

*With Compliments
R. Outhwaite*

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THE
RESTORATION
OF
HOPE

BY
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The mountaineer amid the crags and precipices struggles onward and upward in the hope that when the height has at last been gained, there will be recompense in full for all the difficulties and dangers that beset his path. Hope nerves and inspires him, conquers fatigue and fear, and makes of each obstacle a welcome test of his power to achieve. So, too, with the pioneer in the desert. The relentless sun may blaze down upon him, the torrid wind scorch his skin to parchment, his lips may crack, his feet blister, but on he goes, for ahead lies the oasis, verdure-clad with crystal fountain and shady trees, where he will rest and forget the trials of his present day. So, too, if hope be with him will man endure penury, scorn delights and live laborious days to achieve the embodiment of an idea which will bring his fellows nearer in power to a fabled god. Or to achieve the acceptance of a thought which will bring them nearer to the realm of the divine. With hope man can endure all, and in the end can conquer all. Youth, with hope in the heart, is irresistible. Age wizened with despair, or the satiation of selfish desires, is the paralyzing agency that spreads the autumnal tints of decay over the tree of life in which the sap of spring should be rising. The tragedy of the old world to-day lies in the fact that it is old in outlook. Old men made the war for the gratification of selfish aims, or for the realisation of ambitions which furnish the old with their last impulses before death comes to take them hence. The old men knew that youth would not go to the slaying of youth were the object proclaimed to be the securing of oilfields or coal and iron lands for those who live by the appropriation of the earth and by exacting tribute from those who seek to use it. So they had to secure the lives of the young. They harmonised their gross aims with the ideals of youth. They called on youth to die in the name of freedom and for the weak oppressed by the strong. And youth responded. By millions the young and the brave slew the young and the brave at the behest of the old, the self-seeking and the vile. Youth poured out its blood in torrents on the sacrificial stone of hoary mammon. Those who survived now find that though life was not taken, they have been robbed of all that gives zest

to life. In the grave have been laid the high ideals, the romance, the glory that was to be the guerdon of self-sacrificing endeavour. By them no mountain top has been achieved, no oasis of contentment. They have been cast down into the pit of despair, and drag weary limbs in search of work in the desert land of Poverty. As others come to manhood they look out upon a world that does not need them. They learn from the lips of the old that they should never have been born. They come as trespassers into the world, and cap in hand seek permission to live. They come into a world in which all ideals have been killed by the noxious growths that have sprung up since the world has been turned into a midden heap by war. A world infected by the miasma arising from the putrefaction of society. A world in which Force is recognised as the essential factor in its organisation. A world in which age is rapidly preparing new and still more horrible methods for the extermination of youth in war. So youth has been robbed of hope, in whose place has been imposed the cynicism of age. The vampires have drained the veins of the young of blood and have robbed their hearts of hope. They have become infected by the miasma from the putrefaction of society. So humanity has become nerveless, prematurely palsied and accepts its fate. Politicians, sociologists, philosophers, professors, journalists, all who claim to give light and leading, are alike engaged in preaching acceptance and taking fees for the preaching, or in dissecting and taking the coroner's fee for the inquest, or in urging quack remedies and in living thereby. Those who proclaim themselves to be the disturbers of the peace of death in life are themselves but the advocates of a system that can only be upheld by ultimate recourse to force. Socialism denotes the subjection of society to the State, the State being the men authorised to govern by the majority of the votes cast on the day of an election. A system based on the denial of the inherent right of the individual to Liberty can only be maintained against the minority by Force. So for a system maintained by Force it is proposed to substitute another still more dependent upon Force. This pit is being dug in the path of those in whom hope still survives. In it they, too, are to meet their doom. In what direction then are we to look for the restoration of Hope, without which humanity must sink into inanition and perish? Is there no path, even though it be up the mountain side of high endeavour, that promises to lead us to the vision of the world of our desires; no track, even though it be through the opposing desert of arid criticism, that will bring us to the oasis of contentment? Let us at least seek in the hope that we shall find.

(II.)

Hope has been depicted as the mainspring of endeavour, the vital force that, allied with imagination, nerves man to achieve. That which sends him on, exultant in spirit, reckless of odds, and often finding a cause for rejoicing in all that opposes. What, then, do all men seek—hope spurring them on, until death bids them rest? Into what channel of attainment that will bring blessings upon all can this universal striving be directed? To what state of life does man wish to attain? What is the true purpose of existence? We have been told that:

“As sparks fly upward to the sky
So man is born to misery.”

Were such the pre-determined lot of man the prevailing conditions of existence are those which best assure realisation. But the lot which all men seek, to which all men consciously or sub-consciously strive to attain, is one of Happiness.

The priests have sought to bemuse the wretched into acquiescence in their lot by telling them that they were born in sin, that happiness can only come in the Hereafter and can only be won by a life of penance and of self-surrender. For each people in each age they contrived a reward of future happiness. For the Greek, the Elysian Fields and the meads of asphodel. For the Buddhist, Nirvana the realm of oblivion. For the Teuton who might die as a warrior at the call of his chief, the banquet hall of Valhalla awaited. For the Mohammedans, Paradise and its dark-eyed houris. For the slave of to-day stricken down in the struggle for existence, the mansion in Heaven, approached by the golden stairs to the twanging of the harps of angel choristers. The mansions to be held in terms of eternal tenancy with assurance of everlasting bliss. No sound of strife was to disturb the serenity of the Elysian Fields. No more in Valhalla would the warrior hear the clash of arms. Nor yet in Paradise. Into Heaven “the weary and heavy-laden” are to enter and to toil no more. Happiness is to reign with Peace over all.

The varying qualifications for reward are significant; Valhalla and Paradise were devised for heroes, the battle-field provided the opportunity of qualification for admission. Teutons, Arabs and Turks were members of conquering tribes whose leaders sought to stimulate the ardour of their followers. Christianity originated amongst a conquered people and Heaven was devised as a reward for the submissive. Jesus, the son of the Nazarene carpenter, lived in the days of the Roman overlordship in Jerusalem. The common people heard him gladly, for he was one of themselves and interpreted their longings. Submission to temporal power was the accepted lot. Jesus

preached passivity, and called on his followers to look to spiritual consolations rather than in vain to those earthly ones which were denied them. This attitude of mind would not commend itself to King Herod, nor to the priests who expounded the old religion which was that of a conquering Asiatic tribe. But Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor, found no cause for condemnation. The philosophy of Jesus spread amongst the enslaved races of the world, ever meeting with the opposition of the rulers when it affected, as at Rome, the military power. It spread until rulers recognised that the central doctrine of submission to temporal power could be made to accord with the maintenance of despotism and slavery. Then Christianity was adopted by the Byzantine Emperor, Jesus was proclaimed to be, not the son of a carpenter bringing spiritual consolation to slaves, but the Son of God preaching submission to authority in this life as the way to reward in the life to come. So to this day we find Imperialism, hierarchies, and all governing classes upholding Christianity as interpreted by their agents, who preach submission to the evils of this life and urge conduct which will secure happiness in that to come. The priests have shown wisdom in appraising happiness as that for which all men seek and the promise of which hereafter will best dispose them to bear the torments of this life. If happiness be universally accepted as the ideal state of posthumous reward, in the hope to attain which hereafter mankind has endured unspeakable martyrdom throughout the ages, there can be no reproof in taking happiness to be the ideal state for mankind to attain to on earth and in seeking to inspire hope for its realisation.

All men seek happiness because happiness is the state of mind and body resulting from the satisfaction of the instincts and attributes with which man is endowed. Happiness is Life. It signifies the fulfilment of natural law through the harmony which results therefrom.

Unhappiness signifies the infringement of natural law and the disharmony which results therefrom. The hungry man cannot be a happy man, nor the man haunted with the fear of hunger for those dependent on him. The love-starved man or woman cannot be happy; nature has so ordained for the fulfilment of her imperative purpose. The father and mother who witness the lives of their children being sapped by disease through lack of sun, and air, and food, cannot be happy, for nature has implanted in their breasts the instinct which renders that impossible. No man can be truly happy whose days are spent in the sunless pit, who endures the long hours of debilitating toil that rob him of vitality which is the expression of life. Nor the tiller of the soil in which he sows the seed, but may not reap the harvest; nor the man chained to the machine as a galley slave to the oar; nor the clerk bound to his office stool. Nor can woman be happy compelled to the endurance

of a like lot. Nor can that man be happy in whose head there sings the song that may not be sung; nor he who may not turn aside one moment from his task to bear the high message to mankind with which his being thrills, or to embody the idea in fact with which he would extend man's conquest over matter. They cannot be happy, for life is self-expression and when opportunity for self-expression is limited or denied Nature lays the penalty of unhappiness upon man. Which is to say that in a state of poverty, and all that the term denotes, man cannot be happy, for poverty enforces the violation of natural law, which ordains that man shall live through the satisfaction of the instincts implanted in him. Poverty ensures a limitation of life, and nature renders unhappy those who only half live as all who sin against her. Poverty is a manifestation of the violation of natural law.

The achievement of happiness is denied by the present conditions under which mankind endures existence. Hope for the achievement of happiness, hope which "springs eternal in the human breast," prohibits man from acceptance of a lot in which happiness is denied. To fan the embers of hope amid the ashes of despair, to call on the oppressed to hope and to dare, is to take the first essential step towards the regeneration of mankind. The conscious pursuit of happiness by the individual is a selfish aim, and as such is sure to fail. On the other hand, to seek to remove a condition of society in which unhappiness, or lack of true happiness, is the common lot, and to substitute one in which happiness has not to be pursued but will be the natural state of man, is to espouse the highest and most unselfish cause.

When hope for such happiness on earth possesses mankind, and the way to its attainment is made clear, along that way there will march an army, irresistible in spirit and in numbers.

(III.)

It has been contended that Happiness would be the common lot of man were he to live in conformity with natural law and so in harmony with nature. Man is not a specially created being existing apart from nature, but is a component of the great scheme of the Universe. Were it otherwise he would be able to live without food or sleep and his life would be eternal. But man is prohibited from living in harmony with nature by the power usurped by the few to establish private ownership over inanimate nature. Endowed through hand and brain with miraculous powers of turning inanimate nature to his use, man alone of all creatures has to make payment to another before he may exercise his natural right to live, and the measure of his achievements determines the measure of the tribute that he must pay to the drones of

privilege. He comes into the world as a trespasser, the child of trespassers. The years pass, and he sets out to exercise the powers that nature has bestowed upon him to win from her storehouse the food, the clothing, the shelter that she has ordained he shall secure or die. He then finds that he must pay tribute to the owners of the earth for permission to dwell upon it, must pay tribute for permission to win existence from it, must pay tribute in advance so that his clay may in due course be returned to the earth from whence it came. The birds of the air can build their nests and gain sustenance in freedom. Man, made "in the image of God," who has made of the sundering ocean a ditch, who cleaves his way beneath the waters, or passes through the clouds swifter than an eagle in its flight, who speaks and is heard though a thousand miles divide, whose message circles the globe in seconds of time, Man, accounting himself lord of the Universe, finds himself a trespasser on the Universe, a vagrant by virtue of a title deed inscribed in a lawyer's office. He enters upon life under sentence of death, and if his lot be that of the bulk of mankind he can only gain reprieve by the surrender to the appropriators of the earth of all that his toil creates but a crust on which he may maintain existence in misery.

Thus disharmony is created in the natural order, and out of that disharmony all the evils which beset society arise. Nature may have endowed one man with greater strength than another or with greater brain capacity. Such inequality of endowment in the winning of sustenance from nature would not in itself lessen the opportunity of the weaker. The more highly endowed would lead the way and make the endowment of the weaker more sufficient for the satisfaction of his needs. But when the private ownership of the earth has been established, in denial of equality of opportunity, and tribute has to be paid for permission to live, the owners of the earth are placed in a privileged position and, whatever may be their endowment by nature, are the rulers of the dispossessed and the arbiters of their fate. A privileged class is thus created, not by nature, but by law, out of which evolves in society the disharmony of what is known as the class war, the struggle of the possessors with the dispossessed, the deserving poor against the undeserving rich. This warfare extends beyond the possessors of the earth and the dispossessed to one between the owners of labour-created instruments for the production of wealth—termed capital—and the users of these instruments, which, though of their own creation, the fundamental wrong alluded to has compelled them to surrender into other hands. The struggle between Capital and Labour arises out of the private ownership of the earth. In the natural order of things all men would have equal opportunity to gain their sustenance by applying their labour to the earth. Had this right been maintained the workers would be the only capitalists, as they

alone produce by hand or brain. But by the private appropriation of the earth men are denied opportunity of existence as provided by nature, and have to sell themselves to the privileged or die. The more closely the land is monopolised and withheld from full use, the greater the proportion of the dispossessed compelled to sell themselves in the slave mart called the Labour Market. When there are more men seeking to sell themselves than are required by the slave buyers, they compete with one another for the chance of sale and life, and such competition results, in the lowest price being fixed on which existence can be maintained. The difference between the price at which the slaves sell themselves and the price obtained by the slave-buyers for the produce of their labour, is called profit, and the share of the profit used for the acquisition of the instruments of production is termed capital. Those men and women who offer themselves for sale and who cannot find a buyer are termed the unemployed or the unsold. The existence of this surplus human stock in the labour market keeps down the price of the sold. The slaves seek to keep up their price by the formation of trade unions for collective bargaining and fix a price below which they will not sell themselves. When the labour market is not overstocked trade unionism can exercise some effect. When, as at present in Britain, the labour market is overstocked and the price of labour has been forced down to the subsistence level, trade unionism operates to the benefit of the buyers of labour, as this ineffective organisation of the slaves keeps them under the authority of their own agents and from revolt. When, as in the case of the recent Dockers' Strike in Britain, men revolted against the acceptance of the terms arranged by their agents for their sale to the buyers, their own agents proclaimed the strike to be one not against the slave-buyers, but against the union. At the same time the latter called for the State to take the place of the private buyer. In such case revolt against the price fixed would be a revolt against the State, and, as sedition, would be crushed by law, as has frequently occurred elsewhere.

Thus the class war is extended from one between the owners of the earth and the dispossessed, to one between the dispossessed and the owners of the instruments of production, who buy them in the slave mart so that they may secure profit for themselves by a payment which is less than the true value of the slave. Further reference will be made to this outcome of the fundamental wrong. At the moment it is referred to in order to indicate the disharmony in social relations created by the fundamental violation of natural harmony through the private appropriation of the earth. Man can no longer conform to the natural law under which the conditions of his existence would be determined by the use he made of opportunities provided by nature, for these have been appropriated in denial

of common right. He can sell himself as a serf to the monopolist who owns the earth, or as a slave to the monopolist who owns the instruments of production. His sustenance is not determined by the measure of the product of his labour, but by the measure of the severity of the struggle between the serfs and between the slaves to find a master who will buy them. The violation of natural law which asserts the equal right of all to life and to the Land establishes slavery. The condition of the slaves is that of Poverty, a term which epitomises the disharmonies and miseries of their existence.

He who looks upon the world to-day as the sphere in which human nature has had full opportunity to realise itself, might well despair. But to look upon it as a vast slave plantation constituted of slave-owners with power of determining life or death, and of slaves subject to their decrees, with an intermediary class organising, controlling, cajoling, and misleading the slaves on behalf of their masters, is to get a truer vision of society. The essence of slavery is compulsion to render service without receiving equivalent service in return. Such compulsion the private ownership of the earth entails. As it is not possible to judge of human nature by its manifestations in slavery; and once it is realised that this is the condition to which mankind has been consigned; we can only say that we know the worst and see in Freedom the ground for immeasurable Hope. Hope inspired by the nobility that man exhibits even under conditions which deny the fulfilment of his nature. Faith in human nature then increases. Hatred of the State that directs the slave system for the slave-owners takes the place of the despoliation of man.

(IV.)

So it is that those who look on crime as evidence of the baseness of human nature and as proof that a State organisation is needed for the infliction of punishment, take a perverted view. Who can say but that the individual who refuses to fit into the constituted order of a society which is itself immoral and unnatural is not an unconscious agent in its reformation? Were there no crime there would be less protest against wrong. This man murders, that man steals. But the State, when it suits its purpose, forces the citizens to murder and steal, and the priest consecrates the banner under which they march. The State when it maintains a social order which consigns in Britain close on 100,000 children to death each year, itself condones murder. The State which maintains a social order which entails that one man shall rob another of the fruits of his labour is the upholder of theft. When robbery under the law has created poverty and the robbed steal for the avoidance of hunger or murder for sake of gain, the State will thrust the one into goal and break the neck of the other. But should

not such offence against the State code be taken as evidence of the disharmony created by its violation of the natural code? Were men and women happy and well-conducted in poverty, if the slaves needed no police, then the slave-owners' command to leave well alone would be the more heeded. The criminal is not so much the wrong-doer as the witness against an order based upon wrong-doing. To argue from the existence of crime that human nature is evil and requires all the paraphernalia of so-called justice, courts, police, prison, and gallows for its repression is a blasphemous assumption on the part of the slave-owners and their agents. The natural law proclaims that all men have an equal right to life. Therefore were human law to conform to natural law all men would be secured equal opportunity of access to nature's provision for all, to the Earth as much as to the air. As human law violates natural law by maintaining the private ownership of the Earth it follows that the conditions of life are unnatural. The violators of the natural law of equality of opportunity then enact laws to force mankind to accept unnatural conditions, and he who does not conform to them is in the eyes of the violators a criminal. "You may drive out nature with a pitchfork, but she will nevertheless return," said the Roman. The legislator drives out nature on the point of a bayonet that enforces the theft of the earth, but when she returns it is to make the mortal through whom she works a criminal. Nature has provided man with inhibitory power with which to check and direct the impulses with which she has endowed him. Inhibitory power to enable him to conform to the Golden Rule of the common good in the fulfilment of the "first law of nature"—self-preservation, and of the second law—the preservation of life through its perpetuation. The State-made and unnatural law forces man into conditions of life which weaken the inhibitory powers, and then when the man it has made, the poor, nerveless, debilitated wretch, robbed of his power of self-control, becomes a prey to natural impulse which he may not fitly satisfy, it casts him into gaol, and the priests inveigh against the inherent wickedness of human nature and proclaim that without their incantations mankind would be lost. Society is thus an organised hypocrisy which establishes slavery by violation of the Natural Law, formulates a code of laws for the control of slaves, and stigmatises as crime the revolt of the slave. So we are led to this conclusion. That mankind exists in a society based on the violation of Natural Law, and that Human Nature, which can only truly develop and express itself when Natural Law is fulfilled, is dwarfed, twisted, and perverted in the unnatural conditions into which it is driven by slave-owners, with Force to compel submission.

Nature provides the seed with sun and earth for its growth. But no sooner does the seed appear in the shape of the newborn babe than those who claim the field take the human

plant, force it into the mould which they have prepared, in which, root-bound, shut out from sun and air, it withers away or grows up in deformity. What needs to be done is to smash the mould and give man his rightful opportunity of access to nature. The social order must be given freedom to evolve in conformity with Natural Law. It would then be part of the great harmony of the Universe, and in that harmony Happiness would be the common lot, and unhappiness which is disharmony, would no longer grip the myriad lives of men.

But, it will be urged, why look to Happiness as the fulfilment of man's destiny, why seek accord with Nature as if she were a beneficent mother when Nature has herself decreed that Death shall be the inevitable end? Why trouble about the incidents of a journey that ends with the grave? But has Nature decreed that man shall die as he dies to-day? What is disease but the result of life divorced from Nature? It is not in accord with nature that the infant in the cradle should die, or that man or woman should be stricken down in the plenitude of their powers. Eliminate the so-called "filth-diseases" that destroy those condemned to live in filth and those infected by them. Eliminate disease due to enforced existence in the sunless slave compound, due to the strain of work in the slave-gang, due to the strain of over-lording the slave system, due to the fear of want or the fear of the loss of riches never to be regained, and the grim visage of Death will take on another aspect. To live in accord with nature is to pass on in accord with nature; insensibly as the fall of an autumn leaf, and not in a fierce struggle that ensues when death comes unnaturally to reap in the springtime of life. Nature ordained that life should merge into sleep, that the end should be a gentle transition from the animate to the inanimate without pang of surrender. Who can say but that with harmony with nature established, the spiritual attributes of man may not so develop that the secret denied to her wayward children may not be revealed to those who come to her to learn the true significance of life, that is now an interlude between mystery and mystery?

Fear of death arises from the instinct of self-preservation, for what Nature produces she seeks to conserve until her purpose has been fulfilled. When man is permitted to live as nature intended through life's morn, through noon to eventide, he will cease to fear Death as the confounder of Hope. The wages of sin is death. Sin is the violation of natural law, and through its universal violation Death, the avenger, has established its empire over the minds of men. Therefore it is that the restoration of nature to man means not only assurance that life shall be lived in gracious harmony, but that Death will no longer come as the dread intruder. Religion arose out of the worship of Nature. When man again in fulness of knowledge sees Nature and God as one, the delusions and fears inspired by

the priestly agents of those who deny Nature and God to man will beset him no more.

(V.)

We now have to seek the origin of slavery. The essence of slavery is the power to exact service without rendering equal service in return. The slave-owner and the land-owner is each the repository of this power. There is this distinction to be made. The slave-owner had to capture slaves or buy them from the captor and pay the cost of keeping them in subjection. The slaves in economic bondage sell themselves and provide the cost necessary for the maintenance of the system. The universality of chattel slavery in the past, and of its substitute economic slavery in the present, compels us to seek its origin in human nature itself. Slavery and progress arise alike out of the fundamental instinct of man to satisfy his needs with the least possible exertion, which itself derives from the first law of nature—self-preservation. On the side of progress it has brought man through his hand and brain to the altitude he now occupies above the beast of the field. That out of this beneficent impulse to which our civilisation is due, with its harnessing of the forces of nature to the work of satisfying the needs of man, slavery should have arisen, is due to the exercise of Force in defiance of Justice, which affirms the equal right of all to direct their activities in Freedom with a like aim. Slavery resulted from the endeavour of some men to satisfy their needs with the least possible exertion by compelling others to satisfy them without rendering service in return. If we take the domestication of animals as being the first step out of primitive savagery towards civilisation, we can also discern in it the first step towards slavery. Flocks and herds provided the reason, the horse the means for transgression. In the beginning nomadic tribes drove their flocks and herds from pasture to pasture. Later the husbandmen began to cultivate the valleys and for this purpose required a fixed habitation. The nomadic tribes then found opportunity for plunder, and in the seizing of the property of the husbandmen, and their enslavement, the easiest means for the satisfaction of desires. Here we find for the first time co-operative Force determining the economy of mankind. The husbandmen, to guard their lives and their possessions, had to arm. Their lands were held in communal possession, but as time went by the instinct of self-preservation led to the creation of a military caste which received grants of lands and privileges in return for military service. Their chief warrior was king. So monarchy and aristocracy and land ownership came into being through war. This process of the creation of a landed warrior class was hastened, when the tribe or nation engaged in war beyond the tribal boundary in

which all the members of the tribe were unable or unwilling to participate. Better weaponed, more skilled in arms than the common people, the warrior class were able to extend their private possession of the land. They now proceeded to wars of conquest, the chief aim of which was to secure slaves to till their fields and render service. As conquest followed conquest, the Empire arose and the alienation of the common heritage proceeded and the free cultivator was ousted by the slave. Thus the seed of corruption was implanted and grew until within the Empire there were two main classes, the warrior land-owning class and the slave class. So Empires were created, waxed through conquest, and waned through slavery to extinction at the hands of some virile people in which the institution had not yet found so fundamental a place. So the ancient Asiatic Empires rose and passed away. So rose Imperial Rome, and so her glory came to be laid in the dust. "The great estates destroyed Rome and her colonies," recorded the historian Pliny. Slavery which arose out of war and the appropriation by a few of the soil of Italy destroyed Rome. So it was in the past when chattel slavery undermined and destroyed the structure of the nation. In the history of our own country we can trace this process and the change from chattel to economic slavery. When the Normans conquered Britain the conquered people became the serfs of the Barons amongst whom William the Conqueror divided the land in feudal tenure, with the King as Chief Lord. The Saxon villeins were compelled to till the land of the Lords of the Manor in terms of serfdom. But as they had not to face the competition of the chattel slaves of conquest, their independence was so far safeguarded, and their attachment to the soil gave them opportunity to win a way to freedom. The risings of the serfs under Wat Tyler and Jack Cade in the fourteenth century were revolts against serfdom by a people of Teutonic ancestry in whom the instinct of individual liberty could not be crushed. Step by step they won their way to freedom through their foothold on the soil until the fifteenth century ushered in the "Golden Age of British Labour." The vast areas of common fields and wastes, the millions of acres held by the Church, the need of the King for men upon the land to defend it, facilitated the creation of an independent peasantry; a peasantry which chroniclers of those days of Merrie England described as the envy of Europe. The process then began of the substitution of economic slavery for the chattel slavery that had lapsed through the securing by the former serfs of a foothold on the soil. The dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry VIII., and the allocation of their lands to his courtiers, and the private enclosures, enlarged the great estates or created new ones, and roused the spirit of revolt. The peasants rose under Robert Kett in Norfolk and seized Norwich and strove to set up a Commonwealth. Their manifesto, 'The Rebels'

Complaint, issued from Mousehold Heath, outside Norwich, where they were encamped 20,000 strong, leaves no ground for doubt that they realised the economic basis of their independence and the fate in store for them if deprived of it.

Here are the brave and wise words of the North Folk confronting their doom—forbears of the starving Norfolk wage-slave of to-day.

"The pride of great men is now intolerable, but our condition miserable.

"These abound in delights; and compassed with the fulness of all things, and consumed with vain pleasures, thirst only after gain, inflamed with the burning delights of their desires.

"But ourselves almost killed with labour and watching, do nothing all our life long but sweat, mourn, hunger and thirst. Which things, though they seem miserable and base (as they indeed are most miserable), yet might be borne howsoever, if they which are drowned in the boiling seas of evil delights did not pursue the calamities and miseries of other men with too much insolent hatred. But now both we and our miserable condition is a laughing stock to these most proud and insolent men—who are consumed with ease and idleness. Which thing (as it may) grieveth us so sore and inflicteth such a stain of evil report, so that nothing is more grievous for us to remember, nor more unjust to suffer.

"The present condition of possessing land seemeth miserable and slavish, holding it all at the pleasure of great men; not freely, but by prescription, and, as it were, at the will and pleasure of the lord. For as soon as any man offend any of these gorgeous gentlemen, he is put out, deprived, and thrust from all his goods. How long shall we suffer so great oppression to go unrevenged?

"The common pasture left by our predecessors for our relief and our children are taken away.

"The lands which, in the memory of our fathers, were common, those are ditched and hedged in and made several, the pastures are enclosed, and we shut out. Whatsoever fowls of the air or fishes of the water and increase of the earth—all these do they devour, consume and swallow up; yea, Nature doth not suffice to satisfy their lusts, but they seek out new devices, and, as it were, form pleasures to embalm and perfume themselves, to abound in pleasant smell, to pour in sweet things to sweet things. Finally, they seek from all places all things for their desire and the provocation of lust, while we, in the meantime, eat herbs and roots, and languish with continued labour, and yet are envied that we live, breathe, and enjoy common air.

"Shall they, as they have brought hedges about pastures, enclose with their intolerable lusts also all the commodities and

pleasures of this life, which Nature, the parent of us all, would have common, and bringeth forth every day for us, as well as for them?

"We can no longer bear so much, so great, and so cruel injury; neither can we, with quiet minds, behold so great covetousness, excess, and pride of nobility. We will rather take arms and mix Heaven and earth together, than endure so great cruelty."

"Nature hath provided for us, as well as for them, hath given us body and soul and hath not envied us other things. While we have the same form, and the same condition of birth together with them, why should they have a life so unlike unto ours, and differ so far from us in calling?"

"We see that things have now come to extremities, and we will prove the extremity. We will rend down the hedges, fill up the ditches, and make a way for every man into the common pastures. Finally, we will lay all even with the ground, which they, no less wickedly than cruelly and covetously, have enclosed. Neither will we suffer ourselves any more to be oppressed with such burdens against our wills, nor so great shame, since living out our days under such inconveniences we should leave the Commonwealth unto our posterity—mourning and miserable, and much worse than we received it of our fathers.

"Wherefore we will try all means; neither will we ever rest until we have brought things to our liking.

"We desire liberty, and an indifferent (or equal) use of all things. This will we have. Otherwise these tumults and our lives shall only be ended together."

The steel-clad Norman Barons with the aid of foreign mercenaries crushed the rebellion, and slaughtered the peasants. Robert Kett and his brother were hanged, drawn, and quartered for having espoused the cause of freedom. They shared the previous fate of William Wallace, the Scottish patriot, who had similarly fallen for a like cause. Germany had its terrible Peasants' War, France its Jacquerie, as the last despairing efforts of the tillers of the soil to frustrate a like reduction to slavery. From now on the unbroken tragedy proceeds of the reduction of the conquered Englishmen to economic slavery by dispossession of the soil. But it was not through kings that the chief infamy was wrought. The records show that the king often sought to arrest the process of dispossession which he realised robbed him of the defenders of his realm. It was when Parliaments, elected by landlords and to which landlords only could be elected became supreme, that the law became in full the instrument of dispossession and for the creation of the new slavery. Oliver Cromwell overthrew King Charles I. as a despot, but initiated a new and more terrible despotism so far as concerned the lot of the

common people. In his day there were men who knew in what the true Commonwealth should consist. With such words as these the men of the Digger Movement, led by Winstanley, confronted Cromwell and laid down the truth:

"Sir,—God hath honored you with the highest honor of any man since Moses' time, to be the head of a People who have cast out an oppressing Pharaoh. For when the Norman Power had conquered our forefathers, he took the free use of our English Ground from them, and made them his servants. And God hath made you a successful instrument to cast out that Conqueror, and to recover our Land and Liberties again, by your Victories, out of that Norman hand. That which is wanting on your part to be done is this, To see the Oppressor's Power be cast out with his person; and to see that the free possession of the Land and Liberties be put into the hands of the Oppressed Commoners of England. . . . And now you have the Power of the Land in your hand, you must do one of these two things: First, either set the Land free to the Oppressed Commoners. . . . Or, secondly, you must only remove the Conqueror's power out of the King's hand into other men's, maintaining the old laws still; . . . or lay the foundation of greater slavery to posterity than you ever knew."

The Diggers met at the hands of Cromwell the same fate that had befallen their forerunners. The Long Parliament relieved the land holders of their feudal obligations and cast them by way of excise duties upon the people. The culmination of this long process of the reduction of the people to economic slavery was reached and hastened with frenzied zeal at a date not long past living memory. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century private enclosure of the common lands proceeded apace. A House of Commons, of which a majority was elected by 500 land holders, passed Enclosure Acts by the thousand. The record is thus stated by Dr. Gilbert Slater:

"Early in the eighteenth century there began the great series of private Acts of Enclosure, of which 4,000 in all, covering some 7,000,000 acres, were passed before the General Enclosure Act of 1845. *During the same period it is probable that about the same area was enclosed without application to Parliament.*"

That this economic revolution was the cause of the unrelieved slavery which marked the inauguration of what is known as the "Industrial" Era, is now coming to be recognised. Socialists have long misled the workers into the delusion of believing that the inauguration of the Capitalistic era, the introduction of the factory system with the invention of the steam engine and the power loom, the sinking of the coal pits of the North, the concentration of capital, that is to say of the machinery of production, in a few hands created

the modern system of wage slavery. No capitalist as such ever created a slave. He can only buy a slave in the slave mart when slaves are forced to present themselves there under the lash of hunger. The slave mart was provisioned by those forced into slavery by the appropriation of their heritage, the land. The Landowners Return of 1876 shows that at that date

| | Acres. |
|---------------------------------|------------|
| 400 peers held | 5,728,979 |
| 1,288 great landowners held ... | 8,497,699 |
| 2,529 squires held | 4,319,271 |
| 9,585 greater yeomen held | 4,782,627 |
| 24,412 lesser yeomen held | 4,144,272 |
| <hr/> | <hr/> |
| 38,214 | 27,472,848 |

From this return we see that 38,214 proprietors held 27,472,848 acres out of the area for England and Wales of 34,523,944 acres. That 1,688 peers and great landowners held 14,226,678 acres, or over one-half of England and Wales. And 703,289 cottagers held 151,148 acres.

In Scotland, with an area of 18,946,694 acres, peers held 6,315,648 acres, or one-third. Estates over 3,000 acres in extent and £3,000 a year rental totalled 7,802,516 acres. Seventy men held half Scotland.

Thus culminated the long process in Britain of the substitution of economic slavery for chattel slavery. Instead of the conquest of foreign soil in order to secure chattel slaves thereby, the warrior class became a class of privileged legislators, and by process of privileged laws conquered Britain anew and enslaved its people. Force, exercised in the first place in direct violation of the equal right of all to life, and then to the use of the earth, upheld by laws passed by the violators, has reduced mankind to slavery.

In 1861 Russia provided the most tremendous object-lesson in the transmutation of legalised serfdom into economic slavery. Over a territory that comprises one-sixth of the land area of the globe, and where 90 per cent. of the population were attached to the soil as serfs of the landowners, liberation was decreed by order of the Czar. How serfdom was changed in form but not in essence is related by Gregor Alexinsky in "Modern Russia."

"The interest of the noble and landowner demanded that the liberated serf should be forced to labour on the Seigniorial Estate. Formerly the law forced them to provide the master with the labour required; now the same means had to be sought of obtaining the same thing. A way was found. At the moment of 'liberation' each peasant was deprived of a large part of the land which he had enjoyed previous to the 19th of February, 1861. This partial deprivation forced the peasant to rent fields belonging to some landowner, usually his former master. Too poor to pay rent in money, he paid

it in kind in *bartchina*, that is to say, in labour as during the age of serfdom." The lands reserved for the use of the former serfs were purchased for them through the State, which by placing a fictitious price upon them ensured that the serfs should not only buy the land but in the added price pay specifically for their "liberation."

To quote the above authority: "The lands in question were worth no more than £68,900,000, but £92,230,000 was demanded for them, or a sum of £23,330,000 in excess of their market value. The peasants contracted to pay for the land over a period of 50 years, and when the bargain had been completed in 1905 in purchase price and interest had paid £139,000,000." A transaction similar to that which the Land Nationalisation Federation proposes to enable the disinherited of Britain to buy themselves out of, and back into slavery.

(VI.)

It has been noted that in bygone days tribe waged war upon tribe and the victors made chattel slaves of the vanquished. It has been pointed out how in later days economic slavery was subtly substituted for chattel slavery within the sphere of each nation by the warrior class enslaving their own nationals by the appropriation of the land. We have now reached a new stage in the objective of the makers of war. Instead of their aim being to make chattel slaves, it now is to extend the sphere of economic slavery by the appropriation of the natural resources of the world. Unless this causation of modern wars be grasped, the peoples must regard the present devastation of the world and the sacrifice of millions of human lives as the result of a madness beyond compare. Whereas it has all come about "according to plan," and the victors proceed to the realisation of carefully matured aims. To imagine that the monopolists of the world embark aimlessly upon war is as great a delusion as ever blinded the minds of men. The only greater delusion is that they embark upon it for the realisation of altruistic aims. The first of recent wars plotted and promoted for the appropriation of natural resources and the extension of economic slavery was the Boer War of 1899-1902. The reefs of the Rand had been pegged out by alien appropriators, in the main by the Imperialists who had in the first instance appropriated the diamond-bearing lands of the Kimberley district and had established there the closed compound system of indentured native labour, a bestial system of slavery in all but name. With these appropriators was associated Cecil Rhodes, whose exploits in the formation of the Chartered Company of Rhodesia and the theft of the land of the natives had led to the horrible outrage of the Matabele "War." In the process of the exploitation of the gold of the Rand, and in the financial brigandage associated with the

flotation of companies in which they, as vendors, retained the bulk of the shares and left the investors of working capital to run the risks of production, these monopolists found their economic aims thwarted by the Boer Government. That Government appointed an Industrial Commission before which the mineowners made their demands. The chief of these was one for the introduction of slavery or, as they designated it, "forced Kaffir labour." The gold could have been mined profitably with highly paid white miners, but as the "capital" of the companies on which dividends had to be declared included the monopoly interest of the vendors, who simply granted permission to mine the gold in the reefs which they, or their agents, had pegged out, a greater return than that on true capital had to be provided. So they declared that only by the provision of unskilled labour at a shilling a day could the mines be profitably worked. The Kaffirs having access to the communal tribal lands were economically independent and were not forced by hunger to accept any terms that might be offered. From this fact rose the demand of the mineowners that they should be forced by law to work for them. The reply of the Boer Government was a direct refusal.

The financiers then determined to provoke war between England and the Transvaal. The public investment in the stocks of the mines secured the aid of all sections of the ruling class, from the West End where Cecil Rhodes had off-loaded blocks of shares at a top price, to the country parsonage where the emoluments arising from the cure of souls had been invested in the "Kaffir Circus." The first intimation that the Boer Government received of the plot that was afoot was the launching of the abortive Jameson Raid. From that moment they armed to resist aggression. The usual mendacities were set going to secure the support of the slaves of Britain for the extension of slavery. The British workers were told that the Boers had oppressed the white miners of the Rand, and when the war came the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, proclaimed it to be a "miners' war," and later "a feather in my cap." The manoeuvre was adopted to put the Boers in the position of aggressors, that later was promoted in relation to a similar but far more terrible enterprise. A rapid concentration of British forces on the frontier of the Transvaal took place. The Boers saw that if time were given for its completion they would be overwhelmed. They issued an ultimatum demanding withdrawal, which being treated with contempt, they launched their forces into Natal, hoping to effect victory before their position had become hopeless. The Boers were then presented as having declared war on the British Empire with the intention of "driving the British into the sea." All the might of the British Empire was called to quell the little Republic that could put about 40,000 burghers into

the field. After two and a half years of conflict, and in order to save the remnant of their women and children, 24,000 of whom had perished in the concentration camps, the Boers surrendered on terms which secured to them the ultimate control of their country. Meanwhile Lord Milner, whose appointment as High Commissioner of South Africa had provided the syndicates with a willing agent, was established as Governor of the Transvaal. The war-makers were then free to realise their economic aims. Lord Milner, in order to bring pressure to bear on the Kaffirs to force them to work at one shilling a day, doubled the hut tax. This did not avail. Defeated by the uncivilised blacks still holding communal lands, the syndicates then demanded the importation of 200,000 Chinese labourers to be held in conditions of slavery. In the end they secured the introduction of their slaves after having coerced the dependent Rand population into submission by threat of closing down the mines. Thus the Boer War was provoked by monopolists with intent to secure undisputed possession of the gold resources of the Transvaal and power to enforce conditions of slavery upon the workers. They were defeated in the first instance in the attainment of their object. But the lesson was learnt, and now throughout South and East Africa the natives are being enslaved by the appropriation of their lands. "War in future," said Cecil Rhodes, "will not be made for dynastic reasons, but because it is good business." The Imperialist of to-day is the slave-hunting marauder of primitive days. The one, spear in hand, rode at the head of his band; the other hires a pen-man and sends slaves to secure him slaves in the name of Imperial expansion. The Boer War was no sooner over than the Russo-Japanese War was precipitated. The Yalu forests lay in Korean territory. The Russian financiers floated a syndicate, of which the members of the Court were participants, to secure the ownership of this area. Japanese exploiters had similar aims, and out of the clash between the economic aims of financiers of Russia and Japan the war arose and the conscript slaves of each country were sent to the slaughter.

(VII.)

The Russo-Japanese War finished, the lust for the appropriation of the natural resources of the world rapidly developed amongst the Imperialists of Europe. A new factor had entered into the economy of mankind with the use of oil for motive power, and the appropriation of oil-bearing lands furnished a new impulse for aggression. The Russian Imperialists, thrown back from the Far East, hastened to prepare the way to secure the economic control of the Near East by the appropriation of the natural resources of the Turkish Empire. Constantinople became again the lure, and as General Skobelev

had declared, "The way to Constantinople lies through Vienna." Austria and her ally Germany had to be removed from the path. Britain, that in the past had withstood this Slav ambition to the point of war, had to be entrapped into a position which would involve consent. The Russian Imperialists saw in the Greater Serbia movement the immediate instrument for the dismemberment of Austria, through which the way would be opened to Constantinople and also to the acquisition of the oil-fields of East Galicia on which they had set their eyes. The first step in this vast marauding expedition was to bring Russia into alliance with Britain. This was achieved by the Imperialists of both countries making common cause for the partition of Persia into spheres of influence. Persian reformers had set up a constitutional Government in their country. Russian Cossacks murdered the Constitutionalists, restored autocracy, and the partition was effected. The British Government participated in the flotation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. for the exploitation of oil-bearing lands in the territory to which it had helped to extend the blessings of civilisation as symbolised by the knout and gallows. At the conclusion of the Boer War the British Government had arranged an *Entente* with the French Government. France undertook to assent to a British Protectorate over Egypt, and Britain agreed in return to assent to the establishment of a French "protectorate" over Morocco. The British Imperialists were concerned with the retention of the Sudan, where syndicates had secured territories for cotton growing, and where the British Government poured out money for irrigation works and incidentally sent up the price of land to a fabulous degree. With this enterprise the son-in-law and son of a British Prime Minister came to be associated. France sought possession of Morocco in order to round off her African conquests, which provided her with conscripts for her army, and to secure that country's iron-bearing land. The independence of Morocco had been guaranteed by an international Treaty, of which Germany was a signatory. Her iron-masters were concerned with the exploitation of Moroccan ores. When the German Government in 1905 intervened to secure recognition of her right to be consulted when a Treaty which safeguarded her interests was being treated as a "scrap of paper," the first Moroccan crisis was precipitated. The British Government took steps for the mobilisation of Army and Navy in support of French brigandage.

Again, in 1911, over the same issue, the same steps were taken, and Mr. Li. George delivered his famous, or infamous, ultimatum to Germany in his Mansion House speech; an ultimatum which the pacific action of the German Emperor prevented being accepted as a challenge to war. If war had then come instead of being postponed for three years, the people

would more easily have realised its economic causation. Germany meanwhile was pursuing her policy of economic expansion in the Near East. When, after the revolution, the Young Turks had established a Constitution, they appealed to Great Britain for aid. British policy being now controlled by Russian Ministers, and Russia seeing in a stable Government at Constantinople the frustration of her age-long ambition to seize the Straits, Sir Edward Grey turned a cold shoulder upon the Turkish delegation. The aid of Germany was then sought and willingly given. The Turkish Army was reorganised by a German general, and German exploiters turned to the appropriation of the natural resources of Turkish territory. Then a new orientation in British policy took place. Sir Edward Grey, who had aimed at the rehabilitation of Russia after her defeat by Japan, to act as a counterpoise to Germany, began to realise from the aggression and arrogance of Russia that he was helping to recreate the age-long menace to British Imperialistic interests in the East. Far from opposing German expansion in Turkey, he aided and abetted it. He had got so far as initialing the Baghdad Railway Treaty, which granted Germany facilities which the British Government has never dared to avow. Furthermore, the British Ambassador at Constantinople secured from the Turkish Government a concession for the joint exploitation by British and German capitalists of all oil "discovered or to be discovered" in Mesopotamia. This Anglo-German syndicate was actually constituted at the Foreign Office on June 26th, 1914, Baron Von Kullmann, Chargé d'Affaires at the German Embassy in London, being in attendance on behalf of his Government. This new-born association of Britain and Germany for securing economic control of Turkey cut across the similar aims long held by Russia. In February of 1914 the Grand Council of the Russian Empire met, and the protocol of the meeting, signed by the Czar, declared that immediate preparations must be made for the seizure of the Straits to be achieved through a European war. From that moment the doom of the world was sealed.

French Imperialists meanwhile resurrected the sentiment of the War of Revenge. Her rulers had secured a virtual triple alliance between Britain, Russia, and France, and had alienated Italy from her former allies. But revenge was not the animating object. The hour had come to reverse once more the division of his kingdom made by Charlemagne ~~the~~ ~~Cent~~ a thousand years ago, and over which blood for a thousand years had flowed. But war, as Cecil Rhodes had prophesied, would not this time be waged for "dynastic reasons," but because the Imperialists of the Paris Bourse scented "good business" therein. War upon an encircled Germany could only mean swift and certain victory. Victory would secure not only the restoration of the iron of Lorraine

and the potash of Alsacé, but the seizure of the coal of the Saar Valley and of the Ruhr. Then French and Russian appropriators of the natural resources of Europe would hold, not only Germany, but all Europe in economic bondage. Britain, that had robbed France of the proceeds of her robberies overseas through her Navy, and who had helped to build up the power of Prussia as a balance against Russia and France, would then be dealt with.

Meanwhile, British Imperialists had been stirring up national hatred against Germany. They were bent on the destruction of a commercial rival, and saw in war the realisation of their frustrated designs of further enslaving the people through the imposition of Protection. So the table had been arranged for a gamble in which the Imperialisms of Russia and France held the winning cards and felt secure of the stake represented by the natural resources of industrial Europe. Serbian Imperialists, assured of Russian support, gave the order for play to begin by the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne at Sarajevo. Austria replied with a punitive ultimatum. Germany stood by her one ally whose fall would have assured her own. The Czar of Russia signed the order for the general mobilisation of the Army and Navy, on French incitement. He immediately countermanded it on receipt of an appeal from the German Emperor in the interests of Peace, as Germany had commanded the Austrian Government to give way. But the Russian Imperial Ministers, knowing that delay would ensure peace and the failure of their aims, disobeyed the Czar and issued the ultimatum. The order of mobilisation was an acknowledged declaration of war on Germany and was accepted as such. British Imperialist Ministers who had secretly pledged Britain to the support of France hastened, before the issue of Belgium had arisen, to involve the nation in a war against Germany, precipitated by their own action in aiding Germany to cross the path of Russia bent on the spoliation of Turkey. So war came, and the slaves of each nation were marched to the shambles, and to this day know not why they marched. Later Italy was bribed by promise of territorial gain to the side that would have the spoils to distribute, and later on the United States Government abandoned its high professions and, under the influence of the financiers of Wall Street, came to the rescue of their debtors.

(VIII.)

The world is now immersed in night or in the gathering of its shadows. The peoples sit amid the ashes left by the conflagration of war, mourning for their dead or over hopes that have vanished. They know not which way to look for passage out of purgatory. Fear extends its empire in face of the unknown, and as it spreads amongst the master class

the methods of cruelty appear to them to be the more demanded to keep the slaves in subjection. The charlatans urge the hapless this way and that into paths of self-destruction. They seek to silence the voices of those who proclaim to slaves the cause of enslavement and bid them realise ere too late that out of slavery there is no gateway but Freedom. Meanwhile, rival groups of the slave-masters of the world plot fresh enterprises by which, when the clash comes between them, and for which they are arming their slaves, the final desolation of the world will be achieved. Empires and dynasties, Emperors, Czars, and aristocracies have vanished. But the wrong out of which they sprang remains, and based thereon a more terrible tyranny than these enforced now enmeshes the peoples of the world.

Mr. and Mrs. Webb cry in "The Decay of Capitalist Civilisation":

"Capitalism will die by violence and civilisation will perish with it from exhaustion."

Mr. H. G. Wells comments:

"I now realise the stupendous instability of the Western world. The system is breaking up. It has neither recuperative nor reconstructive powers."

In a letter just before his death, at the age of 92, Mr. Frederic Harrison wrote this last testament: "Every board in civilisation is cracking. The British Empire is melting away, just like the Roman in the year 300, and from the same causes."

Signor Nitti, ex-Premier of Italy, in "The Decadence of Europe," also proclaims the doom of civilisation.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire, when the Dark Ages came upon the world, there has been no such dissolution of the prevailing order as that now in progress. There was universal chaos then; universal chaos has come again, or is fast approaching. Then amidst the murderous antagonisms of the barbaric tribes of Europe there spread, century by century, a great message to the common people, and the Cross became the symbol of a philosophy that challenged the doctrine of Force typified by the sword. So human was the message and so calculated to make repugnant to the common people the Imperialistic ambitions of their masters, that the rulers of a pagan world thought it wise to take it from them and so pervert the gospel of the Golden Rule as to make it serve their malignant purposes. For Jesus, the Carpenter's Son, they substituted the Jahveh of the Old Testament, the cruel war god of an Asiatic tribe. Nevertheless the fact remains that it was the influence of a simple human message delivered to, and accepted by, the oppressed and enslaved, that first inspired a sentiment of brotherhood amongst the races of Europe, and which the priestly agents of their rulers have had to combat and pervert to this day. Nor will order evolve out of the

present chaos of the world except by the attraction of the minds of the oppressed and enslaved to some great evangel which proclaims the brotherhood of the peoples of the world, that asserts harmony to be the Law of Nature or of God the Creator.

The years of frenzied slaughter of man by man, the overturn of the social order called civilisation, has not changed by one jot the beneficent purpose of Nature. The child born to-day is as the child born yesterday. Still the sun shines and the rain falls, the seed germinates, the plant grows with the spring, ripens, and provides the seed to perpetuate the process. By natural right the child that Nature has endowed with life has been endowed by Nature with the means, in harmony with her, to take part in the processes that are eternal. To cultivate the soil, to sow the seed, and reap the harvest—this is the harmony to which man is born. But, as we have seen, Force, the agent of disharmony, has been exercised by some to pervert the natural law that all men shall seek to satisfy their needs with the least effort. Force compelled the weaker to work as chattel slaves to maintain the stronger, and then by the private appropriation of the earth, made economic slavery almost universal. War, which exalts Force over Reason and Natural Right, has throughout the history of mankind brought slavery and desolation upon the world. It is amid a desolation so produced that the peoples of the world sit in grief and despair to-day. The evangel that the peoples need is one that will harmonise with Natural Law, that of the brotherhood of mankind delivered to the world two thousand years ago. Such an evangel was given to the oppressed by Henry George. But the message of deliverance which he gave to the people, re-stated in these pages, has already suffered the fate of Christianity. It has been taken from the people by the pundits and politicians, leaving those to whom it was delivered bereft of hope. The peoples sit in darkness and in the valley of the shadow of death in life. The hour has come to rear for them the beacon light of Truth. All unavailing is the tallow-dip in the storm. A beacon fire is needed which the storm that is coming upon the world will not put out, but cause to burn the brighter to guide the shipwrecked into haven. The truth that Henry George proclaimed has been verified by the passage of the years; the prophecy that he made has been fulfilled in the reversion of the world to barbarism. The world awaits a new Declaration of Emancipation to complement the old which affirmed that all men are born with an "equal right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For the fulfilment of which it needs to be added that "and all men are born with an equal right to the Earth." Through the denial of this inherent right, Empires and civilisations have fallen, as their records show that have been rescued from the dust. Only by the assertion of this right can the peoples avert the

similar fate that is now in the making for themselves. When man-made law no longer subverts the Natural Law, when the common heritage wrested by Force from mankind is restored to mankind, then, and not till then, will man come by the fulfilment of his desires. Then, and not till then, will his feet be set in the broad way to his high destiny. Then, and not till then, will he come by Happiness. To proclaim this simple truth is to bring hope to the disinherited and the oppressed; and with the restoration of Hope all can be accomplished.

Those who will the end must also will the means of accomplishment. If the end aimed at be the emancipation of mankind from slavery, the means must accord with that high aim. This great cause must be lifted out of the political gutters, taken from the priests and pundits who seek to make its presentation accord with the convenience of politicians. It is vain to think that the day will be won by cunning. The slave-owners will not be placated by such tactics, the slaves will be disheartened. Faith should not be placed in the guile of politicians, but in the yearning of man for Freedom, in the fierce resolve that will one day come to burst out of the torture chamber. These are days in which Europe is being recast. In every direction triumphant reaction is busy seeking to secure that in the aftermath of war the foundation-stone of slavery shall be better and more truly laid. This the people dimly realise, but in their impotence consent with the passivity of despair. But now is the hour to raise the standard of Freedom. Now is the hour to demand Justice unqualified. Now is the hour to proclaim the Natural Rights of Man and to secure their assertion in full through the Restoration of Man to equal partnership with Nature.

(IX.)

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the agent of every force subversive of Liberty, has recently stated that if Europe is to be saved it must be saved by Britain. If humanity is to be saved, Britain must lead the way. Close on a thousand years ago our Saxon and Danish forebears were reduced to slavery by foreign conquest. The lot of their descendants to-day is one of veiled slavery imposed by the title deeds that conferred a feudal tenancy over the land of Britain upon the Baronage. In law no private ownership of land exists in Britain, but the tenants-in-chief of the King have, as legislators, secured the status of owners. All through the generations the instinct of Freedom has remained with the disinherited. To America, to escape from persecution, the English free-men fled, and then to Canada, Australia, New Zealand the dispossessed departed to seek satisfaction of their hunger for the earth, leaving the lords of the land to tyrannise over a derelict countryside and over a slum-bred population immersed

in slavery. Religious and political liberties were won in days of less subserviency than these. It was the English people who first contested the Divine Right of Kings to rule, and by process of law sent a monarch to the scaffold. It was the English people who for ever made the monarchy itself dependent on the will of the people, and Parliament supreme, when they turned a king off the throne. Then Parliament in 1689 issued its Declaration of Rights, implemented by the Bill of Rights, which confirmed the divine right of the people to rule. When, a century later, a king through his ministers sought to exercise authority over the English colonists of America, they flung out the challenge of the Declaration of Independence, and in arms made good their claim to political freedom. All the symbols of Liberty have been won, but Liberty itself is still denied, and has even come to be scoffed at by the slave-born leaders of slaves. The time has come to teach the people in what true Liberty consists, and to show them that all the struggles of their forefathers have served to secure, not Liberty itself, but the means whereby Liberty can be won.

Go to the festering slums where the children wane and die, or live to lay down their lives as the slaves who fell by the wayside on the march through the African jungle. Go there and tell the hapless mother that she is free, and she will answer: "Be that as it may. I know that I starve, that my breasts are dry, that my children perish or live to die." But go to the fetid sunless abode, to that mother whom wrong has made a slave, but Nature as the she-wolf when protectress of her young, and say to her: "Be of good cheer. Learn now what Liberty means. This child you have brought into the world is born by right divine an equal inheritor of the Earth. Nature, that through you has called this child to life, has provided for her offspring an equal right to this fairest portion of the Earth—this land of England. Beneficent the bestower and goodly the heritage. But listen! In the village the joy bells are ringing, for an heir has been born to one who, by virtue of a title deed deriving from conquest, claims England for himself and his fellows, and your child as the slave to be of his or of theirs. But listen again! The alarm bell is beginning to ring on the storm winds that are blowing over the world. Hark! The tocsin is beginning to toll, tolling so all the world may hear, tolling the death-knell of slavery, tolling to call the dispossessed, the disinherited, the enslaved to claim for themselves, for their children and their children's children, great Nature's gift to all. Send forth your man and, as the mother of old, bid him return with his shield or on it—to be free or die. For the hour has come the old world over, when the choice now lies between Freedom or Death." When the message is so delivered in the days that

are at hand, Hope will inspire the weakest to dare the heights, and man will be slave no more.

This is the appeal that the hour demands, and this the response that would be accorded. Why, then, should these falter into whose trust the message of emancipation has been delivered? Why falter "step by step," like palsied old guides who dare no longer tread the narrow paths nor look into the great crevasses amid the heights to be scaled—falter and fail? Why, with bated breath, propose in such days as these that mankind should seek to secure Liberty on the instalment plan, Justice on the time payment system? No half-way house between Liberty and Slavery can now be raised to endure. The civilisation that Force has reared on the sands of Slavery cracks and shakes in the throes of dissolution. Now is the hour for Reason to speak, not in a piping voice to be drowned amid the clamour, but trumpet-tongued so all may hear. To cry on the four winds of heaven to the peoples of the Earth: "Be Just and Fear not." Justice demands the Restoration of Nature to her disinherited children, and Courage will secure accomplishment. Strike with the wand of Justice on the barren rocks of human desolation, and the waters of Hope will flow and the weary press on again to reach the Promised Land. But the sands run out in the hour-glass, and when they have run out the hour of present opportunity will have passed beyond recall. For Reason will flee the world when Revolution possesses it. Then, instead of the waters of Hope flowing at the stroke of Justice, a red torrent will flow as the machine-gun answers the mad deeds of the despairing—lost through false guidance, lost because the Truth was dimmed or withheld. Therefore, while yet they may, let the British people see to it that there shall go forth from their House of Commons a further Declaration of Rights couched in some such terms as these:

Whereas the condition of the people is such as no longer to be tolerable, this House is called upon, in accordance with ancient custom, to issue a Declaration of Rights. For now, as in the past, the distress of the people arises from the denial of inherent rights which it is the duty of this House to assert and conserve.

This House therefore Declares:—

That all citizens have an equal inherent Right to Life, seeing that no one has, or can have, authority to claim for himself or ascribe to another any but an equal right. That as life can only be maintained by access to Nature, it follows that the equal Right to Life involves an Equal Right to the Earth.

That the private ownership of Land, the appropriation by some of Nature's provision for all, is a violation of the equal

Right to Life, which results in poverty and slavery being the common lot of the disinherited.

That the assertion of the equal Right to the Land is demanded for the fulfilment of Justice, for the assurance of Liberty, and in order that the curse of poverty may be forever removed.

That the equal Right to the Land shall be asserted by calling upon each occupier of a portion of the Common Estate to pay its economic rent, that is to say, the annual value of the privilege of exclusive occupancy, into a Common Land Rent Fund for common use. So that access to Nature shall be no longer withheld. So that the fruits of labour shall remain with the labourer. So that those born into the world may come into it as its equal inheritors, and thus the equal Right to Life be established.

This Declaration shall be known as the Declaration by the House of Commons of the Common Right to the Land of Britain.

A Declaration of Rights to affirm the principle, a Finance Bill to assert the principle, and the long pilgrimage through well nigh a thousand years of slavery would end at last.

THE END.

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THE COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY DECLARES, following the statement of the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man by the French Assembly in 1798, that:

1. Every human being, by the mere fact of "being," has an equal and **inalienable** right to life (and therefore to access to the means of life), and a liberty bounded only by a like liberty of every other human being.
2. No legal enactment can deprive any human being of these **inalienable rights**, even with the consent of the individual: they are always and forever **inalienable**.
3. No human being, therefore, can have or obtain any exclusive right to ownership of the Earth. It is always and forever the **inalienable** property of all its inhabitants.
4. Security of tenure and exclusive occupation (**NOT OWNERSHIP**) of portions of the Earth are necessary for the better production, transportation, and exchange of those things (wealth) upon which mankind depends for its sustenance and enjoyment.
5. Security of tenure and exclusive occupation of portions of the Earth can be in conformity with the natural **inalienable** equal rights of all individual inhabitants thereof, only if:

The value of such exclusive occupation is taken annually by an Authority representing the whole Community, and expended by that Authority in the service of and for the benefit of the whole Community. This value is RENT (or economic

rent), and the measure of it is the difference in desirability from any cause of any portion of the Earth, as compared with the least desirable portion.

6. This RENT, or value of the bare site, appears as the result of the presence of human beings, and grows with the growth of the population. It is always ascertainable, and being the creation of all the people and not the creation of any individual, **the collection of it for the benefit of its creators would be a simple act of justice to all.**
7. The collection of this RENT for **private** use (as at present) is a denial of the right of access to the means of life; a denial of the justice of equality of opportunity; and has no sanction in equity or in natural (or moral) Law. It is, in fact, the assertion of "special privilege"—a greater right to life and liberty.
8. **This denial of equality of the right to life has led to a denial of the real right of property in the things produced by labour, viz.:**
The imposition of unequal, unjust, arbitrary taxation on Industry, to meet public needs, on the principle that "Necessity knows no Law," which is the denial of the right of the producer of wealth to retain it for his or her own use. This denial of the right of property, together with the failure to collect for public use the annual value created by the public, is the real cause of wars, revolutions, involuntary poverty, and most of the disease and crime of the world.
9. **The RENT created by the Community is sufficient in normal times, under just conditions, to meet the expenses of the public services, and to enable the managers of the public business to take care of the incompetent and the old, and to provide educational facilities for all alike—not as charity or benevolence, but as mere justice.**
10. **No generation can bind a following one, and it is the right and duty of the living to do justice, even if some who profit by unjust conditions suffer hardship.**
11. No legislative enactments of the past that are contrary to the natural Law of simple Justice can be regarded by the living as valid; if there are any such, they should be ignored or repealed.
12. No human being can purchase or otherwise acquire any valid title to the right to exact toll from other

human beings in exchange for permission to use the Earth. All claims to such, or for pecuniary compensation on the part of individuals claiming to "OWN" the Earth, for loss of power to confiscate public rent, as above defined, should be denied.

13. Whoever exercises labour on land after opportunities are equalised by the collection of the RENT of the bare land for the public Treasury, has an exclusive right to all the products of such labour, free from any arbitrary, confiscatory deductions by officials.
14. Proposals for the control of human activities by the State or Government are in the direction of economic slavery; any such, and any interference with the right of the individual to self-development and self-sustenance, are no substitutes for a freedom based on the foregoing principles and leading to a natural and voluntary extension of the co-operation under which alone Society can peacefully endure and prosper.

The COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY realises that the obstacles to the establishment of a just relationship between man and the Earth, and therefore between the individual units of Society, can be removed in an orderly, reasonable, just, and constitutional manner, only when and if the Electorate in sufficient majority see the principles upon which Society must be constituted; and, recognising that the only true and just solution of the Social Problem is to make all the land the common property of all the people, by diverting the rental value, which now flows into the pockets of the Land Lords, into the Common Treasury, calls for support for an attempt to return Members to Parliament pledged to carry out, at the earliest moment, the Will of the people to Freedom, through Justice and equality of opportunity.

The COMMONWEALTH LAND PARTY invites all interested in the proper solution of the questions which now vex us, to join up and make a united effort to carry into effect the principles clearly defined and urged upon the world by HENRY GEORGE.

For further information address:—

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