confront our modern social and industrial life.

What are these gigantic evils from which we must seek relief in some shape or form? In the first place, whether we regard England or America, the distribution of wealth appears to be monstrously uneven. When we consider the colossal fortunes which have grown up in the United States in the last quarter of a century, and when we place side by side with them the startling number of the unemployed which every severe winter, every pinch of hard times brings palpably to the surface; when we think of the positive slavery which must be endured by tens of thousands, ground down to the lowest point of bare subsistence in order that the Goulds and Vanderbilts may pile heavenward the Babel-towers of their enormous wealth; when we fairly face these unquestioned facts of our modern life, we may well ask: Is it well with us? Is this the kind of thing God meant for man? Is this a healthy or even safe condition for any nation? To judge from history this is a terribly unsafe condition for a people. It

was the uneven distribution of wealth which was one of the most marked features of Roman life immediately before the decadence of the Empire. This concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, becomes at once a menace to public liberty and a weakness to national life.

It is a menace to liberty by the facility it affords for the centralization in the hands of a tyrannous plutocracy of all the real power commercial, political, journalistic which ought to be diffused through the whole state. It is a menace to liberty by the opportunity it furnishes for the crushing out of individual enterprise and the consequent extinction of what is always the very backbone of a nation—a vigorous and self-respecting middle class.

And again, concentration of wealth is a weakness to national life because it sets up an utterly misleading conception of what constitutes real national prosperity. We point with pride to the palaces of our merchant princes, and talk with satisfaction of the enormous fortunes which they have amassed; as if, forsooth, it was the number of millionaires the land could breed that proved its true fertility and strength. But it is not so. It is not the maximum of wealth, but the minimum of poverty which constitutes the real power and prosperity of a people. It is not the gleam and brilliance of the apex of the pyramid which makes its real strength and its capacity to outlast the ages, but rather the firmness and solidity of the broad base on which it rests. If you want to judge of the real prosperity of a nation, do not visit only the mansions of the millionaires and lose yourself in wonder at their lavish magnificence; visit rather the homes of the peasant and the artisan; see how they are clothed and housed and fed; see whether they are getting enough to live on, not as slaves or mechanics but as men; see whether they are getting time enough to cultivate family and social life, and money enough to get some comforts about them and to educate their children, and recreation enough to give some zest and gladness to life. Consider all these things and then you will see whether a nation is really prosperous or not.

The second evil, consequent on the first, is the widening gulf which is opening between great classes of the community. How can a nation remain permanently great which witnesses such internecine warfare as the Homestead strikes in the United States or the recent coal miners' strike in England, where all sense of common interest seems lost, where capital seeks to crush labor down to bare starvation point, and organized labor loses no chance, fair or otherwise, of hitting back at capital, and where, as between the upper and nether millstones, the community at large has thus to suffer irrademable loss. Where this kind of thing is perpetually in the air it does not need a Cassandra to prophesy imminent disaster for the nation which suffers this cleavage of classes to go on and even to increase. And this sundering of classes is the logical and inevitable result of the unchecked operation of the law of supply and demand, that same law which makes possible the upbuilding of immense fortunes. Prof. Walker well says in his "Political Economy," "the tendency of purely economic forces is to widen differences existing in the constitution of industrial society, and to subject every person or class who may, from any cause, be put to disadvantage to a constantly increasing burden."

The third evil that calls aloud for radi-

cal redress, is the practical slavery of large masses of the population bound in the fetters of continuous and grinding toil. England and America, speaking politically, are both grandly free, but industrially and socially they are crammed with masses of slavery. No man is really much better than a slave who is bound like Ixion of old to the ever-revolving wheel of ceaseless and grinding toil. Are the shopmen and shopwomen of the great cities free who have to keep on their feet for thirteen, fifteen, or even sixteen hours a day till the very heart is worn out of them by the unreasonable demands of heedless or heartless customers. Is she free who, to save her children from starvation, or herself from shame, has to ply the needle of the seamstress far on into the night. Is the "Song of the Shirt" the song of the free, or is it not rather the wail of the slave, as hopeless and heartbroken as ever went up from the cotton fields of Georgia to the listening ear of a pitying God. Is it freedom or slavery that you see as you watch the lean, wan-faced, weary crowds of the unemployed who, from three o'clock on a winter's morning, besiege the dock gates of London on the mere chance of one day's work. But you say all this may be sadly true, but it is the inevitable result of the principle of competition, the universal and therefore God-given law of supply and demand. Now by the very act and fact of these iniquitous results, the law of supply and demand must be called into serious question. The law that achieves such results I hold at least in its extremest incidence to be not God-given but devil-given—the very apotheosis of selfishness. And it is right here that the principle of true Socialism intervenes. It pleads for the interweaving with social and economic forces of a far higher law than that of competition, a law which says "the weakest shall not go to the wall, and there by the feet of intolerant success be trampled downward to ever deepening degradation and despair." The brotherhood of man is not a myth or a mere sentiment; it is a great fact graven on the very constitution of our being, a principle buried deep in the eternal truth of things. That the individual has rights against society was the truth won for the world by the religious and intellectual reformation of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; but individualism has run to ruinous extremes in our own day, and it is time for society to reassert some of the power which by abuse it lost three hundred years ago. It has long ceased to be a question whether or not society has a right to interfere with the operation of the law of supply and demand. It has interfered with it again and again. Factory laws, shipping laws, laws for the protection of the miner—all such legislation has made concrete the abstract principle which lies at the base of moderate socialism, namely, that society has the right to interfere for its own preservation or for the protection of its weaker members and so to regulate and restrain the harmful operation of such economic laws as that of supply and demand.

But I can well imagine that the very name of Socialism may be enough in the minds of many to check the outflowing of their thought and sympathy in the direction towards which the fundamental principle of this article would point. With the earnest and moderate Socialist it is indeed a case of "save me from my friends." The extravagant views as to the confiscation of property, the truly unnatural and impossible attempts