SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.
CHAPTER XXII (continued)—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

(Continued from p. 73.)

The movement was begun in Germany by Lassalle about 1853 as a national movement; it grew in that form after his death for some years. Meanwhile "the International" had been founded, and had gradually come under the guidance of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, who were aiming at an energetic and revolutionary organisation of the working-people and Bebel, men uniting in gaining converts to the ideas of the International from the followers of Lassalle and of Schulze-Delitzsch, the bourgeois co-operationist, to which latter party indeed Bebel himself once belonged.

The scope of this article prevents us from going into details as to the fortunes of the German party; it is enough to say that the Marx party fused with the congresses of the Lassalle party amalgamated with them, formally recognising the special tenets of Lassalle, notably the nationalistic aims which formed a part of them. The party went on growing, and is now a large newspaper press and some representation in the Reichstag. Then in 1875 came the "attacks" on the Emperor by Hodel and Nobel, followed by the repressive laws against the Socialists, which destroyed their press at one swoop, and extinguished all open agitation in Germany. Nevertheless the growth of the party was not perceptibly checked by these arbitrary measures; the headquarters of its direction were transferred to Zurich, where they yet remain. At the Congress held last October at St. Gallen the revolutionary character of the party was sustained, in the teeth of some attempts at opportunism which came from a section of the representatives in the Reichstag. The temptation to opportunism was not stronger than the desire of the party for a union of power by the Reichstag by forming alliances with other groups, whereas at present as a Socialist party they are quite powerless there. It may be added that the Socialists in France, of which they are "patronised," founded on fear of the danger of actual invasion, checking for a time the rapidity of the advance of Socialism; though in the party itself the feeling for internationalism is overwhelming and past all fear of change.

France has for the present rather fallen back from her position of leader in the revolutionary movement. The party itself is somewhat split up internally, though the difference between rank and file is not serious and mainly have to do with matters of tactics. Socialist ideas have permeated the whole mass of the town workmen, who are more separated from the peasantry than in any other European country. The party has been somewhat weakened, though undoubtedly it still expands, especially as it is spreading to all manufacturing centres. In France Socialism is not definitely attacked by the government as it is in Germany, although it is as it does in this country, from the ordinary repressive police system.

In Holland the movement, which has now reached extraordinary dimensions, was begun in the year 1852. The propaganda has been mainly the work of Donela Nieuwenhuyse, formerly a popular preacher in Amsterdam, released recently from a term of imprisonment. The police in Holland have gone so far in attacking the Socialists as to stir up mobs against them, and in one case to the extent of breaking into the meeting places and threatening the lives of his leaders.

In Belgium the movement is progressing vigorously, in the teeth of the two opposed parties, and the feeling of the workmen generally is very strong. The socialists, especially the miserable section of the mining population, who in 1856 broke out into riots that almost attained to the proportions of a revolt. The party supports a daily paper.

In Denmark, the movement is so far advanced as to support two daily papers of large circulation, in spite of the smallness of the population. No doubt it is much helped there by the curious constitutional situation in which the Liberal majority and the Court party are holding each other at deadlock. This Danish movement has even penetrated to Sweden, and a Socialist party is growing up there.

In Russia, bureaucratic absolutism is blended with survivals of the more barbaric absolutism, and as a consequence of the monstrous government which results from this, the movement seems now to be aiming at bringing about a constitutional revolution as a forerunner of the great change which this condition of things has so worked on the aspirations of the intelligent part of the people, that the movement there has been surrounded by a halo of personal heroism which has attracted universal admiration and respect even from the imperial court itself. In Austria, the faith of the masses generally is Socialism, but owing partly to the composite character of the Empire, which embraces such very different and dissimilar provinces, and partly to the conscientiousness of its Absolutist Government, there is no definite organisation.

In Spain, the movement is progressing, although hampered by the tie of the conservative and semi-absolutist sections of the country, ideas, which can only end in the abolition of priest and king.

In Italy, the followers of Bakounine's Anarchism have had much influence, and the movement consequently is mostly Anarchist in character.

In America, the movement till recently has been entirely in the hands of the German immigrants; but of late years there has been a remarkable development of it among the negroes. The result has been a great and violent disputes between the capitalists and wage-

workers has been the formation of an indigenous labour party, vague in aim and somewhat chaotic in action, but tending steadily towards a definite. In the recognition of the solidarity of the working-people, both Henry George's work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which created such a sensation in this country, unsatisfactory as it was, has no doubt had its effect upon this movement, though its author in his quest for power and position has now practically rejected whatever current was of any value in it. One incident in the American movement is the formation of the gigantic trades' union called the Knights of Labour, which has more definitely advanced towards pure Socialism than those in this country; though Powderley's coquetting with the Catholic hierarchy has led to a split in the body, which leads to a hope that true Socialism may soon be generally accepted amongst the American working-classes. This will certainly be encouraged by the ability of the American capitalists, who in their dastardly fear of the possible combination of their wage-slaves, have murdered the Anarchist leaders at Chicago under their being indicted in 1878 for the murder of a bomb-shell in the heat of a desperate labour-conflict in that city.

To get back again to this country, the movement is spreading much beyond the limits of the definite Socialist organisations, which are for the most part based on the ideas held abroad. The circulation of the political pamphlets and of the publication of journals and pamphlets. In fact, it may be said that the strength of the movement here is on the intellectual side, and that organisation for action of any kind is very defective. Nevertheless, Socialist opinion is making itself felt widely as well as deeply; this is very marked in the effect it is having on the Radicals, since it is defacing a constantly increasing number of them from the old positions which are the left wing of the party. The raw orders they have hitherto acted since the time when Gladstone became the leader of the party. The Irish movement being at bottom a rebellious and illustrious instance of the movement in France, of which it is a sort of "patronisation," founded on fear of the danger of actual invasion, checking for a time the rapidity of the advance of Socialism; though in the party itself the feeling for internationalism is overwhelming and past all fear of change.

The "Guns went off of themselves"—"The revolutionary waves of the year 1843 soon reached Berlin, and the news of the popular movement being on in the Rhineland provinces and smaller States of Germany stimulated the people of the capital to demand fresh concessions. At the great open-air meeting held on the 15th, a collision took place between people and soldiers. During the evening week Berlin was in an open state of revolution, and the people no longer be satisfied with anything less than complete freedom. Frederick became somewhat afraid, and on the 18th he issued a proclamation whereby he pledged himself to give to his beloved people all kindness and more and more. The people assembled in the square before the royal palace, when a troop of dragons came up and at once advanced against them. The soldiers were at first repulsed, but a wagon corps began immediately afterwards. The battle lasted long, and was lost to the people. The night of March 18, 1848. Frederick wrote that immortal piece of hypocrisy and cowardice, which it will be well to preserve in these columns. He runs as follows: "To my beloved Berliners! By the will of God, we have been privileged of the people, and have absolved from the duties of your representatives, the most sacred rights of your freedom and independence, the most faithful sentiments of your king towards you and towards the whole of the German people. Now in the lust of joy which people who have been still remedied in my ears, when a crowd of peace-breakers mingled with the loyalty of the king, had been made by theuggestions and ideas, which can do no more than the abolition of priest and king. In Spain, the followers of Bakounine's Anarchism have had much influence, and the movement consequently is mostly Anarchist in character.

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