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THE COMMONWEAL

THE OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. I.—No. 1.

FEBRUARY, 1885.

ONE PENNY

INTRODUCTORY.

Before our readers' leave for a few words in which to introduce to them this Socialist journal, THE COMMONWEAL. In the first place we ask them to understand that the Editor and Sub-Editor of THE COMMONWEAL are acting as delegates of the Socialist League, and under its direct control: any slip in principles, therefore, any mis-statement of the aims or tactics of the League, are liable to correction from the representatives of that body.

As to the conduct of THE COMMONWEAL, it must be remembered that it has one aim—the propagation of Socialism. We shall not, therefore, make any excuses for what may be thought journalistic shortcomings, if we can but manage to attract attention to the study of our principles from those who have not yet thought of Socialism, or who are, as often happens, bitterly hostile to them through ignorance; or if we can help those whose feelings are drawing them towards the cause of the workers, but who need definite instruction as to its aims and methods. To awaken the sluggish, to strengthen the waverers, to instruct the seekers after truth; these are high aims, yet not too high for a journal that claims to be Socialistic, and we hope by patience and zeal to accomplish them.

It is our duty to attack unsparingly the miserable system which would make all civilisation end in a society of rich and poor, of slaves and slave-owners. In all its details we must attack it; but in doing so we shall avoid mere personalities, not for the sake of escaping the accusations of bad taste and bitterness, which doubtless will in any case be flung at us, but because it is illogical to attack those men, monstrous as their position is, who are themselves mere helpless victims in the terrible machine of modern commerce. To attack such persons, unless they put themselves forward as the representatives of the system, implies the belief that the decency or benevolence of their conduct would usefully palliate the evils of that system; an implication against which we protest from the outset.

THE COMMONWEAL will only deal with political matters when they directly affect the progress of the Cause. We assume as a matter of course; that a government of privileged persons, hereditary and commercial, cannot act usefully or rightly towards the community; their position forbids it; their arrangements for the distribution of the labour of the workers, their struggles for the national share of the spoils, their exploitation of barbarous peoples are nothing to us except so far as they may give us an opportunity of instilling Socialism into men's minds, or of organizing discontent into Socialism.

We invite from all, Socialists or others, free discussion of anything we put forward, in the belief that even an uninstructed attack will elicit useful information which might otherwise have lain dormant.

Our articles will, for the most part, be of an educational nature: there will be a series on historical revolutions, expositions of the scientific basis of Socialism, and contributions from men of various nationalities.

Lastly, a word of appeal, to the workers chiefly. It is not only that whatever we say is professedly directly in their interest: much more it is through them alone, through the slaves of society, we look for regeneration, for its elevation from its present corruption and degradation. We cannot pretend to think that they, the workers, as yet know much of the principles of the cause that rests upon them, of their own cause, in fact. We beseech them to help us in spreading the knowledge of those principles amongst their fellows, that as we believe they will now find us honest, so their support may make us resolute, patient, and hopeful—in a word, successful in our efforts for the advancement of the cause we have at heart.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE

FELLOW CITIZENS,

We come before you as a body advocating the principles of Revolutionary International Socialism; that is, we seek a change in the basis of Society—a change which would destroy the distinctions of classes and nationalities.

As the civilised world is at present constituted, there are two classes of Society—the one possessing wealth and the instruments of its production, the other producing wealth by means of those instruments but only by the leave and for the use of the possessing classes.

These two classes are necessarily in antagonism to one another. The possessing class, or non-producers, can only live as a class on the unpaid labour of the producers—the more unpaid labour they wring out of them, the richer they will be; therefore the producing class—the workers—are driven to strive to better themselves at the expense of the possessing class, and the conflict between the two is ceaseless. Sometimes it takes the form of open rebellion, sometimes of strikes, sometimes of mere widespread mendicancy and crime; but it is always going on in one form or other, though it may not always be obvious to the thoughtless looker-on.

We have spoken of unpaid labour: it is necessary to explain what that means. The sole possession of the producing class is the power of labour inherent in their bodies; but since, as we have already said, the rich classes possess all the instruments of labour, that is, the land, capital, and machinery, the producers or workers are forced to sell their sole possession, the power of labour, on such terms as the possessing class will grant them.

The terms are, that after they have produced enough to keep themselves in working order, and enable them to beget children to take their places when they are worn out, the surplus of their products shall belong to the possessors of property, which bargain is based on the fact that every man working in a civilised community can produce more than he needs for his own sustenance.

The relation of the possessing class to the working class is the essential basis of the system of producing for a profit, on which our modern Society is founded. The way in which it works is as follows: The manufacturer produces to sell at a profit to the broker or factor who in his turn makes a profit out of his dealings with the merchant who again sells for a profit to the retailer, who must make his profit out of the general public, aided by various degrees of fraud and adulteration and the ignorance of the value and quality of goods to which this system has reduced the consumer.

The profit-grinding system is maintained by competition, or veiled war, not only between the conflicting classes, but also within the classes themselves: there is always war among the workers for bare subsistence, and among their masters, the employers and middle-men, for the share of the profit wrung out of the workers; lastly, there is competition always, and sometimes open war, among the nations of the civilised world for their share of the world-market. For any, indeed, all the rivalries of nations have been reduced to this form of struggling for their share of the spoils of barbarous countries, and used at home for the purpose of increasing the riches of the few and the poverty of the poor.

For, owing to the fact that goods are made primarily to sell, and only secondarily for use, labour is wasted on all hands; since the pursuit of profit compels the manufacturer competing with his fellows to force his wares on the markets by means of their cheapness, whether there is any real demand for them or not. In the words of the Communist Manifesto of 1847:—

“Cheap goods are their artillery for battering down Chinese walls and for overcoming the obstinate hatred entertained against foreign by semi-civilised nations: under penalty of ruin the Bourgeoisie

by competition the universal adoption of their system of production; they force all nations to accept what is called civilisation and become Bourgeois—and thus the middle-class shapes the world in its own image."

Moreover, the whole method of distribution under this system is a waste; for it employs whole armies of clerks, travellers, shopkeepers, advertisers, and what not, merely for the sake of shifting money from one person's pocket to another's; and this waste in production and distribution, added to the maintenance of the useless lives of the possessing and non-producing class, must all be paid for out of the products of the workers, and is a ceaseless burden on their lives.

The necessary results of this so-called civilisation are only too obvious in the lives of its slaves, the working-class—in the anxiety and want of leisure amidst which they toil, in the squalor and overcrowdedness in those parts of our great towns where they dwell; in the degradation of their bodies, their wretched health, and the shortness of their lives; in the terrible brutality so common among them, and which is indeed but the reflection of the cynical selfishness found among the well-to-do classes, a brutality as hideous as the other; and lastly, in the crowd of criminals who are as much manufactures of our commercial system as the cheap and nasty wares which are made at the rate for the consumption and the enslavement of the poor.

What remedy, then, do we propose for this failure of our civilisation, which is now admitted by almost all thoughtful people?

We have already shown that the workers, although they produce the wealth of society, have no control over its production or distribution: the people, who are the only really organic part of society, are treated as a mere appendage to capital—as a part of its machinery. This must be altered from the foundation: the land, the capital, the machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transit, mines, banking, all means of production and distribution of wealth, must be declared and treated as the common property of all. Every man will then receive the full value of his labour, without deduction for the profit of a master, and as all will have to work, and the waste now incurred by the pursuit of profit will be at an end, the amount of labour necessary for every individual to produce in order to carry on the essential work of the world will be reduced to something like two or three hours daily; so that every man will have abundant leisure for following intellectual and artistic pursuits congenial to his nature.

The method of production and distribution would be altered so that every man could live decently, and free from the sordid anxieties for the bread and butter which at present weigh so heavily on the greater part of mankind.

But, moreover, men's social and moral relations would be seriously modified by this gain of economical freedom, and by the collapse of the superstitions, moral and other, which necessarily accompany a state of economical slavery: the test of duty would now rest on the fulfilment of clear and well-defined obligations to the community rather than on the moulding of the individual character and actions to some preconceived standard outside social responsibilities.

Our modern bourgeois property-marriage, maintained as it is by its necessary complement, universal venal prostitution, would give place to friendly and human relations between the sexes.

Education freed from the trammels of commercialism on the one hand and superstition on the other, would become a reasonable drawing out of men's varied faculties in order to fit them for a life of social intercourse and happiness; for mere work would no longer be proposed as the end of life, but happiness for each and all.

Only by such fundamental changes in the life of man, only by the transformation of Civilisation into Socialism, can those miseries of the world before-mentioned be remedied.

As to mere politics, Absolutism, Constitutionalism, Republicanism, have all been tried in our day and under our present social system, and all have alike failed in dealing with the real evils of life.

On the other hand, will certain incomplete enemies of social reform now before the public solve the question.

Co-operation so-called—that is, competitive co-operation for profit—would merely increase the number of small joint-stock capitalists, under the mask of creating an aristocracy of labour, while it would intensify the severity of labour by its temptations to overwork.

Nationalisation of the land alone, which many earnest and sincere men are now preaching, would be useless so long as labour was subjected to the fleecing of surplus value inevitable under the Capitalist system.

The latter solution would be that State Socialism, by whatever name it may be called, whose aim it would be to make concessions to the workers while leaving the present system of capital and wages unaltered: no number of merely administrative changes, until

the workers are in possession of all political power, would make a real approach to Socialism.

The Socialist League therefore aims at the realisation of complete Revolutionary Socialism, and well knows that this can never happen in any one country without the help of the workers of all civilisations. For us neither geographical boundaries, political history, race, nor creed makes rivals or enemies; for us there are no nations but only varied masses of workers and friends, whose mutual sympathies are checked or perverted by groups of masters and fleecers who are interested in it to stir up rivalries and hatreds between the dwellers in different lands.

It is clear that for all these oppressed and cheated masses of workers and their masters a great change is preparing: the dominant classes are uneasy, anxious, touched in conscience even, as to the condition of those they govern; the markets of the world are being competed for with an eagerness never before known; everything points to the fact that the great commercial system is becoming unmanageable, and is slipping from the grasp of its present rulers.

The one change possible out of all this is Socialism. As chattel slavery passed into serfdom, and serfdom into the so-called free-labour system, so most surely will this latter pass into social order.

To the realisation of this change the Socialist League addresses itself with all earnestness. As a means thereto it will do all in its power towards the education of the people in the principles of this great cause, and will strive to organise those who will accept this education, so that when the crisis comes, which the march of events is preparing, there may be a body of men ready to step into their due places and deal with and direct the irresistible movement.

Close fellowship with each other, and steady purpose for the advancement of the Cause, will naturally bring about the organisation and discipline amongst ourselves absolutely necessary to success; but we shall look to it that there shall be no distinctions of rank or dignity amongst us to give opportunities for the selfish ambition of leadership which has so often injured the cause of the workers. We are working for equality and brotherhood for all the world, and it is only through equality and brotherhood that we can make our work effective.

Let us all strive, then, towards this end of realising the social order towards social order, the only cause worthy the attention of the workers of all that are proffered to them: let us work in that cause patiently, yet hopefully, and not shrink from making sacrifices to the Cause. Industry in learning its principles, industry in teaching them, are most necessary to our progress; but to these we must add, if we wish to avoid speedy failure, frankness and fraternal trust in each other, and single-hearted devotion to the religion of Socialism, the only religion which the Socialist League professes.

Signatures of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League.

W. B. ADAMS.
EDWARD AVELING.
ELLENOR GARY AVERY.
ROBERT BANNER.
E. BELFORD BAX.
THOMAS BINNING.
H. CHARLES.
WILLIAM J. CLARK.
J. COOPER.
E. T. CRAIG.
CHARLES J. FAULKNER.
W. HUDSON.
FRANK KITZ.
JOSEPH LANE.
FREDERIC LESSNER.
THOMAS MAGUIRE (Leeds).
J. L. MAHON.
S. MAINWARING.
JAMES MAJOR (Glasgow).
WILLIAM MORRIS.
C. MOWBRAY.
ANDREAS SCHEU (Edinburgh).
EDWARD WATSON.

IMPERIALISM v. SOCIALISM.

WE seem at the present time to have arrived at the acute stage of the colonial fever which during the past three or four years has afflicted the various powers of Europe. Germany is vying with France, England with both, in the haste to seize upon "unoccupied" countries and to establish "protectorates"—the cant diplomatic for inconclusive annexation—over uncivilised peoples. "The rivalry among the nations for their share of the world market" (to quote the words of our *festi*) must now, one would think, have discovered itself to the casual newspaper reader as the only meaning the "diplomacy" and "foreign policy" any longer possess. The jealousy between the courts of Europe, once the sole and recently the main cause of national enmity and war, has in our day been superseded by the jealousy between the great capitalist powers of various nationalities. The flunkey-patriot, zealous of his country's honour, dances as readily to-day to the pipe of capitalist greed as he did before to that of royal intrigue, let it but sound the note of national hatred. In both cases he makes the running for the

parties. But where the interested party is the wealthiest and most powerful class, able to pay for "patriotic" articles by the yard, and "patriotic" speeches by the hour, "patriotism" is apt to assume the form of a chronic endemic. Such it is to-day, and as such, mocks the futile efforts of the well-meaning but singularly ingenuous clique of middle-class philanthropists, who are naive enough to take the governmental ring at its word when it pretends its only object in undertaking "expeditions" to be the rescue of "Christian heroes" or the relief of garrisons, which have no right to be in a position to want relieving. War, jingoism—otherwise patriotism—are indeed past cure while the economic basis of society remains unchanged, but only so far; and hence we call on all sincere friends of peace to leave their tinkering "peace societies" and join our Socialist League, remembering that all commercial wars—and what modern wars are not directly or indirectly commercial?—are the necessary outcome of the dominant civilisation. We conjure them to reflect that such wars must necessarily increase in proportion to the concentration of capital in private hands—i.e., in proportion as the commercial activity of the world is intensified, and the need for markets becomes more pressing. Markets, markets, markets! Who shall deny that this is the drone-bass ever welling up from beneath the shrill bawling of "pioneers of civilisation," "avengers of national honour," "purveyors of gospel light," "restorers of order;" in short, beneath the hundred and one cuckoo cries with which the "market classes" seek to smother it or to vary its monotony? It seems well-nigh impossible there can be men so blind as not to see through these sickening hypocrises of the governing classes, so thin as they are.

But we would, above all, earnestly urge the workers in future to consider "patriotism" from this point of view. The end of all foreign policy, as of colonial extension, is to provide fields for the relief of native surplus capital and merchandise, and to keep out the foreigner. But how, we ask, does this benefit the workers at the best? They are allowed, may be, the privilege of being shipped across the seas, there to help to make the capitalist and land-grabber rich. Some few here and there may, indeed, succeed, in a colony which is quite new, in becoming wealthy exploiters in their turn. But the immense majority remain wage-slaves as before. In proportion to the advancing prosperity of the colony—as prosperity is conceived in the world of to-day—is its increasing poverty. Sydney, Melbourne, San Francisco, Chicago, and the leading Australian and new American cities generally, exhibit precisely the same conditions as the cities of the Old World. And how can it be otherwise, since the same causes are at work? To crown these tendencies like India, which are held unblushingly as magazines for aristocratic and middle classes to plunder at their will, it is only necessary to barely allude in a socialist journal.

This, then, is the empire which the blood and sinews of our workers are squandered to maintain and extend. With room enough and to spare in the British Islands for all their inhabitants to live a comfortable life, ever fresh lands are sought for exploitation, ever new populations for pillage. It matters not even that colonies already established could accommodate more than a hundred times their present inhabitants; still the vampire Imperialism sucks in fresh territory year by year. Populations to rob and enslave; markets to shoot bad hares into; lands to invest capital upon: to obtain these is the be-all and end-all of modern statesmanship. For this has the stock-jobbers' republic of France waged war successively on Tunis, Madagascar, Tonquin, and China; for this does the congress sit at Berlin, partitioning the plunder of Central Africa in advance; for this does the ark seize Angra Pequena, New Ireland, and Samoa; for this has the chau fanatic and heroic restorer of corrupt Chinese despotism reluctantly (?) consents to go to Khartoum on a pacific mission, collects a body of adventurers on his arrival, proceeds to attack the surrounding tribes, and then howls for British troops to protect him; for this, lastly, is Lord Wolseley sent with an expedition in response up the Nile.

And now a word as to the attitude of socialists towards the imperial question. For the socialist the word frontier does not exist; for his love of country, as such, is no nobler sentiment than love of class. The blustering "patriot," big with England's glory, is precisely on a level with the bloated plutocrat, proud to belong to that great "middle class," which he assures you is "the backbone of the nation." Race- pride and class- pride are, from the standpoint of socialism, involved in the same condemnation. The establishment of socialism, therefore, on any national or race basis is out of the question. Tall talk about the "Anglo-Saxon race," or "the great democracies of English-speaking peoples, in union with the more ancient democracy of England," by combination and determined effort securing for themselves "the leadership in the social changes and reforms (sic) which are close at hand," can but disgust the socialist who is at once logical and honest.

No, the foreign policy of the great internationalist socialist party must be to break up these hideous race monopolies called empires, beginning in each case at home. Hence everything which tends to the disruption and disintegration of the empire to which he belongs must be welcomed by the socialist as an ally. It is his duty to urge on any movement tending in any way to dislocate the commercial relations of the world, knowing that every shock the complex commercial system suffers weakens it and brings its dissolution nearer. This is the negative side of the foreign policy of socialism. The positive is embraced in a single sentence: to concentrate the union of the several national sections on the basis of firm friendship, steadfast adherence to definite principle, and determination to present a solid front to the enemy.

E. BELFORD BAX.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

When a cause or a man is caricatured, there is hope for the cause or the man. Our cause has made enough stir in the stagnant and noisome pool of modern society to have reached even *Punch*. Nearly half a column of that decorously-dull periodical (Jan. 17th) containing one lonely joke, is devoted to the unconscious propagation of our principles.

The same number contains a picture of the "middle-man who is sucking the life out of the hare"—what think you? The hare? The Proletariat? Nay, truly. The hare Free Trade. Think of the imagery, workers!

If *Mr. Punch* could read the signs of any other Times than that of Printing House Square, he would make his worn-out hare, the Worker, run to death by the greyhound Capital; for his middle-man whose foot rests on Profit, he would have Society itself; and the rising sun, labelled Trade, would be the sun of International Organisation of the working classes.

Two prizes of £5 each have been offered for competition (loathsome word!) among the students of the classes under the University Settlement Scheme at Toynbee Hall, Cambridge Street, E. One is for an Essay on Sir Thomas More. The other is on "The Possibilities of Productive Co-operation as a Solution of the Labour Question." Among the books recommended to the competitors for the latter is Sedley Taylor's "Profit Sharing," Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," Ferdinand Lassalle's "Working Men's Programme;" Robert Owen's Report.

"An anthropologist," writing in the *Pall Mall*, points forward the view arrived at, he states, after a wide study of the habits and constitution of aboriginal races, that the cause of the decadence and extinction of such races lies not so much in zymotic diseases or alcohol as in the unnatural clothing forced upon them by the missionary and trader. An earnest appeal is made in this connexion on behalf of the Papuan, an appeal which we fear has little chance against the lawless commercial greed and swindling which form "civilisation." The cruelty which forces tropical and sub-tropical races to sheathe themselves in European "shoddy," as the "anthropologist" himself admits, is the necessary outcome of the "opening up" of their lands to that commercial enterprise of which the missionary is but the "religious exponent."

Among this month's "protectorate" is one over the coast of Pondoland. The *Times* do not like it. They are, however, assured by the leading Liberal organ that the English Government is acting quite within its rights; that a "protectorate" necessarily means annexation, &c., &c. The project was one of the hearts of so many "civilisers and Christianisers" of savages of all times and of all countries. It is now adopted by the Government which has hitherto professed a lofty superiority to such ideas.

"Self-supporting Penny Dinners" is one of the latest contradictions in which our middle-class philanthropists are indulging. The report of the meetings of a few of these "friends" of the poor on January 19th is sorry reading. "No unusual distress," cry some of them, without a word of comment on the frightful condition of things that makes the distress existing "usual." "Distress decidedly greater than usual," whisper others.

There is a desire to keep out the pauperising element, of course, and, equally of course, and far more logically, a tendency to "convert the penny dinners into meals provided gratis." The "desire" apparently is that of the philanthropists. The "tendency" is that of social evolution.

Of course all this is done in the interest of the poor themselves. The exploited classes, whilst declining to give the exploited capital, show interest in them.

Afte all this report on the lines of that essentially bourgeois institution, the Charity Organisation Society, it is refreshing to hear that a Conference on "How to Improve the Condition of the Poor" was held at Clerkenwell on January 20th. Resolutions strongly condemning the actions of the Society, whose name is its condemnation, were passed.

"Fluctuations of Trade" is a fluid sort of phrase that covers a multitude of ignominies. This is, according to the capitalistic press, the phrase in explanation of the distress that is now stalking through the land.

Yet for one word of warning from the user of this phrase we should be grateful. To say that the perennial distress, with its occasional exacerbations, is even temporarily remediable by the Government finding work for the people, is to mislead.

If the Socialistic dream is ever to be realised, it must be by the establishment of such a complete re-organisation of society as can only be achieved by a long and laborious process.—*Weekly Dispatch*, Jan. 17th.

(Continued on page 6.)

THE COMMONWEAL.

February, 1885.

Literary communications should be addressed to the Editor of THE COMMONWEAL, 27, Farringdon Street, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the Socialist League, 27, Farringdon Street, E.C.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: For 12 months, 15s. 6d.; 4 copies, 5s. 6d.; 8 copies, 10s. 6d.; 13 copies, 15s. The dozen of the first number, for distribution, will be sent post free.

Amongst those who have already promised to contribute to THE COMMONWEAL are the following: William Morris, E. Belfort Bax, E. T. S. Stepniak, W. Sharman, Edward Aveling, Andreas Scheu, J. L. Mahon, C. Mowbray, Friedrich Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht, J. Faulkner, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Paul Lafargue.

List of weekly subscribers already promised: W. B. Adams, J. Banner, William Morris, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Aveling, F. J. L. Mahon, H. Charles, E. B. Bax, W. J. Clark, S. Mainwaring, T. Gabriel, Edward Watson, Mrs. Morris, May Morris.

This journal can be obtained at 27, Farringdon Street, E.C. (offices of the Socialist League); Progressive Publishing Company, 28, Stone-ter Street, E.C.; Edward Truelove, 256, High Holborn, W.C.; Thought Publishing Company, 63, Fleet Street, E.C.; Cattell and Co., 84, Fleet Street.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

All who accept the principles stated in the Manifesto on pages 1 and 2, are asked to communicate with the Secretary, J. L. Mahon, 27, Farringdon Street, London, E.C.

The manner and terms of admission to the League are given in the rules printed on page 2.

The manner and terms of admission to the League are given in the rules printed on page 2. We therefore ask all those who care to show their sympathy towards our cause by subscribing sums, however small, weekly to THE COMMONWEAL, but initials only can be given if desired.

The following have already promised to subscribe regularly every week: J. Lane, S. Mainwaring, O. Lloyd, C. J. Faulkner, William H. Sparling, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Aveling, W. J. Clark, J. L. Mahon, Ed. Watson, A. Brown, Mrs. Morris, May Morris, &c.

Financial correspondents will please forward copies of Papers which may be of interest to the movement.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

OSCAR EISENGARTEN.—Glad to hear of your efforts on behalf of the journal in advance. The leaders of the German Socialists will contribute to our columns.

W. SHARMAN.—It is certainly the hope of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League that their journal will preach what you call "the pure doctrine." Thanks for your promise to take twelve copies of each issue. If our more fortunate friends will follow that example, and distribute the journal among the less fortunate, we shall be glad to receive it.

HENRY M. RUSSELL.—Thanks for calling. The Provisional Council will be obliged to you and to all other friends who will send newspaper or other notice in the public press to the Editor of THE COMMONWEAL.

EVAN C. NEVILL.—THE COMMONWEAL can be obtained from the offices of the League, and from other places; see above.

EWING (Manchester).—As our Branches are only just beginning to form, we have not yet one in Manchester. Can you help in the formation of one? Citizen Darbishire, 116, Lower Brompton Road, will be of great use in any such undertaking.

W. SUGDEN.—We forward you two copies of the first number. The terms of subscription are given above.

WADDINGTON.—See answer to T. Bax above. His address is 151, Rydal Mount, Cheetham Hill; the other address given was 55, Gae. Russell Street, Russell Square, London.

K. DONALD.—The Provisional Council have decided not to make the alterations suggested by your Branch in regard to the Manifesto.

HENRY WALKER.—We hope and believe the Hammersmith friends will be among our strongest Branches.

O. LLOYD.—Whilst it is useful to order your copies of THE COMMONWEAL directly from the office, inasmuch as then the League gets the full benefit of the subscription, it must be remembered that ordering through the bookseller if he will show a bill of the journal, is a better advertisement.

THE MARCH OF THE WORKERS.

To the tune of "John Brown."

WHAT is this, the sound and rumour? What is this that all men hear
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near,
Like the rolling on of ocean in the eventide of fear?

'Tis the people marching on.

Whither go they, and whence come they? What are these of whom
we hear tell?

In what country are they dwelling 'twixt the gates of heaven and hell?
Are they mine or thine for money? Will they serve a master well?

Still the rumour's marching on.

Chorus—Hark the rolling of the thunder!

Lo the sun! and lo, thereunder

Riseth wrath, and hope, and wonder,

And the host comes marching on.

Forth they come from grief and torment; on they march towards health
and mirth,

All the wide world is their dwelling, every corner of the earth
Buy them, sell them for thy service! Try the bargain 'tis worth,

For the days are marching on.

These are they who build thy houses, weave thy raiment, win thy wheat,
Smooth the rugged, fill the barren, turn the bitter into sweet,

What reward for them is meet?

Till the host comes marching on.

Chorus—Hark the rolling, &c.

Many a hundred years, passed over, have they laboured deaf and
blind;

Never tidings reached their sorrow, never hope their toil might find.

Now at last they've heard and hear it, and their cry comes down the
wind,

And their feet are marching on.

O ye rich men, hear and tremble! for with words the sound is life:

Once for you and death we laboured; changed henceforward is the
state.

We are men, and we shall battle for the world of men and life;

And our host is marching on.

Chorus—Hark the rolling, &c.

"Is it war, then? Will ye perish as the dry wood in the fire?"

Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hope be our desire.

Come and live! for life awaketh, and the world shall never
die.

And hope is marching on.

"On we march then, we the workers, and the rumour that we hear"

Is the blended sound of battle and deliverance drawing near.

For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear."

And the world is marching on.

Chorus—Hark the rolling, &c.

ENGLISH SOCIALISM AND THE "WEEKLY DISPATCH"

The *Weekly Dispatch* a paper that is certainly wholly devoted to the interests of the State, had in its issue of January 11 a leader on Socialism. The article is apparently written by a leader on the paper, familiar as almost to breed contempt—embodied in the ancient Latin phrase "*lucus a non lucendo*." The article is as misleading as its writer is ignorant of the meaning of Socialism. The writer knows little, if anything, of Socialism as shown by his use of the "big words and the tone of mysterious importance" always adopted by a Socialist. Whenever the writer or any one else writes in any one in England using big words or afflicted with a tone "of mysterious importance," he may be sure that he has not met a Socialist. His words are foolish if they are not endorsed by large numbers, and unnecessary if they are thus endorsed.

As the *Weekly Dispatch* writer does not know our principles, his reference as to the "actual work" done is as natural as it is complete. He has evidently read not a line of any of the standard works on Socialism. It is doubtful if he has even skimmed airily through a pamphlet or two. Such papers as the *Sozial-Demokrat*, the *Neue Volkszeitung*, *Recht vor Allen*, probably never meet his eye. It would be interesting to know his views on the recent elections in London, and the number of open-air East-End meetings he has attended—as interesting as the study of any other non-existent quality is to mathematicians.

It may be fair, as the leader-writer hath it, to take the manifesto published in *To-Day* of January as typical of Socialist views. It would be fairer, in our opinion, if we may trouble our critic to read as many as two articles, were he to take "for a taste" the manifesto issued in the journal. In it, to note but a single point, he will find that State regulated labour and distribution are not, in Socialistic ideas, labour distribution regulated by the State as it is to-day. "The State" will be as changed from what it now is and is not as events will be. The idea will come with a shock to our article-writer, who is clearly no evolutionist. For he talks of "the probable course of events continuing along the old lines." Were he an evolutionist, he might be asked where is any domain of Nature in which things do continue "along the old lines." Not being an evolutionist, he might seriously maintain that the principle which governs alike the origin of worlds and the shape of a flower, does not hold in sociology.

Extreme poverty is sometimes caused by idleness, intemperance, and profligacy. Sometimes also by the greed of rich employers, unregulated fluctuations of trade. We should be grateful for that. Even a writer in the capitalistic press should know, nay, does know, that one of the six phrases used here is the mother of the rest, of a swarm of other evil phrases. "The greed of rich employers," the lust for surplus-labour, is the parent of the whole spawn. It is also, the true capitalistic whine, not without its note of self-justification, "the rich being compelled to empty their pockets for the maintenance of the poor." Not a word as to the emptying to-day, not a word as to the emptying of the pockets, but of lives by the workers for the maintenance of the rich and upper classes; no word as to the means by which to-day the pockets have been filled; no word as to the honest work to be done in the future by all not incapacitated by physical weakness or mental idleness; no word as to the obliteration in the future of the distinctions now warping and marring the life of man, and the emptying of those very hideous words "rich" and "poor."

It is, alas! or well a day?—at length we are in accord with our Socialist friends. "We believe that co-operation amongst the labourers and industrial education will go far." Socialists believe these will go further. The *Weekly Dispatch* even dreams, and not fare worse. Co-operation amongst labourers—truly. But not for profit—for justice. Education for all. Not that they may be the better tools for the capitalist, but that they may understand who and what they are, who and what their nature the capitalist is. Our accord is but brief. In the same sentence as "co-operation and education," we have "poor laws" and "charities." When once the means of production are in the hands of the producers, and the producers are the whole community, poor laws and charities will have vanished with the rest of the offspring of capital.

The objectless objections are once again wearily revived. "How can we force men to save capital?" But capital is a means of production, and as such can never be the property of the individual, but of the community. "How will the labourers be persuaded to work, if they cross their legs and talk Socialism, &c." The host of lost lights of here! Note one or two only. Labour will not then be the burden it is, but the joy it should be. Crossing the legs is only a waste of the energies have been in action. Talking Socialism then will be like counting the number of respirations one makes per minute now. And the writer forgets that we exempt from our production as a nation, not only the sick, but the criminal, whose crime is, for whom and his fellows, ever diminishing in numbers, for long time restriction will be needed.

When our article-writer wants a guarantee that the best goods are to be had at the lowest prices, and with a delicious unconsciousness opens up to us the infinite vistas of adulteration under the present system. Thereupon he sings his monotonous chant of individual freedom. The artisan may now choose his favourite amusements as taste dictates. And why, in the name of man, may he not under the present régime? Under this, the only differences will be, that not only the artisan of to-day, but the millions lower than he (save the mark!) will also be in a position to choose, and that the "taste" that is to be had will be heightened.

"The schools, theatres," and the like are "to be supplied by the Government." Truly. But not the Government as it is now, ever more ought not to be—a group of non-producers. And why outcry against this arrangement in a paper that has been a persistent inconsistent supporter of Board schools from the outset?

The lofty conception that our critic has of his fellows, on the *quoque* principle, it is to be feared, is evidenced by one charming sentence. "The highest ambition of a citizen will be to talk the loudest and the longest in the public assembly, and his daily endeavour will be to grab his share of the national wealth while escaping the observation of the national overseer." He is, as so many do, reading into the conditions that are coming the competition-spirit and dishonesty that are the natural outcome of the conditions now existent, and that will die with these.

The last paragraph is not without its sneer. In reply to that let me say two things as I end: (1) The League has already taken very definite shape, and is daily enrolling members and forming branches; (2) That which we call "with unintentional sarcasm scientific Socialism" does actually exist. In evidence of this, the Socialist League had the honour to forward to the writer of the article on English Socialism in the *Weekly Dispatch* a ticket of admission to the lessons to be given at South Place Institute. They will be an attempt to lay down a part, and only a part, of the scientific basis of our belief.

EDWARD AVELING.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

Two Courses of Eight Lessons each, on "Capital," will be given at South Place Institute, Moorgate Street, under the auspices of the Socialist League. In these an attempt will be made to give an analysis of Karl Marx' *Das Kapital*.

SYLLABUS OF FIRST COURSE.

Lesson 1.—Thursday, Feb. 12, 1885.—Matter. Motion. Nature. Product. Commodity. Use-value. Exchange-value. Relative and equivalent forms. Accidental and rare exchange. Barter. General equivalent. Money. Price.

Lesson 2.—Thursday, Feb. 19.—Circulation of commodities as a measure of value. As a standard of price. As a circulation. The metamorphosis of commodities. Relation. Coin. Paper-money. Thesaurisation. Universal money.

Lesson 3.—Thursday, Feb. 26.—The circulation of money and capital. $C-M-C'$ (Formula for simple circulation of commodities). $M-C-M'$ (general formula for capital). Comparison of the two formulae. $M' = M + \Delta M$. $\Delta M =$ surplus-value. Capital difficulties. The exceptional commodity needed. This commodity labour-power. Labour. The labourer. Means of subsistence.

Lesson 4.—Thursday, March 5.—Labour-process. Primitive objects. Raw material. Means of labour. Means of production. Consumption. Result of labour. Capitalist and labourer. Labour preserves and creates value. Use-value and value of means of production. Surplus-value again. Constant and variable capital. Surplus-product. Surplus-labour.

Lesson 5.—Thursday, March 12.—The working-day. Its limits. The limit for surplus-labour. English industries under no limitation as to the length of the working-day. Day and night work. Relay system. The struggle between capitalists and labourers up to the end of the seventeenth century. Compulsory limitation. Factory Acts, 1833-64. Effect of English legislation on other countries. Rate of surplus-value.

Lesson 6.—Thursday, March 19.—Necessary labour-time. Surplus labour-time. Absolute surplus-value. Relative surplus-value. Co-operation. Early forms. Capitalistic form. Manufacture. The piece worker. Heterogeneous manufacture. Serial manufacture. Comparison. Capitalistic character of manufacture.

Lesson 7.—Thursday, March 26.—Definition of machine. Motor, transmitter, tool. Heterogeneous machinery. Serial machinery. Effect on the product; on the labourer. Lengthening of working-day. Intensification of labour. Factories. The Grand industry and agriculture. Factory legislation.

Lesson 8.—Thursday, April 2.—Recapitulation of the subject-matter dealt with in the preceding lessons.

The Second Course of Eight Lessons will commence on Thursday, April 16. They will deal with the production of absolute and of relative surplus-value. Wages. Accumulation. The abstinence theory. Over-population. Expropriation and exploitation. The farmer capitalist. The industrial capitalist. The colonial system.

The lessons will be given by Edward Aveling, Fellow of Univ. Coll., Lond.

On Saturday, Feb. 7, a Public Meeting will be held at South Place Institute, at 8.30 P.M., to explain the objects of the lessons. William Morris, J. L. Mahon, Edward Aveling, S. Mainwaring, C. Mowbray, Joseph Lane, and others will speak.

Lectures free to members of the Socialist League; non-members, 3s. per course of eight lessons; 6d. one lesson. Apply to Edward Watson, 27, Farringdon St. to get.

All receipts, whether in help of the League, or for any other purpose, go to the Secretary, whom he can be reached but just previously called.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

On Saturday, 24th January, three explosions within less than ten minutes spread destruction and terror in London, and what is worse, wounded a considerable number of absolutely harmless people. The public frenzy against the perpetrators knows no bounds: if any one had been caught in the act he would have been torn to pieces.

But who are the perpetrators? The Fenians, it is said. May be it is likely enough that Irish hands laid down the dynamite and lighted the fuse. Still, all allowance made for a fanaticism kindled by the British treatment of Ireland and of Irish political prisoners, the probability is that this peculiar form of fanaticism would have died out long since, in consequence of the ridiculous disproportion between the interests of the conspirators and the effect of their deeds—unless there is some one behind them, who follows up a deliberate aim in these otherwise aimless explosions. Is it likely that people will be found who risk over and over again penal servitude for life, or even hanging, for the pleasure of blowing up a portion of a railway tunnel, or of inflicting damage to the value of a flea-bite on London Bridge, unless these people are the conscious or unconscious tools of other people, who use them for purposes of their own?

We all know that for years Russia has been bombarding the British Government with notes, memoirs, memorandums, and the like, with the view of obtaining a treaty for the extradition of political refugees, so-called regicides, &c. Now the present state of this affair is as follows. On the 15th January, Madame Olga Novikoff, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, calls upon England to deliver up to Russia all those people like Hartmann, Kropotkin, and Stepniak, who were sheltered in England, "all the while they plotted murder against us" (whoever that may be) "in Russia." If England were to hand them over to Russia, she would only do what she now must ask America to do for her, namely, to hand over the Irish dynamiters.

On the morning of the 24th January the London papers published the purport of an agreement arrived at between Russia and Prussia for the extradition of political criminals—the very agreement Russia would give almost anything to get out of England.

On the afternoon of the same 24th January, at two o'clock, the explosions occur, at the very moment they ought to have occurred if some one or other had had the interest of Russia. The good morning, and the appropriate warning of the afternoon—surely that is making John Bull round!

Now, we merely mark these coincidences. We recur at the same time that Russian diplomacy is well known to be the most unscrupulous of all, having always a band of subordinate agents at its beck and call, ready to commit any infamy, and at the same time held in such a position that they can be sacrificed, when necessary, with the utmost equanimity—agents too, who often exceed their precise orders, and do little jobs on speculation. And regarding the strange coincidence as above, is there, indeed, no shadow of a suspicion falling upon such hangers-on, recognised or, perhaps, unrecognised, of Russian diplomacy?

"The detection of the dynamiters is . . . really a matter which can only be satisfactorily dealt with by international action." Thus the *Daily News*, the most Governmentally-inspired organ, of January 26th. Our notes were written the day before.

Laundries are not under the Factory Acts. As a consequence the masters squeeze the day's work out of four days' time. The masters are paid by the piece; the hands by the day.

The Press generally on the murder of the Egyptian English mercenaries. The English soldiers who, knowing no better, do to death by the hands of the people. But our sorrow for the murdered patriots ought to be . . .

As to the officers. They ought to have better than the rank and file. They have come at least within the range of contact with the better tendencies of to-day. The better sort of English officers must feel something of the wickedness of the business.

Sympathising, we believe, as deeply as we can with the sufferings of those English families in which an eternal war has been made by war, we yet protest most strongly against the Press in demoralising our countrymen who have fallen, and the word of the brave defenders of their native land who perished.

When this high falutin' is to the fore, let us remember that every soldier that dies in Egypt is a better advertisement for the position of a . . .

EAST-END WORKERS.

A GREAT deal has been said and written on the East End of London by Penny Soup Ticket pharisees, advocates of temperance and thrift, each with his special remedy for the same. I think it is about time we, the workers on the matter. Now, with regard to the poverty and distress any idea of it from newspaper articles, or from the Returns told there is not any large amount of distress, or we should but we know they do not represent the condition of the middle class have made the conditions such in their working than prisons. The poor have to pick great quantities of stones, break stones, and everything is done to make them dread diet is as bad as or worse than prison fare; man and wife are door relief refused. This is what the workers come to after a life wonder they prefer starvation in the streets, suicide, or even prison under the control of these *Guardians of the Poor*!

If you want to know the condition of the workers you must live at their home life, and see them in their search for work. Go to the docks there by thousands. No pen can describe their condition, their pinched faces. They have scarcely a rag to cover them as they wait shivering from eight o'clock till three or four, on the chance of an hour's work, and tearing one another like wild beasts when the gates are opened for hands; and this for a pittance of 3d. to 4d. per hour. Here is our beautiful competition in full force, and as a result we see our fellow-men reduced to of a pack of wolves.

Again, the cabinet-makers compete one against the other, working day and in return getting just sufficient to keep body and soul together. They making their goods at home, take them to the so-called manufacturers at the week to sell, and perhaps, after going all round the shops, will have for less than the material cost them, so that they may get the necessary. It is a well-known fact that wages in this trade have been reduced within few years at least 25 per cent. In the boot trade, notwithstanding Unions, men are making boots for 2s. 6d. per dozen, and finding their At the present time about 25 per cent. of the bootmakers are out of work. In the tailoring trade, by large firms in Whitechapel, coats are given away at 6d. each; vests, 3d. each; trousers, 4d.; and this to contractors who again sublet the work at even lower prices, leaving the workers with a linen-thread at a cost of coats, 1d.; vests, 1d.; trousers, 1d. If you want statement the names and addresses can be furnished. Policemen's boots or about 8d. per day of sixteen hours; men's shirts, 10d. per dozen; women's sockmaking, 1d. each. We find one of our great land national trades engaged in trade; his women at their work packed in an underground room like herring-barrel, and poor wretched creatures they look. We have also seen of the makers getting 2d. per gross, finding their own string and . . . something more than Royal Commissions or even Land National Commissions to put to this misery. It would do the economists good to have the life of these workers for a time; they would soon find that wages in these trades did not average anything approaching 32s. per week, and that, as wages are increasing, they have been reduced from 25 to 30 per cent. And what is the result? Profits, rents, and interest to the idlers; to the workers misery, starvation, and degradation.

Well might the *Telegraph* say, a few years ago, that the people at the East End looked as though they were fed on gin and beer. But this still have been used as a reproach against the workers, but against the capital their system of production. There is no one to blame, the fact that the surroundings have stamped themselves on their faces until some of the but a few days ago, and from our supposed surroundings, and this is getting from day to day. The children are brought up in the streets, half starved set to work to make their bones set (notwithstanding the Factory Acts establishment of School Boards), so that we, the workers, the main product the large towns are begetting a generation of criminals, prostitutes, paupers, criminals and prostitutes, caused, not by any fault of our surroundings.

Another result of this competitive system, this producing for profit use, is a tremendous amount of useless toil in the making of these goods. The workers having their wages reduced over and over again are not able to take any pride in their work or do good work. They shoddy clothes, cardboard boots, matchwood furniture, and jerry-built together so that they may last until they are sold, and then drop to pieces when we are told things are so much cheaper than in our forefathers' time. What is the remedy for all this misery and poverty? We are told thrift, temperance, and industry. With all due respect for the advocates of these but that under the present capitalist system, in which we are all competing against the other, they would be useless to the workers as a body.

But, not least, we have the so-called leaders of the working class, with the Fair Trade Leagues, Industrial conferences, and working men representatives in Parliament. The workers should be aware of these wolves in sheep's clothing who are prepared to advocate Free Trade or Fair Trade, tunnels or railways up the stars or sea, or even to the moon, if they can get money for so doing. The forward of the so-called working men candidates for Parliament is one a means to more effectually fill their own pockets while professing to be the friend of the workers. We workers should look upon every one as enemy and try to get a position for himself, Parliamentary or otherwise, by political means. We as workers believe that this chronic state of misery, starvation, degradation for us, the producers of all wealth, is caused by the monopoly of land in the hands of a few used for sport and pleasure instead of good food for the people, and by the monopoly of the means of production, exchange, and that until these monopolies are overthrown our misery servitude to the capitalists will continue. This is the social question—one affects every one of us, man, woman, and child. It is a duty we owe to the present, and future generations, that we should, by our united efforts, master the problem; that we should hand in hand as brothers, with a fixed and bitter determination, band ourselves together to put an end to this misery, and make better conditions for our children, leaving the politicians to fight over their politics. We may rest assured that our cause will have to be fought and won by and with people themselves, and not by either House of Parliament. Leaving the philanthropists to organise their charity, we, not asking for their charity, sternly demand justice.

JOS. . .

THE PETERLOO MASSACRE

ON the morning of the 16th August, 1819, the reformers began their respective rendezvous in Manchester. In the course of the forenoon processions enter the town from Oldham, Rochdale, Ashton, Stalybridge, and other districts. The people marched five abreast. There were many years, haggard and careworn; but the majority were young people, many women and children. The females were placed in the front of the processions. In the front of the Middleton branch were twelve young women, holding in each hand a branch of laurel "as a sign of unity and peace." They were banners with mottoes in gilt letters: "Unity is Strength," "Fraternalism," "Parliamentary Annual, Suffrage Universal," "No Corn Laws." It was an impressive sight to see these toilers, to the number of 60,000, around the platform in Petersfield. There were many banners, and the ranks of the reformers facing a platform which was about 200 yards . . .

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

Vol. 1.—No. 2.

MARCH, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

EDITORIAL.

The reception, favourable and unfavourable, that has been the lot of the *Commonweal* and the variegated criticisms that have been forthcoming on the Socialist League serve to show that League and Journal, in the familiar phrase, "meet a want."

The "want," we may be pardoned for once again saying, is that of an English paper and of an English organisation which will preach in season and out of season Socialism, pure and simple, without any admixture either of political opportunism or bourgeois sentiment or national Chauvinism. The uncompromising nature of our antagonism to the capitalistic system of to-day is gatherable from the contents of our manifesto and of our journal; whilst as a particular indication of the completeness of that antagonism we may point to the resolution passed by the Provisional Council of the Socialist League in respect to the British crimes in the Soudan.

The League is, as far as we know, the only public body that has, in the very fever of the crisis due to the death of Gordon, denounced the war as in reality one of capitalistic greed. To their honour be it said that some few journals and some one or two men have tried to hush the wild and wicked cry for revenge that has gone up from a country stricken with panic and the lust for blood. But neither these journals nor these men have stripped bare the hideous monster of Capital that underlies all the fine phrases as to heroic deeds of which there is such a surfeit at this hour.

In a special article the subject that is in all men's mouths is dealt with. Every word of that article we endorse. Although we believe that in this we stand almost alone amongst English-speaking peoples, although we are sorrowful at the death of our brothers, Arab and British, yet we cannot join in the strained and pitiable cry of a false sentiment over the death of any man who has died in doing another country, and thus all countries, an irreparable wrong. Few things tell more sadly, more bitterly, of the depths of our ethical degradation, outcome of our capitalistic degradation, than the heroification of Gordon. We recognise the ability of Gordon as a soldier, the purity of his character as a man. But we cannot forget that he was the chief opponent of the rising of an oppressed people, that on the head of the popular leader he set a price, that he promised with the cold-blooded deliberation of a military despatch to sack Berber. That civilisation to-day can find no higher type to worship than this, speaks ill for civilisation. We refuse to name Gordon as hero. The best he can be called is "unhappy." An unfortunate product of our terrible system that manufactures criminals at one end of the social scale and patriots at the other.

The necessity of making the position of Socialists clear on the Egyptian business and the number of contributions from foreign Socialists welcoming the formation of our organisation and the foundation of our paper, determine in some measure the character of this second number. Our educational articles are not, as will be seen, forgotten, and in ensuing numbers they will be yet more to the fore.

In connexion with the subject of education, the first attempt of the League in that direction has met with an agreeably surprising success. The lessons in Socialism that have been given up to the present time have been productive of good audiences and good work. The four to be given on the Thursdays in March at South Place Institute at 8.30 p.m., deal respectively with Labour, the Factory Acts, Manufactures, Machinery, from the Socialistic point of view. A series of pamphlets under the general heading "The Socialistic Platform" is in contemplation.

Again we remind our readers that this paper is under the direction of the whole of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League, whose servants the editor and sub-editor are. That Provisional Council will cease to exist as soon as a general Conference of the League is called. The number of members that have already given in their adhesion and their names

warrants us in saying that such a Conference will be summoned in a very short time, and a Council no longer provisional elected.

To those who have our principles in their heads and the cause of the workers at heart, we appeal once again. Join the League, or better still, form branches of it in your various localities, read and circulate our paper, attend our lessons, discuss with your fellows the social question. For there is but one, that, Aaron's-rod fashion, swallows up those of all the magicians.

GORDON AND THE SOUDAN.

ABOUT February last year two figures were circling round the office of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the one writing articles, the other being interviewed; they were those of the two ex-Governors of the Soudan, Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, then just returned from Brussels. About the same time (or a little earlier) Sir Samuel was zealously advocating in the columns of the same journal the improving of the situation provided by the defeat of his brother's Egyptian force at Tokar for the conquest of the Soudan and the establishment of a second East India Company, or syndicate of stock-jobbers, who were to administer East Africa in the interests of commercial enterprise. The ex-Governors were avowed personal friends, so much so that of the first two messages sent by Gordon to England on the resumption of communication between Khartoum and the outer world, last autumn, one was to Sir Samuel Baker, the other being to his (Gordon's) son. It is hardly, therefore, too much to assume that the two halves of the *Pall Mall Gazette* office were in close communication with each other during the "hero's" stay in London, and frequently interchanged views on the matter with which their public was most intimately associated. The sentiments of Gordon, moreover, were openly known to coincide with those of Baker and the *Pall Mall Gazette*—at least, in his objection to the abandonment of the Soudan and his desire to see an English Protectorate. Shortly afterwards Gordon left England, professedly to effect the evacuation of the country and the release of the Egyptian garrisons.

Now we submit that the simple circumstances above indicated throw a light on what has followed, by which all who are not wilfully blind must see in this wretched business one of the most odious pieces of politico-commercial "jobbery" to which even this country has given birth. Whatever may have been the intention of the Government—if it had any—one thing is quite clear, to wit, that it was not the intention of Gordon or his friends that the Soudan should be abandoned if he or they could help it.

After the infuriated market-hunters had succeeded in raising the flimsiest and most baseless of cuckoo cries for British intervention, that of the rescue of cut-throats, with whose dangers England politically was as much concerned as with those of Russian garrisons in Central Asia; who were there simply to bolster up the admittedly iniquitous rule of the Pachas, the majority of whom as it has proved were only too willing to accept the easy terms of submission offered them by the Mahdi, and the rest of whom put together would not equal in number by many thousands the lives necessarily lost in a campaign even the shortest;—after having by means of this hypocritical cant procured the dispatch of their right-hand man, Gordon, what do we find ensue? Is any serious attempt made to negotiate with the Mahdi on behalf of those precious Bashi-Bazouk garrisons as to the fate of whom the pathetic voice of the lachrymose Jingo had been raised so loud in the land? No; but the "Christian hero," after making one or two obviously impossible demands on the home authorities, proceeds to fortify himself within the walls of Khartoum, and with the help of the garrison and all the fighting men he can get together, to wage war on the surrounding tribes, whom he had but just previously called his friends.

The epilogue to this action might have been easily foreseen. British troops were demanded to assist in the work of carnage. The situation thus created naturally afforded a splendid opportunity for a still louder and more pathetic wail than even that over the Bashi-Bazouks—a wail alone comparable in its intensity of anguish to the cry of the Nile crocodile in its midnight lair. "Gordon abandoned!" welled up from the organs of Tory-Jingo, Whig-Jingo, and—save the mark!—Democratic-Jingo, indifferently. Here was indeed a triumph for the market-hunter. The *Pall Mall*, *St. James's*, *Times*, and *Telegraph* chanting in militant harmony. An expedition could not start at once owing to the climate, but the trick was done nevertheless. A Government whose sole policy is "office" cannot afford to disregard the plainly-expressed wishes of the bulk of the upper and wealthy middle classes, its masters, even if its members individually wish to do so, which, inasmuch as they themselves belong to those classes, is intrinsically improbable. However that may be, nay, however much the Government as a Government even, would have preferred to keep out of the present quagmire, its hand was forced. A pledge was given, an expedition prepared, and at the earliest opportunity, despatched for the ostensible purpose of rescuing the "Christian hero"—who had professedly gone out on a "pacific mission," with loud protestations of his power by personal influence alone to effect the object of this mission—and to rescue him from a situation he had deliberately created by his aggressive action. Such are the facts which have led up to the Soudan War. Who cannot see in them the hand of that providence that rules our civilisation—the great god Capital, acting through his angels and ministering spirits of the bourgeois press?

Khartoum has fallen amid massacre (we are told). Gordon is killed. Who is to blame? We answer proximately Gordon himself, and ultimately the English capitalist class. Had it not been for the latter Gordon would never have been sent out. Had it not been for Gordon's inducements the inhabitants of Khartoum would never have fought against their own countrymen, and thus excited the fury of the Mahdi's victorious troops. What quarrel had they with the Mahdi? Little doubt but they would have gladly accepted the deliverance from the tyranny of the Pachas he came to offer, but for the gold and promises proffered by English spread-eagelism through its representative, Gordon.

Of course we must have the regulation gush, the regulation mock heroics, the regulation howl of indignation, the regulation yell for the re-establishment of British prestige. Spartanlike bravery, truly, to slaughter ill-armed and ill-disciplined barbarians with the odds, as proved again and again, a hundred to one in favour of your coming out with a whole skin. It may be excellent sport, rather better than pigeon shooting, to catch hordes of Arabs in a trap as at Kirbekan, and then mow them down while they are trying to escape; but do not call it fighting, and spare us talk about its involving prestige.

Let the working classes of England remember that this organised brigandage was deliberately planned from the beginning, and that Gordon's "pacific mission" was only too obviously a blind. Had the relief of the garrisons been really an object of solicitude it could have been easily effected even when the "hero" was already shrieking for British troops to help him "smash the Mahdi." Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, not a "Christian hero," perhaps, but an honest man, and one whose disinterested love for the Arab race is beyond question, was in a position to guarantee successful negotiations, had the opportunity been given him of making them. But such an issue was not quite good enough for the "influential" public for which the *Pall Mall Gazette* and its congeners write. Annexation would have been thereby indefinitely postponed, and the syndicate of stock-jobbers wanted to "leave their damnable faces and begin" at the earliest possible juncture. And they have got their way.

E. BELFORD BAX.

THE ACTUAL POSITION OF RUSSIA.

(*Narodnaia Volia's "Messenger," January, 1885.*)

In a country like Russia, where all manifestations of public opinion are checked, and every exposure of public wrongs considered as a crime, the clandestine papers have a twofold interest. Whilst tracing the progress of the revolutionary idea, and furthering this by means of propaganda, such publications are at the same time the only windows through which one can have insight into the internal conditions of the country, as no other publications are allowed to lay bare the truth.

A paper like *Narodnaia Volia's Messenger*—a large review, published abroad, and having no urgent questions of daily politics to deal with—is particularly adapted to this double office. It is from that point of view that the paper has particular

claims upon the attention of foreign readers. Let us, then, gather up some hints as to the actual condition of Russia as reflected in the newly-published number of *Narodnaia Volia's* paper.

The movement first. Arrests, sentences, deportations, executions—here is the only measure of the intensity of a struggle carried on by conspiracy. If this be so, we may fairly presume the battle to be as fierce and unrelenting as ever. There are arrests everywhere. In some of the principal cities of the empire the number of arrests is very considerable. In St. Petersburg it reached 200 in a few months; in Moscow 250 for the year 1884. In Odessa in a few days there were 65 arrests. Hardly a single considerable city has been spared. Every class, every grade of society, is represented in the lists of proscription. There are numbers of students and young people generally, but these make no more than half of the whole number of victims. Workmen and magistrates, tradespeople and men of the liberal professions, functionaries of the government, professors of the universities, painters, singers, stage-players, members of municipalities or provincial assemblies, men of letters, men of the sword—all society is faithfully represented. No class—hardly a section of a class—is missing. There is even a clergyman (John Voinoff, of Toula) arrested for having proclaimed from the pulpit that "it is a sin to call the present emperor 'pious,' because he is the most impious of all the tzars, having inflicted loss and sorrow on all honest families." For Russia such a fact is the same as if a Turkish pasha proclaimed the sultan a scoundrel. The general discontent, the growth of opposition and the spreading of revolutionary tendencies through all the country are obvious.

But what is more alarming still for our present masters is the fact that the revolution is in a fair way to inflame a large part of the class that is now the only support of the Government—the army. The progress of revolutionary ideas in the army is certainly a point of great interest. But I will not dwell on this subject, already exposed by M. Tichomiroff to the readers of Socialist papers.

I pass to the general condition of Russia. Many interesting documents received by the editors give us a picture of the corruption at which official circles have arrived. A full account of the last disorders of Kieff University, so misrepresented in official reports, shows us what the Russian universities are. We see a rector, presumed to be the head of a learned body and who is but a common informer, sending denunciations even against the chief of the Kieff police, M. Mastizky, accusing him of helping the Socialist propaganda. And when this rector by his pusillanimity and lying, produced a student "rebellion," the government, without asking information even from the Governor-General of the province, expelled 1,000 students from the university.

The general administration is represented by a series of extracts from the private reports presented to the emperor by Senator Polov-Zeff. It is shown to demonstration how in Russia every swindler can obtain complete immunity if he contrives to make a partner of some police-agent. And as there is no country where you cannot find a heap of swindlers anxious to take advantage of impunity, it results that Russia is given as a prey, not to a reactionary policy, but to a gang of rogues who, under the cover of imperial irresponsibility, are plundering the country, ruining the state, and reducing to a chronic starvation the too patient peasantry.

But even the bovine endurance of Russian peasants seems to have its limits. At the same time that in the upper strata of the nation we witness the progress of revolutionary movement, there are facts showing that in the lower strata not all is quiet and safe. The marshalls of the nobility of the districts Uffa, Sterlitamak, Belebeier, Birska and Slatoustorsk, have stated in the name of their electors, that the nobility of their respective districts are quite unable to enjoy their landed property. Peasants of Russian as well as Bashkir origin, who commit from time to time acts of plunder on their property, have within the last two years declared open war against them. In open daylight in bands of 50, 80, even 100 men, armed with axes, clubs and guns, they come, take possession of the land and behave themselves as masters. They mow down dozens of acres of grass and cut entire forests of wood, carrying their booty on carts (under escort) to their respective villages. At the slightest sign of resistance from the manager, proprietor, servants, or representatives of local authority, the peasants use arms, inflicting severe injuries or death upon their enemies, and plunder or burn the buildings. There are many cases where their audacity goes further. The peasants turn out the hired labourers of the proprietors and begin to work on their own account large pieces of land belonging to landlords. Sometimes they are still bolder. To M. Rall, for instance, they sent a message intimating to him that they had passed at their meeting a resolu-

tion to take for their use one of his fields of fifty acres, and were firmly decided to carry their resolution into effect. An identical intimation was made to the colonel of the Body Guard, M. Tevkeleff. And the proprietor cannot but resign himself to his fate—the attacks and intrusions being repeated “every day,” as one of the nobleman’s representatives declared. The landlords were driven to despair—many of them have abandoned their property to its fate and fled to the towns, awaiting better times and laying complaint of these outrages before the government.

Better times will come to the Uffa nobility; there can be no doubt of it. Stirred by their laments the government will send a number of troops that will put all things right. But will it be for long? Will the peasants desist from attacks after the soldiers retire? And what is much more serious, are not those small disorders merely the forerunners of general disorders on the part of peasants who stand face to face with the dilemma of either starving or taking the law into their own hands. Last summer outrages of a similar character occurred in the Don province. They were suppressed by the troops; now they are repeated much more strongly and in quite spontaneous fashion at the other end of Russia. One need not be a prophet to say that if the present conditions of Russia are not changed, they will be repeated again and again.

Russia is marching towards a general revolution, a complete re-organisation of her social conditions. No opposition, no amount of obstinacy or cruelty can prevent it. But a partial revolution has taken the lead; a revolution which we may call a town revolution, a revolution of instructed classes—a political revolution, in a word. Upon the success or unsuccess of this partial revolution, it depends whether the general Russian revolution will be a pacific and humanitarian one, having at its head the most enlightened part of the working classes and the intellectual proletariat—or will be a violent, barbarous, sanguinary one, made by the outburst of despair, which knows no mercy and no laws.

STEPNIAK.

THE POLITICAL GAME OF THE POLICE IN FRANCE.

The police are preparing and contriving plots just as if the Republic and the Monarchy were one and the same thing. It is the Gambettists who have lately in France driven the police into the profession of conspirators. Their first stroke was a master-stroke. The International was suppressed here by the law of the strongest; but the police re-established an imaginary International. They published in the Gambettist journal, the *Paris*, lists of adherents, rules, etc., which enabled them to arrest Krapotkine, Bernard, and other Anarchists. On the Anarchist journal of Lyons, the *Droit Social*, they then placed one of their own men, and it was his articles, that breathed nothing but blood and thunder, which, read at the trials, contributed to the condemnation of the accused Anarchists, many of whom were sentenced to five years’ imprisonment. Proud of their success, they thought they would succeed in insinuating members into Socialist organisations, so as to catch them in its snares. In point of fact they have succeeded in getting agents into all the organisations, men who have had to limit themselves to the simple rôle of informers, having never acquired enough influence to provoke any overt action. It is only in the Anarchist party that these agents can get any influence, as is proved by the case of the policeman Druelle, denounced and exposed publicly some weeks ago: he was one of the Anarchist leaders, and was amongst those who openly preached riot and the pillaging of shops.

But an event has happened which shows that the police no longer hope to reckon on the Anarchists, but intend to get up plots themselves. On very vague information an agent of the police named Br*** was sent to Monceaux-Mines to discover there a plot which would have just suited the Government for the coming elections. After a week’s inquiries on the spot, the policeman was clear that there was no plot. But as they had promised him 5000 francs reward for the discovery of a plot, he found nothing simpler than to organise a plot himself, that he might have the merit of denouncing it. He procured dynamite, daggers and revolvers, enrolled some simple miners, blew up a chapel, and killed a gendarme with a revolver-shot. Twenty-seven persons were arrested on the denunciation of this police conspirator; but he had not taken his measures cleverly enough to escape suspicion of guilt, and Justice had him arrested. Then the police claimed their man. Even the Minister of the Interior, Waldeck-Rousseau, came forward to have him released in the interests of order and the police. But the matter was so serious that the Minister of Justice, Martin Feuille, had to refuse this satisfaction to his colleague, declaring to him that if the policeman were released it would be impossible to keep under arrest the duped fellow-conspirators of the policeman. So that the man of the police will pay dearly for his plot, to the great despair of the whole French police, which for some time past has seen all its infamies laid bare by the Socialists. Our new Minister of War, General Lewal, who seems, happily, to have had more to do with leaden soldiers than soldiers of flesh and blood, did, however, utter a great truth in his maiden speech. He said that the army could not be kept inactive, and that for this good reason it was absolutely necessary from time to time to make little spurts of war. The police takes just the same view as the general: it organises plots from time to time to show that the police is indispensable. If this goes on, the bourgeois order will be menaced not by the revolutionists, but by the official defenders of order themselves. Thus people are beginning seriously to ask if it would not be very useful to organise a counter-police.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

“The statement that . . . a ship . . . may . . . be capsized with ease or with difficulty, according to the character or degree of stability, it may possess is the veriest scientific truism . . . Yet . . . it has been strangely, almost culpably ignored by many who are responsible for the safety of ships.”—*Nature*.

OUR CIVILISATION.

THE church bells were chiming their summons to Sunday worship, as your correspondent issued forth on a mission to make a few random notes on how the “day of rest” is passed by the various classes of the population.

My first steps brought me to the belt of squares which constitutes the nucleus of his Grace of Bedford’s property east of Tottenham Court Road. This neighbourhood is a decayed Belgravia, and although outwardly the houses are hideous, inwardly they are handsome and commodious, faced by broad gardens and backed by trees, and possessing all those hygienic and sanitary conditions which make town life bearable.

Here are some of the inhabitants of this middle-class region wending their way to church. Notice this group of befurred and befowered misses, whose attempts to keep up to every latest fashion have resulted in distorting their bodies and imparting to their gait a camel-like waddle. And see, here come Pater and Materfamilias; evidently the world has used them well, if plumpness is a sign of contentment. These are soon joined by a specimen of the petrified maiden lady type, who carries, in addition to her Church-service, a small pug dog; and, judging from the care she bestows upon it, she would not wish to enter the state of heavenly beatitude unaccompanied by her pet.

They merge at the church portals into a well-fed and well-clothed crowd containing many similar types, and settle down in their rented pews to listen to their favourite preacher expatiating on the blessings of poverty. I had noticed the heartless stare or shuddering averted gaze with which these lip-servants of the Nazarene Carpenter greeted the advent of a beggar or tramp if one chanced across their path, and my mind became filled with indignant thoughts on the condition of things which produces this contrast. I peered down into the kitchen and saw my class busily preparing the midday meal for the return of these Pharisaical parasites, and I bethought me that whilst in their comfort and affluence they employ a whole army of our brothers and sisters as helots, to minister to their wants and drive them in carriages to the scenes of their mock worship, they insultingly deny the right of the working class to a brighter or better existence even on the seventh day. Where not wholly indifferent to the misery of those who produce their wealth, and to the pressing social questions around, they are feebly and futilely endeavouring to patch the system up by soup-tickets and tract distribution, and the insulting cant of the mission-hall. As I passed through the gates which an aristocratic landlord is allowed to maintain across our public thoroughfares in order that the common herd shall not disturb the quietude of those whom I have just described, I thought the Social Revolution will find these people, and their more aristocratic congeners of Belgravia, unready, and overwhelm them.

A short, quick walk soon changes the scene, and I am in the midst of the narrow courts and streets which lie behind the deceptive frontages of Holborn. The narrow street through which I pass is filled with a choking, sooty atmosphere, which seems to begrime all it touches. On my left hand is a succession of courts, all ending in *cul-de-sacs*. In the centre of some and at the side of others are placed common dustbins, all overflowing with evil-smelling refuse. Barrow-boards and barrows lie about the entrance of the houses, and along the filthy, darksome passages, and on the flags of the narrow and horrible back-yards, is stored the unsold greenstuff belonging to the costers who rent the lower part of the houses. The intended food for the close proximity to the sink-hole, down which ever and anon is poured a quantity of odourous slops. In the upper portions of these places there exist a few barrows, and their wares are stored in the most convenient place to be seen, as the bedstead covers the largest space in these confined dens, the room’s imagination can supply the rest. These bedsteads, by the way, are the wooden partitions comprising the rooms, swarming in summer with disgusting vermin. All the efforts which the unfortunate tenants, between their struggles for a hand-to-mouth existence, make for the extirpation of these pests are unavailing, on account of the dilapidated character of the property; and to get drunk in order that they may not be disturbed by these horrible companions is their frequent expedient.

A philanthropist who has dabbled in matters pertaining to the housing of the poor, and been able to reap five per cent. from her efforts, said recently that, after all, the one-room life was not so intolerable as it seemed. The one room here is shared in many cases by two and three families, the honest amongst whom strive to maintain an existence by hand-selling and market-jobbing—a class who, when the fight becomes too severe, die by the roadside of want rather than enter the bastilles erected for the punishment of poverty; a class, moreover, whom no efforts of Trades’ Unions as such can affect, and to whom the utterances of a Brassey or Levi as to increased prosperity are a mockery, which some day they may reward as it deserves, if the rich will persist in shutting their eyes to these horrors, and make up their minds to defend what they know to be an iniquity. Amongst, and inextricably mixed with, them are those whose rebellion against the law and order of Society takes the form of prostitution, theft, and violence. And last, but not least, in these places are the stunted and weakened forms of the child-victims of that state of modern civilisation into which, according to religious cant, it has pleased God to call them. Unfortunate children! their homes in these sunless, poverty-stricken, crime-begetting haunts; their playground the filthy, reeking stones. The full weight of Society’s injustice, of man’s inhumanity to man, is endured by them; they are foredoomed to the cell, the dock, and the hospital and pauper wards; for Society will not relinquish its right to punish, though the irreparable wrong is committed by Society itself.

If you ask who are those who keep and maintain these human sties for the rents they produce, whose monopoly of the means of production and financial juggling are responsible for this horrible condition of things, search among the sleek churchgoers I have just left, pretending to be the followers of Him who whipped the money-changers from the temple. They are the comfortablest who whose comfort is purchased at the expense of the misery and degradation I have so inadequately described. How long they will enjoy their comfort so bought is a question for Revolutionary Socialists to answer.

F. KITZ.

“In the opinion of Mr. George Richardson, the chairman of the North Metropolitan Tramways Company, about sixteen hours a day, with no day of rest in a week, is fair service to exact from a tramway conductor, and about fourpence an hour is a very good wage to pay him. But according to one or two more humane shareholders such hours are intolerable slavery and a reproach to the company. One shareholder, indeed, ventured, in the interests of humanity, to hint that men could not last long at that rate, and that the hours really worked were eighteen per day, which would give a man about four hours rest per night. No wonder the North Metropolitan Tramways Company pays 9½ per cent.; no wonder Mr. George Richardson thought the discussion of such matters should be avoided at their public meetings.”—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE COMMONWEAL.

MARCH, 1885.

All literary communications should be addressed to the Editor of THE COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the Socialist League, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: For 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

This journal can be obtained at 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. (offices of the Socialist League); Progressive Publishing Company, 28 Stonecutter Street, E.C.; Edward Truelove, 256 High Holborn, W.C.; Freethought Publishing Company, 63 Fleet Street, E.C.; Cattell and Co., Bouverie Street, E.C.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE attention of Branches, Members, and Foreign Socialist Bodies is directed to the report from the Central Office of the Socialist League. Exchanges are asked to copy the resolution on the Soudan War.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War will be issued on March 1. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

M.A. (Cantab).—We never notice anonymous letters. Forgive us for saying that the tone of yours makes it difficult to believe that your *nom de plume* is genuine.

F. C. SLAUGHTER.—Your letter is not of sufficient interest for publication. We by no means admit "that the English-speaking people are by far the most advanced in both political and social forms." And even if they were, "leadership" of nations is as objectionable to the Socialist as leadership of individuals. This however does not prevent us from saying with you "any changes effected here will doubtless have a very powerful effect upon all the other nations of the civilised world."

ERNEST TIPPING.—Whoever stated that any one of the members of the Socialist League had offered to give lessons in dynamite was either unwittingly or wilfully telling an untruth.

RECEIVED.—Christian Globe—Defense des Travailleurs (organ of the Socialist and Revolutionary Workers of the north-east of France)—Co-operative News—Liberty (Boston)—Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste (Paris).

THE following resolution has been unanimously passed: "That the Provisional Council of the Socialist League is convinced that the invasion of the Soudan was undertaken with the covert intention of exploiting that country for commercial greed, and that therefore the check inflicted on the British invaders should be hailed by all supporters of the Cause of the People as a triumph of right over wrong, of righteous self-defence over ruffianly brigandage."

COMRADES,—The Socialist League has heavy expenses—rent of offices, halls for meetings and lectures, printing of hand-bills, and so forth; it is necessary also that it should at once set about publishing pamphlets and leaflets setting forth the principles of Socialism, and that it should engage in organising Socialism in the provinces. Many of those who are giving the most valuable personal help to the propaganda are not in a position to give money-help to it; we therefore ask those who can afford to give money to do their best in that way also. It is most desirable that the League should have a steady income, and we ask therefore that where possible the subscriptions should be regular, weekly or otherwise. Names and subscriptions should be sent to the Treasurer, William Morris, Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, Hammersmith; they will be acknowledged through the post.—WILLIAM MORRIS, *Treasurer*.

THE MESSAGE OF THE MARCH WIND.

FAIR now is the springtide, now earth lies beholding
With the eyes of a lover the face of the sun;
Long lasteth the daylight, and hope is enfolding
The green-growing acres with increase begun.

Now sweet, sweet it is through the land to be straying
'Mid the birds and the blossoms and the beasts of the fields;
Love mingles with love, and no evil is weighing
On thy heart or mine, where all sorrow is healed.

From township to township, o'er down and by tillage
Fair, far, have we wandered and long was the day,
But now cometh eve at the end of the village,
Where over the grey wall the church riseth grey.

There is wind in the twilight; in the white road before us
The straw from the ox-yard is blowing about;
The moon's rim is rising, a star glitters o'er us,
And the vane on the spire-top is swinging in doubt.

Down there dips the highway, toward the bridge crossing over
The brook that runs on to the Thames and the sea.
Draw closer, my sweet, we are lover and lover;
This eve art thou given to gladness and me.

Shall we be glad always? Come closer and hearken:
Three fields further on, as they told me down there,
When the young moon has set, if the March sky should darken,
We might see from the hill-top the great city's glare.

Hark, the wind in the elm-boughs! From London it bloweth,
And telling of gold, and of hope and unrest;
Of power that helps not; of wisdom that knoweth,
But teacheth not aught of the worst and the best.

Of the rich men it telleth, and strange is the story
How they have, and they hanker, and grip far and wide;
And they live and they die, and the earth and its glory
Has been but a burden they scarce might abide.

Hark! the March wind again of a people is telling;
Of the life that they live there, so haggard and grim,
That if we and our love amidst them had been dwelling
My fondness had faltered, thy beauty grown dim.

This land we have loved in our love and our leisure
For them hangs in heaven, high out of their reach;
The wide hills o'er the sea-plain for them have no pleasure,
The grey homes of their fathers no story to teach.

The singers have sung and the builders have builded,
The painters have fashioned their tales of delight;
For what and for whom hath the world's book been gilded,
When all is for these but the blackness of night?

How long and for what is their patience abiding?
How oft and how oft shall their story be told,
While the hope that none seeketh in darkness is hiding
And in grief and in sorrow the world groweth old?

* * * * *

Come back to the inn, love, and the lights and the fire,
And the fiddler's old tune and the shuffling of feet;
For there in a while shall be rest and desire,
And there shall the morrow's uprising be sweet.

Yet, love, as we wend the wind bloweth behind us
And beareth the last tale it telleth to-night,
How here in the spring-tide the message shall find us;
For the hope that none seeketh is coming to light.

Like the seed of midwinter, unheeded, unperished,
Like the autumn-sown wheat 'neath the snow lying green,
Like the love that o'ertook us, unawares and uncherished,
Like the babe 'neath thy girdle that groweth unseen,

So the hope of the people now buddeth and groweth—
Rest fadeth before it, and blindness and fear;
It biddeth us learn all the wisdom it knoweth;
It hath found us and held us, and biddeth us hear:

For it beareth the message: "Rise up on the morrow
And go on your ways toward the doubt and the strife;
Join hope to our hope and blend sorrow with sorrow,
And seek for men's love in the short days of life."

But lo, the old inn, and the lights and the fire,
And the fiddler's old tune and the shuffling of feet;
Soon for us shall be quiet and rest and desire,
And to-morrow's uprising to deeds shall be sweet.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

ENGLAND IN 1845 AND IN 1885.

FORTY years ago England stood face to face with a crisis, solvable to all appearances by force only. The immense and rapid development of manufactures had outstripped the extension of foreign markets and the increase of demand. Every ten years the march of industry was violently interrupted by a general commercial crash, followed, after a long period of chronic depression, by a few short years of prosperity, and always ending in feverish over-production and consequent renewed collapse. The capitalist class clamored for Free Trade in corn, and threatened to enforce it by sending the starving population of the towns back to the country districts, whence they came: to invade them, as John Bright said, not as paupers begging for bread, but as an army quartered upon the enemy. The working masses of the towns demanded their share of political power—the People's Charter; they were supported by the majority of the small trading class, and the only difference between the two was whether the Charter should be carried by physical or by moral force. Then came the commercial crash of 1847 and the Irish famine, and with both the prospect of revolution.

The French Revolution of 1848 saved the English middle class, The Socialistic pronunciamentos of the victorious French workmen frightened the small middle class of England

and disorganised the narrower, but more matter-of-fact, movement of the English working class. At the very moment Chartism was bound to assert itself in its full strength, it collapsed internally, before even it collapsed externally on the 10th of April, 1848. The action of the working class was thrust into the background. The capitalist class triumphed along the whole line.

The Reform Bill of 1831 had been the victory of the whole capitalist class over the landed aristocracy. The repeal of the Corn Laws was the victory of the manufacturing capitalists not only over the landed aristocracy, but over those sections of capitalists too whose interests were more or less bound up with the landed interest: bankers, stock-jobbers, fundholders, etc. Free Trade meant the re-adjustment of the whole home and foreign commercial and financial policy of England in accordance with the interests of the manufacturing capitalists—the class which now represented the nation. And they set about this task with a will. Every obstacle to industrial production was mercilessly removed. The tariff and the whole system of taxation were revolutionised. Everything was made subordinate to one end, but that end of the utmost importance to the manufacturing capitalist: the cheapening of all raw produce, and especially of the means of living of the working class; the reduction of the cost of raw material, and the keeping down—if not as yet the *bringing down*—of wages. England was to become the “workshop of the world”; all other countries were to become for England what Ireland already was—markets for her manufactured goods, supplying her in return with raw materials and food. England the great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world, with an ever-increasing number of corn and cotton-growing Irelands, revolving around her, the industrial sun. What a glorious prospect!

The manufacturing capitalists set about the realisation of this their great object with that strong common sense and that contempt for traditional principles which has ever distinguished them from their more narrow-minded compeers on the Continent. Chartism was dying out. The revival of commercial prosperity, natural after the revulsion of 1847 had spent itself, was put down altogether to the credit of Free Trade. Both these circumstances had turned the English working class, politically, into the tail of the great Liberal party, the party led by the manufacturers. This advantage, once gained, had to be perpetuated. And the manufacturing capitalists, from the Chartist opposition not to Free Trade, but to the transformation of Free Trade into the one vital national question, had learnt and were learning more and more that the middle class can never obtain full social and political power over the nation except by the help of the working class. Thus a gradual change came over the relations between both classes. The Factory Acts, once the bugbear of all manufacturers, were not only willingly submitted to, but their expansion into acts regulating almost all trades, was tolerated. Trades' Unions, lately considered inventions of the devil himself, were now petted and patronised as perfectly legitimate institutions and as useful means of spreading sound economical doctrines amongst the workers. Even strikes, than which nothing had been more nefarious up to 1848, were now gradually found out to be occasionally very useful, especially when provoked by the masters themselves, at their own time. Of the legal enactments, placing the workman at a lower level or at a disadvantage with regard to the master, at least the most revolting were repealed. And, practically, that horrid “People's Charter” actually became the political programme of the very manufacturers who had opposed it to the last. “The Abolition of the Property Qualification” and “Vote by Ballot” are now the law of the land. The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884 make a near approach to “universal suffrage,” at least such as it now exists in Germany; the Redistribution Bill now before Parliament creates “equal electoral districts”—on the whole not more unequal than those of France or Germany; “payment of members” and shorter, if not actually “annual parliaments” are visibly looming in the distance—and yet there are people who say that Chartism is dead.

The Revolution of 1848, not less than many of its predecessors, has had strange bed-fellows and successors. The very people who put it down, have become, as Karl Marx used to say, its testamentary executors. Louis Napoleon had to create an independent and united Italy, Bismarck had to revolutionize Germany and to restore Hungarian independence, and the English manufacturers had to enact the People's Charter.

For England, the effects of this domination of the manufacturing capitalists were at first startling. Trade revived and extended to a degree unheard of even in this cradle of modern industry; the previous astounding creations of steam and machinery dwindled into nothing compared with the immense mass of productions of the twenty years from 1850 to 1870, with the overwhelming figures of exports and imports, of wealth

accumulated in the hands of capitalists and of human working power concentrated in the large towns. The progress was indeed interrupted, as before, by a crisis every ten years, in 1857 as well as in 1868; but these revulsions were now considered as natural, inevitable events, which must be fatalistically submitted to, and which always set themselves right in the end.

And the condition of the working class during this period? There was temporary improvement even for the great mass. But this improvement always was reduced to the old level by the influx of the great body of the unemployed reserve, by the constant superseding of hands by new machinery, by the immigration of the agricultural population, now, too, more and more superseded by machines.

A permanent improvement can be recognised for two “protected” sections only of the working class. Firstly, the factory hands. The fixing by Act of Parliament of their working day within relatively rational limits, has restored their physical constitution and endowed them with a moral superiority, enhanced by their local concentration. They are undoubtedly better off than before 1848. The best proof is that out of ten strikes they make, nine are provoked by the manufacturers in their own interests, as the only means of securing a reduced production. You can never get the masters to agree to work “short time,” let manufactured goods be ever so unsaleable; but get the workpeople to strike, and the masters shut their factories to a man.

Secondly, the great Trades' Unions. They are the organisations of those trades in which the labor of *grown-up men* predominates, or is alone applicable. Here the competition neither of women and children nor of machinery has so far weakened their organised strength. The engineers, the carpenters and joiners, the bricklayers, are each of them a power, to that extent that, as in the case of the bricklayers and bricklayers' labourers, they can even successfully resist the introduction of machinery. That their condition has remarkably improved since 1848 there can be no doubt, and the best proof of this is in the fact that for more than fifteen years not only have their employers been with them, but they with their employers, upon exceedingly good terms. They form an aristocracy among the working class; they have succeeded in enforcing for themselves a relatively comfortable position, and they accept it as final. They are the model working men of Messrs. Leone Levi and Giffen, and they are very nice people indeed nowadays to deal with, for any sensible capitalist in particular and for the whole capitalist class in general.

But as to the great mass of the working people, the state of misery and insecurity in which they live now is as low as ever, if not lower. The East-end of London is an ever-spreading pool of stagnant misery and desolation, of starvation when out of work, and degradation, physical and moral, when in work. And so in all other large towns—abstraction made of the privileged minority of the workers; and so in the smaller towns and in the agricultural districts. The law which reduces the *value* of labor-power to the value of the necessary means of subsistence, and the other law which reduces its *average price* as a rule to the minimum of those means of subsistence: these laws act upon them with the irresistible force of an automatic engine, which crushes them between its wheels.

This, then, was the position created by the Free Trade policy of 1847, and by twenty years of the rule of the manufacturing capitalists. But then a change came. The crash of 1868 was, indeed, followed by a slight and short revival about 1873; but that did not last. We did not, indeed, pass through the full crisis at the time it was due, in 1877 or 1878; but we have had, ever since 1876, a chronic state of stagnation in all dominant branches of industry. Neither will the full crash come; nor will the period of longed-for prosperity to which we used to be entitled before and after it. A dull depression, a chronic glut of all markets for all trades, that is what we have been living in for nearly ten years. How is this?

The Free Trade theory was based upon one assumption: that England was to be the one great manufacturing centre of an agricultural world. And the actual fact is that this assumption has turned out to be a pure delusion. The conditions of modern industry, steam-power and machinery, can be established wherever there is fuel, especially coals. And other countries beside England: France, Belgium, Germany, America, even Russia, have coals. And the people over there did not see the advantage of being turned into Irish pauper farmers merely for the greater wealth and glory of English capitalists. They set resolutely about manufacturing, not only for themselves but for the rest of the world; and the consequence is, that the manufacturing monopoly enjoyed by England for nearly a century is irretrievably broken up.

But the manufacturing monopoly of England is the pivot of

the present social system of England. Even while that monopoly lasted the markets could not keep pace with the increasing productivity of English manufacturers; the decennial crises were the consequence. And new markets are getting scarcer every day, so much so that even the negroes of the Congo are now to be forced into the civilisation attendant upon Manchester calicoes, Staffordshire pottery, and Birmingham hardware. How will it be when Continental, and especially American goods, flow in in ever increasing quantities—when the predominating share, still held by British manufactures, will become reduced from year to year? Answer, Free Trade, thou universal panacea?

I am not the first to point this out. Already, in 1883, at the the Southport meeting of the British Association, Mr. Inglis Palgrave, the President of the Economical section, stated plainly that "the days of great trade profits in England were over, and there was a pause in the progress of several great branches of industrial labour. *The country might almost be said to be entering the non-progressive state.*"

But what is to be the consequence? Capitalist production cannot stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even now, the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed work-people there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?

Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalist production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?

And the working class? If even under the unparalleled commercial and industrial expansion, from 1848 to 1868, they have had to undergo such misery; if even then the great bulk of them experienced at best a temporary improvement of their condition, while only a small, privileged, "protected" minority was permanently benefited, what will it be when this dazzling period is brought finally to a close; when the present dreary stagnation shall not only become intensified, but this its intensified condition shall become the permanent and normal state of English trade?

The truth is this: during the period of England's industrial monopoly, the English working class have to a certain extent shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them; the privileged minority pocketed most, but even the great mass had at least a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why since the dying-out of Owenism there has been no Socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly the English working class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow-workers abroad. And that is the reason why there will be Socialism again in England.

FREDERICK ENGELS.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The proverbial parental relation of "the wish" to "the thought" is more easily realised if ignorance of French is knocking about. Several London journals, in dealing with the exposé of the police spies of Paris by the French Socialists, indulged in a maliciously free translation of the phrase "*execution des espions.*" This they rendered "execution of divers spies," not knowing that "execution" here means "exposing." The French correspondent of the *Weekly Dispatch*, in our judgment the best of that ilk, was the first to notice and "execute" this blunder.

Socialists and dynamitards are not, as the American correspondent of the *Daily News* seems to think (by telegraph) convertible or even collateral terms.

The dilemma of the capitalistic press. To reconcile their diatribes against Madame Clovis Hugues with their sneaking fondness for Mrs. Dudley, would-be murderer of O'Donovan Rossa.

The crock calling the kettle smutty. Sir Stafford Northcote falling foul of Professor Thorold Rogers.

New work on India. "India for the Indians—and for England." The author is the Secretary of the National Liberal Club. He deserves to be.

The first special address to the Manchester Geographical Society has been delivered by Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P. The subject was "Our Commercial Opportunities in Western Asia."

Mr. Arthur Arnold is a Radical. He has nothing better to talk about than our—Commercial Opportunities.

The Bishop of Manchester has been preaching on the manifesto of the Socialist League, and is much disturbed by it. His remarks on it are well meaning and amiable, and it must be said that he does not dare to deny the corruption and oppression of society which we assert; but his criticism is for the rest founded on that complete ignorance of Socialism which is the usual condition of the "educated" classes. We hope Dr. Fraser will take the occasion to correct this ignorance which the issue of our literature will give him.

A letter, signed "G. J. Holyoake," recently appeared in the *Daily News*. It was as full of fine phrasing as Mr. Holyoake's letters generally are. "Lurid figures on the horizon" became, a few lines down, under a temporary forgetfulness, "the fiery figures of strange platforms." It is not, however, with the imagery but with the reasoning that we have to do, though the two are curiously closely related. It is the plea, or rather the special pleading, for co-operation as it is today that calls for attention. "Many of the stores have more *Capital* than they know what to do with." They bear the banner, "*Profit* sharing with labor." Industry is to have "an equitable portion of the *gain.*" But the three words we have italicised are as many impossibilities without unpaid labor and exploitation somewhere. Mr. Holyoake's co-operators as well as the capitalist individuals or companies, do "steal capital" and do "put their hands in" the pockets of others. Every farthing of their profit comes from the unremunerated toil of some of their fellow-men.

At the annual meeting of the Notts Chamber of Agriculture, Lord Belper and the Duke of St. Albans denounced the recent utterances of Mr. Chamberlain on the land question. Naturally.

The steady and self-contained attitude of the London population under the influence of dynamite explosions was well shown by the ubiquitous stampede that followed upon a clap of thunder on the day or night week after the Westminster folly and crime.

Mrs. Natalie Liebknecht's translation of Mrs. Lynn Linton's novel "Joshua Davidson," published some years ago in the *Neue Welt*, and lately issued as a volume with an introduction by Wilhelm Liebknecht, has been prohibited by the Prussian Police Government, under one of the articles of the Anti-Socialist Law.

Professor Voeglin of Zurich, the ardent advocate of International Factory Legislation, lately gave a most interesting lecture on this subject at Bâle. He gave the following statistics regarding child labor in the various European countries:—In Germany children of 12 to 14 may be worked 6 hours; from 14 to 16, 10 hours. France, boys of 10 to 12 (under certain conditions); boys from 12 to 16 (under certain conditions) 12 hours. England, children under 13, 6—6½ hours; young persons and females, 10—10½ hours. Austria, children of 10 to 12 prohibited; from 12 to 14, 10 hours; from 14 to 16, 12 hours. Denmark, children of 10 to 14 may be worked 12 hours; young persons of 14 to 18, 12 hours. Netherlands, child labor for children under 12 prohibited. Spain, boys under 13 and girls under 14 may be worked 5 hours; boys of 13 to 15 and girls of 14 to 17, 8 hours. Italy and Belgium, no laws.

"Job," says a daily paper, "should have been chairman of the City Companies' Commission." Exactly: Job with a short "o."

EDWARD AVELING.

EAST-END WORKERS.—II.

We workers hail with great rejoicing the appearance of your new paper, and hope it soon will come out weekly. For a paper that commences with its first appearance to expose grievances should be well supported by the working classes. I am able to support your correspondent, J. Lane, in what he says about my trade, for he does not exaggerate when he says that coats are made for 6d., vests for 3d., and trousers for 4d., and find your own linen thread; but he should also say "and your own sewing machines, etc.," thus reducing your wages by 2s. 6d. per week. For this not only saves the employer going to the expense of buying machinery, but it saves him paying the rent of a workshop. Thus the masters get all these advantages without giving the work hands any more remuneration for all the expense they have to go to, and how many hundreds are there (not being able to get the necessary security to enable them to buy a sewing machine) who are therefore forced (owing to the severe competition which exists for starvation wages in our trade) to fly to the sweaters, who can give them any wages they like. Our greatest curse seems to be that we do not know each other, for if we knew and trusted each other we should be able to organise for the overthrow of the accursed system which is crushing into an untimely grave our best men and women. For it is only the cunning foxes that dare not speak their mind, or in other words, those who are devoid of any principle, that are able to get on now. You must not speak or you are sacked, and this in a country that boasts of being the most enlightened and free. Now a sweater goes to a shop, and by greasing the hand of the trimmer or taker-in he is enabled to get work and employs a few hands. For an example I will take one who lives not far from me. He employs five hands, and they make on the average 100 coats, 100 vests and 100 trousers a week. Now he pays one woman 12s. 6d. per week and one man 25s. per week, the other three girls get from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per week. He only wants those girls to put on buttons, or holes, and fell bottoms or sleeve linings, so that when they ask for a rise they get the sack and have to look out for other employment. Fancy 2s. 6d. to 3s. per week! Is it possible for them to live on this money? I say, emphatically, No! They have in most cases to eke out a living by becoming the mistresses or tools of

the trimmers or cutters, thus filling our streets with prostitutes. It sickens me to think of it, when we have men paid to teach morality at £15,000 a year, and this is the result. But let us return to the sweater. I say he makes 100 coats, 100 vests and 100 trousers.

	£	s.	d.	EXPENSES—	£	s.	d.
100 Coats -	2	10	0	Rent -	0	9	0
100 Vests -	1	5	0	Machines -	0	5	0
100 Trousers -	1	13	4	Wages -	2	5	0
				Grease for the cut- ter's hand -	0	5	0
	5	8	4				
	3	4	0				
	2	4	4		3	4	0

Thus leaving £2 4s. 4d. to this man for doing no work. I think that Professor Leone Levi reckoned a lot like this man in when he made his figures read that the working classes got on the average 32s. per week. Ah well, I believe there are a great many Levis and Giffens, and it is the leeches like the sweater I have mentioned that pay them their wages. They must write to suit their masters.

One thing in conclusion. We have lately had a great cry about small-pox. I know a man who makes coats, and a little while ago his girl had the small-pox while he had a lot of work at home. The prices he is paid for those coats are simply a disgrace to the master. He cannot keep himself and family clean, for he can barely earn sufficient to get food, and this is how the house is furnished. A table opposite the window, which serves for the double purpose of eating on and working on; a bed in the corner; a couple of chairs and a box; a sewing machine. I think he must be turning thrifty, for he does without fender and fire-irons, pictures or flower-pots. But I said a bed in the corner. It is with this bed that I am particularly to deal. There is no bed-clothing, therefore you may imagine a girl in bed with the small-pox. Is it natural for a father to have a few nice warm overcoats in the house to make without throwing some over his child? Why I went in and found that the work that had to go to the shop the next morning was over the girl. I spoke to him about it, and he begged of me not to tell his master, or there was nothing left for him but the workhouse. It is true we plough and sow, yet go hungry; make clothes, yet go naked; build palaces and mansions, yet live in dens and hovels. But I believe that there is a bright speck on the horizon that indicates that a change is near. Let us hope the *Commonweal* will hasten the time when we shall say together, "Freedom's day is dawning."

C. WILFRED.

THE INDUSTRIAL REMUNERATION CONFERENCE.

"Is the present system or manner whereby the products of industry are distributed between the various persons and classes of the community satisfactory? Or, if not, are there any means by which that system could be improved?"

A GENTLEMAN in Edinburgh wanted to know this so badly that he actually gave a thousand pounds to have it argued out. Seven other gentlemen: Thomas Burt, M.P., J. Burnett, Professor Foxwell (of Cambridge), Frederick Harrison, the Earl of Dalhousie, K.T., Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B., M.P., and Mr. Giffen, were accordingly appointed Trustees. The Statistical Society, invited to name half-a-dozen others to form a Committee, nominated Sir Rawson Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., Professor Leone Levi, F. G. P. Nelson, Stephen Bourne, David Dale (of Darlington), and the Rev. W. Cunningham (of Cambridge). These thirteen co-opted R. D. Roberts, A. H. D. Ackland, B. Jones, W. H. Hey, and W. Crawford (of Durham), to serve on the Committee with them. The Rev. W. Cunningham was appointed secretary; and Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, was engaged for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday in the last week in January, in order to submit the questions to a Conference, at which Sir Charles Dilke undertook to preside. Now in order to have a Conference it is necessary to have persons to confer with. In this instance representative capitalists, workmen, economists, statisticians, and others specially interested in the question, 125 in all, were invited in certain proportions: 24 per cent. being Capitalists, 40 per cent. Trades' Unionists, 8 per cent. Friendly Society men, 12 per cent. Co-operators, and 16 per cent. a miscellaneous assortment of economists, socialists, individualists, philanthropists, over-populationists and so forth. None of the 125 were personally invited. They were selected and sent up as delegates by the clubs, chambers of commerce, unions or societies to which the Committee had applied; and hence they had what the English people call a representative character: that is, they had the power of saying exactly what they pleased for three days in the name of the people who voted for them, just as a member of Parliament has for seven years. It will be seen that the proportion between the representation of capital and labour was, on the whole, favorable to the latter; and the advantage so allowed to the workers was not in any way decreased by the selection of papers or speakers. The arrangements of the Conference seemed perfectly fair throughout, and Sir Charles Dilke's treatment of the speakers was much more considerate than their treatment of him.

On the first day, Wednesday, January 28, the question before the Conference was: "Has the increase of the products of industry within the last hundred years tended most to the benefit of capitalists and employers, or to that of the working classes, whether artisans, laborers or others? and in what relative proportions in any given period?"—Here was an opportunity for the statisticians. They rushed at it; and figures and percentages raged from ten o'clock until sunset. Mr. Giffen had his familiar say upon the subject; and Sir Thomas Brassey consoled the workers by pointing out that profits were constantly falling—"tending to a minimum." His paper, however, was not merely a dry economic contribution to the figures of the labour question. Towards the close it soared into eloquence. "The excesses of self-indulgence," said Sir Thomas, "have been held up to universal obloquy by the Poet-laureate in the opening lines of the *Palace of Art*. To the truly wise man, a life of ease presents no allurements. He knows how hard it is to avoid giving provocation to envy and hatred. He is humbled and saddened by the perpetual consciousness of the misery around him. Taste and the sense of duty alike point to simplicity of life. Wealth, if valued at all, will be valued only as a power which it is his duty to use as a steward for the public good." It is impossible to describe the zest which the reputation of the famous Brassey yacht and the envied Brassey diamonds gave to the applause with which this peroration was received by the assembly.

Mr. Lloyd Jones followed with a paper which set forth clearly and forcibly the history and evolution of British industry much as Marx has described them. In the debate which followed, the capitalists and their retainers contended

that statistics prove that the workman is better off than he has ever been, and that his position is steadily improving. The workers, on the other hand, contended that their personal experience proves that wages, as measured by purchasing power, have fallen. The capitalists objected that the personal experience of one or two workmen proves nothing. The workmen retorted that facts are better than figures; and that workmen agree better on their facts than statisticians on their figures. Mulhall, Leone Levi, Giffen, Baxter, Mechi, and Bagehot were cited, questioned, overthrown and set up again, cheered and laughed at in turn: the general impression left by it all being that half the figures were guess-work and the rest beside the point; that the workers taken as a whole, skilled and unskilled together, have gained ground on the proprietors; and that the proprietors feel ill-used in consequence. There was the usual dispute as to the position of the agricultural labourer, some describing him as a starved helot with ten shillings a week, and others angrily insisting that he is an overfed and pampered prodigal with fourteen. An effective speech by Mr. Ball, of the Agricultural Labourer's Union, threw much light on the fourteen-shilling calculation. Mr. Saunders, of the English Land Restoration League, also contributed usefully to the discussion of the question. Mr. Glode Stapelton, from the Fabian Society, ventured on the thin ice by raising the question of the morality of interest. The honors of the day, however, were borne off by Miss Edith Simcox, whose paper made such an impression that the demand for copies outran the supply before she had finished reading it.

On the second day the question proposed was: "Do any remediable causes influence prejudicially, (a) the continuity of industrial employment, (b) the rates of wages, (c) the well-being of the working classes?" Professor Marshall, of Cambridge, one of the authors of "The Economics of Industry," which may be taken as a standard text-book of political economy, came forward with a paper which was one of the disappointments of the Conference. Professor Marshall thinks that we are much better off than we were, and admits that we might be much better off than we are; but considers that we are too apt to undervalue the former circumstance and to overrate the latter. He deplored the vagaries of fashion, thought we might easily restrain them (this was, on the whole, the wildest view advanced at the Conference), and lamented the effect on annuitants of variations in the purchasing power of money. The delegates, who seemed in a vigorous revolutionary mood, evidently thought the Cambridge professor's attitude timid and his proposals paltry, and did not pause to consider whether he had not done a little service by studiously selecting for utterance points that, however insignificant, were not likely to be touched by anyone else. The discussion subsequently ran on co-operation, fair-trade, and profit-sharing, a plausible trick which was advocated by Mr. Sedley Taylor in one of the papers, and exposed by Professor Beesley in a speech admirable for its clearness and freedom from any attempt at oratorical display. Mr. Bradlaugh, as delegate of the Land Law Reform League, spoke early in the day on the impossibility of workmen ascertaining the truth as to the profits of their employers, with reference to which boards of arbitration are supposed to regulate wages. He advocated the establishment of a bureau of statistics on the model of that at Massachusetts. Mrs. Ann Ellis, of the Huddersfield and District Woollen Weavers, made a very clever speech, in the course of which she deftly whipped up the skirt of her jacket and placed it close under the eyes of the astonished President as a sample of shoddy which was retailed at nearly four times the price she received for making it. A prolonged roar of applause rewarded this capably planned and executed appeal to the common sense of the audience against the statisticians. Mr. Burnett, speaking to Mr. Lowthian Bell's paper, made the most convincing speech of the day, except perhaps Professor Beesley's.

On Friday, the last day, the Conference discussed "Whether the more general distribution of Capital or Land, or the State management of Capital and Land, would promote or impair the production of wealth and the welfare of the Community?" This was the field-day of Socialists and Land Nationalisers. Mr. Alfred Russell Wallace brought forward a scheme of compulsory allotment as a stepping-stone to his well-known Nationalisation scheme, which was advocated in a paper by Professor Newman. Mr. Balfour, M.P., in arguing against the proposals of Mr. Henry George (whose influence on the delegates was evidently strong) showed that he knew his own side of the question, which is more than can be said for many of Mr. George's opponents. Mr. J. Wilson, of the Miners' National Union, spoke with much natural eloquence on the injustice of the royalties levied by landlords from hard-working miners; but Mr. Wordsworth Donnisthorpe, as a mine-owner, assured him that the royalties, if abolished, would be saved to the capitalist and not to the miner. Lord Bramwell's paper, which without cant or compromise insisted on downright individualism, was read by Mr. Donnisthorpe, who represented the Liberty and Property Defence League, and who certainly showed himself second to no Socialist either in comprehension of the social problems under discussion or moral courage in dealing with them. Frederic Harrison, in a long paper, weak on the economic side, proposed to moralise the capitalist, as the phrase goes; or rather to wait and hope that the capitalist will grow out of his bad habits. Dr. G. B. Clark, delegated by the Highland Land Law Association, assailed Professor Nicholson with fierce and contemptuous invective for his paper on the land question. Dr. Clark wrought the delegates to the highest pitch of excitement attained during the Conference; and the subsequent speeches fell comparatively flat, with the exception of a stirring address by John Burns, of the Social Democratic Federation, and a speech on the ethics of the question from the Rev. Stewart Headlam that agreeably and completely disappointed those strangers who, seeing a clergyman rise to speak, naturally expected something essentially unchristian from him. Shortly after he left the platform the Conference broke up with the usual votes of thanks and mutual admiration drill.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The members of the Socialist League are International Revolutionary Socialists. Hence, while admitting that different methods of propaganda may be necessary in different countries, under different conditions, they profess the same uncompromising principles, have at heart the same ends and aims as the Revolutionary Socialists of all other countries.

The following letters from our fellow-workers abroad will, I am sure, be read by us in England with the deepest interest, the heartiest sympathy. The knowledge that the Socialists of other lands look to us for help in the great struggle should be an incentive—if incentive is needed in such a cause as ours—to work more earnestly, more zealously than ever.

I feel I need offer no apology for putting these letters in the place of my usual notes.

The names of our friends are too well known to call for any sort of introduction from me. But perhaps I may be allowed, in the name of the Socialist

League, to thank them for their sympathy with our work and their confidence in our principles, and, above all, for putting into practice the old precept: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"
ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

When there arise differences of opinion on matters of principle between fellow-workers, a split is as necessary as it is unpleasant. The energy of the workers is only weakened by such differences of opinion, and any real work rendered impossible; and clearness and definiteness of aim, the uncompromising enunciation of principles, alone are sure of success with the masses. On these grounds I hail with pleasure the fact that the members of the S.L. have freed themselves from all organisations that, on account of vagueness of ideas and indefiniteness of aims, can but harm the cause of revolutionary Socialism—and any other Socialism is a contradiction in itself. I hope and trust the S.L. will at last succeed in creating a movement in England, economically the most developed country in the world, and therefore well prepared for the reception of our ideas. Socialists of all lands are deeply interested in such a result. As Lassalle in his day could with truth say of Germany, that with a great Socialist movement in Berlin the Socialist movement in Germany would become irresistible, so International Socialism may say with regard to England: if England is gained to us, our way through the whole civilised world is won. Hence you have before you a great and most important field for active work, and I hope in the interest of us all you will succeed in cultivating it. Of our sympathy and goodwill you may be sure.—
With hearty greeting, yours,
A. BEBEL.
Planen-Dresden, Feb. 16, 1885.

I am proud of having been invited to contribute to the *Commonweal*; I consider it my duty to help you as far as I am able. Nobody knows better than myself the difficulties that are in your way, but nobody knows better also that England, in consequence of her high economical development, has, economically, the central position amongst the civilised states, and that the triumph of Socialism in England means the triumph of Socialism all over the world. Unfortunately I have been prevented by over-work (parliamentary and other) from sending you an article for your first number, and the same is the case with Bebel, who, like me, is most desirous of co-operating with you. As soon as we can snatch a leisure hour you may count upon us. I know you have the will to do the right thing; and where there is a will there is a way, is an English saying. The time cannot be distant when the working men of England will put their immense power and their unparalleled organisation into the service of their own class. With Social Democratic greeting,
truly yours,
W. LIEBKNECHT.
Berlin, Reichstag, Feb. 16, 1885.

I do not know whether I shall be able to write to you as often as I should like. Anyhow, if time is wanting, good-will is not. One thing I can say to you, that I hail with as much of joy as hope the formation of the Socialist League. Through your action, at last, revolutionary Communism is to have in Great Britain an organ, a flag, and men worthy of the party of revolution, free from all alliance with reactionaries, free from all Chauvinism. I hope heartily that your appeal will be heard, and that behind you the masses of the English proletariat will rally to take their place in the great struggle for political power and for the deliverance that we must with all our strength urge on, and can, if we choose, attain: to save modern society from the ruin towards which the capitalistic régime is dragging it, and by the revolutionary abolition of all privilege of all classes, to found the popular and communistic republic of equality, science and commonweal. The one thing wanting to the Socialist proletariat of Europe and America, the one thing wanting to the Revolution to declare war and to conquer, is the fellowship of England. The Socialist League promises us this, and will give it to us. No country will be nearer the goal than yours when once it wills to strain towards it. And if, despite the necessity that urges us, we move slowly, that you may hasten the day of triumph, and, leading the way, give us the signal and the example, is the sincere wish of your devoted friend,
E. VAILLANT.
Ville de Paris, Conseil Municipal, Feb. 14th, 1885.

I wish you good luck in your undertaking, and I shall be at your disposal for the journal.
P. LAFARGUE.

As a disciple of Karl Marx, and an old member of the International Working Men's Association [and we may add Minister of Public Works under the Commune] I am with all those who profess the same scientific ideas, i.e., the same principles. Presuming that the Socialist League, as well as its official organ, the *Commonweal*, serves to propagate the true, i.e., the Scientific Socialism, and thus to effect a revolution in the minds which, in my opinion has to be made ere the people can do away with all the existing rotten political and economical privileges—I shall be delighted to contribute to your paper as often as time and circumstances will allow.—Yours affectionately,
LEO FRANKEL.
Vienna, February 11, 1885.

Permit me in my own name, and in that of many of my Austrian fellow Socialists to express to you the sympathy we feel with the efforts of the Socialist League.

We Austrians have always felt the necessity for the international solidarity of the working classes—and for a good reason. Nowhere, probably, has the development of the Social democracy been more cramped by national struggles than in Austria, whose rare national contrasts have reached a degree of intensity that, at the outside, is perhaps only to be equalled by the differences between English and Irish men. In these national struggles a great part of the attention and strength of the working classes is absorbed that would be far more advantageously spent upon the international class-struggle against capital. The Socialist movement itself is in Austria no united one. We have a German, a Bohemian, a Hungarian, a Polish, a Servian, an Italian working class movement, each independent of the other, as the means for a common understanding are wanting. Only the most earnest lessons of internationalism make it possible for the workers recognising the class struggle, on the one hand, to abstain from taking part in the national struggles and thus wasting their strength, and on the other hand to maintain if only a feeble link between the working class movements in Austria, so that they may in decisive moments act in common against the common enemy.

But there is also another matter that forces us always to bear in mind our international solidarity. We are a small party fighting a desperate battle with unequal weapons on a disadvantageous soil. This struggle would for the moment have appeared hopeless under our present political condition and in face of the small class-consciousness of Austrian workers, recruited to a

great extent from backward undeveloped races. But one thing has supported us—the sense of international solidarity. However unsatisfactory conditions in Austria may be, when we look upon the whole European movement we can still cry "And yet it moves."

An Austrian Social democracy we are weak and insignificant; as part of the great International Social democracy we are strong and full of import. The victories of our brethren in Russia, France, Germany, are our victories also, strengthening us also, and giving us courage to toil on in the work of emancipation of the proletariat.

Hence the development of the Social democracy in different lands is not indifferent to us, and we have long awaited the time when the motherland of capitalistic production would join the Socialistic movement. Russia and England are the two poles of modern society. When Russian absolutism shall be conquered, when the mass of English workers has been won to Socialism the last hour of Capitalism will have come. The Socialists of England do not fight for themselves, for the English working classes alone. They fight for the exploited of the whole world. The more conscious they are of this, the more resolutely they devote themselves to the thought of international solidarity, the greater will be the sympathy with which the whole proletariat will watch their struggle.
K. KAUTSKY.

I hope you have not doubted that I am heart and soul with you and the other friends and *correligionnaires*. . . My best greetings and good wishes to all.
PIERRE LAVROFF.

Yes. I will collaborate with your *Commonweal* as much as my time will allow me. The cause of Russian liberty quickly wins the public opinion of English-speaking people, without any distinction of class or party. All preconceived ideas are melting away before facts that every-day life brings forth. But among English Socialists—and I daresay English workmen in general—no prejudice against the Russian Revolutionary movement has ever existed. From the very beginning their sympathies were with us. And the toast proclaimed by their representatives at Paris was that of frank approbation and unconditional sympathy with Russian Socialists, struggling for the liberty of their country. I am proud of your invitation and will lose no opportunity of addressing such people.

London, Feb. 19th.

S. STEPNIAK.

If my collaboration can be of any use to your journal, I shall make it my duty to contribute to the success of an organ which has for its aim the propagation of Socialistic ideas in England. I wish every success to the *Commonweal*.
TICHOMIROFF (*Messageur de la Volonte du Peuple*).

When I find time, I'll send you some notes of events in our country. All that happens in England interests me very much; the economical development of that country makes it the most ripe for the accomplishment of our aims.
F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS.

REPORTS.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE (The Scottish Section of the Socialist League), Glasgow Branch, Albion Halls, College Street.—January 25, J. Mavor read a paper on "Poor Living and Rich Living;" Feb. 1, M. Melliet Prevot spoke on "The Solidarity of the Workers;" Feb. 8, J. B. Glasier on "Genius and Art in the Coming Socialism;" Feb. 15, Replies to recent attacks on Socialism by Professor Flint, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Reay, by C. F. Jamieson, Glasier, and Mavor; Feb. 22, a discussion on "Mr. Chamberlain and Socialism." Membership, 55. A reading room in connexion with this branch is to be opened. The leading journals, Socialist and labour papers, and books will be supplied. Funds being needed for carrying out these objects, contributions in books or money are solicited, and will be acknowledged by the treasurer, J. Adams, 92 South Wellington Street.

LEEDS.—At a special general meeting of the members of the Leeds Branch of the Social Democratic Federation, held at the Royal Sovereign Inn, Vicar Lane, on Sunday, Feb. 8, the following resolution, was carried *nem. con.*: "That this Branch of the Social Democratic Federation be declared dissolved, and that henceforward this body be identified as the Leeds Branch of the Socialist League." On Sunday, Feb. 15, comrades C. Reilly, Finn, Woolley, Malone, Connell and McHale, were elected to form the Committee of the Branch; Kelly, Maguire and Corpwell, treasurer and secretaries. Open-air meetings every Sunday afternoon at Vicar's Croft.

LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

Canning Town Branch, L. E. L., 144 Barking Road. Sundays at 7.30. 1, Robert Banner, "Social Revolution." 8, Frank Kitz, "Rent." 15, H. Charles, "Society versus State." 22, C. W. Mowbray, "The Rise and Fall of the Revolutionary Movements of the Present Century." 29, E. J. Baxter, "How Profit is Made."

Glasgow.—1, A. K. Donald. 8, J. M. Cherrie. 15, J. Adams. 22, J. Mavor. 29, A. Scheu. At 7 p.m.

Hammersmith.—1, W. Bridges Adams, "Internationalism." 8, Debate. 15, J. H. Watts. 22, Stewart D. Headlam. 29, G. Bernard Shaw.

Hoxton Branch, L. E. L., Academy Schools, Hoxton Street, Sundays at 8.15. 1, Frank Kitz, "Some Socialistic Experiments." 8, C. W. Mowbray, "Why the Revolutionary Movements of 1848-9 Failed." 15, W. J. Clark, "Divine Right." 22, Joseph Lane, "Poverty, its Cause and Cure." 29, J. L. Mahon, "The Meaning of the Revolution."

Manchester.—Sundays at 7, open air meetings at the Viaduct, Chester Road, Hulme.

Manchester Square, W.—"Westmoreland Arms," George Street. Sundays at 8. 1, Edward Aveling, "The Curse of Commercialism." 8, William Morris, "Work, as it is and as it might be." 8 p.m.

Merton Abbey Branch.—6, Edward Aveling; 13, Wm Morris. 20, Frank Kitz. 27, H. Charles. 7.30 p.m.

Mile End Branch, L. E. L., 110 White Horse Street, Whitechapel. Sundays at 8. 1, C. W. Mowbray, "Why the Revolutionary Movements of 1848-9 Failed." 8, S. Mainwaring, "Society." 15, J. L. Mahon, "The Meaning of the Revolution." 22, Eleanor Aveling, "The Factory Acts." 29, William Morris, "Socialism."

Notting Hill, Magdala Castle, Blechynden Street.—1, J. C. Mahon. 8, R. Banner. 15, Edward Aveling. 22, H. Charles.

Scottish Land and Labour League.—Edinburgh City Branch, Picardy Hall, 20 Picardy Place.—6, J. Glasier, "The Prophecy of Socialism;" 13, R. Aitken, "A Plea for Laissez faire;" 20, A. Scheu, "Capitalism and the Law of Population;" 27, A. J. Anderson, "Feudalism." NOTICE.—Intending members please hand names to Secretary. Executive meetings after lectures. On Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays the hall is open as a reading-room. The Treasurer will attend on lecture nights. The *Commonweal* and other literature of the Socialist League on sale.

Southwark.—Cavender's Coffee Tavern, 60 Blackman Street, Borough. Sundays at 7.45. 1, H. Charles, "State Socialism, Socialism and Anarchism." 8, Eleanor Aveling, "The Factory Acts." 15, Frank Kitz, "Some Socialistic Experiments." 22, W. J. Clark, "The Housing of the Wage-Earning Class." 29, Joseph Lane, "The National Loaf; Who Earns it and Who Eats it."

Tower Hamlets Radical Club.—Sunday 29, 11.30, Edward Aveling. Several reports are omitted for want of space. That of the League for February and March will be given in our next issue.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 1.—No. 3.

APRIL, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

EVERY people has its days of revolution. These it justly holds as festivals, celebrating them as so many acts of vengeance wherein it has chastised its oppressors, as halting-places along the path that leads to freedom. Amongst them those stand out with unrivalled splendour, whose effect, not limited to the country that produced them, opens to all mankind the portals to a better future. Thus it was that at the end of the 18th century all Europe hailed with acclamation the fall of the Bastille and of the *ancien régime*.

Thus it is that the 18th of March is a date glorious beyond all others; because it belongs not to France only, but to the International Proletariat. In no country is there to-day a proletarian, conscious of his rights, who does not know that the battle fought by the people of Paris in 1871, against the new masters of capital and power, was but the first act of the universal drama in which he too plays his part, the drama that will not end until every chain, social and political, has been broken by the popular strength.

Despite the bloodshed in June, 1848, this insurrection, like that of Lyons, like the Chartist risings, was only a prelude, a first and as yet ineffectual appeal to force on the part of the slaves of capital, who, unable to live by working, preferred to die fighting.

In 1871 it was again, as always, the same cause for revolt, the same suffering and misery, that put arms into the hands of the people. But this people, maddened by hunger and fury, seeing themselves immediately after a foreign war betrayed and sold through hatred of the Revolution, struggled no longer to merely escape death, but also for enfranchisement. Better than ever before they had understood that their tyrants, by means of the political power and the whole forces of the nation which were at their disposal, held at once the instruments of government, and a guarantee for their privileges. Better than ever before they saw they must begin by dispossessing them of these, and that the people, armed with the same sovereign power, would encounter no obstacles, no opposition.

For two months the Commune, the victory of the people, lasted. The fighting, the struggle for existence and power was everything, the rest only an accident. Of what value were words, of what value ephemeral reforms, when it was a question of conquering or dying? The people of Paris, rising to the height of the task they had undertaken, knew how to fight and die. For two months the red flag of the victorious proletariat waved over the town of the Revolution, till at last in May it fell with its defenders, drowned in a sea of blood. The reactionary coalition triumphed by means of bloody massacres. Furious at seeing its empire menaced, Capital could not feed fat enough its lust for revenge, and endless proscriptions followed upon the massacres.

But Paris crushed grew only greater in the eyes of the oppressed people. Each one felt himself struck. To the French proletariat's cry of distress and death the proletariat of all other countries replied with one of vengeance and of hope. Everywhere the militant Socialism of the Revolution sprang into being. Everywhere, on the very morrow of the defeat, even in France, as she came back to life again, the struggle recommenced. It is growing now, hastening its march towards a goal grander than any men have yet sought. For this is no longer a struggle by one class to replace another class, but a struggle for the abolition of all privileges, for the deliverance of all the oppressed, for a society in which all shall belong to all, for a society of the people based upon liberty, happiness and equality, for the community of property, for a people without god or master.

And it is for this, because it has led the way, shown the means, taught the method of organisation and combat, foretold success, that the Commune is everywhere fêted, glorified, in the hope of a speedy revenge and definite triumph.

At last its true meaning is becoming understood. The nonsense of federalists, the lucubrations, interested or foolish, of hypocritical or ignorant interpreters can no longer hide the truth. The Commune of Paris—everyone knows it to-day—was not a separatist effort of egotistical isolation. It was on the contrary, as in 1793, the effort of revolutionary Paris to rally all the forces of the Revolution within the nation, to take the direction of the country by all its people, in order to its enfranchisement.

The Commune—that is to say, the Revolution triumphant—meant the Socialist proletariat master of power and consequently of its destinies.

The defeat is but momentary, and for the delay the triumph will be but so much the greater, the more assured. For it is not in Paris and France alone, but in all Europe, and even America, that the Socialistic idea is agitating the masses of the workers. Each day and in all lands the assault upon the old society becomes more general and more impassioned. Soon the breach will be made by which the proletariat, irresistible, will pass to victory.

In marching towards this new world of equality, of justice, and of science, towards this radiant future, let us not forget that even more than the resistance of the enemy, the divisions, the want of organisation of our forces, are the principal obstacle to our action. On this day, when appealing to all proletarians, to all the soldiers of the Revolution and of Socialism, we celebrate the revolutionary struggles and the Commune of 1871, let us pledge ourselves by the memory of those who then fell for the cause of the people that the coming struggle shall find us ready, united and resolute.

ED. VAILLANT,

[Member of the Paris Municipal Council; Ex-Member of the Commune.]

AT BAY!

THE two monsters at last confront each other at the gates of India. It may be in a few weeks' time that the representative embodiments of the great reactionary forces of the age—military autocracy and commercial plutocracy—are involved in a life-and-death struggle. To Socialists the spectacle of Russian military despotism and of British commercial greed mutually strangling one another cannot be unwelcome, provided the issue be the permanent disablement of one or both of them. A mere useless effusion of blood would of course be deprecated on all hands; and any campaign resulting in a patched-up peace must be viewed in this light by Socialists. Better that present probabilities should be realised—that the menaces of the bear should have the effect once more of driving the lion slinking off with his tail between his legs—than that a few months' carnage should result in the *status quo ante*, or little more. But we repeat that should a rupture in Afghanistan mean the beginning of the end of the high contending powers implicated, then the wish of every revolutionist should be, "Let it come!"

And that it should mean this, it must be remembered, is quite within the range of possibility. That neither "power" will bear a heavy strain on its resources is generally admitted. It can scarcely be doubted but that the Czar's forces once engaged with England, and unable to repress internal risings, the revolutionary party in Russia will have a word, and may be a weighty one, to say on the situation. The revolutionary movement at home will be aided by the disaffected populations of Turkestan, who have not forgotten Geok Tepé, and who may, likely enough, light the flame of rebellion throughout Central Asia. As regards the disintegration of the "Empire upon which the sun ever sets," the elements are many and rife. The whole military strength of Britain locked up on the Indian frontier would offer unparalleled opportunities for all "nations and kindreds and tongues and peoples," now the prey of British office-mongers, stock-jobbers, and cheap goods

dealers, who have sufficient independence left in them to desire freedom, to emancipate themselves from the British yoke. Firstly, the establishment of "the orderly government at Khartoum," otherwise called British supremacy in Eastern Africa, must of necessity be indefinitely postponed. The policy of "butcher and bolt" would have to be pursued—less the "butcher." For there would be no time to give the Mahdi the chance of inflicting that chastisement on the invader he so richly deserves. But the Soudanese would be at least relieved from the immediate danger of having the blessings of civilisation conferred upon them. It would be well to remember, in this connexion also, that the native movement in Egypt proper is not dead but sleeping.

Next, those wicked Irish might possibly not be inclined to cease from troubling and to leave the weary "Castle" at rest just at this precise juncture. Even the presence of "their prince" might not supply that of a military force in keeping down such discontent—such is human perversity. If the "handful of agitators" of which we are sometimes told "disloyal Ireland" consists, chose to take advantage of the political "situation," stirring times might be expected across St. George's Channel.

In the rear of the British armies themselves would be the vast Indian populations, which some who know them say are ready for revolt, others that their "loyalty" to their empress has never been firmer. War in Afghanistan would afford an excellent opportunity of deciding this interesting question. It is unnecessary to do more than allude to the possible action of Irish-Americans in Canada, or the probable prospect of "movements" in South Africa. All things considered, we think we are not far wrong in venturing the prognostication that in the event of a Russian war the "British Empire," speaking generally, is likely to have a warm quarter of an hour.

As regards the immediate aspect of the dispute, it is clear that the Czar and his myrmidons have scored a diplomatic victory. After being peremptorily ordered to evacuate the Zilfilkar Pass by the British Government, the Cossack troops are now permitted by the same Government to remain where they are—for a time at least. Russia's claim, from being dismissed with disdain, has at least reached the stage of argument. Whether it will attain that of acceptance remains to be seen. It is likely enough that by alternate wheedling and blustering the Cabinet at St. Petersburg may win over British Ministers to its opinions.

After all, it is not nice going to war with one's equal or possible superior in strength—so different from those delightful "military operations" which consist in "potting" savages with an amount of danger just sufficient to give a zest to the sport, and no more—and then "nobbling" their territory. Had the Sultan of Soccatoo or the King of Abyssinia insisted on holding positions when ordered to evacuate them, he would have been thrashed, of course. But then the special line the skill of our ablest and most valiant generals takes is that of "thrashing a cannibal" (*pace* Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan). Thrashing a Cossack is a different sort of thing.

The strong point of England is her cheap goods. Cheap "glory" is the latest industrial development of the British capitalistic system. The Englishman has discovered an improved method of manufacturing it *very* cheap, by the application of the latest inventions in war machinery on the raw material of naked savages who can't handle a rifle. Since it is only on these terms that "glory" *pays*, it is hardly likely that any British Government would care to embark in the perilous speculation of producing it on the old method of personal prowess and equal fighting. This would be retrograde. Much as we hate war, we must confess to a species of eager, expectant curiosity, akin to that one feels at the revival of some defunct art, at the prospect of contemplating the figure cut by the "bold Briton" before the foeman when the odds are something less than a thousand to one in his favour. Would we doubt the valour of Britain's sons? *Never!* But as yet we live by faith, and not by sight. That is all.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE WORKER'S SHARE OF ART.

I CAN imagine some of our comrades smiling bitterly at the above title, and wondering what a Socialist journal can have to do with art; so I begin by saying that I understand only too thoroughly how "unpractical" the subject is while the present system of capital and wages lasts. Indeed that is my text.

What, however, *is* art? whence does it spring? Art is man's embodied expression of interest in the life of man; it springs from man's pleasure in his life; pleasure we must call it, taking all human life together, however much it may be broken by the grief and trouble of individuals; and as it is the expression of pleasure in life generally, in the memory of

the deeds of the past, and the hope of those of the future, so it is especially the expression of man's pleasure in the deeds of the present; in his work.

Yes, that may well seem strange to us at present! Men to-day may see the pleasure of unproductive energy—energy put forth in games and sports; but in productive energy—in the task which must be finished before we can eat, the task which will begin again to-morrow, and many a to-morrow without change or end till *we* are ended—pleasure in that?

Yet I repeat that the chief source of art is man's pleasure in his daily necessary work, which expresses itself and is embodied in that work itself; nothing else can make the common surroundings of life beautiful, and whenever they are beautiful it is a sign that men's work has pleasure in it, however they may suffer otherwise. It is the lack of this pleasure in daily work which has made our towns and habitations sordid and hideous, insults to the beauty of the earth which they disfigure, and all the accessories of life mean, trivial, ugly—in a word, *vulgar*. Terrible as this is to endure in the present, there is hope in it for the future; for surely it is but just that outward ugliness and disgrace should be the result of the slavery and misery of the people; and that slavery and misery once changed, it is but reasonable to expect that external ugliness will give place to beauty, the sign of free and happy work.

Meantime, be sure that nothing else will produce even a reasonable semblance of art; for, think of it! the workers, by means of whose hands the mass of art must be made, are forced by the commercial system to live, even at the best, in places so squalid and hideous that no one could live in them and keep his sanity without losing all sense of beauty and enjoyment of life. The advance of the industrial army under its "captains of industry" (save the mark!) is traced, like the advance of other armies, in the ruin of the peace and loveliness of earth's surface, and nature, who will have us live at any cost, compels us to *get used* to our degradation at the expense of losing our manhood, and producing children doomed to live less like men than ourselves. Men living amidst such ugliness cannot conceive of beauty, and, therefore, cannot express it.

Nor is it only the workers who feel this misery (and I rejoice over that, at any rate). The higher or more intellectual arts suffer with the industrial ones. The artists, the aim of whose lives it is to produce beauty and interest, are deprived of the materials for their works in real life, since all around them is ugly and vulgar. They are driven into seeking their materials in the imaginations of past ages, or into giving the lie to their own sense of beauty and knowledge of it by sentimentalising and falsifying the life which goes on around them; and so, in spite of all their talent, intellect and enthusiasm, produce little which is not contemptible when matched against the works of the non-commercial ages. Nor must we forget that whatever is produced that is worth anything is the work of men who are in rebellion against the corrupt society of to-day—rebellion sometimes open, sometimes veiled under cynicism, but by which in any case lives are wasted in a struggle, too often vain, against their fellow-men, which ought to be used for the exercise of special gifts for the benefit of the world.

High and low, therefore, slaveholders and slaves, we lack beauty in our lives, or, in other words, man-like pleasure. This absence of pleasure is the second gift to the world which the development of commercialism has added to its first gift of a propertiless proletariat. Nothing else but the grinding of this iron system could have reduced the civilised world to vulgarity. The theory that art is sick *because* people have turned their attention to science is without foundation. It is true that science is allowed to live because profit can be made of her, and men, who must find some outlet for their energies, turn to her, since she exists, though only as the slave (but now the rebellious slave) of capital; whereas when art is fairly in the clutch of profit-grinding she dies, and leaves behind her but her phantom of *sham* art as the futile slave of the capitalist.

Strange as it may seem, therefore, to some people, it is as true as strange, that Socialism, which has been commonly supposed to tend to mere Utilitarianism, is the only hope of the arts. It may be, indeed, that till the social revolution is fully accomplished, and perhaps for a little while afterwards, men's surroundings may go on getting plainer, grimmer, and barer. I say for a little while afterwards, because it may take men some time to shake off the habits of penury on the one hand and inane luxury on the other, which have been forced on them by commercialism. But even in that there is hope; for it is at least possible that all the old superstitions and conventionalities of art have got to be swept away before art can be born again; that before that new birth we shall have to be left bare of everything that has been called art; that we shall have nothing left

us but the materials of art, that is the human race with its aspirations and passions and its home, the earth; on which materials we shall have to use these tools, leisure and desire.

Yet, though that may be, it is not likely that we shall quite recognise it; it is probable that it will come so gradually that it will not be obvious to our eyes. Maybe, indeed, art is sick to death even now, and nothing but its already half-dead body is left upon the earth: but also, may we not hope that we shall not have to wait for the new birth of art till we attain the peace of the realised New Order? Is it not at least possible, on the other hand, that what will give the death-blow to the vulgarity of life which enwraps us all now will be the great tragedy of Social Revolution, and that the worker will then once more begin to have a share in art, when he begins to see his aim clear before him—his aim of a share of real life for all men—and when his struggle for that aim has begun? It is not the excitement of battling for a great and worthy end which is the foe to art, but the dead weight of sordid, unrelieved anxiety, the anxiety for the daily earning of a wretched pittance by labour degrading at once to body and mind, both by its excess and by its mechanical nature.

In any case, the leisure which Socialism above all things aims at obtaining for the worker is also the very thing that breeds desire—desire for beauty, for knowledge, for more abundant life, in short. Once more, that leisure and desire are sure to produce art, and without them nothing but sham art, void of life or reason for existence, can be produced: therefore not only the worker, but the world in general, will have no share in art till our present commercial society gives place to real society—to Socialism. I know this subject is too serious and difficult to treat properly in one short article. I will ask our readers, therefore, to consider this as an introduction to the consideration of the relations of industrial labour to art.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

EAST-END WORKERS.—III.

IN writing this article on "sweating," I speak with authority as a *bona fide* working tailor for eleven years, working in the sweater's den in the East-end of London. I have endeavoured to gather facts to lay them before the public. The community at large is ignorant of the cruelty that takes place in these fever dens, and it is the oppressed worker who alone knows his grievances; but unfortunately, for fear of being discharged from employment, he has to remain silent, and thus the evil of sweating is extensively carried on, which is nothing more nor less than *slow murder*. I know there are men and women ready to assist in advocating the people's cause. It is my duty as a Socialist to lay before the public their grievances and also to say to what they are subjected.

Dealing with the deplorable condition of the working tailoresses in East London, their wretched pay, their miserable meals, their captivity, approaching to slavery, in places the most dangerous and unhealthy, dimly reveals but one aspect of the misery existing in parts of East London, the natural outgrowth of the sweating system. Without entering at length in the course of the present article into the many details of the sweating system, it will be sufficient to indicate the growth of one of the most miserable conditions of things in the East-end of London, and some of the mischief to which it has given rise. "Sweaters," then, it may be well to mention at the outset, has a technical meaning, as applied to those engaged in the tailoring trade, a class of men who, receiving a certain amount of cloth from the large clothing establishments in the metropolis, for which security is given, agree to work that cloth into garments, or parts of garments, for a certain price. This assertion, however, must be qualified to some extent, for sweaters thus receiving the cloth direct from the establishment are far from being in the majority. A certain amount of small influence is necessary to obtain "orders" or contracts, and the knowledge of this fact has given rise to a class of "middlemen," who, obtaining the cloth from the establishment, hand it over in their turn to the sweaters for a consideration. To these "middlemen" may, in reality, be traced the existence of the evil of low prices and wretched workshops. The sweaters, having to do the work at a less price because of the existence of these middlemen, and naturally desirous of putting as much of the money as possible into their own pockets, screw their workpeople down to the lowest wages possible, and work the "concern" as cheaply as they can. It may be mentioned, too, that the capital required to start a sweating shop is insignificant. The sweater, having received his orders, is immediately favoured with the attentions of an agent from a firm of sewing-machine manufacturers, who supply him with as many machines as he may require, at weekly payments of from one shilling to half-a-crown each, easily deducted from the profits

he may pocket at the end of each week. His next move is to strike off a few bills or to advertise for "hands," who are usually forthcoming. With these he strikes a bargain for a daily wage, screwed down to the utmost farthing, and allowing the sweaters a tolerably good profit. A few gas-burners are knocked up; the two wretched rooms of which the dilapidated house can boast are furnished with a few deal tables and chairs. Each room is filled with eight or ten persons, mostly girls, to whom, indeed, the sweater is rather partial, since they can do with less wages. The work is given out, the sewing-machine strikes up its rattling noise, and another sweating-shop is started somewhere in the streets right and left of Bethnal Green, Hackney Road and Whitechapel, in Princess Street, Church Street and Spitalfields. But wherever the shop may be, the sanitary conditions are invariably bad. Starting with little or no capital, the sweater cannot afford to make the rooms fit for the use to which they have been put. Consequently eight or ten persons are crowded into a room barely fit for three persons. The work being continued till late at night, three or four gas-jets may be seen flaring in one room; a coke fire may be seen dimly burning in the wretched fireplace; sinks are untrapped, closets are without water, and altogether the sanitary conditions are abominable. In this matter the inspectors under the Factory Acts are powerless, sanitation remaining exclusively under local authority, whose functions are limited. Moreover, the workpeople, being for the most part foreigners—Dutch, Polish, Russian—who migrating into this country fancy they have arrived at the El Dorado of their hopes, uneducated, and ignorant of the simplest of sanitary laws, do much by their own ignorance to complete the wreck and ruin of their own constitution, started by the sweaters, with the result that over 50 per cent. suffer in a short time from heart and lung disease.

LEWIS LYONS.

IRISH NOTES.

We have received the following notes from a friend in Ireland. They are interesting as dealing with the past treatment of her country by England. We look forward to having a regular series of notes from the same source on the condition of events in Ireland at the present time.

English people, as a rule, will not read Irish newspapers, if the latter have the least National tendency; and as we Irish wish the English nation to know some of the truths concerning the wrongs we have laboured under for centuries, we shall give a few facts—not theories, but hard facts—which can be proved from both the English Government side and the National side.

In the last century, Dean Swift was a good friend to the suffering Irish. He always upheld the cause of the oppressed, and on one occasion said that the confiscated lands which were given by William III. of England, to his English followers, were given to highwaymen; inasmuch as he considered the recipients must have been stopped and slain on Hounslow Heath on their way to Ireland, and the highwaymen came in their stead.

William III., when memorialised by the people of Bristol to stop the importation of Irish manufactures, replied: "I shall do my best to hinder and obstruct the woollen trade of Ireland, and to promote that of England."

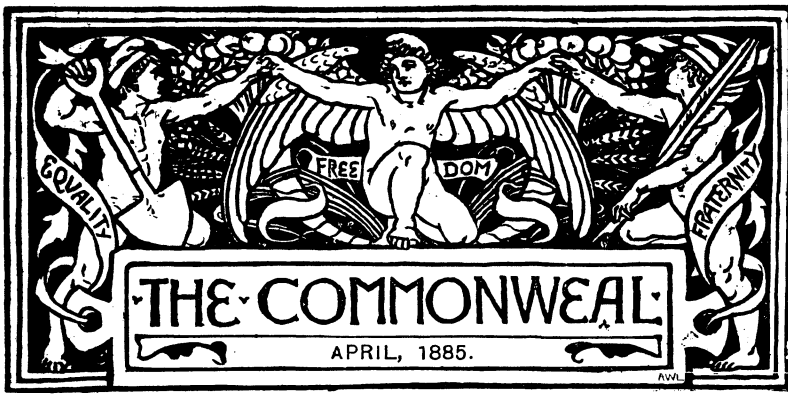
Shortly afterwards, Dean Swift at a public dinner was asked to drink the toast "Prosperity to Ireland." "No," replied the witty Dean, "I never drink memories."

A quotation from a letter written by the Lord-Deputy, about the year 1607, will show the spirit in which the inhabitants of Ireland were regarded by their English rulers:—"I have often said and written, it is *famine that must consume the Irish*, as our swords and other endeavours worked not that speedy effect which is expected; *hunger* would be a better, because a speedier, weapon to employ against them than the sword. . . . I burned all along the Lough [Neagh] within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death. We killed man, woman and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we could find."

During the rebellion of 1798, the soldiers upon one occasion tied a man and his three sons to trees, and then before their eyes, violated the mother and four young sisters. I can give my authorities for this.

E. OWENS BLACKBURNE.

"Unnecessary railways have been thrown into distant lands, while steamships have been too largely constructed in British ports. . . . America has had large crops, is well supplied with most things necessary to its population at a range of prices unusually cheap, and yet it felt the depression of prices because of inability to sell its surplus produce abroad at profitable prices. . . . The railways are cutting each other's throats, or rather dividends, in their frantic attempts to obtain traffic"—Trade and Finance, *Daily News*.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

An Extra Supplement of four pages is issued with this number.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE attention of Branches, Members, and Foreign Socialist Bodies is directed to the report from the Central Office of the Socialist League.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

H. SWAN.—Many thanks for your congratulations and contributions. We are so over-crowded with matter that we regret to be unable to use the latter.

E. VAILLANT (Paris) writes wishing good luck to the Socialist League. He subscribes to the *Commonweal*, saying that this is a duty more binding on those who have the cause at heart than on outsiders.

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*Communist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Miners Journal*—*Labour Leaf*—*Carpenter*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Our Corner*—*Neue Zeit* (Nos. 1, 2, 3.)—*La Question Sociale*—*Jottings by the Way*, M. J. Boon—*How to Construct Free State Railways*, same author—*Socialism*, by Karl Pearson—*La National Belge*—*Liberty* (Boston).

A P P E A L .

THE Socialist League has decided to found a library of books, magazines, pamphlets, periodicals and daily newspapers, treating of and propagating the Socialistic cause, for the free use and the education of its members. To this end the League appeals herewith to all members and to all friends and supporters of the great and just cause for which it fights to bestow, for this intended library, on the League as gifts such books and periodicals in their possession as treat on the Socialistic Question. All such donations received will be duly acknowledged with the sincerest thanks on behalf of the League by the delegated librarians, in the official journal of the League. The League hopes that in answer to this appeal so many books will be forthcoming that a catalogue comprising numerous works can soon be issued.

London, March 9, 1885.

C. BENSON AND R. THEODORE.

RECEIVED FOR LIBRARY.—“Analysis of the Principles of Economics,” by Patrick Geddes, Edinburgh (two copies), from the author.—“Adamantina” and a parcel of back numbers of the *Irish World*, from J. Lane.—“Future of Marriage”—*To-day*—Parcel of six pamphlets from Fantoni—Parcel of six pamphlets from W. A. English.—“The Land Question.”

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.*

II.—THE BRIDGE AND THE STREET.

(Being a continuation of “The Message of the March Wind.”)

In the midst of the bridge there we stopped and we wondered
In London at last, and the moon going down,
All sullied and red where the mast-wood was sundered
By the void of the night-mist, the breath of the town.

On each side lay the City, and Thames ran between it
Dark, struggling, unheard 'neath the wheels and the feet.
A strange dream it was that we ever had seen it,
And strange was the hope we had wandered to meet.

* It is the intention of the author to follow the fortunes of the lovers who in the “Message of the March Wind” were already touched by sympathy with the cause of the people.

Was all nought but confusion? What man and what master
Had each of these people that hastened along?
Like a flood flowed the faces, and faster and faster
Went the drift of the feet of the hurrying throng.

Till all these seemed but one thing, and we twain another,
A thing frail and feeble and young and unknown;
What sign 'mid all these to tell foeman from brother?
What sign of the hope in our hearts that had grown?

* * * * *

We went to our lodging afar from the river,
And slept and forgot—and remembered in dreams;
And friends that I knew not I strove to deliver
From a crowd that swept o'er us in measureless streams,

Wending whither I knew not: till meseemed I was waking
To the first night in London, and lay by my love,
And she worn and changed, and my very heart aching
With a terror of soul that forbade me to move.

Till I woke, in good sooth, and she lay there beside me,
Fresh, lovely in sleep; but awhile yet I lay,
For the fear of the dream-tide yet seemed to abide me
In the cold and sad time ere the dawn of the day.

Then I went to the window, and saw down below me
The market wains wending adown the dim street,
And the scent of the hay and the herbs seemed to know me,
And seek out my heart the dawn's sorrow to meet.

They passed, and day grew, and with pitiless faces
The dull houses stared on the prey they had trapped;
'Twas as though they had slain all the fair morning places
Where in love and in leisure our joyance had happed.

My heart sank; I murmured, “What's this we are doing
In this grim net of London, this prison built stark
With the greed of the ages, our young lives pursuing
A phantom that leads but to death in the dark?”

Day grew, and no longer was dusk with it striving,
And now here and there a few people went by.
As an image of what was once eager and living
Seemed the hope that had led us to live or to die.

Yet nought else seemed happy; the past and its pleasure
Was light, and unworthy, had been and was gone;
If hope had deceived us, if hid were its treasure,
Nought now would be left us of all life had won.

* * * * *

“O Love, stand beside me; the sun is uprisen
On the first day of London; and shame hath been here.
For I saw our new life like the bars of a prison,
And hope grew a-cold, and I parleyed with fear.

“Ah! I sadden thy face, and thy grey eyes are chiding!
Yea, but life is no longer as stories of yore;
From us from henceforth no fair words shall be hiding
The nights of the wretched, the days of the poor.

“Time was we have grieved, we have feared, we have faltered,
For ourselves, for each other, while yet we were twain;
And no whit of the world by our sorrow was altered,
Our faintness grieved nothing, our fear was in vain.

“Now our fear and our faintness, our sorrow, our passion,
We shall feel all henceforth as we felt it erewhile;
But now from all this the due deeds we shall fashion
Of the eyes without blindness, the heart without guile.

“Let us grieve then—and help every soul in our sorrow;
Let us fear—and press forward where few dare to go;
Let us falter in hope—and plan deeds for the morrow,
The world crowned with freedom, the fall of the foe.

“As the soldier who goes from his homestead a-weeping,
And whose mouth yet remembers his sweetheart's embrace,
While all round about him the bullets are sweeping,
But stern and stout-hearted dies there in his place;

“Yea, so let our lives be! e'en such that hereafter,
When the battle is won and the story is told,
Our pain shall be hid, and remembered our laughter,
And our names shall be those of the bright and the bold.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

I.—VALUE.

THE object of this article, and of those that may follow it, is to give some evidence of the fact that Socialism is based on grounds as scientific and as irrefragable as the theory of Evolution. My purpose is not to deal in generalities. But, as one who is mainly known to the general public as a student and interpreter of Charles Darwin, I cannot refrain from saying that precisely the same methods of observation, recordal, reflection and generalisation that have made his ideas convincing to me have, as applied to history and economics, convinced me of the truth of Socialism. Again and again we hear sneers at scientific Socialism. These are, as a rule, forthcoming from those whose ignorance of Science and of Socialism are on a par. In some rare cases, however, the contempt is poured on us and on a greater than us, ours, by those who ought to know, and in a few cases do know, better.

The contemners of scientific Socialism are, in a word, of three classes: those that know nothing whatever of the question; those that know something of the orthodox political economy, but nothing of Socialism; those that know something of political economy and of Socialism, and are yet under orders to glorify the one and to misrepresent the other.

Some outlines of the basis of our economic faith, then, are to be given. It must be understood that they are only the outlines. Nor can I claim the slightest originality for my work. Here, as with Darwin in the past, I am only an interpreter, an intellectual middleman, not, I hope, exploiting either the solitary genius or the many minds that I am bringing together. As Darwin was and is my master in biological science, so is Marx my master in economics, and for exactly the same reasons. Nor does it need any prophetic insight to see that as surely as the teaching of Darwin won and revolutionised the world of thought in so-called natural science, so surely the teaching of Marx is winning and will revolutionise the world of thought in social science. My article begins, therefore, what is as far as I know the first attempt to put the ideas of Marx, on which, as a scientific foundation, Socialism rests, simply and clearly before the English people, in their own language, with an honest acknowledgment that they are his.

This article will deal especially with Value, and will in detail aim at making clear the meaning of the following terms: natural object, product, commodity, use-value, exchange-value, value.

To understand the essential terms in economics it is wisest to go back to the simplest condition of things, and to study man in his simplest state, divested of all the complexities of our civilisation. The simplest state of man is in one sense the solitary condition. Let us, then, picture our Robinson Crusoe on his desert island, before the advent of Friday or even the classical warning footprint on the sand. Robinson finds fruits, stones, shell-fish, poisonous berries—a thousand things. These are all *natural things*. They are ready to his hand. But they fall into the two familiar categories of the useless and the useful. To him at present the masses of heavy stone are negatively useless, and the poisonous berries are positively injurious.

A little later and he sets to work on a tree-trunk (a natural object), and by dint of labour fashions it into a canoe. We are not concerned with the beautifully natural touch that makes him fashion his canoe in such a place that it cannot be got down to the water. Now he has a *product*, a natural object on which human labour has been spent.

A little later still, to our Robinson, who has made two canoes, comes Robinson No. 2, who has made two knives. Robinson No. 1 will be happier with one canoe and one knife than with two canoes and no knife. Robinson No. 2 will be happier with one knife and one canoe than with two knives. Now the second canoe of the first, or the first knife of the second, is something more than a product. It is a *commodity*. And why? Robinson No. 2 recognises in the second canoe the human labour that Robinson No. 1 has put into it, whilst Robinson No. 1 recognises in the second knife the human labour that has been put into that.

Next let us get clearly the idea of the three values. The *use-value* of an object is its property of supplying a human want. This may or may not exist in a natural object. The fruit and the shell-fish have use-value. The stones and the poisonous berries to Robinson, and the parasitic insect to man to-day *e.g.*, have no use-value. Use-value may or may not exist in a product, though the former case is far and away the most common. Very rarely indeed is a product—*i.e.*, a natural object on which human labour has been expended—destitute of use-value. Intentionally this is almost never the case. A madman may waste energy on the production of an object, but even then it satisfies *his* immediate want, possibly. But we may get a case of a product that

is not a use-value from certain of our industries. The mass of refuse that is seen outside certain factories or certain metallurgical works for which as yet science has found no use is a product, but without any use-value at present. A commodity must have use-value. For the commodity is the product in which the human labour that is embodied therein is *recognised*, and unless that human labour puts into the object on which it works some use-value (*i.e.*, some property that satisfies a human want), it will not be recognised. From all this it will be seen that a use-value may be resident in a natural object, as in air: that it may be resident in a product as in a canoe, or, in a commodity, as in the second canoe. Further, it is to be noticed that in each of the two last cases the use-value is partly due to the properties of the body as a natural object, partly due to the human labour that has been put into it. Three things finally may be predicated of the use-value of a commodity. (1) It is intrinsic to the commodity; is, as I have said, resident in it. (2) It is realised in the consumption of the commodity, for consumption conversely is but the realisation of use-value. (3) It forms the basis of wealth, of commerce, and of exchange-value. Thus we are led to the consideration of exchange value.

The *exchange-value* of a commodity is the proportion in which its use-value exchanges with other use-values. A natural object as such has no exchange-value. The air, the water, the land ought to have no exchange value, great as their use-value may be. In the cases where they have such an exchange-value to-day it is due to the human labour that has been spent on the bringing of these natural objects into particular positions. The air in a diving-bell has an exchange-value. The water supplied to towns by companies has exchange-value, as Mr. Dobbs knows. A product as such has no exchange-value, for the human labour put into it is not recognised. But the moment that human labour thus embodied is recognised, the product is a commodity, and it has an exchange-value. The difference between use-value and exchange-value will be clearer if it is borne in mind that use-values differ in quality, and that exchange-values differ in quantity.

Now what is *value*? That is not to be confounded with either use-value or exchange-value, a confusion constantly made intentionally or unintentionally by the orthodox political economist. Value is the human labour materialised in the commodity. Think of any commodity, as, for example, a tool. Abstract from it mentally its use-value, that is, its power of supplying human wants, whether that use-value is due to its natural properties or to human labour. With the use-value, whatever its source, has gone its exchange-value, since that is the proportion in which use-value is exchanged. Yet in the tool divested of its use-value and of its exchange-value there is still left the property that it is the result of human labour. It has still value. This is a difficult and abstract conception, but it is of the utmost importance. The value of a commodity is the human labour crystallised in it. When mentally we take away the useful nature of the commodity (its use-value), the specially useful nature of the particular kind of labour spent on it, vanishes also, and only the fact that it is due to abstract human labour remains. The particular form of that human labour has gone. Whilst after this abstraction of the idea of use-value and of exchange-value only the property of the commodity as the result of abstract human labour remains, we must bear in mind that this value, nevertheless, enters into the use-value, and therefore into the exchange-value of commodities, inasmuch as human labour confers on the natural object on which it works the property of satisfying wants otherwise unsatisfiable by the commodity.

What is the *measure* of this value due to human labour? Time, *i.e.*, the average time requisite under the average social conditions, and with average ability of labour to produce the particular commodity. The idleness of the one man, the energy of the other, are mere accidents, swallowed up, merged altogether in the enormous number of cases. Out of the thousands, the millions of instances of workers producing some commodity, an average time requisite for its production is deducible, and the eccentricities of individuals affect this no more than an eight-foot giant or a two-foot dwarf affects the average height of the nation.

This article and its successors will conclude with a concise definition of each of the terms mentioned:

- Natural object That on which human labour has not been expended.
- Product A natural object on which human labour has been expended.
- Commodity A product, the human labour expended on which is recognised.

Use-value	The property of a product that satisfies a human want.
Exchange-value	The proportion in which a use-value exchanges with other use-values.
Value	Human labour embodied in a commodity.
Measure of value of commodity...	The average time required under average conditions of human labour to produce the commodity.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

MEN I HAVE KNOWN.

I.—ORATOR HUNT.

THE most interesting study of humanity is afforded in the manifestation of character by men who have either had the office of leader forced upon them by circumstances, like "Chinese Gordon," or who have been prompted by their own aspirations and impulses to seek or assume the position of leader among their fellow-men, like O'Connell, Fergus O'Connor, Parnell and Henry Hunt.

Hitherto the people have had to take their guides upon trust, and estimate the fitness of their leaders by judging of the wisdom of their advice and the consistency of their actions. A day may come when there will be diffused a more general as well as practical method of estimating the relationship between organisation, capacity and character. Until that day comes, as in the past, the people will be liable to painful disappointments.

I have often in my wide experience been deeply interested in the study of public men, and, while gratified by the talent of clever men, I have had to regret the disappointments arising from the lack of sincerity, truth and consistency of popular guides. The first public character that attracted my attention was that of Henry Hunt, who became conspicuous about the year 1817, in consequence of his advocacy of Reform. Birmingham, in defiance of law, had elected Sir Charles Wolseley as "Legislatorial Attorney" to represent the constituency in the House of Commons. The Manchester Reformers proposed to hold a meeting on the 9th of August, 1819, to elect Henry Hunt as their representative; but the magistrates proclaimed this meeting illegal, and Mr. Hunt had the wisdom to cancel it and to avoid the proposal to elect him. Mr. Hunt, in an address to his followers, invited them to the meeting at Peter's Field on August the 16th, after which he became well known and popular with the working classes.

It is a remarkable fact that the most popular leaders in public movements have been men endowed with great vitality and force of character. Often these elements are united with quick perceptions and ready powers of utterance, as in the case of the Irish Liberator, who had also large social feelings, which gave him great power over the sensitive and excitable Celt, and made him a real leader of the masses.

Henry Hunt had several of these attributes, combined with some ambition and personal vanity, which prompted him to seek notoriety. He had not the force and wit of O'Connell, nor the irritability of the "Dog Tear'em," and yet he had a brusque energy, and a bluntness that often served him well when brought face to face with his adversaries, either on the platform or in the law courts.

When first brought before the magistrates, after the massacre at Peterloo, the following dialogue ensued:

Magistrate:—"Pray, Mr. Hunt, what did you come here for?"

Mr. Hunt:—"Pray, gentlemen, what am I brought here for?"

Sir Francis Burdett justly remarked that Mr. Hunt conducted himself with great propriety. . . . "I shall ever be found to praise the Englishman that does his duty. I think Mr. Hunt baffled, defeated and exposed the magistrates, and conducted himself with wisdom and propriety." (Applause.)

In his cross-examination of the witnesses he exhibited great tact and good sense, in spite of the captious opposition of Mr. Justice Bailey. Mr. Hulton, of Hulton, a magistrate, swore that he had seen from the window, where he stood, a number of men close to the hustings with their arms locked together. In cross-examination he said to Mr. Hunt "I could perceive the persons locked together because they formed a complete cordon, and were bare-headed."

Mr. Hunt:—"Can you, sir, standing in that elevated situation, and looking round on the comparatively small number of persons present, see whether their arms are locked?"

When this question was put the witness was staggered and for the moment astounded. Some persons in the court and the gallery clapped their hands. A man was punished by Mr. Justice Bailey for clapping his hands when he declared he only put out his hands to prevent him from falling. After a severe reprimand he was sent to prison till Monday.

Mr. Hunt:—"You will look round the benches, where the crowd is elevated, one above another, and say whether you can see what they are doing with their arms?"

Witness:—"Must I answer that, my Lord?"

Mr. Justice Bailey:—"You may declare whether the opportunity

you had of viewing the meeting on the 16th of August was better than that which you have of seeing the people at present."

Witness:—"I had a much better opportunity of seeing the persons at the meeting than I have of observing them in the court." (This witness must have been ten times farther from the hustings than he was from the persons in the court.)

Mr. Hunt:—"Could you see the arms of the persons then?"

Witness:—"I could see them wedged, and, I believe, linked together."

Mr. Hunt:—"Could you see any part of their arms?"

Witness:—"I could distinctly see the outside men linked."

Mr. Hunt:—"Then, from the appearance of the others, you believe the others were linked?"

Witness:—"I have no doubt of it."

There can be little hesitation in believing that Mr. Hunt was instrumental in increasing the discontent of the people with their gross misgovernment and the defective state of their representation. They saw Manchester, Birmingham, Salford, Oldham, Stockport, and other towns without members, whilst Old Sarum—a mound of earth without inhabitants—had two members, and a host of villages sent the same number.

Henry Hunt had come forward to champion the people's rights, and his personal appearance and character were well adapted for appealing to the excited passions of the multitude. He was gentlemanly in his manners and his dress; had a tall and manly physique, stood over six feet in height, and was well formed. He was a very conspicuous figure as he stood on the platform amidst sixty thousand of the working slaves of Lancashire. His ample chest gave him a good voice, and although somewhat rude in speech, his vigorous tones and ready utterance led the masses to call him Orator Hunt. He was dressed at Peterloo in a blue lapped coat, with brass buttons, light waistcoat, top boots and a white hat. His leg and foot, Bamford tells us, were the firmest and the neatest he had ever seen. He wore his own hair, moderate in quantity and a little grey. His features were regular, and there was a youthful blandness, which, in friendly discussions, gave his face a most agreeable expression. His eyes were blue or light grey, not very clear nor quick, but rather heavy, except under excitement, when they seemed to protrude. On the whole, he was by nature a democrat and a demagogue, and if he had possessed the faculty of organising the people, both the Reform Bill and the abolition of the Corn Laws would have been obtained in half the time it took to secure them. He was for a time exceedingly popular with the masses, and his entry into London after he was bailed out of Lancaster Castle was as enthusiastic as that of a great hero. Bands, banners and public dinners gave voice to the people in their laudations. Nevertheless, as he had not the power of organising the people, his influence, despite all these other gifts, was slight and evanescent.

To Orator Hunt is due the credit of bringing into public notice that honest advocate, Bronterre O'Brien, who achieved great success in advocating the people's rights and the charter, while editor of the *Poor Man's Guardian* for Henry Hetherington.

E. T. CRAIG.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

In the *Daily News*, March 17th, there is a long detailed report from a Geneva correspondent (of course anonymous) of an interview with a terrorist. We ask the *Daily News* for evidence of the genuineness of this report, which on the face of it looks doubtful. Even the general public which knows perhaps, no more of police tricks than it has gathered from M. Andrieux' recent revelations are bound to join us in this demand.

The first number of the *Anarchist* has appeared, with articles by Elisée Reclus, G. B. Shaw and Henry Appleton. Of course the honesty and enthusiasm of the writers are beyond all question; but we cannot think that they make their position quite clear. In any case we welcome the temperate discussion of differences between various Socialist schools, in the hope that the obvious necessity for revolutionising society will force us all to study the question so diligently that the path may at last become plain to us. The *Anarchist* is published by the International Publishing Company, 35 Newington Green Road, N.

W. M.

Mr. Auberon Herbert in an elegantly written article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* has been pleased to confer the title of "Leader" on a member of the Socialist League and to brand him with the nickname of "Force bureaucrat." We hope the readers of the *Commonweal* understand fully that we neither have nor want to have "Leaders;" and that we entirely condemn the imaginary system of bureaucracy, concerning which Mr. Herbert has got the strange idea into his head (a head of well-known perversity) that we are its supporters.

The month of March just ended is a memorable one in the annals of Revolution—i.e., of the world's advancement. March of 1848, of 1871, of 1881, of 1883 were famous. March 18, 1848 saw the Berlin rising that was hardly a revolution, and that was in essence a bourgeois, not a proletarian movement. March 18, 1871, saw the proclamation of the Paris Commune. March 13, 1881, saw the execution of the Czar-criminal at the hands of the delegated ministers of a people wronged beyond all endurance. March 14, 1883, saw the death of our teacher Karl Marx.

Of the Berlin days in 1848 let me but quote two passages from reactionary English newspapers. Of the monster meeting of March 13

to petition the king that the reforms granted to other countries might be conceded to Prussia, one writes: "The assembly was of a highly tumultuous character, and before it was dissolved several people were shot by the soldiers." As to the affair of the 18th, another, after stating that more than one hundred of the people were killed, adds: "The fighting had scarcely ceased when the king issued a proclamation that his faithful soldiers had only cleared the court-yard at a walking pace, with their weapons sheathed, and that the guns had gone off of themselves, without, thanks to God, causing any injury."

Of the event of March 13, 1881, there is no need to say much in an English paper, even if it were not Socialist. Englishmen who are most given to see the evils of oppression everywhere out of their own country, were in sympathy, outspoken or silent, with the great and good and brave men and women who, finding all other means worse than failures, took the life of the Czar as a warning—a warning that has, alas! not yet been heeded. "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his" cause. I sometimes think there is a love even greater. It is that of the pure high-souled man or woman, a Scheljabow or a Sophie Peroffska, who not only is ready to die, but for the sake of the sacred cause overcomes the horror and loathing that all true human beings have at the taking of another life, be it never so necessary. I am sure that for everyone of our Russian brothers and sisters it had been more easy simply to lay down their own lives than first to take, or try to take, that of the unhappy man who stood in the way that led to freedom. But this necessary, they did the work they knew must be done, painful, repulsive, sorrowful as it was to them, counting after this trial and sacrifice the giving of themselves to death as a little thing.

Of the Paris Commune time so miserably misunderstood, so grossly misrepresented, I would rather let the reactionary press speak for, and therefore against, itself. Bearing in mind the fact that during the seventy-two days of the Commune, an orderly and peaceful organisation of the workers held sway in Paris and showed the world what might be, and will be, done for humanity when such organisation is universal, let us read. "One saw along the Seine a long stream of blood following the course of the water. *This stream did not cease flowing.* (*La Liberté*, May 31).

"Who, had he seen but for a few moments, but will remember the square, now the charnel-house, of the Tour St. Jacques. *From amidst the damp, recently dug-up soil protruded here and there heads, arms, feet and hands.* . . . Was hideous. From this garden arose a sickening smell, that in certain places became fetid. . . ." (*Le Temps*, May).

"That many wounded have been buried alive I have not the slightest doubt. One case I can vouch for." (Paris Correspondent, *Standard*, June 8th).

"The courts-martial are working with unheard-of activity in various parts of Paris. . . . The fusillade never ceases. It is a settling of accounts with the wretches who took part in the struggle." (*La Liberté*, May 30th.)

"Since this morning (Sunday, 28th) a thick cordon has been formed round the Châtelet Theatre. . . . From time to time one sees a band of fifteen to twenty persons come forth, consisting of National Guards, civilians, women, children of fifteen to sixteen years old. These individuals are condemned to death. . . . A minute after one hears the volley of the platoon and successive discharges of muskets; it is the sentence of the court-martial that has just been executed." (*Journal des Débats*, May 30th, 1871).

"Whenever the number of condemned exceeds the number of ten, the firing platoons will be replaced by a mitrailleuse." (*Paris Journal*, June 9).

"We maintain that hanging is too good for these wretches, and if medical science can get some good out of the vivisection of these criminals, we see no reason why such experiments should not be made." (*Naval and Military Gazette*, May 27th).

"Most of them [*i.e.*, the Communards] met death like Arabs after the battle, with indifference, contempt—without hate, without anger, without an insult to their executioners. All the soldiers are unanimous on this point." (*Etoile Belge*).

"All the women summarily executed died with a laugh of scorn, like martyrs who by sacrificing themselves accomplish a great duty." (*Gaulois*, June 13th).

On March 14th, 1883, our greatest teacher, Karl Marx, died. Let us not think of him only as the founder of that scientific Socialism on which the conclusions of his followers are based as securely as the biological science of to-day on the doctrines of evolution. Let us also remember that he was an inspiration as well as an instruction. Banished from land after land, hated of governments, to him the eyes of all the workers turned for guidance and for encouragement. We must not, in our thought of his power as economic thinker, forget his not less power as revolutionary fighter. Of him, being dead, we may say, in the words of old Thomas Fuller, that the people of all countries and of all times "erect a monument to him—in their hearts."—E. B. A.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Socialist Rhymes. By J. L. JOYNES. Modern Press, 13 and 14 Paternoster Row.—We heartily recommend these rhymes to our readers; the verse is healthy everywhere brilliant and spirited, and in some of the pieces the depth of feeling raises them into the rank of poetry of no mean order. Sincerity and enthusiasm are obvious throughout the whole of them, and must make some impression on those who read them, even if they are not wholly on our side. John Ruskin once wrote that "A cause which cannot be sung of is not worth following." We have to thank Mr. Joynes for his share in demonstrating that Socialism cannot fall under this condemnation at all events.—W. M.

A Review of European Society. By J. SKETCHLEY. W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C.—I approached this work, let me at once confess, with a sense of dread. Let me equally at once say that the dread was not realised. The book is admirable. I must plead guilty to not having read every line of it as yet. For the mass of figures in it that start on p. 12 and end on the last page are, like many other useful and instructive things, somewhat repellent at first. But I fully intend to read and to master in general all the statistics given, for they are, to any one interested in the revolutionary movement, simply invaluable. Mr. Sketchley is a great quoter of documents, as well as of figures, so that, irrespective of mere statistical details, his book will be found of the highest use to those who, hungering after the bread of fact, have had hitherto to put up with the stone, or worse, of the garbled or actually false statements of the capitalist press. It is to be feared that to many of the rising generation, and not a few of the risen, some of Mr. Sketchley's facts will be startlingly new. How many even of our young men and maidens who are interested in the movement in England know the 1844 story of the two Bandieras betrayed and executed in Austria through the opening of private letters in the Post Office by the infamous Home Secretary, Sir James Graham? How many of them know of the frequent suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act by the Governments of our free land? For these and many another kindred fact, let them turn to this review. The chapter on the Paris Commune is good, although the readers of the International's manifesto on the Civil War in France will not find much new matter in it. The immense force of the accumulated damning facts is something weakened here and there in the review I am considering by the notes of interrogation and astonishment scattered amongst them. But this is, after all, only a question of style, and when we are dealing with a work so outspoken and so useful as this, criticism of style may be placed on one side. This must not be the fate of Mr. Sketchley's book. It must be placed on the shelf of the library of every earnest student of Socialism.

State Measures for the Direct Prevention of Poverty, War and Pestilence. By a Doctor of Medicine. E. Truelove, 256 High Holborn.—Anything written by the author of the "Elements of Social Science" is sure to be the work of a scholar and a well-wisher to the human race. So assured is this, that nothing less than a feeling of intense regret comes to me when I am driven to the conclusion that this able thinker has not turned his acute mind to the study of the scientific principles of Socialism. The first of the three lectures in this volume is the only one with which I need deal. It is a reprint of part of the 1878 edition of the author's larger work. With the other two on war and on infectious diseases, Socialists in general would be in harmony. But with their predecessor, no. That this is the case one quotation suffices to show. "To extinguish poverty by direct legal enactment in the only way in which this could possibly be done, namely, by means of a statute limiting the size of families, etc." The Socialist not only does not believe that this is the only way to extinguish poverty. He does not believe it is even a way. Let the nation wake up on the morrow and for months and years of morrows Malthusian to a man and woman, and Capital's lust for surplus labor is still to be satiated. And when our author says, with perfect justice, that "when a remedy is put forward, not as a good in itself, but as the least of several alternative evils . . . those who condemn it are bound to say which of the alternative evils they think preferable;" the Socialist answers that he thinks preferable that which he cannot regard as evil at all—*viz.*, the nationalisation of all means of production, the securing to the workers and to the workers only the result of their work.

A new journal devoted to Socialism has been started in Paris. It is called *La Question Sociale*, and purports to be a review of Socialistic ideas and of the revolutionary movement in the two worlds. Without distinction of school the different Socialist doctrines will have their say in this journal. It will attack all the abuses with which our Society swarms. 25 centimes (2½d.) per number, 4 francs (4s. 2d.) per year is the subscription.

The Church Reformer, edited by the most interesting clergyman in England, Stewart Headlam, reaches us. We are not quite clear as to the meaning of the title. Is "Church" a kind of adjectival noun qualifying the word "Reformer"? Or does the paper aim at the reform of the Church especially? Or is an affirmative answer to both these questions accurate? In any case, the journal is, like its editor, outspoken on social topics, and I note with pleasure and hearty endorsement the condemnation of Mr. Burnand for his "Behind the Scenes" article. "The tone and tenour of it are disgraceful to the writer," says the *Church Reformer*.

The Manifesto of the Fabian Society. This is a string of propositions, in the main indubitable, for the most part couched in the form of epigram and antithesis. These deal with the ills of our commercial system, and declare by implication for Socialism. It is to be regretted that after stating that "the nationalisation of the land . . . is a public duty," there is no kindred statement *re* Capital. Further, the humorous spirit of the Fabians has prompted them to insert a passage that the average bourgeois reader, who knows nothing of delicate irony, will certainly not understand: "That since competition among producers admittedly secures to the public the most satisfactory products, the State should compete with all its might in every department of production." We shall be glad to insert reports of the meetings of the Fabian Society. Judging from their manifesto they should be interesting reading.—E. B. A.

LECTURE DIARY: April.

- GLASGOW BRANCH.—5th, C. F. Jamison; 12th, W. T. Norton (Edinburgh University Socialist Society), "Christianity and Socialism;" 19th, William Simpson (Land Restoration League), "The Tenth Commandment;" 26th, Wm. Morris (Socialist League), "How we Live, and how we might Live."
- MERTON ABBEY, High Street, Merton.—3rd, F. Kitz; 10th, William Morris; 17th, Charles Theodore; 24th, J. L. Mahon.
- HAMMERSMITH BRANCH, Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.—5th, J. Hunter Watts; 12th, W. Bridges Adams; 19th, "Commercial War," William Morris; 26th, John Carruthers.
- NOTTING HILL, "The Magdala Castle," Blechynden Street.—5th, C. W. Mowbray; 12th, "The Curse of Commercialism," Edward Aveling; 19th, "The meaning of the Revolution," J. L. Mahon.
- HOXTON (L.E.L.), Academy Schools, Hoxton Street.—5th, W. B. Adams; 12th, William Morris, "Commercial War;" 19th, H. Charles; 26th, Charles Theodore.
- LEEDS.—7th, T. Maguire; 14th, F. Corkwell; 21st, F. W. Kelley; 28th, J. O'Reilly

Dorsetshire Laborer (to his master a farmer): "I've got some money in the bank." *Farmer*: "I'm very glad to hear it." *Laborer*: "Yes, but it's in your name, though it's my money."



Six Branches have been formed in London and the provinces. The Branches at Hammersmith and Merton have also held a series of fairly successful meetings. The former Branch has opened a reading-room and a free news-room; members will be dispatched to distribute literature and hold meetings in Battersea, with a view to forming a Branch there. The Branch at Bloomsbury has just been formed. At Leeds a few comrades are steadily and earnestly working, and the Branch makes good progress. At Bradford a Branch has just been formed, and gives promise of good work in the future. At Oxford a large meeting was held on Feb. 25, and addressed by William Morris and Edward Aveling. Some of the educated class misbehaved themselves, but the meeting was successful, and a good Branch has been formed. William Morris also delivered a lecture at Bristol to a large meeting. A Branch will soon be formed in Bath.

A report of the celebration of the Paris Commune appears in this issue. The meeting was organised at short notice, and has entailed some heavy work on the organising committee appointed by the Council. Branches will soon be formed in Islington, Whitechapel and probably Canning Town. The difficulty of getting up a really good organisation in the Metropolis is very great; in the past the tendency to start a number of branches and maintain none has also been very great. With a view to organising in London on a firm basis, a meeting of each Branch will be called, at which delegates from the Council will attend. The meetings will discuss the following points in addition to other business: (1) Means of circulating the Journal. (2) The arrangement of indoor lectures. (3) The open-air propaganda. (4) Periodical meeting of Socialists in London.

A series of suggestions for organising branches and framing Branch rules has been drawn up and will be forwarded to any provincial comrades who are willing to start Branches. This will be followed by a pamphlet upon organisation; suggestions for this are invited from all comrades.

The success of the Lessons in Socialism, given at South Place Institute on Thursday evenings by Edward Aveling, is a good proof that the educational part of our propaganda is not being neglected. The students attend regularly and are diligent in their studies. The excellent system of teaching keeps the closest interest maintained throughout. Six lessons have now been given. As the subject matter cannot be fairly and fully given in a report, the lessons will soon be issued in pamphlet form, and be widely circulated at a very low price. . . . Besides these lessons the educational propaganda has also been furthered by numerous lectures delivered in many parts of London by the members of the League.

With the view of spreading our literature and giving work to many friends who are certainly able and ought to be willing to do it, a circular will be issued to all our provincial correspondents, inviting them to take an active part in selling and distributing leaflets and bills, the *Commonweal* and the *Socialist Platform*. A list of those willing to do this work will be kept and names added to it from time to time.

The educational work in future will be aided by a series of pamphlets issued at one penny each, entitled "The Socialist Platform." Among the first will be "The Class Struggle," "The Iron Law of Wages," "Competition: National, Class, Individual," "Cheap Goods," "Degradation of the Workers," a symposium on "Reconstruction," "Social Ethics," "International Relations of Socialism," "Marriage Question," "Useful Work versus Useless Toil," "Historic Evolution of Socialism," "French Revolution," "History of the Commune," "History of the Chartist Movement," "Guilds of the Middle Ages," "History of the Anabaptists," "History of the Flemish Cities." The first number of the series will be issued about the second week in April.

A meeting was held under the auspices of the Peace Society in the Memorial Hall, London, on the 24th of February to protest against the Soudan war. Thos. Burt, M.P., presided. The hall was crowded with an audience almost exclusively of working men. The promoters of the meeting were half-hearted in their speeches, and seemed afraid to say anything that would hurt the Government, while the market-hunters, who instigated the war, were allowed to go unscathed. As the resolution proposed was of a weak and uncertain tone, a member of the Socialist League proposed as a rider: "That this meeting, consisting mainly of working men, is convinced that the war in the Soudan was prompted by the capitalist class, with a view to the extension of their fields of exploitation. And we admit that the victory gained by the Soudanese is a triumph of right over wrong won by a people struggling for their freedom." The Proposer urged the meeting to disregard national distinctions, and look only to class distinctions; and proclaimed amid cheers that the people of this country should rejoice at the victory of the Soudanese, because that victory had been won by a people who, like ourselves, are the victims of commercial marauders. The rider was seconded and carried with enthusiasm.

Another meeting was held at Westminster Town Hall on the 4th of March, when the same rider, with an additional paragraph denouncing the *Pall Mall Gazette* for its action, was passed, although on this occasion the meeting was small and uproarious, and the chairman (Lord Wentworth) unable to perform his duties. At a meeting of the Croydon Radical Association, and at a lecture in St. Jude's Schools, Whitechapel, the same riders were carried; only a few voting in opposition in each case. The press, of course, has carefully avoided publishing these resolutions, except in one instance—the *Echo* giving the rider carried at the Memorial Hall meeting.

The open-air propaganda will soon begin, and with it a further infusion of strength and enthusiasm and an increase in the circulation of our literature may be expected. As the work in London is sufficient to engage the time and energy of thousands of workers, those who are not yet enrolled should lose no time in joining our League and helping us with the education and organisation of the proletariat.

J. L. MAHON, Secretary.

REPORTS.

WHITECHAPEL.—Mr. Sedley Taylor, M.A., gave the last of a series of lectures on Capital and Labour at Toynbee Hall, Commercial Street, Whitechapel, on Friday, March 13, when he propounded a scheme for the bettering of the condition of the workers. At the end of his lecture he confessed that his scheme was simply small joint-stock concerns, Lewis Lyons and Mowbray spoke on Socialism, and asked the lecturer's opinion thereon. Mr. Taylor confessed that Socialism would undoubtedly benefit the working classes. The Manifesto of the League and the manifesto on the Soudan War were widely distributed.

HOLBORN.—On Feb. 22, at Hoxton Academy School, J. L. Mahon lectured on "How to realise Socialism," to a very good and enthusiastic audience. A lively debate followed, in which Kitz, Mowbray, Graham and Binning took part.—On Sunday, March 1st, Kitz lectured on "Socialistic experiments," to a very good audience, and a discussion was carried on, in which Binning, Pope, etc., took part.—On March 8th, C. Mowbray lectured on "The Revolutionary Movement of the Soudan," to a very good audience, who received his lecture very well. A discussion followed, in which Graham, Pope and Binning took part.

MERTON AND BROMLEY BRANCH.—On the 6th Edward Aveling lectured to a good audience on "The growth of Capitalism, showing how Capital makes Capital at the workers' expense." The after discussion was well taken up.—On March 14 the weekly lecture was given by J. L. Mahon on "The Meaning of the Revolution." He expounded at once from the words of the hearers present the fraudulent construction of the phrase as commonly understood. He pointed out the manifest turning of the nation to Socialism, and urged those present to accept the principles of Socialism and thus hasten that end.

LEEDS.—F. Kelly and J. Maguire addressed an open-air meeting of about 500 workers at the Vicar's Croft on Sunday, March 15th. The Manifesto on the Soudan War was plentifully distributed, and many copies of the *Commonweal* sold. The branch meets every Tuesday evening from eight till ten at the Victoria Cocoa-house, opposite the Town Hall. Socialists and sympathisers are invited to attend.

BLOOMSBURY.—A branch of the Socialist League has been successfully started in Bloomsbury and has held three meetings at which a great deal of business has been done. All Socialists in the neighbourhood should immediately send their names and addresses to Thomas E. Wardle, 3 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

NOTTINGHAM.—A course of lectures has been delivered at the "Magdala Castle," Blechyden Street, during March. The lectures were by J. E. Mahon on "The Enslavement of Labour;" R. Banner on "The Social Revolution;" C. Mowbray on "Socialism." At this meeting, an exceedingly large audience attended and was much pleased at the lecture. On the 22nd a lecture was delivered by J. C. Mahon on "The Capitalistic Method of Robbing the Workers." The meetings on the whole were satisfactory; the Hall was given free by the proprietors. A Branch will soon be started in this district. Comrades who are willing to help to form it should correspond with H. Warr, at the hall.

EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—The excellent report of work done by our comrades at the Edinburgh University was crowded out of the last number, to our regret. We now give a summary, as another report is expected from them before we go to press. The lectures given in February were by A. Scheu on "The Labour Movement in Germany;" Edward Carpenter on "Justice v. Charity;" and a discussion on a sermon preached by Prof. Flint on "Socialism in the Light of Christianity," opened by W. M. Traill, who answered in detail Prof. Flint's arguments.

MILE END BRANCH OF L. E. L.—On February 19 the Rev. Stewart Headlam gave a lecture on "Christian Socialism" to a fairly large audience. A good discussion followed. On March 1, C. W. Mowbray gave a very interesting address on "Why the Revolutionary Movements of 1848-9 failed," to a very attentive audience. The address was well received and a lively discussion followed, owing to several members objecting to force being used when every other means had failed. On March 8, J. Wade gave a very instructive lecture on "England in the 15th Century and Now," showing that the people then were much better off than they are now, notwithstanding the great development since then of our so-called civilisation and enormous increase of wealth, and explained how the people were getting worse off instead of better, owing to the competitive system in our present society and stating that the only way out of the present evils was Socialism. Discussion followed. On March 15, J. Lane delivered an address on "The different Schools of Socialistic Thought." The address was listened to with great attention. Discussion followed. The manifesto on the Soudan War was distributed, also the bills of the meeting in commemoration of Paris Commune, and several volunteered to post those. The *Commonweal*, *Christian Socialist* and other revolutionary literature was sold after each lecture. This Branch will become a Branch of the Socialist League in April, and Socialists in the neighbourhood are earnestly urged to join the Branch and help our efforts in forming a strong organisation.—J. Slodden, sec.

CITY OF GLASGOW BRANCH.—(Scottish Land and Labour League), Albion Hall, College Street.—March 1st, lecture by A. K. Donald on "The Reign of Capital;" 8th, by J. M. Cherrie (of the Land Restoration League), on "Land and Labour;" 15th, by J. B. Glasier on the "Prophecy of Socialism;" 22nd, by Andreas Scheu on "Some Objections to Socialism;" 29th, by James Mavor on "Robert Owen." The lectures continue to be well attended.—Jas. Mavor, sec.

PARIS COMMUNE.—On Sunday, March 22nd, at Neumeyer Hall, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, a meeting was held to commemorate the Paris Commune of 1871. The proceedings were of the most enthusiastic nature. Joseph Lane took the chair. The following resolution was carried *nem. con.*:—"That this meeting of Revolutionary Socialists assembled to commemorate the Paris Commune of 1871 desires to pay its tribute of respect and admiration to the heroic men and women who, under the most terribly adverse circumstances, then showed the world that the workers can organise society on a purely communistic basis; that it protests against the infamous misrepresentation of the Commune and its members and supporters by the reactionary press from 1871 to the present time; and that it looks forward eagerly and will work with all its power to realise to the full those Socialistic conditions which shall once and forever abolish all class rule." The speakers were, beside the chairman, Oscar Eisengarten (Communistischer Verein), C. Mowbray, J. Bolton (Borough of Hackney Club), Vanderhout (Tower Hamlets Radical Club); W. Clarke (Scotland), Bordes (France), Kitz, Eleanor Marx Aveling, William Morris, F. Lessner (a member of the Council of the International), Edward Aveling.

BRADFORD.—After several preliminary meetings a branch of the Socialist League has been formed at Bradford. A meeting for definite organisation, adoption of rules, and election of officers will be held on the 29th inst. All sympathisers with the League in the district are cordially invited to communicate with George Minty, 3 Crab Street, Hall Lane.

BETHNAL GREEN.—Meetings are frequently held in the Monarch Coffee House, Bethnal Green Road. A lecturer from the Liberty and Property Defence League has been specially invited to lecture there, and comrades Lane, Graham, Bevan, Mowbray, Pope and others have made it a special feature to attend and oppose him. They invite all Socialists living in the East-end to attend these meetings.

OXFORD.—The Oxford Socialist Association, which is now the Oxford Branch of the Socialist League, called a meeting on Feb. 25. There were more than 400 persons present, of whom rather more than half were townfolk and the remainder mostly Undergraduates of the University. W. Morris and Edward Aveling, as delegates of the Socialist League, addressed the meeting. On March 9th, at a meeting of the Branch, the question of the meeting of Christian Socialism was discussed. On March 16th there was a debate as to the distinction between charity and almsgiving.—A. S. Robinson, Sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—The first meeting of this Branch was held on January 28th, 1885, at Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith. W. Morris was elected Treasurer, and E. Walker, Secretary. Lectures have been delivered by F. Lessner, W. Morris (2), G. B. Shaw, W. Bridges Adams, and the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, and a debate on the Soudan War on the 14th inst. by W. Jameson. A free news-room for the public has been opened, and it is hoped that it will assist in calling attention to the propaganda, lectures, etc. Present number of members, 25. On Sunday, March 15, Edward Aveling lectured on Darwin and Marx at the Liberal Club. The hall was crammed, and many interesting questions were asked and answered.

Supplement to "The Commonwealth."

APRIL, 1885.

SINCERITY AND DEVOTION.

Our adversaries, ignorant and ill-meaning, knowing and ill-wishing, are numberless. Our friends, intelligent and sympathising, are not too many; and our active, working comrades are as yet but few. To most of our well-meaning friends—who are, if anything, too doubtful of success, and hence half-hearted—to those who would join us more closely but for the gigantic obstacles before their eyes, rendering them at times impatient of the end, I would, as keys of the position we mean to take, commend "Sincerity and Devotion."

Sincerity and Devotion! Was there ever struggle successful without it? Whether in love or in hatred, in doubt or in certainty, in febleness or in strength, sincerity and devotion award to the struggling human soul that bliss of gratification which carries it triumphantly over all the numberless hindrances that beset its path.

The artist, endeavouring with brush and chisel to give life in form and colour to the ideal before his mental vision; the man of science, discovering, watching and classifying the phenomena of nature on the earth and in the skies; the inventor, experimenting in his garret on the problem by the solution of which he hopes to bring boundless benefit to his race;—what would they be without sincerity, without devotion?

And how much more with us! If we look back, indeed, at the efforts towards freedom of enslaved humanity, from the revolt led by Spartacus to the gigantic rising which was in the end drowned in a sea of blood in May, 1871; if we look at these ever-recurring onslaughts of the outraged and down-trodden against the organised State power of the privileged, and then consider the horrible conditions to which they have led and under which we are compelled to live, it would almost seem as if all the battles had been fought in vain; as if we were landed in the deepest imaginable state of debasement, a state in which there is no hope, out of which there is no escape. But this state of serfdom and degradation, of dissolution and decay, harbours within its depth a mighty social transformation. The fast and faster grinding machinery in the possession of private capitalists has wrested the tools out of the hands of the skilled artisan; it has thrown him into the gutter and made the weaker members of his family his most successful competitors. Yet this now capital-serving, man-devouring machinery is the very institution which makes the Social Revolution an unavoidable necessity.

For whilst it concentrates the so-called "Wealth of Nations" in the pockets of an ever-dwindling number of commercial potentates, it gathers around itself, on the other hand, the incapacitated toilers, and hammers them, as it were, into a hapless, shapeless and ever-increasing mass of poverty-stricken proletarians. They find themselves huddled together by thousands on the "repulsive dung-heaps of modern civilisation called industrial centres," abandoned to their fate alike by state and by society.

There and then they begin to feel themselves a "class," and what, as such, is their hope, what are their aspirations? To go back to the state of things before machinery would not only be reactionary, but impossible. The cost of machine-work has become the reward of labour; machinery is a social necessity. In a freed society it will be the means of giving leisure to the workers; at present it confers undue power upon its individual owners. It has become a social tyrant. The overthrow by the industrial slaves, of this tyranny, the conversion of machinery into a blessing—as it is now a curse—to the majority of mankind, is the next and inevitable step in the development of the Social revolution.

But although coming of necessity, it will not come by itself. The vehicle of this transformation of human institutions must be human beings, enlightened proletarians, banded together for the purpose of quickening the process, before the greater number of them are utterly demoralised and disabled from doing anything for their social elevation. *Theirs* is the task; *they* must do the work; *they* are the spring-tide which will swamp the present morass of society and uproot the basis of the evil, carrying on its crest the seed of a new and liberating growth of humane institutions.

It is with ourselves, it seems, then, that we must begin. We must be fit for aiding the revolution, and try to make others better; we must learn and teach, not by word and

assurance only, but by actions consistent with our utterances, so that our lives, passing away fruitfully, shall remain ever-living and quick-inspiring examples of sincerity and devotion.

For look you what we have to contend against: we are striving against classes which, though numerically small when compared with the labouring host, yet hold all the advantageous positions in State and society, and have its defenders at command. They move in the midst of a vast arsenal, filled with all the resources of our corrupt civilisation, ready to be brought against its assailants. There are the school, the church, the press, the platform, there are law and Parliament, army and police, all ready to uphold a decaying order of things, because they are bound up with its existence, materially or in imagination. And at their hands we have to encounter derision, censure, intimidation and ever-varying, but never-ending persecution.

Let us be firm and stand it all. Remember that derision mainly flows from ignorance; that those who mock you with your principles do not understand them; that they are not aware of their theoretical meaning, nor of the consequences of their practical application. They are steeped in prejudice and self-conceited indifference. You are not to chide them, but to teach them better. Remember, too, how often in our lives we ourselves have been tempted to throw ridicule on that which we did not dare or care to understand, until, in later days, we had found out by investigation that the thing to be laughed at was not the greatness of our opponents' folly, but the smallness of our own understanding!

Much harder to bear is the censure of those who are aware of our aims, and wilfully misunderstand them in order that they may lecture us from the pinnacle of superior knowledge, and appear before the superstitious world as our guides and teachers. In that hypocritical endeavour the public press occupies the most prominent position. Newspapers are, like all saleable articles to-day, not made for use, but for profit; not, as they pretend, to enlighten the community, but to enrich those who undertake their production. The public press is, in short, an eminently commercial institution, and hence a mercenary agent of commercialism. As a fashioner of people's opinion it is a most powerful machinery for evil and a fountain-head of corruption.

Woe unto us who dare to have ideas and ideals of our own! We are decried by them daily and hourly with every manner of names. We embody everything that is wrong, hurtful and mistaken. There is no notion too preposterous, no imputation too absurd, and no lie too palpable to be employed against us by the wholesale purveyors of "news" and sensational food for the multitude. How are we to meet them? By sternly and unflinchingly opposing them; by explaining their nature to those among us, who are still in the habit of taking the literary productions of interested pressmongers for impartial statements of high-minded teachers.

They are our worst, though not our only enemies. We are ridiculed, condemned and anathematised from platform, chair and pulpit. There is no room for truthful honesty, for pure disinterestedness in the commercial sphere. The system of competition for pecuniary gain has divested of their nimbus all those occupations hitherto regarded with religious awe. "The teacher, the physician, the jurist, the artist and the preacher have been degraded into the position of hired wage-workers of Capitalism."

Be devoted and be sincere. For intimidation, like charity and selfishness, begins at home. You have to encounter it in the very heart of your family, if the cause you have taken to your heart is likely to endanger the economical position, or even fashionable reputation, of your relatives. You must submit to, or be at war with, your nearest kindred.

Do not submit to untutored selfishness, but try and conquer it by making your surroundings understand that the welfare of all is the true interest of each. But you will be intimidated by such as will take no lessons from you; you will be intimidated by your masters (for a master you always have, unless you are a lord of the soil or of machinery) in the office, in the workshop, or in rank and file; you are coerced by the makers and dispensers of the law, by the power-invested maintainers of peace and order, who all insist that your views, as your intentions, are alike pernicious: you are surrounded by a conspiracy of intimidation.

But you must not yourself intimidate! Thus speaks the law, which is not made for those who rule, but by them, and for those who submit to be governed. Will you stand up, then, against that which is made to keep you down, and pursue your path in spite of it? Are you prepared to encounter the odium of having offended against what is the crystallised custom of the land and of society; to give up the key to public favour, to social position and economical power—"respectability"? If you are, you are one of ours. If your convictions are so firm, and your love of humanity so burning, as to make you bear the stigma which falls to the lot of the active workers in the cause of the Revolution now fermenting over the civilised world, you will join our ranks and march with the people towards the dawning light of its social, moral and mental liberation.

Look at the struggle of your continental brethren! See what the poorest among them are facing, battling against, overcoming by force of cheerful example. Neither threats nor derision, neither censure nor persecution they allow to daunt them. They have become unconquerable through *sincerity and devotion*.

You can, you should, you will do likewise. Be not discouraged by difficulties, be not coerced by threatening danger, be not disgusted by the meanness and corruption you must needs encounter on all hands in a strife so political. And though this task may tax all your capacities and all your energies, all your forbearance and all your determination, stand unto the end on the ground you have chosen. Do not think yourself superfluous, for your help cannot be done without. This misery of things was not decreed to be everlasting. It is a passing phase in the evolution of our race, the result of human actions, of human institutions. You are needed, every one of you for through the combined exertions of our kind alone this state will vanish, as it has arisen. "Hear, O hear, a word in season!"

ANDREAS SCHEU.

TRADE UNIONS AS "BUFFERS" BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

THAT Trades Unions are no longer viewed with distrust, but are even praised and patronised by the more astute employers, is a recognised fact. Some of our officials, overcome by the condescension of the superior beings who organise our labour, even congratulate their fellow-members upon this "happy union of Labour and Capital." I beg of my fellow-workmen not to be duped. There is no identity of interest between the wolf and the lamb—between the fleecers and the fleeced—between the men who with little or no labour reap enormous wealth, and the toilers who produce that wealth for mere subsistence wages. Let unionists study the Annual Reports of their Societies, and they will better understand the real significance of the "unholy alliance" now hatching between the Plutocracy and Trade Union Democracy.

Take the Report of the London Society of Compositors, to which I belong. We number 6,000 members, and the total expenditure during 1884 amounted to £9,000, of which £7,000 was for provident purposes and less than £600 for aggression or defence. Relief was given to 1,209 unemployed—that is to say, one-fifth of our members; but this is not all. Probationary periods ranging from one to five years have to be passed before members become entitled to provident benefits. The number who do not claim or are excluded would probably swell the total out of work during some portion of the year to nearer a fourth of the total membership. This does not represent any unusual state of things. One-twentieth of our members on the average are always out of work, besides a large number on the "piece" or "lines," who seldom get full time, their earnings ranging from half to three-fourths of the standard wage. The sum paid for out-of-work relief and superannuation amounted to £5,000—that is, in reality an additional poor-rate of 18s. was paid by each of us in work towards maintaining the victims of our brutal capitalistic system of production. Take the foregoing figures as representing the rate paid by the various Trades Unions, though the average outlay is really much higher, and it will be seen that the aggregate sum paid in relief by these bodies must be very large.* In fact the energies and resources of our Unions are so severely taxed, directly and indirectly,† to alleviate the poverty and sickness

* The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, according to their last report, spent over £76,000 (30s. per member) in out of work and other benefits, exclusive of sick pay, which amounted to over £27,000, or 10s. 11½d. per member. To these figures and those given in the text, a fair proportion of the cost of administration ought also to be added.

† The direct expenditure of the London Society of Compositors in provident benefits (not including sick pay) averages close on 24s. per member. The amount raised during the year by subscription, lotteries, etc., on behalf of disabled members or for widows and orphans, appeals for whom are constantly passing through the printing offices, probably averages an additional 6s. per member.

inevitable in our present state of society, that the utmost even the most successful Unions can do is to maintain the *status quo*. The character and function of the Trades Unions have almost entirely changed. They are no longer militant, but are little else than charity organisations and provident associations. It is no wonder, then, that capitalists have ceased to fear us. So far from offending them we have become useful as "buffers." By maintaining our unemployed members we relieve the pressure on the poor-rates and afford scope for the Oligarchy who rob and rule us to bamboozle the people with optimistic statements based on the bogus statistics of the Giffens, Levis, and other well-paid hacks in the employ of the exploiting classes. It is easy to see, therefore, that the slightly increased outlay in wages paid to Trades Unionists is not altogether a bad investment on the part of the employers. A portion of the outlay is really recovered in a lessening of their share of the poor-rate, and their position is rendered more secure, inasmuch as pacified by the slight amelioration in their condition, Trades Unionists seem willing to rest and be thankful, and meekly kiss the rod that smites them. Yet what, after all, is our position? During the years of youth and vigour a certain proportion of our number may obtain employment at a somewhat higher remuneration on condition of supporting those whose services are not required by the Capitalists—namely, the less robust and those who have passed middle-age, with the prospect before them of being displaced in their turn and joining the ranks of the unemployed. The small savings that even the most thrifty can accumulate during the years of comparative prosperity soon melt away, and sickness and premature death, too often the result of privation and anxiety, carry away the bread-winner, leaving widow and children often totally and at best very inadequately provided for, to struggle on with the aid of the charity of the trade. And so the weary round of life goes on. Nevertheless, our so-called "leaders," far from recognising the gravity of the labour problem, or being prepared with any real remedy for the frightful industrial depression now almost chronic, are occupied in bandying compliments with lords and millionaires and crafty political wire-pullers, becoming the dupes or tools of the monopolists who enslave us, and in their turn seeking to divert our attention from any forward movement by paltry political sops.

Fellow-workers, let us think for ourselves, and see that the men who are chosen to be our servants do not become our masters. It is written in the Scriptures, "A man cannot serve God and Mammon." I say, neither can a man serve Capital and Labour. What is the *raison d'être* of a combination of workers? Is it not that they should secure to themselves the result of their own labour? On the other hand, the aim of the capitalist classes is manifestly to obtain a larger share of the wealth produced by the labourers. It is utterly impossible that any sensible improvement in the conditions of the workers can take place so long as they are content to be mere wage-slaves, selling their labour to the employers instead of equitably exchanging the products of their labour with their fellow-workers.

It is the height of folly to suppose that the cause of labour can be served by our officials becoming the allies of the monopolists or by the creation of a few more M.P.'s of the Broadhurst type, to be swamped by the medley of stock-jobbers, loan-mongers, brewers, directors, lawyers, landlords and capitalists that comprise the bulk of the House of Commons. Such action can only result in our birthright being bartered for a trumpety political mess of pottage. We have had more than enough of tinkering, cobbling, patchwork legislation. Let us not fritter away our energies in agitating for the useless half-measures advocated by our "leaders." It is, doubtless, profitable to some at least of these men to get up demonstrations and assist for a consideration at middle-class political meetings; but apart altogether from that, the policy is selfish and suicidal. For a doubtful temporary gain, which at best can only benefit a fraction of the workers, the monopolists are to be left undisturbed in possession of their power to rob Labour and to perpetuate and increase the misery of the People. It is time that we awoke to a sense of our duty in regard to the emancipation of labour. Enlightened self-interest, even apart from higher considerations, should teach us the *solidarity* of the workers, not only within our unions, but everywhere. Our true field of action is social and economical; to organise for the overthrow of the competitive system and to take the control of production, distribution and exchange into our own hands; to prepare the way for the Social Revolution which will put an end to the horrible struggle for existence now going on, by securing to the workers the full fruits of their own industry and so bringing about the abolition of the classes which now prey upon Labour.

These aims cannot be promoted by the men now before certain constituencies or manoeuvring to be brought forward as

Labour Candidates, and claiming support as Trade Union leaders. They are for the most part steeped to the lips in the orthodox *bourgeois* doctrines of Political Economy and repeat by rote their obsolete formulas and exploded fallacies with a dogmatic air of infallibility highly gratifying, doubtless, to the Brasseys, Morleys, Smiths, *et hoc genus omnia*, but which ought, therefore, on that very account to be distrusted by the workers. Not one of these men has shown any grasp of the Labour Question, or given evidence of their capacity to understand that a new epoch is at hand and that the old things are passing away. Indeed, the action they are now taking is conclusive proof to the contrary. Is it not time, fellow-workers, that we ceased to be led like a flock of sheep? Let us take our affairs into our own hands, and put a stop at once to the insidious attempt now being made to utilise our unions to gratify the vanity of "leaders" and to maintain the yoke of the monopolists. It is useless to cry, "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. The words employer and employed must become obsolete and the wages system be utterly destroyed before the strife between Capital and Labour can cease; and those who counsel us to make terms now are traitors to our cause.

THOS. BINNING.

A CLERGYMAN ON COMMUNISM.

SHOULD the Church be disestablished? Utterances like that of a Dr. Scott, of Edinburgh, reported in the *Scotsman* of Feb. 23rd., must do a great deal to induce lovers of truth to answer in the affirmative. This parson undertook to "enlighten his congregation" on Communism—a phrase sometimes used among preachers on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, either because they must speak on subjects of which they know little themselves, or because they wish to reflect in intensified form the prejudices of their audience. The doctor is welcome to sit on either horn of the dilemma, but one he must choose. He feels bound from his position to praise the conduct of the disciples, but he makes a wry face over their having "all things common."

Our friend prefers to speak of it as "organised charity," compared with which Communism looks "fanatic and selfish." The doctor is hardly "a Daniel come to judgment." Organisation is unfortunately the very element conspicuously absent in this generous institution of early Christians, and hence its brief existence. There was in it, indeed, all the fervour without the wisdom one is wont to characterise by the name of fanaticism. We would, however, hesitate to bring this charge against it, but if the sincerity and intelligence of our doctor were equal to his courage he should certainly do so; for he would then know that, however imperfect the later schemes of Communism were, they were all better conceived and longer lived than this worthy attempt made by the primitive Church. We have improved upon them all, and shall certainly not fail for want of faith in organisation. But we are not only fanatical, we are also selfish. Instead of giving our goods to the poor, we demand the wealth of the rich. Has this not the air of robbery? It is rather worse than selfishness, and no doubt under the fervid, if not lucid, oratory of the orating doctor, his admiring audience must have thought Communist synonymous with Criminal. What however are the facts? They are familiar enough to readers of this paper, but they will pardon their repetition for the sake of the doctor. The workers receive under the present honest system, of which he is the clerical champion, about a third of the wealth produced by them. The rest of it goes in many ways—among others to pious people for doing nothing and popular preachers for assuring them how well they deserve it. Whatever feelings the Socialist may have for Christianity, he is hardly prepared to demand as much as it does for the necessitous. It asks one to lay down his life for the brethren, while he would be content in the meantime if the members of the various Churches would make some effort to be just to each other. There is some excuse, however, for the favour shown by the clergy to capitalism. If we are indebted to it for dingy tenements, it has also built for us mission halls as well as taken care by its kindness to the rich to maintain in harmony with the Scriptures the continuance of the poor. The Socialist is selfish. He never takes a lower level, but wants to bring every one down to him. So says our doctor. We commend for his consideration a text in which he will find the creed of the Socialist. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." There may be selfishness in this, but we have the authority of Christ for saying it "is the Law and the Prophets." There are no fat benefices bestowed on the Socialist for propagating his principles. He is not eligible for endowments nor helped by heretars. He receives no legacies from ladies, nor any pennies from the pews. Where are the martyrs? They have been succeeded in the Church by sleek saints and popular preachers. One would have to seek them in the catacombs if it were not for the Socialists and the Nihilists. These are the only men of our time who can in their sufferings for humanity compare with the old Christians, and yet they are held up before a congregation of Sybarites as the incarnation of selfishness. Never was an instance of greater ignorance or grosser misrepresentation than this senseless sermon of our denunciatory doctor.

AULD BEEKIE.

"The future masters of the Aimak and Hazarah tribes will . . . secure the rich prize of the Ghor region with its untouched mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal, sulphur, rubies and emeralds." This is how Professor A. H. Keane scientifically eggs on his countrymen to more annexation.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

GERMANY.—My notes were "crowded out" of the last number of the *Commonweal*—or rather their place was "better filled." Hence my readers must bear with me if I refer this month to certain events that would have been discussed then, and that should not be passed by without recordal here. On the 7th of February two Anarchists, Reinsdorff and Kuchler, were legally murdered at Halle—murdered for attempting to "commit an outrage" at the Niederwald celebration. They met their death calmly and bravely: so calmly that the reactionists, who cannot even understand the faith that is in such men, wondered. In its leader on this the *Sozial-Demokrat* says: "When a few days ago [*i.e.*, shortly before the "execution"] the rumour went the round of the press that the condition of Reinsdorff (who at his trial was already in an advanced stage of consumption) had grown so much worse that his death was momentarily expected, there was a general belief the Government would be sensible enough—not to speak even of humanity—to abstain from dragging a dying man to the scaffold. Naïve were they who thought thus! Little do they know the nature of our governors. What care these for reason, for humanity! In 'enlightened' Germany there reigns the most barbarous conception of criminal law. . . . It is characteristic that the very people who demand capital punishment are those that profess the religion which declares vengeance to be the Lord's. This 'atonement' is in truth but revenge, retaliation. It is the adherents of the 'Religion of Love' who performed the bloody deed of executing a dying man. . . . Reinsdorff gave us the real watchword when he cried 'Down with barbarism!' We are opponents of Anarchist dynamite tactics. We do not believe barbarism can be put an end to by appealing to mere brute force and to the most brutal instincts; but the most hideous of all crimes in our eyes is the deliberate murder, calmly carried out in the name of—Law. Death dealt in passion, despair, hatred, can be explained; political execution as a last resource of the oppressed who have no other means left of obtaining their rights, no one can straightway condemn; but legal murder, committed by a society that holds all means for self-protection—such a murder is indeed a barbarity." The article concludes by saying—what we too can echo—that not merely Anarchists, but all Revolutionists, will "earnestly cry with Reinsdorff, 'Down with barbarism!'"

Bebel has called attention, in the Reichstag, to the shameful manner in which soldiers are set to work for their officers. The War Minister replied that the soldier's life was an ideal one. This week the *Sozial Demokrat* publishes a letter from a soldier. The account that he gives of the food alone is horrible, but, "unfortunately, most of the men could get nothing else." They had to do "all the housemaid's work" for the officer's family, and were given only the worst and scantiest clothing. But all this has its good side. Ill-usage of this kind serves to remind soldiers that for them, as for all others, their only hope is in the Socialist movement.

The Bill for the "Protection of Workers" shall be more fully dealt with when all details are to hand. Meantime, I will only draw attention to the following resolution, calling on the Chancellor—(a) To summon an International Conference of the principal industrial States for the consideration, on a common basis, of a Law for the Protection of Workers, based upon a normal working day of 10 hours; the prohibition of labour for children under 14; prohibition, save in certain specified cases, of all night labour; (b) To institute an inquiry into the condition of wage-labourers in regard to their wages."

Some very excellent speeches have recently been made in the Reichstag—the only place in Germany where they can speak—by certain of the Socialist deputies on the state of siege in Berlin and in Hamburg Altona. Liebknecht also spoke on the shameful law passed some six years since, by which the whole postal service was practically handed over to the police. Naturally neither Radicals, Progressists, nor Liberals supported the Socialists in their demand that this law should be abrogated, and, bearing in mind some of the English Government declarations with regard to violation of the postal service in Ireland, this need not surprise us.

In Germany, of course, there can be no open manifestation in commemoration of the Commune and all the other great revolutionary days of March, but none the less German Revolutionists, like those of all other lands, join in the cry that is at once a hope and a promise—*Vive la Commune!*

FRANCE.—Poor M. Jules Ferry! There is something almost pathetic in his efforts to get up a nice little street-riot in order to rid himself of obnoxious Socialists and Revolutionists at one swoop, and in his constant failures to do so. The good people of Paris refuse to let themselves be massacred *pour la plus grande gloire de M. Ferry*, and thanks to the recent revelations of M. Andrieux, prefect of police, they are now less likely than ever to oblige him. A few weeks ago a "Demonstration" was got up at the Place de l'Opéra, but the whole thing was so clearly a police dodge that not even the hot-headed enthusiasts who never resist a "revolutionary" speech, fell into the trap. A perfectly harmless crowd of ordinary sight-seers was charged by the troop—but this was the only satisfaction M. Ferry got for his pains. Then came the funeral of Jules Vallès. Here was an excellent chance. Thousands of men and women followed the ex-member of the Commune to his grave—so magnificent a demonstration has not been seen in Paris for years. But the huge crowd marched along quietly, in orderly fashion, and gave no chance to the police. Some young men of the bourgeois and "upper"

classes came to the aid of the gendarmes by attacking the German Socialists, whom they accused of crying "Vive la Prusse!" But this too failed to create the hoped-for disturbance. The unruly students were quietly chastised by some French workmen and that was all. No, not quite all. They have unconsciously done us a great service. They have helped to show outsiders—what we Socialists know already—that our movement is an International one, and that a Socialist can be no Chauvin or Jingo. They have also helped to remind the world that while the French workers can never forget the attitude of German Socialists during the war, German workers can never forget that immediately after that war the people of Paris chose as member of their Commune, as their Minister of Public Works, the German, Leo Frankel.

The 18th March, the Anniversary of the Commune has also apparently passed over without so much as an arrest.

But certainly the most interesting event to be chronicled this month is the revelation, already referred to, of M. Andrieux, prefect of police. M. Andrieux is publishing his "Souvenirs"—and nice souvenirs they are. The part of them which most interests us is that now in course of publication. Here he gives a full account of the way in which the Anarchist journal *La Révolution Sociale* was founded, and of the infamous manner in which the unsuspecting Louise Michel, Gautier, etc., were entrapped. Some of my readers may remember this very "advanced" paper, which so strongly advocated dynamite and *action par le fait* while at the same time constantly denouncing those Socialists who were considered re-actionary because they objected to the *Révolution Sociale* and dared to hint that such journals, either consciously or unconsciously, did the work of the police, and played into the hands of the government. M. Andrieux tells us how these people, constantly led by the nose by his own agents, were anxious to start a paper, and how he, the prefect of police, helped them to the necessary capital, by providing them with a "boss" who advanced money. "To give the Anarchists an organ," writes M. Andrieux, "was moreover to place a telephone between the hall of the conspirators and the room of the prefect of police. One can have no secrets from the man who finds the money, and I was about to learn, day by day, the most mysterious plans. . . . Of course, do not imagine I offered the Anarchists the help of the prefect of police. I sent a well-dressed *bourgeois* to one of the most active and intelligent of them. He explained how he had made a fortune as a druggist, and how he desired to consecrate part of this fortune in forwarding Socialist propaganda. This *bourgeois* . . . inspired the 'companions' with no doubts. Through him I gave the State the necessary 'caution money,' and the *Révolution Sociale* appeared. Every day, round the editorial table gathered the most acknowledged representatives of the 'party of action;' the international correspondence was read; the methods that science places at the service of the revolution were freely communicated. I was represented in their councils, and even, when necessary, gave my advice. My object was to watch more easily the honourable companions by grouping them round a journal. However, the *Révolution Sociale* rendered me a few other little extra services." And M. Andrieux goes on to tell how he used the Anarchist paper to attack men he considered dangerous—more especially those who, in the *Lanterne*, were doing what the *Cri du Peuple* does to-day—that is to say, were showing up the secrets of the police and its spies. M. Andrieux also points out, with some satisfaction, that he had himself violently attacked for appearance' sake. Then M. Andrieux gives a detailed account of the Saint Germain "outrage," in which the statue of M. Thiers was slightly blackened, explaining at the same time why the "conspirators" could not be prosecuted, since the *Code pénal* provides only for cases in which a "public monument has been destroyed." With the cynicism of a police agent, M. Andrieux tells the whole shameful story of the way in which he led on Louise Michel and her companions, now in prison for unconsciously doing M. Andrieux' work. The wife of one of these victims, Madame Emile Gautier, writes to *La Justice*, M. Clemenceau's organ, that "in this dirty story there is another detail M. Andrieux voluntarily or involuntarily passes over in silence. Yet it is important. It was the police-agent Serraux who was the promoter and the soul of the International Congress held in London in July, 1881. Now this Congress is one of the chief charges that served to convict my husband of affiliation to an International Association that ceased to exist in 1872, and that caused his condemnation. When I think that my husband, arrested twenty-nine months ago, forced to herd with the worst criminals, dragged from prison to prison, . . . that he will be imprisoned two years more, without counting ten subsequent years of police surveillance, because of the manoeuvres and reports (what reports!) of a Serraux and his like, I cannot but feel a justifiable indignation against M. Andrieux, who prepared and paid for this infamy, and who speaks of it to-day as a capital joke." *La Justice* adds a note to this interesting letter, very naturally demanding the immediate release of Louise Michel, Gautier and Krapotkine, now clearly shown to have been nothing but the dupes and victims of the prefect of police.

With such facts as these before us, bearing in mind the Wolf and Bondurand affair, that of Monceaux les Mines—in which the "outrage" was not only planned, but actually carried out by the police—how can we help asking once more who benefits by the dynamite outrages? We need not pause for a reply: M. Andrieux has given it.

SWITZERLAND.—Some hundreds of Anarchists and Socialists have been arrested, others expelled; the *Revolté* suppressed, and it is to be feared that an extradition bill for "political" offences will be passed. All this has been brought about by some equally foolish and wicked dynamite "attempts," and the tall talk, breathing blood and thunder, of certain individuals. It is impossible to avoid asking—especially in the

light of recent events elsewhere—who is the gainer in all this? If the threatened explosions were to come off, and an extradition bill were the consequence, who would benefit—the men and women who have found in Switzerland a comparatively free refuge from their persecutors in other lands, or the governments of those lands? Would the Social Revolution be much advanced if a few harmless and utterly unimportant Swiss bourgeois were killed, and some of the greatest and best Revolutionists handed over to the hangman? Would Socialism be the stronger if its representatives in Switzerland were once again thrown into the dungeons of the Czar, the cells of Prussia and Austria, or given over to death in the mines or at the hands of the executioner? The various European governments have tried cajolery and threats before to induce Switzerland to give up to them the victims that have escaped them, and failed. Now the Swiss bourgeois is to be frightened by a cry of dynamite—for everyone knows that the mildest-mannered bourgeois shows no mercy when he is frightened. The trick that entrapped Louise Michel, Gautier, Krapotkine, and so many more, is to be tried in Switzerland. It is worth noting at this moment that the Swiss press—those who clamour for an extradition bill and those (of which the reactionary and ultramontane *Basler Volksblatt* is one) that have the sense to protest against such a measure—all admit that the "foreign governments have largely augmented the number of police spies here." It is to be sincerely hoped that M. Andrieux' revelations will not be lost upon those men and women in Switzerland who are being made the tools of the very governments they are struggling against, and of the Society they want to overthrow.

RUSSIA.—In these March days, when the memory of Sophia Peroffska and her fellow martyrs is so present with us, we must not forget to chronicle the murder of another Russian hero—of Myschkine—one of the noblest as he was one of the most remarkable of the Russian Socialists. His splendid "defence" during the celebrated "Trial of the 193" of Moscow—a defence that was really a magnificent and unanswerable indictment of the government—stirred all Russia. For some years Myschkine had been in the Peter and Paul Fortress, and at Belgorod. But even these "houses of death" were too humane for such a criminal as Myschkine. Lately he was removed to Schusselbourg. Of this hideous fortress Stepniak writes: "Thence no plaint can ever reach us, for nature unites with man to completely isolate the unfortunates immured there. It is not a citadel built in the midst of a large town; Schusselbourg is a block of granite, entirely occupied by fortifications, and surrounded on all sides by the waves." Here the prisoners are of course entirely at the mercy of their brutal keepers. According to the account that reaches us, Myschkine struck one of the gaolers. What the provocation may have been, those who know something of Russian prisons can imagine for themselves. He was at once tried by court-martial, condemned, and there and then executed. All honour to his memory! It too will live "in the great heart of the people."

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

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ONE PENNY.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

SHOULD Socialists take part in Parliamentary agitations? This is a question which is now moving the minds of some of our comrades. Now Parliament implies politicians, and a politician is one versed in the art of governing, and government implies the existence of two classes of society, governors and governed, or slaves and masters: it is those who are naturally weak, the destitute and disinherited, who are governed for the benefit of the strong and cunning. A constant battle has been going on between these two classes ever since usurpation and monopoly began—the disinherited, through their ignorance of the cause of their misery, getting the worst of it, and the governors resorting to every means to maintain their monopolies and privilege, using force and fraud in the past, fraud and humbug to-day—for now their professions of friendship and wishes to legislate for the benefit of the disinherited even go so far as to take the form of finding money for the election of so-called working men to the House of Humbugs. Those who do this, however, make sure of their men beforehand, and only assist those who have sold the workers in the past, and therefore will be the tools of the monopolists in the future. They do this that they may be able to tell the workers that they can alter the state of things if they like; that they can send their own representatives to Parliament if they wish to do so, and can thereby remedy all their wrongs; knowing that money-bags will always win in a contest like this, that these tools and hirelings of theirs are only seeking place and position for themselves and their friends, and that they will always go against the true interest of the workers. So long as the workers are satisfied with this humbug, so long will it continue—so long will they be robbed of the results of their labour.

These privileged classes or governors never make any concessions, except from force or the fear of force. It is only when the working people are united and determined to take their stand on principles instead of making compromises, and are prepared to use any means to overthrow the whole commercial competitive system, they will emancipate themselves. Even in politics reform has to be forced from them. The Reform Bill of 1832 was not conceded till the country was on the verge of civil war, property being burnt and destroyed in every direction; the same with the repeal of the Corn Laws. Again, in 1867, the people showed their determination by knocking the Hyde Park railings down and breaking a few windows, and to appease them another Reform Bill was passed. In 1884 it was again a Reform Bill; the people had to meet again in their thousands and use threats of force before their demands were complied with. The very essence of politics is to collect as much taxes as possible, to protect the monopolists in their privileges and property, while they rob, fleece and oppress the workers, just keeping within the limit of driving them to open rebellion.

But Parliamentary reform will help us little or nothing. It has been going on for generations, and what is the result? Merely a perpetuation of the fleecing system. Has the condition of the disinherited been improved? Are they not more dependent for the means of life itself upon the goodwill and caprices of these monopolists than ever before? Do we not find in all parts of the world, whether under an Empire, Monarchy, or Republic, whether they have universal suffrage or are ruled by a despot, that the wealth-producers are in the same condition, always on the verge of starvation, and unable to alter it except by a complete revolution? Is not this a standing proof that the condition of the workers cannot be altered by their representatives (so called) helping the dominant classes to govern the people? There may be some excuse for Socialists taking part in politics in despotic countries when they cannot carry on their propaganda in any other way; but that is not the case in this country. And even in Germany, where a part of the Socialists have resorted to that means of propaganda, they are now getting disgusted with it, more especially after the backsliding of some of their Members of Parliament. One of these told the monopolists in their House

of Parliament that they, the Parliamentary Socialists, were the only buffer between the monopolists and Revolution. This is just the point which all Revolutionary Socialists see clearly, and since we see it we do not wish that buffer to be used in this country.

I do not mean to say we should not go to political meetings; on the contrary, I hold that we should take advantage of these and every other opportunity of spreading the doctrines of pure Socialism by circulating our literature, moving amendments, or any other means. But we ought not to take sides or try to become leaders, but always look upon ourselves as teachers; and if we do our duty in this direction we may rest assured that if the necessity arises for leaders, they will not be sought for in vain. I know that there are many earnest men who honestly think we should take part in the swindle, and get Socialists elected to Parliament. If we did, what would be the result? If we sent Socialists to Parliament we should like to send our best men, who if they were honest would not get a hearing in that House, while at the same time we should lose them as propagandists, their time being fully taken up with politics. Again, if one man turns out to be a dishonest self-seeker, one who would misrepresent the objects and aims of Socialists, he would undo the good work of a hundred propagandists outside. Some of our comrades may think that it is unimportant whether we take part or not in politics, but I hold it to be an all-important question; for the answer we give to it decides whether we are Socialists or Reformers.

We, as Revolutionary Socialists, believe that Socialism means a state of society in which all the members have equal rights without any privileges or class distinctions, and that it is our duty to preach this, and to educate the disinherited up to it, so that the revolutionary change may come from below, by and for the workers. We believe that no compromise can be made with privilege, and that we should be traitors to the cause if we attempt it. If you, reader, believe this, your place is by our side as a Revolutionary Socialist, and you are bound to assist in the noble work of education towards this end. No matter what our numbers are to-day, you may rest assured we are the party of the future, since we are the party of principle. On the other side are those who believe in Parliamentary action—who think that what they have got to do is to agitate with some catch cry that will become popular, and get them or their chiefs elected to Parliament; and that they, when there, will, by passing laws, alter the condition of the workers—in fact, that the change is to come by them and through them; that the revolution is to come from above and not from below; and that the way to effect this revolution is by introducing palliatives of the present system. Now we hold that to palliate a system is to perpetuate it; that men who are in favour of this are only Reformers or Democrats (Social or otherwise); they want to amend the system, and so, as a natural result, will prolong it. It is certain that if it had not been for the constant "reforms"—that is, palliatives of our system—the system itself would have dropped to pieces of its own rottenness, or been overthrown by revolution long ere this.

It is necessary to mention, however briefly, some of the chief palliatives advocated by the Democrats. And first, the normal working day of eight hours. We, as Socialists, of course condemn long hours, but the essential thing we condemn is the capitalist making a profit out of our labour at all. As long as this is done the hours of labour will really be regulated in the interest of the capitalist, not in that of the community. It is the whole wages system which we contend against.

Again, if the children are entitled to one free meal, they are entitled to all their meals free. We hold that they should be fed, clothed, sheltered and educated free by the community.

Once more, as to the building of Artisans' Dwellings. We hope, with the overthrow of the competitive system, that the large towns will disappear, and in their place will arise a system of free communes or associated homes.

Lastly, as to cumulative taxation on large incomes. Under a proper system of society we should have no large incomes.

It is possible that the governing classes might make a show of legislating in the direction of these palliatives; their doing so would certainly put off the revolution which we aim at. True Socialists, therefore, should not take up such catch cries. There is a broad line of demarcation between those who wish to overthrow the wages' system and those who wish to palliate it. There is no half-way house in the matter; the one view is entirely opposed to the other; therefore if there are any professing to belong to our party (the revolutionary Socialists) who believe in palliation, they had better at once join the palliators or Democrats. On the other hand, if there are any who profess to be Democrats, but who wish for the overthrow of the wages' system, competition, and monopoly—their place is with us.

JOSEPH LANE.

PEACE OR WAR?

A LITTLE while ago, it seemed as though the Russian Government, having obtained from the British Cabinet all it wanted for the present, was magnanimously about to consent to the preservation of peace. Now, however, for the moment at all events, all this is changed. Both Governments are again on the war-path. More diplomacy, conciliatory dispatches, followed by "settlement;" or rupture of negotiations, Russian seizure of Herat, followed by English declaration of war. Which is to be the line events will take within the next few days? We do not venture to prognosticate, although were we of a sportive disposition we should be inclined to "back" the former contingency. The Cossack is not the Egyptian; if he were he would assuredly have been operated upon militarily long ere this. Russian spreadeagleism, moreover, wants to complete its railway to India; and who shall say that Russian diplomatic skill will not prove effective in "hocussing" to the end, that the delay required for this may be obtained, under cover of an "arrangement." But, as we said before, we do not prognosticate one way or the other—like Sextus Empiricus, "we suspend."

For the rest, we have little to add to what we said last month on the question of possible hostilities between the two empires—the upshot is, we imagine, as uncertain as could well be. England, it is true, is isolated, but her general resources are great. Yet after all that may be said about bankruptcy, the fact remains that the military strength of Russia is also great; and, be it remembered, for wars and for railways there is always money forthcoming from somewhere. Both possess an irresistible attraction to the high-financing mind. On the other hand, though the valour of the British soldier in confronting a European foe may be an unknown quantity, the rapacity of the Russian contractor, and his abettor, the Russian superior military officer, is a fairly calculable one. Brown paper soles and mouldy bread decimate an army in the long run no less effectually than hard fighting. A severe Russian defeat would probably mean revolution in Russia. Indeed, there can be little doubt that it would. So presuming, Socialists must drink damnation to the Muscovite arms. Again, as we pointed out last month, the rout of the English forces and the invasion of India would mean the speedy setting of the sun of that Empire which was wont ne'er to set, a result which could hardly fail to gladden the heart of the true Socialist, for whom Empire is a curse. As to the alternative complications which might arise, it is impossible to foresee or even conjecture how they are likely to affect the Cause. In fine, the attitude of Socialists in the present situation must necessarily be confined to one of "expectant attention."

E. BELFORT BAX.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

"AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANISE!"

I.

If you wish the Revolution of Society to evolve apace, *Agitate!* For the lion's share of that work will have to be done by the people, who are as yet alike indifferent to their duty and unaware of their power.

Agitate! Although in this you will be most fiercely met by the protestations of the would-be respectable, *Agitate!* Although you will be told by some that matters, though surely bad at present, are by themselves inevitably tending towards improvement; that it is dangerous to rouse the passions of the lowly placed, and that "charity" and "education" alone can raise them in the social scale. *Agitate!* Although by people in authority you will be told that you must not do it, lest the spectres thus conjured up should never be got rid of.

Agitate! For it is not true that anything moves, or tends to move, by itself—that is, by its inert qualities and capacities. Things move only in the measure in which they come into contact

with, and are influenced by, other things; they assert themselves or are subdued only to the extent in which they live. Things, human beings, and human institutions may seem lifeless or unable to live whilst they are merely borne down and overwhelmed by circumstances stronger than themselves. If the overbearing forces be shifted or weakened, those hitherto overborne will expand, and by degrees become able to rise and overthrow their oppressors.

Agitate! For Giant Labour is not merely slumbering the sleep of the wearied, from which he would awake refreshed and invigorated: he lies dazed and crippled in a state of deathlike senselessness. To wake him from his torpor, to make him alive to the causes and effects of his condition, you must rouse him with words so burning as to touch him to the quick through the rind of habitual indifference he has acquired in the atmosphere of wage-serfdom.

Agitate! Although you may run the risk of being misunderstood and considered an enemy by those very men and women whom your love for humanity prompts you to address; for the toilers have become so used to the bearing of the chains themselves have been forced to forge, that they no longer resent their weight, but wear them as they would wear ornaments. The competition for bread means to the workers a race for the favour of being allowed to serve; it has become so keen and all-absorbing among them that they have little or no chance of developing a desire for the rational pleasures of life, but feel at ease whenever their most pressing needs are satisfied. To a man who has worked through the longer part of the day in the silent gloom of the death-harboured mine, or in the midst of the rattling, clashing and thundering noise of steam machinery, or in the atmosphere of chemical works charged with organic poisons and germs of disease, until he feels giddy and benumbed with weariness; to such a man a stomachful of food, however coarse, a few hearty draughts of drink, something like a smoke near a "fireside" in a "home" where he may be master in his turn,—are all he requires, are all he has learnt to aspire to. If, in addition to these goods, he boast the possession of a sober wife, able to get him up a meal and keep herself and children tolerably clean, he will lie down on his straw sack with a feeling of pride and satisfaction, akin to that of the Lord Chancellor when taking his seat on the woolsack among the spoilers of the nation.

Agitate! Mind not the honest wrath you may encounter by telling such a man he is a slave, but tell it him, and repeat it to him, whenever you can get his ear, with all the emphasis of your compassion and all the force of your understanding. For do not the hireling writers of capitalism assure him every day that he is "free and independent," that there is dignity not only in labour (which nobody will deny), but that there is "dignity" also in poverty and even in servitude? Do not the professors of godliness and commercial economy din into his patient ears, from all the stumps and platforms of the realm, that he has no right nor reason to complain, seeing, as he ought, that he is allowed to live in a society so much more civilised than that of the Zulu-Caffirs and that of the Eskimos; seeing, as he ought, that he is better paid than the wage-workers of fifty years ago; seeing that his master's lot—who, in his turn, has to compete with other slave-drivers to the maddening tune of his steam-engines—is not a happy one; and seeing, finally, that for a British worker nothing can be sweeter and more dignified than quiet contentment and subordination?

Agitate! Tell those who toil and vegetate in the bondage of capitalism that their "freedom" is as palpable a lie as their "independence" is a cruel mockery; that they are "independent" only in so far as they are being tossed about from post to pillar without encumbrances, without the vestige even of some property; light and burdenless, stripped clean and "independent" of everything valuable, except their skins, which must be left them, lest they should fall to pieces before capital has wholly done with them. Tell your fellow-slaves that whatever the Zulus may lack in civilisation, they are at least not cursed with pauperism or with prostitution; that the British workers of fifty years ago, if their wages were lower than they are to-day, broke forth in open rebellion; that their masters, since they cherish it, deserve to perish by their competition; and, finally, that contentment and subordination are the virtues of slaves whilst freemen ever strive towards the advancement to perfection of their race by cheerful co-ordination and co-operation with their brethren.

Agitate! Tell the victims of competition to rise against the monstrous "order" that has crippled them and put them down. Show them how all the privileged classes, whatever petty quarrels they may have among themselves, are towards the workers but one amalgamated, reactionary mass. Tell them how vain it is, in consequence, to ask for "Justice" or for "Charity"; that they have nothing to beg for, but only to take possession of what is their own by the only valid title to human enjoyment—human labour! Tell them that slavery is but a symptom of weakness; that freedom means power, which they must and will obtain as soon as they feel as one and act together concertedly. Why

should they waste their strength for others and subsist on alms, whilst theirs are the land, and theirs the fruit they win from it; theirs the tools and the mechanical giants they have constructed to serve a worthless minority; theirs the houses, the temples and the palaces, as surely as they have reared them up in ceaseless, unrewarded drudgery! Tell the men *that*, and if they won't listen, speak to the women, the children, nay, to the very babes, before they are taught the lying language of our corrupt civilisation! Speak, shout, and spur them ceaselessly—from field to cottage, from street to market-place, always and everywhere, until the very stones will cry out against the crimes that are being patiently endured by human beings. *Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!*

ANDREAS SCHEU.

OUR CIVILISATION.

THE JERRY BUILDER.

In utilising the space at my disposal for this paper I do not concern myself with advocacy of the abstract principles of Socialism, but prefer to exhibit the foulness, discomfort and filth which capitalism inflicts upon us in our every-day lives, and thus negatively to make Socialism understood. The utility and justification of this gospel of discontent is found in the patience with which the people bear the evils which the gushing scribes of the press assure them are inseparable from "Our Civilisation."

One, and by no means the least weighty of the counts in the indictments by which Socialists arraign the present system of production for profit, is that wherein our health and lives are directly affected, viz., the construction of our houses, owing to our infamous land system, which robs the people of their natural inheritance and forces them into towns; we have, especially in London, a vast increase of urban population. To meet this artificially-created and unnatural increase, our fields, and erewhile pleasure resorts, have been given over to the reign of the Jerry Builder, who has disfigured them with miles of hideousness. Under his sway, trees, grass and hedgerow disappear, the pleasant wayside brook becomes a noisome sewer, villages are reached, swallowed up and passed. What few characteristics of their once rural environment remain, only stand as sad mementoes of a simple past, and soon degenerate into slums. Over the poor man's common the Jerry Builder casts a greedy eye, and thereon builds his shoddy houses for the shoddy City plutocrat, who, true to his instincts of shop, designates the few starveling soot-beladen stalks which his friend the Jerry Builder has allowed to remain around his house as the "Grove" "Shrubberies," "Sylvania," etc. The poor mourn the loss of their open spaces, once within a stone's throw of their homes; the Sunday walk in the fields is now replaced by a sojourn in the sweltering gin palaces. Wages are falling, rent is rising, and the railway trip to the country is out of their reach. As the circle widens and the oxygen-giving trees and grass recede before the march of the invader, and are replaced by smoky chimnies, sulphurous brickfields, and dust-heaps, so does the atmosphere of the huge city become vitiated and enervating, the poor penned and overcrowded are literally asphyxiated, and killed by hundreds through the lung diseases set up by these causes. O glorious civilisation! how *à propos* are the burning words of Rouget De Lisle in the "Marseillaise," "They mete and vend the light and air."

The Press, actuated by the same benevolent principles toward Land Jobbers which prompts their articles in favor of colonial emigration, advise the working class to seek "fresh air" by living in the suburbs and renting those "Desirable Residences" constructed by the Jerry Builders.

The evidence given before the Commission to inquire into the Building Acts throws a clear light on the manner in which our suburbs are run up. Dr. Tripe, medical officer for Hackney, deposed that he knew whole streets and roads that were built upon foundations composed of the filth and refuse of dust-bins, the soil having been excavated to a depth of ten feet or more, and replaced with the refuse from dust-yards, and the builder commences proceedings by announcing that "Rubbish may be shot here." The houses themselves were constructed with road-drift and street-sludge mixed with inferior mortar. Anent the sludge, he explained that it contained a large amount of sewage and faecal matter. The general evidence was to the effect that the houses so constructed decrease the health, and in large numbers of cases actually cause the death, of their inmates. Many were so flagrantly bad in construction that, despite the collusion between parish officials, landlords and builders, they were condemned. Others saved this trouble by falling down from their own weakness. This has happened with detached houses; when built together, they have supported each other as two inebriates do, by leaning against each other. All this has not gone

on without some protest. Occasionally some remnant of open space, from which natural beauty is riven, is snatched from the devouring grasp of the land-jobber, and the public are made to pay handsome compensation for the exercise of their own rights.

Lovers of art like Matthew Arnold and Ruskin declaim against the rampant spoliation of Nature, and Ruskin queries whether the "Greatness of the British Empire is as loosely stuck in the ground as are the houses of its inhabitants." Scientists like Richardson formulate a City of Health and teach sanitary truths, but they reckon without their host. The same cause which makes the filthy reeking slums of the central districts "profitable investments to capitalists and others," as an advertisement of highly-respectable auctioneers, is at work in the newer quarters. Rent—that corner-stone of the whole capitalist system—packs humanity together as a source of exploitation by this form of robbery. The causes of physical and moral degradation, so rife amongst us, are fast lowering the morale and physique of the people. We are told that we are advancing on the path of civilisation. If it involves loss of health, of happiness and culture to us as workers, *Ovis bono?* Time was when the homes of a people betokened their degree of culture, when art and architecture were allied, and were not the handmaidens of greedy speculators; when masonry was an honourable craft, not forced to create the hideous eccentricities which disfigure our thoroughfares to-day. The monuments of the past still with us prove this. If it is left to our posterity, when freed from the rent fiend, to develop the Socialistic ideas now leavening the mass, and to give them concrete expression in the construction of their houses and surroundings, we may gauge the feelings with which they will view the paltry remnants of our present ugliness, if any remain, of an age which fostered sanitation in its hospitals and prisons, and neglected it in its houses; gauge the ridicule they will bestow upon the brick boxes in which we exist as the *reductio ad absurdum* of individualism gone mad, of a people puzzled how to feed and house their own poor, yet striving to force Arabs to live their lives; and as they till their communal lands and enjoy their communal halls, they will bless those who now are hastening the end of the reign of Shoddy.

F. KITZ.

We have to record with deep regret the disappearance under circumstances which leave but faint hopes of his being alive of Edmund Martin Geldart, a well-known and active Socialist. Our readers will probably have already read the details of this sad case in the newspaper press. Mr. Geldart, who occupied the pulpit of a so-called "Free" (!) Church in Croydon, became converted to Socialism about a year ago. Thenceforward his one thought was to work for the cause. His own honest nature would not let him believe that any one who had the truths of Socialism once placed clearly before him could refuse their acceptance. Alas! he was soon undeceived. The clique of hypocritical money-bags who, as might be expected, dominated his "congregation," soon compelled him to resign. They wanted a smug "morality" and "charity" preached to them, and not the "abolition of their privileges." Edmund Martin Geldart, if dead he be, has died a martyr to the cause, for it was his steady refusal to sell his convictions which brought upon him the wrath of this plutocratic crew; and it was the mental depression wrought on a sensitive temperament by the worry and brow-beating ensuing that led to what, we fear we must call the final, catastrophe.

A P P E A L.

THE Socialist League has decided to found a library of books, magazines, pamphlets, periodicals and daily newspapers, treating of and propagating the Socialistic cause, for the free use and the education of its members. To this end the League appeals herewith to all members and to all friends and supporters of the great and just cause for which it fights to bestow, for this intended library, on the League as gifts such books and periodicals in their possession as treat on the Socialistic Question. All such donations received will be duly acknowledged with the sincerest thanks on behalf of the League by the delegated librarians, in the official journal of the League. The League hopes that in answer to this appeal so many books will be forthcoming that a catalogue comprising numerous works can soon be issued.

London, March 9, 1885.

C. BENSON AND R. THEODORE.

THE following books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League:—Poems and Ballads, Nicoll; a parcel of books, Lane; Satires and Profanities, W. Ramsey; a parcel of books, W. A. English; Conventional Lies, Nicoll; a parcel of books and pamphlets, Frank Kitz; *Le Femme et la Revolution*, Theodore; *The Workman*; *The City*, Lyons.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The June number (5) will be ready on Tuesday, May 26th, and will be sent with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than the first post on Saturday, 23rd.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

MANCHESTER friends can purchase this journal and other Socialist literature at the Democratic Publishing Co., 37 Travis Street.

MR. THOROLD KING, in a temperate letter, but too long for publication, finds fault with our Irish correspondent's "raking up of old bygones." He should remember, however, that the general impression in England is that our rule has been on the whole beneficial—at any rate since the Middle Ages—and that Englishmen want a little information on that point. But quite apart from that, the main fact in the question is that the English are foreigners there, and as rulers are not wanted there at all. Barbarities committed by the enslaved people prove this quite as strongly as those committed by the enslavers.

THE ALARM.—Copies of number containing reprint of the Socialist League Manifesto received by each of the Council.

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*New Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*Communist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Labour Leaf*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*La National Belge* (daily)—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Bebel's "Woman"* (Modern Press).

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

III.—SENDING TO THE WAR.

It was down in our far-off village that we heard of the war begun,
But none of the neighbours were in it save the squire's thick-lipped son,

A youth and a fool and a captain, who came and went away,
And left me glad of his going. There was little for us to say
Of the war and its why and wherefore—and we said it often enough;

The papers gave us our wisdom, and we used it up in the rough.
But I held my peace and wondered; for I thought of the folly of men,

The fair lives ruined and broken, that ne'er could be mended again;
And the tale by lies bewildered, and no cause for a man to choose;
Nothing to curse or to bless—just a game to win or to lose.

But here were the streets of London—strife stalking wide in the world;

And the flag of an ancient people to the battle-breeze unfurled.
And who was helping or heeding? The gaudy shops displayed
The toys of rich men's folly, by blinded labour made;
And still from naught to nothing the bright-skinned horses drew
Dull men and sleek-faced women with never a deed to do;
While all about and around them the street-flood ebbed and flowed,

Worn feet, grey anxious faces, grey backs bowed 'neath the load.
Lo the sons of an ancient people! And for this they fought and fell

In the days by fame made glorious, in the tale that singers tell.

We two we stood in the street in the midst of a mighty crowd,
The sound of its mingled murmur in the heavens above was loud.
And earth was foul with its squalor—that stream of every day,
The hurrying feet of labour, the faces worn and grey,
Were a sore and grievous sight, and enough and to spare had I

Of hard and pinching want midst our quiet fields and green;
But all was nothing to this, the London holiday throng,
Dull and with hang-dog gait they stood or shuffled along,

While the stench from the lairs they had lain in last night went
up in the wind,

And poisoned the sun-lit spring: no story men can find
Is fit for the tale of their lives; no word that man hath made
Can tell the hue of their faces, or their rags by filth o'er-laid:
For this hath our age invented—these are the sons of the free,
Who shall bear our name triumphant o'er every land and sea.
Read ye their souls in their faces, and what shall help you there?
Joyless, hopeless, shameless, angerless, set is their stare:
This is the thing we have made, and what shall help us now,
For the field hath been laboured and tilled and the teeth of the
dragon shall grow.

But why are they gathered together? what is this crowd in the
street?

This is a holiday morning, though here and there we meet
The hurrying tradesman's broadcloth, or the workman's basket of
tools.

Men say that at last we are rending the snares of knaves and
fools;

That a cry from the heart of the nation against the foe is hurled,
And the flag of an ancient people to the battle-breeze unfurled.
The soldiers are off to the war, we are here to see the sight,
And all our griefs shall be hidden by the thought of our country's
might.

'Tis the ordered anger of England and her hope for the good of
the Earth

That we to-day are speeding, and many a gift of worth
Shall follow the brand and the bullet, and our wrath shall be no
curse,

But a blessing of life to the helpless—unless we are liars and
worse—

And these that we see are the senders; these are they that speed
The dread and the blessing of England to help the world at its
need.

Sick unto death was my hope, and I turned and looked on my
dear,

And beheld her frightened wonder, and her grief without a tear,
And knew how her thought was mine—when, hark! o'er the
hubbub and noise,

Faint and a long way off, the music's measured voice,
And the crowd was swaying and swaying, and somehow, I knew
not why,

A dream came into my heart of deliverance drawing anigh.
Then with roll and thunder of drums grew the music louder and
loud,

And the whole street tumbled and surged, and cleft was the
holiday crowd,

Till two walls of faces and rags lined either side of the way.

Then clamour of shouts rose upward, as bright and glittering gay
Came the voiceful brass of the band, and my heart beat fast and
fast,

For the river of steel came on, and the wrath of England passed
Through the want and the woe of the town, and strange and wild
was my thought,
And my clenched hands wandered about as though a weapon they
sought.

Hubbub and din was behind them, and the shuffling haggard
throng,

Wandering aimless about, tangled the street for long;
But the shouts and the rhythmic noise we still heard far away,
And my dream was become a picture of the deeds of another day.

Far and far was I borne, away o'er the years to come,
And again was the ordered march, and the thunder of the drum,
And the bickering points of steel, and the horses shifting about
'Neath the flashing swords of the captains—then the silence after
the shout—

Sun and wind in the street, familiar things made clear,
Made strange by the breathless waiting for the deeds that are
drawing anear.

For woe had grown into will, and wrath was bared of its sheath,
And stark in the streets of London stood the crop of the dragon's
teeth.

Where then in my dream were the poor and the wall of faces wan?
Here and here by my side, shoulder to shoulder of man,
Hope in the simple folk, hope in the hearts of the wise,
For the happy life to follow, or death and the ending of lies.
Hope is awake in the faces angerless, now no more,
Till the new peace dawn on the world, the fruit of the people's war.

War in the world abroad a thousand leagues away,
While custom's wheel goes round and day devoureth day.
Peace at home!—what peace, while the rich man's mill is strife,
And the poor is the grist that he grindeth, and life devoureth life?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

II.—VALUE FORM OR EXCHANGE VALUE.

WE have seen what are the three kinds of value, and what is the nature of a commodity. In the study on which we now enter let us keep steadily in mind the fact that a commodity (such as we are about to consider under the processes of exchange) has use-value, and that it is also a value carrier. It possesses utility or satisfies a want. It has also embodied within it a certain amount of human labour.

Three equations will need investigation in this part of our work. Let us write them down at once, and then consider each of them carefully. (1) $x A = y B$; (2) $x A = y B = z C$, etc.; (3) $x A$ or $y B$ or $z C$, etc., = $w D$. The first of these is the expression for *simple* value-form, and represents that which takes place when exchange of commodities is rare—accidental. The second of these is the expression for the more *developed* value form, and represents that which takes place when barter is general. The third of these is the expression for *general* value form, and represents that which takes place when commodities are exchanged through the medium of a general equivalent known as money.

(1) $x A = y B$. Formula for the simple form of value. The meaning of this expression is that a certain number x of a certain commodity A are exchanged with a certain number y of another commodity B . Say one hundred matches are exchanged with two pipe-cleaners. In this particular case the x of the equation represents one hundred; the A represents matches; the y represents 2; the B represents pipe-cleaners.

The two commodities A and B (matches and pipe-cleaners, e.g.) play two different parts here. A expresses its value in terms of B . B serves as material for the expression of that value. A is, as it were, active; B is passive. A is the relative form; B is the equivalent form. These two forms, relative and equivalent, are the two poles of this first simple expression. If we reverse the order of the equation, and write $y B = x A$, B is now the relative form, A is the equivalent. B is now, as it were, active; A is passive. B now expresses its value in terms of A . A serves as material for the expression of that value.

In the expression $x A = y B$ we have a comparison of two quantities, x and y , of two different commodities, A and B . Such a quantitative comparison implies a qualitative unity between the commodities A and B . What is the one thing they have in common? Human labour is crystallised in them. It is this, and this alone, that makes quantitative comparison of them possible. It is not the fact that they both satisfy human wants that makes them quantitatively comparable. It is that they are both products of one and the same thing, abstract human labour.

Note one other thing before we leave this equation. The value of A is now expressed in terms of the use-value of B . The possessor of A wants to get rid of, to alienate, A . To him it has no use-value. But it has to him value. On the other hand, B , to the possessor of A , has a use-value. He wants B . To the possessor of B these values are of course reversed. His commodity B is to him value. The commodity A of the other is to him a use-value. This duality that comes out in the comparison of the two wares is in reality intrinsic to each of them. A has both value and use-value. B has both use-value and value.

To make quite clear this important relation of the equivalent form B to the relative form A , we may wisely take the illustration that Marx uses. So much sugar is balanced by a weight of iron. Now iron represents the weight only of the sugar. Nothing else. And B the equivalent form represents the value only of A , the relative form. Nothing else.

(2) $x A = y B = z C$, etc. Formula for the developed form of value. The meaning of this expression is that a certain number x of a certain commodity A are exchanged with a certain number y of a second commodity B , or with a certain number z of a third commodity C , and so on through the whole list of possible commodities. Say 100 matches are exchanged with 2 pipe-cleaners, or with 1 Pickwick cigar, etc. In this particular case x of the equation represents 100, A , matches; y represents 2, B , pipe-cleaners; z represents 1, C , Pickwicks. This is the form that is met with in ordinary barter. Any commodity can as yet be the relative form or the equivalent form. The value of a commodity, A , e.g., is the same no matter with how many different equivalents, as $y B$, $z C$, etc., it may be compared, and the exchange-value evidently does not regulate the value of the commodity, but on the other hand the value of the commodity regulates at present its exchange-value. The obvious difficulty with this form is that the series is never closed. The possible list of A , B , C , etc., of commodities is an endless one. Ere long, therefore, this second form glides into the third.

(3) $x A$, or $y B$, or $z C$, etc., = $w D$. The formula for the general form of value. The meaning of this expression is that a certain number x of a certain commodity A , or a certain number y of a second commodity B , or a certain number z of a third commodity C , are

each exchanged with the same number w of a general equivalent D . Following out our illustration, let us say that 100 matches, or 2 pipe-cleaners, or 1 Pickwick, are exchanged with one piece of the general equivalent, with $\frac{1}{100}$ of the unit, for instance.

Here, then, we meet with a commodity D in terms of which the value of all other commodities is to be expressed. This commodity is the general equivalent, or money. Money, or the general equivalent, can never enter into the relative form unless we reverse equation 3 and express the relative value of D in the interminable equivalent values of an infinite series of commodities. In doing this, in fact, equation 3 becomes equation 2 again.

By excluding from the position of equivalent all commodities but one, and by excluding it from the position of relative form, the possibility of a general and uniform expression for the relative values of all other commodities is given. This general equivalent only is in the position of exchangeability with all others. As products become commodities, one commodity is set apart to denote the reciprocal value of all commodities. And this one is money.

At first the choice of the particular commodity seems to be a chance matter. But as a rule two things decide. Either an imported article (such as gold) is used that reveals the exchange-value of home commodities, or some useful article (such as cattle, *pecus*, *pecunia*) that forms the chief element of home wealth is employed. Never must we forget that money has the three values. It is not a mere sign, as we are often told. It has use-value, for it satisfies human wants. It has exchange-value, as its main use tells us; and it has value, for it is the product of human labour. It is like every commodity, an incarnation of human labour, and its value, as that of other commodities, is determined by the time necessary for its production. (This includes its distribution to any particular place.)

The functions of the general equivalent, or money, or gold let us say, are next to be considered. Thus far we have only recognised one of these functions. We have seen that as general equivalent the commodity D functions as *measure of value*. To the expression for the value of a commodity in terms of the general equivalent is given the name "price." Price is the expression in terms of gold of the value of any commodity. But out of this first function springs another. The general equivalent becomes also a *standard of price*. Again, through the medium of gold, a metamorphosis of commodities takes place. The man that has commodity A , which is only value to him, acquires commodity B , which is a use-value to him. Thus the general equivalent functions as a *means of circulation*. Yet again the general equivalent may become a *means of payment*, as when, an interval of time elapsing between the alienation, or getting rid of a commodity, and the realisation of its price, the ideas of debtor and creditor come into play, and the general equivalent plays an ideal, abstract part, payments often balancing without so much as an ounce of gold changing hands. These four functions of the general equivalent as measure of value, as standard of price, as means of circulation, as means of payment will engage us next.

- $x A = y B$ Formula for rare, accidental exchange.
- $x A = y B = z C$, etc..... Formula for barter.
- $x A$ or $y B$ or $z C$, etc. = $w D$ Formula for exchange with general equivalent.
- Money (gold) General equivalent in which the relative value of other commodities is to be expressed.
- Price Expression of the value of a commodity in terms of the general equivalent.
- Functions of the general equivalent... (1) Measure of value; (2) Standard of price; (3) Means of circulation; (4) Means of payment.

EDWARD AVELING.

An article will appear shortly in the *Nineteenth Century* that we advise all friends to read. It is an account by a Russian, J. Goldsmith, of his reasons for "leaving his country." M. Goldsmith, for the great crime of publishing scientific and educational journals, in which articles by "exiles," if he thought them good, sometimes appeared, was persecuted for years by Mr. Gladstone's hero, the noble Czar; was exiled to Archangel ("the place God created in his anger," as the Russian saying has it), and has at length been driven to seek safety in flight from Holy Russia.

THE TONKIN WAR AND SOCIALISM.

WHEN the news reached Paris that the French troops were retreating before the Chinese, and that so hurriedly that the French army had abandoned a battery, and—even graver fact for bourgeois troops—the cash-box of the regiment, Paris went mad. The Chinese, who till then had been only grotesque figures, now presented themselves to French imaginations as terrible warriors, armed with all the destructive inventions of civilisation. There was but one cry, one spontaneous cry for the “execution” of Ferry; and thus poor Ferry, who had in spite of himself been dragged into the Tonkin war, was made the scapegoat.

And such was the anger of the crowd waiting outside the Palais Bourbon, that the Minister was obliged to wait for nightfall, to send for a ladder and escape from the Chamber of Deputies, across the garden, climbing over walls like a thief.

The majority in giving up Minister Ferry to the indignation of the populace thought it had done enough, and reckoned on appointing the next Ministry. During nearly ten days they caused every combination in which they did not rule to fail. M. Clémenceau and the Radicals under his orders on this occasion gave the full measure of their weakness and political imbecility; they remained in Parliament and looked on with perfect tranquillity at all the jobbery of the late Gambetta's followers. They proved themselves infinitely inferior even to the Radicals who in England have attempted to agitate the public against the policy of the Gladstone Cabinet.

Nevertheless the Socialist parties offered to help the Radical Left in a campaign. Every night, and in almost every quarter of Paris, the Socialists organised meetings in which they voted in favour of the demands of the Extreme Left, that is to say, the cessation of war and impeachment of the Ministry. It is true they added the confiscation of the property of all deputies who had voted for the Tonkin war to cover the expenses of the war. On the initiative of the *Cri du Peuple* a meeting of delegates from the Radical journals and the Socialist groups of Paris was held, demanding a large open-air manifestation.

In England and in America open-air meetings are common enough, and easy for an influential party to organise. But this is not the case in France, and especially in Paris. Popular open-air manifestations, because they deeply move an excitable population, have till now in France ended in revolutions, or they have prepared the fall of the governments under which they took place, as for example did the funeral of Victor Noir, assassinated by Pierre Bonaparte.

Therefore the Gambettists have tried hard to make all street manifestations distasteful to the people, and to attain this end they have had recourse to the Anarchists, who, egged on by the police (which always has numbers of *agents provocateurs* in its ranks), without any preparation called meetings in the street, and this by means of posters in which there was foolish talk of slaying and burning all and sundry. Naturally these mass meetings were characterised by the absence of the masses.

And assuredly at these meetings where the people were called together no one but Parisian loafers appeared. Sightseers, French and foreign, rushed thither to see what was going to happen, and what did happen was that the police, bored at having nothing better to do, charged these sightseers. Hence at these meetings the greater number of persons arrested were newspaper reporters and good bourgeois, anything but Revolutionists, who had to be discharged the next day. These ridiculous manifestations have disgusted the mass of the people with all open-air meetings. The Socialists at the meeting called by the *Cri du Peuple*, taking into account this feeling, thought that the only way to make the people come to an open-air meeting would be by inducing the deputies of the Extreme Left to convoke it. They therefore sent a delegation of twelve members to the Chamber of Deputies to try and make the Radical deputies understand that since they were being made fools of by the majority of the Chamber, they ought, together with the Socialist groups, to appeal to the people, in order to acquire the strength in which they were wanting.

But the Radicals fear the people far more than they fear the Opportunists; so they hastened to refuse any proposal of this kind. This refusal has exasperated not only Socialists, but the groups of Radical working men, who unfortunately are numerous in Paris and in France. The behaviour of these deputies will open their eyes, and will destroy the prestige of *messieurs les radicaux*.

Moreover, if the Radicals are not directly responsible for these international expeditions of brigandage that are called colonial wars, they are so indirectly. It is their narrow Chauvinism, their love of militarism, their desire to find new openings for commerce and French manufactures, that drives governments to launch into foreign wars, certain that they will conquer all votes if these succeed. Socialists, on the other hand, since they have recommenced their agitation in France—that is to say, for the

last six or seven years—have not ceased to protest energetically against all war adventures abroad, that could distract popular attention from social questions at home, and that might give prestige to the bourgeois government. Moreover, in France Socialists have quite a special reason for holding these colonial wars in horror, for the generals in command of these expeditions act with a barbarity that even surpasses that of European wars. And in the civil wars of France, in June 1848 and in May 1871, it was from amongst these butchers that the reactionists selected the generals who pitilessly massacred the people of Paris as they had massacred the Arabs of Africa and the Mexicans of America.

No capitalist nation can pretend to be safe from colonial wars, for the great question of modern industry is not to extend production, but to increase and to open up new markets. These wars are fatal for capitalist Europe. On the one hand they create and intensify the agitation in the interior; on the other they arm barbarians and the semi-civilised on the confines of civilisation. Capitalist Europe will in the near future succumb. It will be crushed between these two contrary forces, set into movement by itself.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

PROFESSOR PEARSON ON SOCIALISM.

ONE of the most cheering signs in connexion with the Socialist movement is the number of highly-educated and intelligent men who not only advocate more or less Socialistic measures for removing the glaring evils of poverty and overcrowding, but who openly avow the fact that such measures are Socialistic, and acknowledge that no others will meet the necessities of the case. Amongst this number we are glad to welcome Professor Karl Pearson, who, in a lecture entitled “Socialism in Theory and in Practice,” has stated some of the more salient points in a very clear and able manner, so clear, indeed, that we are utterly at a loss to conceive how any man who can do so—still less how a professor of one of the exact sciences—can at the same time put forward one particular view to which we shall presently advert. Putting aside this one fallacy, which will hardly mislead anyone, the pamphlet is well suited for distribution, and cannot fail to do good.

The important fact that the government of this country is in the hands of the capitalist class, and that those who work either with head or hand have very little influence in the House of Commons, is insisted on, and the natural result that all legislation is mainly in the interest of the governing class, is pointed out. The historical method of studying social questions is advocated, and the conclusion is drawn that society, to be tolerable, must be organised on the basis of labour—manual and intellectual—not on that of wealth; the general law being, in the latter case, “that the misery of the labouring classes is directly proportional to the luxury of the wealthy.” This is one of those fundamental points which cannot be too strongly insisted upon, and, fortunately, it is one which admits, not only of clear statement, but of equally clear and incontrovertible proof. All material things desirable for human existence, whether necessities, comforts, or luxuries, being produced by labour, it follows necessarily that the greater the number who live without labour, and the greater the luxury in which they live—in other words, the greater the prosperity of a country, as usually considered—the greater must be the tax on those who do labour, the greater the number of hours they have to work for others, and the fewer they are able to work for their own benefit.

Professor Pearson sees this, and has stated it very clearly; as, for instance, when he says: “We see now why the houses of the poor are deplorable—namely, because that labour which should be devoted to improving them is consumed in supplying the luxuries of the rich.” And yet, after this, he warns his readers “against Socialist teachers who talk loudly of ‘right’ and ‘justice,’” and answers the question, “Are not the labouring classes unjustly treated, and have they not a right to something better?” by saying, “I do not understand what such abstract justice or right means.” We have no fault to find with this statement; if he does not understand it he is quite right to say so; but we have some ground of complaint when he goes on to stigmatise those who do understand it, and who, accordingly, “are never weary of crying out that our present state of society is extremely unjust,” as being either ignorant, or “men who seek to win popularity from the working classes by appealing to their baser passions.” The learned professor is probably a recent convert to Socialism, and can look back to a time not far distant when he did not understand the economic side of the problem; if so he might have reflected before throwing hard names at other people that further study might enable him to understand the ethics of the question also, as we have little doubt will be the case if he will condescend to read attentively the earlier writings of even such an ignorant demagogue as Herbert Spencer. There are obviously two branches to this question. First, and most important: Is the present state of things unjust? And secondly: Is it well to say so? To the solution of the first question, Prof. Pearson contributes nothing whatever beyond saying that he does not know what abstract justice means; but he devotes a good deal of space to the second, which he answers in the negative, because, as he says, the alternative answer would only tend to forcible revolution, and such revolutions are never in the long run successful. The first question, whether human beings as such, have rights, would take too long to discuss here, but we hope Prof. Pearson will pursue his studies further in this direction, suggesting as a preliminary step that

he should consider whether murder is a crime simply because it is forbidden by law, or whether it would be so equally on some desolate island where no law existed. From that he may go on to consider slighter and more complex cases of interference with person or property, and in due time may arrive at the conclusion that there must be laws of ethics as certain as those of mathematics, though the factors in any given problem may be more complicated. On the second question, his reasoning appears to us to be as inconclusive, as it is lacking in regard to the first. We entirely agree with him that "the education of the so-called upper or wealthy classes (on this subject) is an imperative necessity;" and we ask him what more potent factor in that education can be conceived than a demonstration that those who are living on the labour of others are acting unjustly? Those amongst these classes who desire to do what is right will need no further argument, and even those who are careless of any one's interests but their own, will be inclined to listen to reason when they find that those others are awaking to the sense of their rights. Then with regard to the workers themselves, unless we are very much mistaken, they would scorn to live in comfort on the *charity* of others, and it can only be either as a matter of charity or of justice that they receive a larger share of the proceeds of their own labour. If they are not justly entitled to it, they will neither demand nor accept it; but if they are entitled, why should they not demand it? As to the evils of forcible revolutions, and their apparent failure, we believe both are generally exaggerated; or if not, the evils which led to them, and their good results are too much left out of sight. But it does not at all follow that men who are aware of their rights will always violently insist upon them. As a matter of fact many of those who are the most firmly persuaded that Socialism rests on a moral basis are also the most desirous of avoiding violence. They know there must be a revolution, but they know also that it must first be a mental one, or a physical one would be hopeless; and in proportion as the mental one is complete will all danger of a sanguinary one be averted. We hope Professor Pearson may yet do good service in aiding this mental revolution, but any efforts which do not rest on a basis of justice will have as little success now as they have had for the last 1800 years.

FRANK FAIRMAN.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The subjoined paragraph from the Manchester *Evening News* is a fine sample of modern philanthropic Commercialism. It is a pity the Mahdi does not understand Political Economy. "If we can do anything to rescue the poor Soudanis and Arabs from the accursed rule of the Pacha and the Kourbash, and give them the blessings of English Government, we ought, on grounds of commonest humanity, to do it. The Soudan might have been a profitless possession to Egypt, but it would be profitable enough to those who would govern it wisely and humanely. If a Pacha, in the course of three years, can squeeze £60,000 out of the helpless people of Khartoum, and if 'some of the merchants who sit all day in their little stalls in the bazaar are really millionaires, and could buy up many of our London merchant princes,' there must be many opportunities for making money in the Soudan, and under English rule it would prove a valuable opening for English commerce. The money which now swells the ill-gotten gains of Pachadom would then, by the legitimate operations of trade, find its way among our English manufacturers and workmen. The Berber railway may yet repay our military sacrifices." Amen.—W. S.

The infamous Ferry is at last exposed in some measure. He has been hooted and branded as a liar. The following passage from the address of the International on the Commune of 1871 reads significantly. The Radicals of England in 1871 were righteously indignant with Marx for his pitiless denunciation of Ferry. Let them say now whether he was not in the right. "Jules Ferry, a penniless barrister before the 4th of September, contrived, as Mayor of Paris during the siege, to job a fortune out of famine. The day on which he would have to give an account of his mal-administration would be the day of his conviction."

M. Vambéry is to deliver lectures on "Herat from a Commercial and Industrial Point of View." It will go hard but the English capitalists, Shylocks in all the bad and in none of the good qualities, "will better his instruction."

The new book by Stepniak, "Russia under the Tzars," will appear about the beginning of May. Socialists who know how much Stepniak has worked for and suffered in the cause of Freedom will be eager to see a work that promises to be even more interesting than his "Underground Russia."

Some of our readers will remember the part played of late years in our "politics" by Mr. Gladstone's Egeria, Olga Novikoff. A certain cocotte, Mademoiselle Valtesse (Mademoiselle, because she had as many husbands as Solomon had wives), is, it seems, at the bottom of the shameful Tonkin expedition. It was she who suggested the idea to Gambetta. Mlle. Valtesse, surnamed "The Union of Painters," because at her house a number of painters found feeding accommodation and sleeping, prompted by certain speculators, announced *urbi et orbe* that gold could be picked up for the stooping at Tonkin. When the expedition was discussed in the Chamber, the same speculators proved that there was at Tonkin enough precious metal to make all investors millionaires. Gambetta repeated the lesson learned from Mlle. Val-

tesse, and really believed he had hit on a means of saving his fast-waning *prestige*. Gambetta dead, M. Ferry accepted his policy. Hence the whole shameful "war." Mdme. Novikoff and Mlle. Valtesse! *Vive l'ordre et la famille!*

In delivering his charge, the Bishop of Bath and Wells said that the growth of Socialism was deeply affecting both the Church and the State. Opinions were now widely spread utterly inconsistent with notions of property, and the people were demoralised by their prevalence. Several recent Acts of the Legislature appeared to have sprung from this loosened sense of the sanctity of the rights of property, and to have prepared the way for still greater departure from ancient principles. A school of thought had arisen whose scheme for getting rid of poverty and removing all social inequalities, was for the State, by an act of confiscation and plunder, to take possession of the land, to abolish private property, and to divide the produce of the soil among the people, and this insane and iniquitous scheme actually found favour with a large number of working men, alike blind to the first principles of honesty and their own interests, and even, indeed, with some clergymen. Such a spirit was one of the most dangerous features of the present time, and if it were to spread it would be the destruction of Society.—E. A.

In declaring for Socialism another member of the "respectable" class has fallen out of the ranks, and denounces the competitive system roundly. Says Mr. Charles Rowley, jun., of Manchester, in his *Social Politics*: "Let us each decide what is just in the matter, and then give ourselves no rest until we achieve, or help to achieve, a better state. Our supineness on most of these vital social questions is simply incredible. Why do we sleep in our beds when we know that there are shipowners who send ships and men to sea for the sole purpose of being lost? The facts are incontrovertible, and yet we never hang a shipowner, or a stink maker, or an air poisoner, or a polluter of rivers, or a mill owner who fattens on a high death-rate among children. We hang a few poor and wicked wretches who are born so and who are made so by our vicious arrangements. The real criminals escape, and yet we know them and know their guilt." So we do, Mr. Rowley, and yet they escape. But be of good cheer! The time is evidently coming when we shall "suit the word to the action and the action to the word." Then a thief will be called a thief and treated accordingly. This "better state" we hope and think you will help us to achieve.—W. M.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Socialism of To-Day. By EMILE DE LAVELEYE. Translated by G. H. Orpen. Field and Tuer.—This is a translation of Laveleye's well-known work, "Le Socialisme Contemporain." The space at our disposal will not permit us to enter upon an elaborate criticism of the *bourgeois* economist's in many respects distorted exposition of the different phases of modern Socialism. Needless to say, we have all the hack apologetics of the capitalist advocate trotted out. M. de Laveleye's mild refutations of scientific economics are, however, really entertaining reading, and may serve, with those acquainted with the subject, to while away the tedium of a railway journey for half-an-hour or so. Our unconsciously ironical Belgian can have some sort of sympathy for the French Utopists, Fourier, Proudhon, etc. They are, after all, amiable visionaries, who have often denounced Jacobin atrocities, and can't do much harm. But these dry, hard, logical German chaps—no, they're not nice. M. de Laveleye finds refuge in the gospel, and concludes the chapter with a sermon extolling the ethics of inwardness and personal reformation *v.* the dreadfully demoralising doctrines of economic revolutionists. Turning to Mr. Orpen's share of the present work, his translation, we may observe, is worthy of a better original. The appendix, on the Socialist movement in England, shows an evident desire to be fair, though it is not always entirely accurate as to facts. It might be made fuller with advantage in a second edition.

E. B. B.

Social Politics. By CHARLES ROWLEY, JUN. John Heywood, Manchester.—There is an allusion in the "Signs of the Times" to this pamphlet, which is undoubtedly a sign of the times, and a cheering one. Mr. Rowley is by no means mealy-mouthed, and the two sentences printed on the inside of the cover show that he has grasped the essential fact of the class struggle, and knows that the worker's lot cannot really be bettered except at the expense of the exploiters. It is a pity, since this is the case, that he should have taken the word "expansion of England" into his mouth except to condemn it, and that he favours emigration as a remedy for class evils, if he really means this. If those who are most keenly stung by the evils of class domination, and at the same time have energy to resist them, leave the country which is the very forge of class domination, their desertion will surely put off the Revolution which Mr. Rowley desires, and make it more disorderly when it comes, as it must come. "The expansion of England" means the expansion of capital; that is to say, the spreading to other countries and the perpetuation in our own of those horrors, of that death in life, which Mr. Rowley so forcibly and sincerely attacks. Of course the expanded England of Professor Seeley is by no means this England which Mr. Rowley hopes for, and which will be certainly attained at some time, but by no road that goes roundabout to avoid the entire abolition of classes.—W. M.

"We have too much rather than too little labour. . . . The business world has been labouring under the effects of over-production—production which has paid the labour engaged directly upon it, but left little for rent and interest on capital."—*Trade and Finance*. Despite the economical falsehood in the last phrase, the two earlier statements are significant.



MONTHLY REPORT.

During the past month regular Branch meetings have been held and lectures delivered. A number of new adherents have joined at the Central Office and at the Branches. The Lessons at South Place Institute have been resumed after a suspension of two weeks; the second series will be commenced on 30th April, and continued on the six succeeding Thursday evenings. The syllabus of the second series will be:—On April 30th—Production of absolute and relative surplus-value. Changes in price of labour-power and surplus-value. Wages. Time-wage. Piece-wage. Wages in different nations..... May 7th—Process of accumulation. Simple reproduction. Capitalistic process of production on a larger scale. Capital and value. Abstinence theory. Labour fund..... May 14th—Increasing demand for labour-power. Over-population. Industrial reserve army. Different forms of this surplus-population. General law of capitalistic accumulation..... May 21st—Illustration of the Law from English History..... May 28th—Primary accumulation. Its secret. Expropriation of the English people from the land. The bloody legislation against them. Capitalistic farmers. Agriculture. Industrial Capitalists. The Colonial System..... June 4th—Recapitulation. Wages, Abstinence, Over-population, Accumulation, Land, Colonisation. In future the admission to the lessons will be free. On June 11th a social evening will be held, the arrangements for which will be announced in the next issue of the *Commonweal*.

William Morris' "Chants for Socialists" have been printed in a neat 16pp. demy octavo pamphlet at one penny. The "Socialist Platform" series will begin with "The Class Struggle," by Edward Aveling, after which will come "Useful Work and Useless Toil," by William Morris, and "Love and Hunger," by Andreas Scheu.

The Socialist League determined to move a rider to the first resolution at the meeting against the Soudan War held in St. James's Hall on April 2nd. Comrades Morris and Mowbray were told off to move and second the rider, which ran thus:—

"And that this meeting believes that the invasion of the Soudan has been prompted solely by the desire to exploit the country in the interests of capitalists and stock-jobbers; and warns the working classes that such wars will always take place until they (the workers) unite throughout the civilised world, and take their own affairs into their own hands."

The audience was attentive and moderately enthusiastic against the war—any reference to the cause of which was carefully avoided in the resolution. Mr. Bradlaugh from the chair opened the meeting, and was followed by Prof. Beesley, Mr. Storey, Prof. Thorold Rogers, and Mr. N. L. Ghose. In spite of the inspiring subject, the speaking was on the whole below the average: Mr. Storey's speech was the staidest, and Mr. Bradlaugh's the most conventional; Mr. Thorold Rogers alone made a vigorous and pointed speech, justly throwing the onus of the war on the sluggishness of the whole British people who have permitted it to be undertaken and continued. He also, using partly the words of our Manifesto, pointed out the large share which Gordon's treacherous conduct had in bringing about the invasion, and his remarks on this point were received with applause by the greater part of the audience. At the close of Mr. Ghose's somewhat dreary speech, the Chairman announced, without reading out, our rider, and said that he would allow the mover and seconder five minutes each. This promise he broke by calling Morris to time after he had spoken a few sentences, which were reported verbatim by the *Daily News* next day, and can only be spun out to something less than two minutes. There was no excuse for this unfairness on the Chairman's part, as the audience was quite prepared to give a fair hearing to our speakers; the reading of the rider was interrupted by widespread applause, the mention of the Socialist League was well received, and so were the few words spoken by Morris. The mover protesting against the Chairman's unfairness, Mr. Bradlaugh offered to let him speak through the seconder's time if the latter would give it up. This he (very reasonably) declined to do, and Morris was compelled to retire. Mowbray was then allowed to speak for his allotted time, after which the chairman rose and announced that "we cannot accept the rider;" thus dictating to what was supposed to be a free public meeting. He then called on Mrs. Besant to oppose the rider. This lady, called on to answer arguments which Mr. Bradlaugh had forbidden the meeting to listen to, made but a poor job of it, and would scarcely have had a cheer till the close of her speech if she had not quoted the last sentence of the rider, which was received with loud applause. After she had concluded, she of course received the applause that politeness usually awards to a lady. Though Morris asked the chairman to allow a brief answer to Mrs. Besant, and John Burns (S.D.F.) attempted to reach the platform and speak, this slight indulgence to freedom of discussion before a good tempered and more or less sympathetic audience was refused by the chairman, who then put the rider (again without reading it). As matter of course, after such treatment, it was rejected. The only other remarkable event of the meeting was the uproarious applause which greeted Mr. Labouchere's rising to move the second resolution, compared with which Mr. Bradlaugh's reception was cool. This seemed to indicate a large contingent of Northampton voters, which makes the reception by the audience of our speakers the more encouraging. A considerable number of the *Commonweal* was sold at the hall doors, and the Soudan War Manifesto was widely distributed. In considering their delegates' report of the meeting, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—"This meeting of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League considers the action of Mr. Bradlaugh as Chairman of the St. James's Hall meeting of 2nd April to have been a flagrant breach of faith towards a delegate of the League, and in future resolves to treat Mr. Bradlaugh in accordance with this consideration of his conduct on that occasion."—W. M.

PEACE-WAR MEETING.—A well-attended gathering at South Place Institute on Thursday, April 23, passed with one dissentient the following resolutions:—

"That this meeting denounces the aggressions on the peoples of Egypt and the Soudan, which have occasioned such wrong, waste and slaughter, and sympathises heartily with the brave men, women and children who have offered such dauntless resistance to Tyranny. It considers all this robbery and violence to be only the necessary outcome of the system of commercial exploitation, which in one way or another curses all the countries of the world, and it calls on all workers to resist such policy to the utmost, and to combine for the final removal of the causes which produce it."

"That this meeting recognises in the endeavour to impose upon the English people an 'imperial policy' an attempt on the part of the ruling classes to get rid of the most glaring outgrowth of the commercial system, by planting its victims in the soil of unexploited regions and of colonies already in the grasp of Capitalism, in order

to extend the area and prolong the existence of this system so fruitful of misery and degradation to the workers. Furthermore, that this policy of Commercial Patriotism, if persistently pursued, must inevitably entangle the Government of this country with the contending Governments of other countries, to result in war and bloodshed, the burden of which will have to be borne by the working classes of the world, who have neither wish nor cause for quarrel among themselves."

William Morris was in the chair. The first resolution was proposed by Joseph Lane, and seconded by the veteran E. T. Craig, who left a sick bed to attend the meeting. An amendment denouncing the Arabs as merciless and lawless found no seconder. John Burns, of the Social Democratic Federation, and Edward Aveling, supported the original resolution. The second resolution was proposed by Frank Kitz, seconded by Eleanor Marx Aveling, and supported by C. Mowbray, H. H. Champion (S.D.F.), and Andreas Scheu.

REPORTS.

TOWER HAMLETS.—A lecture was delivered on April 19th at the Tower Hamlets Radical Association, by David Nicoll, on "Socialism and Political Economy." The audience, though small, was very appreciative, and listened attentively to the lecture, after which a few questions were asked, and answered by the lecturer.

LEEDS BRANCH.—The usual meetings have been held on Sunday afternoons at Vicar's Croft, and have been very successful. The Branch meets every Wednesday evening at 54 Myrtle Street, where communications may be addressed to the Secretary, T. Maguire.

WOOLWICH.—The Woolwich Socialists took to open-air propaganda on March 28. We started with an address on "The Aims of the Socialists," R. Banner speaking for an hour to a large audience, and D. J. Nicoll, acting as chairman, closed the meeting with a stirring speech, which enabled us to sell over 30 copies of the *Commonweal*. On April 5, J. L. Mahon spoke on "Property," but the cold being too severe for the people to withstand, we had to dissolve the meeting after having spoken for 30 minutes. On the 12th, A. Scheu spoke on the "Labour Question" to a very large gathering, numbering several hundreds towards the close of the meeting. He gave a graphic picture of the condition of the so-called "free" labourer under the rule of King Capital, that went home to all. Referring to the determination of Capitalists at home to extend their markets abroad, he appealed to the meeting to denounce the Soudan butchery as a war undertaken in the interests of profit-hunters. A few questions were put at the close of the meeting, and brought forth some able replies, which were of a striking and convincing character. Thirty-two copies of the *Commonweal* were sold.—R. B.

EDINBURGH BRANCH (Scottish Land and Labour League).—We have had lectures every Saturday evening this month. April 4th, the lecture was, "What the English do for India." Briefly, the lecturer's answer was—Plunder it. 11th, Mr. Traill's subject, "The Prospect of Socialism," drew a good attendance and led to an instructive discussion. 18th, M. Melliet-Prévôt concluded his reminiscences of the Commune of Paris. People in Edinburgh wishing to learn the aims of Socialists should visit the Hall, 20 Picardy Place, on Saturdays, at 7.30, when lectures are given, and literature on the subject can be purchased. Persons desiring to join the League should communicate with the Secretary, at 20 Picardy Place, Edinburgh.

REGENT'S PARK.—The open-air lectures were begun on Sunday, 19th April. The first meeting was a large and orderly gathering of people, who listened attentively for an hour and a half to some animated speeches by comrades Wade, Mahon, and Nicoll.

MILE END.—At Swaby's Discussion Room on 5th April, Comrade Scheu took part in a debate on Socialism, rousing considerable interest by his brief speech. On the 12th, Comrade Mahon attended and opened the debate in a crowded room. An interesting discussion followed, and it was evident that the feeling of the audience was generally in favour of the Revolutionary views which had been advocated.

SHOREDITCH.—At the Town Hall, on the 21st April, Albert Grey, M.P., delivered a lecture on "Industrial Partnership," the Bishop of Bedford presiding. The audience consisted chiefly of a number of Socialists, who attended to discuss the lecturer's views. Although questions only were invited, a long discussion ensued, with the result of disturbing the Bishop and making the M.P. rather uncomfortable. The evening was profitably spent, and if M.P.'s would more often visit the East-end of London, they would benefit considerably by the teachings of the working men.

HAMMERSMITH BRANCH.—Meetings have been held twice a week, as is usual here. Those held on Sunday evenings have been well attended. Comrades William Morris, W. Bridges Adams, Leonard Hill, and Andreas Scheu have been the lecturers. Several new members have joined during the month.—E. W., Sec.

MERTON ABBEY BRANCH.—On 17th April, Comrade Theodore lectured on "The Wage-Slaves' Struggle for Emancipation," giving a review of the development of the Socialist movement, and showing that this emancipation struggle of the modern wage-slaves, by force of consequence, must inevitably end in triumph over the present Capitalistic society. The lecturer was warmly cheered at the conclusion, and hopes were expressed that he would soon come again. On 24th April, Comrade Mahon lectured on "Politicians and Socialists," his uncompromising antagonism to all things political meeting with approval.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.—On Thursday, April 16, Edward Aveling, in concluding the first course, gave a recapitulation of the past seven lessons on Value, Money, Capital, Surplus-Value, Working day, Co-operation, Manufacture and Machinery. The class was well attended.

LECTURE DIARY: May, 1885.

[H. HALLIDAY, Lecture Secretary.]

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.—Two speakers every Sunday at Hoxton, Islington, Canning Town and Notting Hill.

HOXTON BRANCH (L.E.L.), Academy Schools, Hoxton Street, 8 p.m.—3rd, J. Lane, "The National Loaf;" 10th, A. Scheu, "Source of Wealth and Cause of Poverty;" 17th, J. L. Mahon, "Politicians and Socialists;" 24th, H. Halliday, "The Blind Samson;" 31st, W. J. Clark, "Imperialism and Democracy."

MILE END BRANCH, 110 Whitehorse Street, Stepney, 8.30 p.m.—3rd, A. Scheu, "Source of Wealth and Cause of Poverty;" 10th, W. J. Clark, "Imperialism and Democracy;" 17th, C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. the People;" 24th, W. Morris, "Work: as it is and as it might be;" 31st, J. L. Mahon, "Politicians and Socialists."

NOTTING HILL BRANCH, "Magdala Castle," Blechynden Street, 8 p.m.—3rd, W. J. Clark, "Imperialism and Democracy;" 10th, H. Halliday, "The Blind Samson;" 17th, David Nicoll, "The Coming Revolution;" 24th, J. Lane, "The National Loaf;" 31st, A. Scheu, "Socialism and Capitalism."

HAMMERSMITH BRANCH, Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, 8 p.m.—3rd, Edward Aveling, "Capital and Surplus-value;" 10th, W. Morris, "How can we Help?" 17th, W. J. Clark, "Imperialism and Democracy;" 24th, A. Scheu, "Marx and Blanqui;" 31st, H. Charles, "Society v. State."

MANCHESTER.—Open-air meetings every Sunday at 6.30 p.m., at the Viaduct, Chester Road, Hulme.

EDINBURGH.—Every Saturday, at 7.30 p.m., Picardy Hall, 20 Picardy Place.
MERTON ABBEY, High Street, Merton, 8 p.m.—1st, Chas. Theodore; 8th, William Morris, "How can we Help?" 15th, J. L. Mahon, "The Future of the Socialist Propaganda;" 22nd, Andreas Scheu, "Love and Hunger;" 29th, David Nicoll, "Socialism and Political Economy."

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UNATTRACTIVE LABOUR.

FOR our purpose of considering the relations of labour to industrial art, the wares made at the present day, the articles made for the market that is, may be divided into two classes—those that have some pretensions to be considered ornamental, and those that have not. The latter, I suppose, is much the larger class; but at any rate the important thing to remember is that there is this difference. Now it seems to me necessary to understand that everything made by man must be either ugly or beautiful. Neutrality is impossible in man's handiwork. But in times past, before the commercial age, it did not follow that a piece of handiwork was ugly because it did not aim at being ornamental; it had a certain use, which it fulfilled, and at the same time, without apparent effort of the maker, it was beautiful. *It grew so*, one may say, exactly as a piece of Nature does. That is far from being the case now. In the wares which are made for utility only, it is rare that you find any beauty of form; they have a natural tendency to grow ugly, like a London starveling has. Even in the commonest things, such as fences in fields and other simple agricultural appliances, except for a few survivals, matters which have accidentally clung to old traditions, ugliness is the rule. An ordinary house, or piece of furniture or of attire, is not only not beautiful, it is aggressively and actively ugly, and we assume as a matter of course that it must be so. And if we have a mind for any beauty (or pretence of it), we must make a definite effort; we must give our orders for an ornamental article to be made for us. And I may say, in passing, that, order as we please, we cannot always get our order executed. The sense of beauty and power of expressing it, under the present circumstances, is one of the rarest of gifts, so that the ordinary public have to put up with such pretence to beauty as the so-called ornamental class of wares can furnish to them. Therefore, while the rich man, by spending much money, can gather about him a certain amount of beauty, and while the man of moderate means may be able to attain the same end by taking an infinitude of trouble, the working man, who has no time to take trouble and no money to enable him to dispense with it, must put up with the lack of beauty altogether. Here, then, is a strange thing, that whereas in the pre-commercial ages we had beauty without paying for it, it has now become an article of the market, and, like most other market articles, is so shamefully adulterated that we can scarcely buy it even for our money.

I know that to many people this will seem a small matter, because only those (and how few they are!) who can make their surroundings decent can understand the full horror, the dulness and poverty of life which it involves. For my part, having regard to the general happiness of the race, I say without shrinking that the bloodiest of violent revolutions would be a light price to pay for the righting of this wrong.

For this is not a matter of accident, but springs from the the form which the slavery of the many has taken in our days. It is but one of the consequences of wage-slavery. Until that wage-slavery was completed and crowned by the revolution of the great machine industries, there was some attractiveness in the work of the artisan. There is now none, or next to none; and the reason why the ornamental wares above-mentioned are so adulterated is because the very ornament itself is but a part of the machine labour, made to sell, and not for use, whether it be done by human machines or non-human ones. It is no exaggeration to say that our civilisation has destroyed the attractiveness of labour, and that by more means than one: by lengthening the hours of labour: by intensifying the labour during its continuance; by the forcing of the workmen into noisy, dirty, crowded factories; by the aggregation of the population into cities and manufacturing districts, and the consequent destruction of all beauty and decency of surroundings; by the levelling all intelligence and excellence of workmanship by means of machinery, and the consequent gradual extinction of the skilled craftsman. All this is the exact contrary of the conditions under which the spontaneous art of past ages was produced. Our forefathers of the Middle Ages worked shorter hours than we do (even since the passing of the Factory Acts) and had more holidays. They worked deliberately and thoughtfully as all artists do; they worked in their own homes and had plenty of elbow room; the unspoiled country came up

to their very doors and, except in their dreams of hell—if even there—they could have had no conception of the glories of the Black Country or South Lancashire, which I heard a famous demagogue the other night enumerating among the blessings of peace, such peace as he could conceive of. Finally, all their work depended on their own skill of hand and invention, and never failed to show signs of that in its beauty and fitness; it was even thought wrong to cheat people by adulteration of goods, so that (strange to say) good work was creditable to the worker.

Thus the development of the commercial system crowned by the revolution of the great machine industries has deprived us of the attractiveness of labour, and as far as it could of the beauty of the earth. What, then, has it left us? The hope of revolution, of the transformation of civilisation, now become on the face of it a mere corruption and curse to the world, into Socialism, which will set free the hands and minds of men for the production and safe-guarding of the beauty of life.

I have said that our mediæval forefathers worked shorter hours than we do; but yet they worked far too long, and of course suffered from their special form of slavery, that is serfdom, and other arbitrary violence of the privileged classes, and their chances of successful rebellion were pretty much *nil*. It was necessary that they should struggle upwards till they formed a middle-class and created commerce with its proletariat doomed to ceaseless unattractive dull labour, in place of the old yeoman and craftsguildsman with his pleasant easy-going work. Nevertheless, it is that proletariat only that can make good the claim of workmen to their share of art, without which no art can live long.

It is no real paradox to say that the unattractiveness of labour which is now the curse of the world will become the hope of the world. As long as the workman could sit at home, working easily and quietly, his long hours of labour mattered little to him, and other evils could be borne. Those evils, too, were visible and palpable to everyone and external to their lives; and the remedies were not far to seek. Peace instead of violence, equal rights before the law, these were things which people might hope their very masters would try to win for them.

But now that labour has become a mere burden, the disease of a class, that class will, by all means, try to throw it off, to lessen its weight, and in their efforts to do so they must of necessity destroy society, which is founded on the patient bearing of that burden. For there is no longer, as in the days of feudal violence, any means of relieving them of the burden while our present society exists. True, their masters, taught prudence by fear, will try, are trying, various means to make the workers bear their burden; but one after the other they will be found out and discredited. Philanthropy has had its day and is gone; thrift and self-help are going; participation in *profits*, parliamentarism and universal suffrage, State Socialism will have to go the same road, and the workers will be face to face at last with the fact that modern civilisation with its elaborate hierarchy and iron drill is founded on their intolerable burden, and then no shortening of the day's work which would leave profit to the employer will make their labour hours short enough. They will see that modern society can only exist as long as they bear their burden with some degree of patience, their patience will be worn out, and to pieces will modern society go.

And I repeat, that to my mind the unattractiveness of labour, which has been the necessary outcome of commercial industry, will have played a great part in this revolution; the price which commercialism will have to pay for depriving the worker of his share of art will be its own death.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE SOLIDARITY OF LABOUR.

BY A TRADES UNIONIST.

IN an article in last month's *Commonweal* I endeavoured to show that our Trades Unions were now little else than "buffers" between Labour and Capital; that they were wasting their efforts in miserable makeshifts and paltry political expedients instead of recognising the solidarity of Labour and organising for its emancipation from the slavery of Capitalism. I shall now call the attention of my fellow-workmen to one or two points which seriously hinder our progress. In the first place, unfortunately, our efforts and

sympathies are circumscribed. Instead of regarding every worker as a comrade, and uniting to raise the *status* of all, we think only of our interests as tailors, shoemakers, bricklayers, compositors, etc. This of itself is a sufficiently serious matter. Thoughtful men will easily understand, even if they have not experienced, the disastrous effect of want of unity in the case of associated trades, and a little reflection will show that the interdependence of all our Unions is as real as that of the regiments which compose an army. To me it seems as absurd to stand idly by and see a Union of Workers vanquished by the Capitalists as for an army to allow itself to be cut to pieces in detachments. There is, however, another and a worse evil resulting from the lack of *solidarity*, namely the fostering of a spirit of *caste*. Thus we have classes of workers—the head workers looking down upon the artisan, and the artisan in turn looking down upon the labourer. And these classes are subdivided into various grades. The monopolists of course encourage these divisions, as by the same rule that the artisan claims a higher remuneration for his labour than that of what is termed the unskilled worker, the monstrous incomes obtained by the *exploiters* and the enormous salaries paid to governors, generals, bishops, lawyers, and other officials are justified and upheld.

I ask the careful attention of my fellow-workmen to the following comparison of labour-values:—

MONOPOLISTS.*			WAGE-SLAVES.	
Official.	Salary.	One year's work (?) Equal to.	Artisan. Wage £80 per year. Years of Labour.	Labourer. Wage £50 per year. Years of Labour.
The Queen	£60,000	..	750	1,200
Prince of Wales	40,000	..	500	800
Master of the Horse (Duke of Westminster)	2,500	..	31	50
Master of the Buckhounds (Earl of Cork)	1,700	..	21	34
Black Rod	2,000	..	25	40
Hereditary Grand Falconer (Duke of St. Albans)	1,200	..	15	24
Captain of Yeomen of the Guard (Lord Monson)	1,200	..	15	24
Groom of the Robes	800	..	10	16
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	20,000	..	250	400
Ambassador to Paris	10,000	..	125	200
Commercial Attaché do	1,200	..	15	24
Consuls	500 to 1,000	..	6 to 12	10 to 20
Duke of Cambridge	22,000	..	275	440
Lieutenant-Generals	1,800	..	22	36
Admirals	3,500	..	43	70
Archbishop of Canterbury	15,000	..	186	300
Dean of Canterbury	2,000	..	25	40
Canons	1,000	..	12	20
Lord Chancellor	10,000	..	125	200
Lord Chief Justice	8,000	..	100	160
Judges	5,000 to 6,000	..	62 to 75	100 to 120
Magistrates	1,500	..	18	30
Chief Secretaries of State	5,000	..	62	100
Heads of Departments	2,000	..	25	40
Average pay of the whole class of minor officials	800	..	10	16

In the above list I have omitted capitalists, landlords, stock exchange sharpers, burglars, etc., because these classes simply plunder as much as they can lay hands on, and though the contrast between a great landowner or mine-owner, with a revenue of £100,000 a year, and the poor agricultural labourer or pitman, dragging out a miserable existence on 12s. or 14s. per week, might be more sensational, my purpose is to deal with the question from the purely practical standpoint of a comparison of labour-values. I contend that the table given above, which understates the disparity really existing, is a most striking condemnation of our present-day civilisation, and is proof of the profound degradation and abject flunkeyism engendered by commercialism. How can freedom and fraternity flourish in a community which permits—nay, fosters—such frightful social inequality? What are we to think of men who submit to give fifty years' hard and continuous labour in exchange for a few months' service (often useless, if not mischievous) of some fellow man? Yet, so enslaved and corrupted are numbers of the people, in a great measure owing to our venal press, which holds up these superior beings as models of virtue and industry, that not only are they content to be thus shamelessly plundered, but they look up with

* A Monoplist is one who is able to force others to perform more labour for him than he does for them in return.

reverence and awe to, or blindly prostrate themselves before, the gods whom they have themselves created. We Socialists are continually met with the objection that we would place the skilled mechanic and labourer on a level. So deeply has the degrading *bourgeois* spirit permeated society that Trades Unionists, even though they call themselves Radicals and Republicans, and whilst they might be willing to level down to themselves, still cherish the snobbish conviction that they are a superior *caste* to the labourer. I contend that the only equitable and rational basis for the exchange of labour is that of quantity—measure for measure; that the division of labour into skilled and unskilled is arbitrary and illogical; that all labour that is necessary for the subsistence of society—according to the standard of comfort determined by the stage of development reached by the community—is of equal importance; and that no one is entitled to, or ought to wish for more, than his share of the common produce. Skill is, after all, chiefly the facility derived from practice and experience with which special kinds of work is done, and it is absurd to limit the term only to manufacture. The old recipe to cook a hare is prefaced with the injunction, "First catch your hare." In the same way, before the skill of the artisan or mechanic can be exerted, we must first get our raw material. Manual labour is, therefore, the very basis of existence, and in the getting of that raw material—the felling of timber, the quarrying of stone, the getting of minerals, etc., etc.—surely skill is equally as much exerted as in the handling of tools in the processes of manufacture. I doubt not, too, that many of us would discover that there is an art even in carrying the hod. Those who argue for the superiority of their own particular work conveniently assume that those engaged in what they consider inferior occupations are fit only for that particular kind of labour; they entirely overlook the fact that fitness is rarely taken into account, and choice seldom exercised in determining the avocations of the great mass of the workers. The tendency of the present chaotic state of society is to crush out individuality and arrest the development of special abilities by stereotyping, as it were, classes of workers—sons succeeding fathers, as a rule, in the particular labour *caste* in which they were born. It should be borne in mind, too, that production now-a-days becomes more and more complex. The introduction of machinery tends constantly to reduce the importance of individual skill and to make the creation of wealth depend mainly on collective effort. In fact, the skilled workman of yesterday may become the labourer of to-morrow, or he may be dispensed with entirely, and his place supplied by a machine watched by a woman or child. Thus while slight variations of skill or labour-power may exist between man and man, the average production of any hundred or thousand men will be pretty nearly the same. In any case, the difference in capacity between two different sets of workers is no greater than the difference between individuals in one common employment. The conclusions, therefore, at which I arrive are (1) that the production of wealth being socialised, so ought also to be the distribution; (2) that all useful work is equally honourable; (3) that the united labour of all being capable of producing enough for each, and no one requires more than enough, the highest interest of the workers demands the recognition of the solidarity of labour and the speedy abolition of the absurd *caste* spirit unhappily still so potent a factor for evil in our ranks.

It is curious to note that the *superior* people who justify the system whereby those who to-day do the hardest and most disagreeable work get the least pay, and whose feelings are shocked by the notion of a state of society in which the services of the labourer should be valued as highly as their own—are the same people who are so anxious to know how the hard and dirty work is to be done in a Socialistic State. It is not within the scope of this article to discuss the whole question of Socialism; but it is essential to my argument to point out that if any qualitative difference in the value of labour be admitted, it is not the skilled worker, but those who perform dangerous, difficult, and unpleasant tasks, who would be fairly entitled to increased remuneration. Personally, I am in favour of absolute equality in the reward of labour and would meet the difficulty, if it should arise, by the lessening of the labour-time and by other and nobler incitements than the sordid pecuniary motives which govern us so largely at present.

I now come to the practical application of the foregoing remarks, especially in relation to our Trades Unions. I ask my fellow-unionists seriously to consider how much, or, rather, how little, we have yet accomplished. I have been a unionist for twenty years, yet to-day I am neither better fed, clothed, nor housed than when I became a journeyman. The only real improvement in my condition is a slight decrease in the hours of labour, and even that is minimised by the distance at which our accursed landlord and capitalist *régime* compels me to live from my work. Take the whole body of Unionists. It is doubtful whether the nominal increase in their wages amounts to fifteen per cent., and the best part of this is given with one hand and

taken back with the other in the shape of rent, etc. The cause of our failure hitherto is because we have not perceived the unity of labour. The tendency of wages is always to a minimum. The efforts of the strongest unions seldom achieve and can never retain a rate of pay much in excess of the average. It follows, therefore, that the inequality between one kind of workers and another, besides being morally injurious, is also most inimical to our material welfare. For as the strength of a chain is determined by its weakest link, so also is the well-being of a community to be judged by the condition of its poorest members. The existence of a large ill-paid body of workers in our midst is thus a constant menace to the slight advantages which the more fortunate of us have been able to gain. Our highest duty and our best interest both counsel us to work for the common weal. Only by lifting up our poorer brethren can we hope permanently to better our own condition. Hitherto we have been fighting in groups, sometimes carelessly, selfishly indifferent to the fate of our fellows. It is time we began to see in every worker a comrade, and to close up our ranks shoulder to shoulder. United action, however, requires a common aim, and here again the varying rates of wages are a serious obstacle to unity. It is the first and greatest difficulty in the way of a federation of Trades Unions. True Fraternity implies Equality, and till the workers recognise this the emancipation of Labour cannot be accomplished. The competitive wage system necessarily engenders and fosters class antagonism, and produces the frightful social disparity we deplore. It is useless to expect any material improvement in the condition of the workers so long as it exists. In this fact lies the germ of our hope for the future. Whatever may be our grade as workers, we are nevertheless all victimised by the capitalistic system of production which compels us to be in reality the slaves—notwithstanding our "Rule Britannia" rhetoric—of the monopolists of the means of life. Let us no longer waste our strength and resources in isolated, costly, and futile attempts to better ourselves by striking for a few pence additional to our scanty wages. Above all, let us not be lured from the highway which leads to freedom by political will-o'-the-wisps; but, recognising the Solidarity of Labour, let us unite with our brethren throughout the world, steadily organising our forces, and patiently waiting the time till a supreme effort shall once for all burst our bonds asunder, and make us truly masters of our own destinies.

THOMAS BINNING.

IMPERIAL POLICY AND COMMERCIAL PATRIOTISM.

It appears, that in this British Monstre Empire, resting with one foot in South Africa, with another in India, with a third in Egypt, with a fourth in America, a fifth in Australia, and with many more on many other benighted spots of our globe's surface, there is but one thing needed to make people still happier than they already are, and this is—"Expansion." At least, so says Professor Seeley, and he ought to know as well as any Imperialist what is good for "us." That such expansion is a violent process, Mr. Seeley is fully aware; but he is quite willing and prepared to sacrifice England's blood (which is not his) to the expansion of England's commerce, in which he seems interested. Wars, he says unblushingly, are business undertakings, and hence more than their cost will be got out of them (by the masters of the nation).

"Mr. Bright tells us," says Professor Seeley, that the wars of the British Empire were due to guilty ambition, that the proceeds of them went into the pockets of admirals and generals, and, generally speaking, that the British Empire was founded in the interests of the younger sons of aristocratic families. Now, all this is not to see just the very thing about those wars which is most certain and obvious. They were not at all prompted by lust of empire, and they were waged in the interests, not of the aristocracy, but of the trading classes. They were business undertakings, and it was the standing marvel of the eighteenth century that the more England fought the richer she became, and that if her debt increased fast, her ability to bear it increased yet faster. "And if you ask," said Professor Seeley, in conclusion, "what we have got for our 800 millions of debt incurred in these wars, the answer is very simple. We have got Canada, and South Africa, and Australia, and India, and a world-wide commerce such as has never before been seen."

Very good, Mr. Professor, as far as you deal with the sentimental freetrader, who would like to charge the aristocracy exclusively with the crimes of commercialism, in which the whole plutocracy of the country have an equally damnable share. But why should you abuse human language in order to confound the understanding of your audience? Who is England that fought, and who is England that became richer? Who has "got" Canada and the colonies, and who pays the eight hundred millions of debt incurred in these wars of "expansion"? The marvel of

this century is that a working men audience should be found patient enough to listen to such commercially patriotic jargon. Put in plain and true English your epistle ought to read:

"These wars (for the expansion of Big Britain) were business undertakings of the trading classes, and hence it is not at all marvellous that the more the poor worked and fought, the richer and more insolent their masters became, and that the more the debt of the country increased, the more the capitalists succeeded in making it pay by the exertions of their slaves. England has annexed Canada and the colonies, and the consequence is such a world-wide misery as has never before been seen."

Mr. Bradlaugh is, like Mr. Bright, disgusted at England's wars of aggression. He holds that the Empire owes her greatness to the factory chimneys. But this is only an aggression of commercialism in a different direction; and whether Mr. Seeley is in favour of horizontal expansion, or Mr. Bradlaugh prefers a perpendicular one (which, indeed, would make the commercial system more effectually "stink to heaven"), it virtually means the same thing: the glorification of a system, the curse of which is fortunately becoming more evident to its victims every day.

BERTL WINSOME.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

FRANCE.—In another column of the *Commonweal* our comrade Paul Lafargue gives us some account of M. Ferry's fall and the Tonkin crime. But here are a few details worth recording. On the day that the Ferry ministry was overthrown funds fell 3fr. 35c. On April 1st, Rochefort's paper the *Intransigeant* asserted—and this has not been contradicted—that on the preceding evening M. Ferry, "foreseeing" this fall, had given orders to sell largely. ("Des ordres considérables de vente.") The next day the *Paris*, a journal notoriously supported by the "reptile-fund," and which appears in the evening just when Bourse operations begin, announced that M. Ferry had been to M. Grévy and had assured him that peace was concluded, and a treaty signed with China. Immediately the funds went up 1fr. 25c. People not unnaturally ask whom is this jobbing to profit? In the Chamber a Bonapartist Deputy, M. Jolibois, demanded that for the honour and dignity of the Chamber these "*Coups de bourse*" should be put a stop to. He was violently interrupted by a deputy belonging to the Majority, E. Cornudet, who exclaimed "Such words are ignoble." And the majority cheered frantically! "That such jobbery goes on in French politics," writes a Parisian friend, "and that a majority in the Chamber is ready to support and defend it, shows to what a corrupt condition our bourgeoisie has sunk. The victims and the defeats of the '*patrie*' are now only so many pretexts for bourse speculation."

Though much has been written about the excitement that prevailed in Paris over this Tonkin business, few people in England have, I believe, realised what the condition of Paris really was. "We have been on the very brink of a revolution" a correspondent writes to me, "and for some time we all fully expected a street-riot. It is quite impossible to give you, or any one not living in this land of surprises an idea even of the state into which this Tonkin trouble has thrown us Parisians. We are at fever heat, and no one can say what the next few hours or days may bring forth."

Of course our Socialist friends have taken advantage of this ferment to "preach the doctrine." At all meetings on the subject of the war, whether convened by themselves or others, they have proposed the three following resolutions: "1. Immediate peace with China; recall of all the unfortunate soldiers sent out, and retirement from Tonkin, Cochin China, and, if need be, from all Asiatic colonies. 2. Impeachment of the Ferry ministry. 3. The confiscation of all the goods and property of the ministers and of all deputies who voted in favour of the Tonkin expedition, in order to cover in part the cost of the war." The last two resolutions, it is interesting to know, were passed at all meetings, the third being especially applauded.

GERMANY.—English penny-a-liners have been "deeply moved" at the national birthday gift to Prince Bismarck. They have forgotten to tell their readers either the manner in which money was literally extorted—in some cases stopped out of their wages—from factory-workers, and obtained by threats. They have also forgotten to say that the whole thing was a gigantic swindle and that the money was obtained under entirely false pretences. When the idea was started it was announced that the money was to be devoted to "some great national object"—this would be the most appropriate, the most pleasing, etc., etc., etc., manner of showing the respect of Germany for her great Chancellor. But when the money was in hand the promoters calmly declared that, instead of the "great national object" the money should be handed over to Prince Bismarck personally in order that he might increase his landed property! This disgraceful affair has called forth protests, even from such papers as the *Deutsche Tagblatt*, to whom a correspondent writes: "We learn from the newspapers that the whole of the sums collected are to be handed over, for his personal use, to Prince Bismarck. This has made a most painful impression, not only on myself, but on other great admirers of the Prince. We stated to others, and were led to believe, that the object of the collection was to found some establishment for the good of all; it was only under this impression that we succeeded in getting subscriptions—more especially the smaller sums. If our promises are

therefore, not adhered to, we shall not only be seriously compromised, but the popularity of Prince Bismarck and respect for his person will be much shaken." Of course, Bismarck and his beloved disciples Bleichröder and Co., think money now-a-days more useful than popularity and respect. He has played the confidence trick, and can afford to laugh at the idiots who were taken in by it.

One of the most interesting events I have had to record for some time from Germany is the growth of the Socialist movement among the German women. A meeting was held lately in Berlin at which some 500 or 600 persons, mostly women, were present. Frau Stageman spoke admirably. She pointed out to the women and men that by united efforts alone could they achieve any measure of success. She called on the working women to join the Socialist movement and by their organisation become a power able to cope with their capitalist oppressors, who exploit the women even more hideously than the men, and who encourage "family-life" by forcing the wife to undersell her husband. "We must and will prove," she concluded "that the women of the proletariat are not less advanced than the men." This speech, and many others were received enthusiastically, and a "Union of the Working Women of Berlin" was started. I hope our English women will go and do likewise.

That considerable differences of opinion between the various sections of Socialist members of the Reichstag have arisen is well known; that some of these gentlemen objected to having their conduct in the Reichstag criticised by the *Sozial Demokrat* is also known, but a few words on the actual "situation" may be of interest and service to English comrades. Of course our English friends must bear in mind that all public meetings, all public expression of opinion in Germany are impossible.

The immense and unexpected success at the last elections seems to have turned the heads of a few of the elected, who seem to think that the voice of the people has invested them with quite superior powers. This appears to be especially the case with what may be called the right wing of the Parliamentary Party. Every political party must necessarily be composed of one set of men who will act fully up to the principles of the party, and draw all the consequences evolving from them; and another set of men, who will be more cautious and more easily prepared to compromise with their Parliamentary neighbours. Thus it goes with Socialist parties too. As long as the class next adjoining the working class, both in social status and general education, is the class of small tradesmen, and as long as this class of small tradesmen, by the crushing competition of the large capitalist, is more and more ground down, and its individual members more and more brought down to the level of the working class, so long will the Socialist party in every country include men who from habit and education retain trains of thought more appropriate to the status of the small trading class, than to that of the proletariat. In other words, a Socialist party will have a Left Wing, representing thorough-going proletarian revolutionary Communism, and a Right Wing, holding views of a more diluted nature, and eager, above all, to prove to their political opponents how little they deserve the opprobrious names heaped upon them. In Germany, from very self-evident reasons, the anti-Socialist law appears to have given a majority of deputies to the Right Wing of the Party—the only real harm, by the bye, that law has so far inflicted upon German Socialism. This new majority, finding itself in contradiction with the "official" organ of the party, on a particular point of policy, considered it necessary to proclaim the discrepancy to the world by an act of publicity of a more than unusual character. There the matter will probably end. The *Sozial Demokrat* will remain what it has been, and proclaim the same revolutionary principles as heretofore. The offended deputies will be satisfied with the publicity they have given to their difference of opinion, for they know too well that after all they will have to conform to the will of their electors—though the electors have at present no power to express their will in public meetings—and that the vast majority of these electors are working men and not small tradesmen. Of course a large number of the Revolutionary deputies have cordially approved the conduct of the *Sozial Demokrat* in condemning the action of certain deputies.

AMERICA.—The news that comes to us from the United States is of so interesting a nature, there are so many facts to record, events to chronicle, that to do anything like justice to the subject in this short summary is impossible. All I can hope to do is to help our friends to some faint idea of the condition of things there. We do not, in Europe, sufficiently realise either the frightful condition of a large mass of the people of America, or the magnitude of the Revolutionary movement there. The great miners' strike in the Hocking Valley has been now and again referred to, and English Socialists will hardly be surprised to hear that the "Union" there is much what are the "Trades Unions" here; in a word, to quote the correspondent of a New York Socialist paper, "a milch-cow for the 'leaders.'" This same correspondent adds: "The strike has, however, had one good result. We have founded a section of the Socialist Party, whose numbers grow daily. We could do even more if we had more speakers, and if friends would send us more Socialist literature. The soil is splendid. . . ."

But the Hocking Valley strike is only one of hundreds into which the workers are willy-nilly, and often to their own great disadvantage, forced by the capitalists. One of these strikes is specially worthy our notice. The hat-makers of South Nowalk, to the number of 400, struck work—that is work for their exploiters, but instead of allowing them-

selves to be starved into submission they have opened a large co-operative store entirely conducted by themselves, one large branch of which has been started in New York. Thanks to the hearty support of other workers both undertakings seem to be prospering. As a last resource the capitalist press asserted that the New York store had nothing to do with the strikers. But the working men have not been taken in by this lie.

Perhaps one of the most infamous of the many infamous "Bills" against the people is that one lately become law, directed apparently against so-called tramps, but in reality against any one out of work. An enormous meeting to protest against this iniquitous Act was lately held in New York. At this meeting Frederic Haller, Secretary of the Cigar Makers' Progressive Union, pointed out that at the present time there were in New York alone *seventy thousand* unemployed workers; in the United States at least *six hundred thousand*, everyone of whom could in fact be comprehended under the Tramp Bill. He showed how by this Bill employers could get their work done—work of the heaviest kind—in return for *one meal a day*, and concluded by saying that as things were going "Tramps" would soon be an "overwhelming majority in the land, and would then make a law by which the lazy and rich non-producers would be thrown into prison instead of, as to-day, the willing workers." The resolution passed by this large meeting runs thus: "Considering that in New York alone there are 70,000 unemployed. . . anyone of whom may be called a 'tramp.' . . we brand this Bill as a villainy of the exploiters against the workers whose very blood they drain, and see in it a fresh proof that political freedom must be a lie as long as private capital and wage-slavery exist." I must not omit to add that Germans and Americans both took part in and spoke at this meeting.

Some sanitary inspectors have lately made reports respecting the housing (?) of certain of the poorest classes in New York that throw the "Bitter Cry" of London quite into the shade. These facts are the more interesting that the "Tenement House Commission" had quite recently issued a rose-coloured report, in which everything was represented as very nice and pleasant. Police Inspector Gastlin now gives a quite different account. He describes more especially some of the docks and landing-places at North and East River. A great number of the unfortunates here are Italians, "who live in this filth like rabbits in a warren. They all sleep in the midst of pestilential smells. . . The floors in some of these 'huts' were three inches deep in dirt. Adjoining these 'rooms' were others, containing large cases of stinking bones and rags. . . The stench from some of these places, filled with refuse from the markets and putrid meat, could be noticed fifty feet off." What wonder that Socialist papers in America constantly warn their European friends not to come over to this hell upon earth.

Perhaps the most interesting matter to record is the "Labour Convention" just held in San Francisco. Over two hundred delegates were present, and an earnest debate was carried on for three days. Finally the following resolution, and others which space forbids our reproducing, were passed.

"Resolved. That, in the opinion of this convention, 'hard times' are the result of a monopolisation by non-producers of the natural resources, the tools of production and the medium of exchange, and must occur periodically until these monopolies are abolished.

"Whereas the continued invention of machinery, the monopolisation of the natural resources, competition, profit, production and the concentration of capital are fast reducing the working classes to absolute slavery;

"Resolved. That it is imperative that every branch of wage-workers be organised, and that, when so organised, the work of agitation, organisation, federation and education be unceasingly pursued.

"Resolved. That this convention, while not condemning strikes for shorter hours or higher pay as temporary measures of relief, regards the nationalisation of land, of the means of transportation, of the circulating medium and of the implements of production as the only satisfactory solution of the labour question.

"Resolved. That this convention, having regard to the strained relations at present existing between employer and employed, looks with the gravest apprehension upon the virtual establishment of a standing army in this country by the continued enrolment of new militia corps, and the employment by the capitalists of armed detectives, and that this convention commends this matter to the serious attention of the labour organisations of the coast."

So significant a fact as the passing of such resolutions unanimously by *two hundred delegates* from Trades' Unions as well as Socialist bodies needs no comment.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

A Capital-inspired paragraph is going the rounds. "Capital" qualifies "inspired," not "paragraph," in the preceding sentence. Its effect is that there is a "project for the development of legitimate commerce in the regions of the Upper Nile." Its adoption is contingent upon the construction of the Souakim-Berber railway. This is the railway about which Sir Henry Tyler, company-monger, was so anxious. The project is, of course, "well-considered" (in the interests of Capital) and "influentially supported" (by the same interests).

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ONE PENNY.

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY;

OR BUNKUM, BRAG, AND BRUTALITY.

THE issue has justified our prognostication in the April number of the *Commonweal* as to the course events would take. Even during the acutest period of the recent crisis we felt that a game of brag and bunkum was being played, and the legend of the fighting Briton trotted out for some inscrutable purpose of Cabinet-Providence. The truth has now come to light. The Soudan expenditure already incurred, which was much greater than had been expected, had to be made up somehow. The feint of a Russian war was a good pretext for a war-budget. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* We cannot but think that those who were seriously taken in by the alarm of war left an important factor in the situation out of account, to wit, the attitude of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Was it likely that Mr. Gladstone would dare to face the wrath of Mr. Stead's journal? The London semi-official organ of the Russian Foreign Office evidently thought not, and so did we. On the Saturday previous to the famous historic blast of war-threatening wind which swept the eleven millions into the exchequer, *nemine contradiscente*, the *P. M. G.* exultingly announced, in a "leader" headed "Deadlock, but no War," the speedy acknowledgment of Russian claims. The acquisition of the omnipotent evening organ certainly proclaims M. de Giers a consummate tactician. Of course, everyone who has followed the career of the present Ministry must have noticed its abject submission to every whim of this mysterious journal, how its policy has been shaped by it, how, oftentimes protesting the while, it has suffered itself to be led about hither and thither, into one difficulty, then out of this into another, apparently all to please the *P. M. G.* That it has got nothing but kicks for its pains would seem to show that the relations between Downing Street and Northumberland Street are of no ordinary kind. Are we to suppose that the future historian will be able to reveal the intricacies of a secret mechanism of stock-exchange intrigue, or must we have recourse to the Psychological Society, or maybe Mr. Sinnet? The latter gentleman might possibly account for it on some hypothesis of metempsychosis. For instance, may not the soul of a wicked costermonger now live in the body of the great and loquacious premier, while that of his ill-used donkey lives in the "Christian hero," who rules the potent evening journal? May we not see in the positions, reversed as they are, on a higher plane of being, the justice of a cruel destiny? The soul of the premier ever striving "onwards and upwards," endeavouring to crown a career of popularity by a policy consistent with election speeches, and agreeable to the "new electorate," is encountered at every turn by his horrid Nemesis—no longer an ass, but an editor, yet stubborn and unyielding still—whose behests he cannot choose but follow. We suggest this as a "plausible hypothesis" to any reader of a "psychical" turn of mind. We may also commend it to the "Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," as tending to edification, since such a fate, even if barely possible, might well give the most hardened "coster" pause.

In consideration of the importance of the Russian business, the *P. M. G.* is inclined to let the Soudan go. So ministers are prepared to announce the abandonment of the Khartoum expedition and the speedy evacuation of the country. There is one reservation, however, the Red Sea littoral. That railway is too sweet a morsel to abandon without an effort. The capitalist soul, expressing itself through Lord Hartington, yearns for the preservation and eventual completion of this "civilising work." The capitalist heart is rent when it thinks of Berber, that virgin market, of the tons of shoddy and Brummagem which might be shot in there, if only something would occur to afford a plausible pretext for a "protectorate" and the completion of the line. We doubt, indeed, whether British capitalism will consent to the final abandonment of this treasure after its having been once so near its grasp. But how about the thousand Irishmen

who were preparing to join the Mahdi? Now this is rendered unnecessary, owing to the withdrawal of the Nile troops, they might do worse than assist Osman Digna to put a spoke in the wheel of the English trader, by seriously embarrassing the "civilising work" of his pioneer, the railway contractor.

Meanwhile "our" troops, during the past month, have been again at their congenial occupation of slaughtering native children and burning villages. "The Arabs showed consummate coolness," says the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* describing the raid; "as a daring example, one old greybeard, with two lads stood at bay; the latter were soon shot; but the old man, though hit three times, stood, spear poised in hand, calmly awaiting our advancing bayonets." This is the sort of thing with respect to which "her most gracious Majesty Queen Victoria" feels moved to congratulate General Graham by special dispatch. How now, gentlemen of the press, unctious newspaper hacks! You whose righteous souls are shocked beyond the reach of words by the exultations of an O'Donovan Rossa (once tortured well-nigh to death by English authorities) or at some paltry dynamite explosion; you average *bourgeois* who would hang the dynamiter you think endangers your own worthless commercial skin, with what words shall you characterise the type of Humanity embodied in one that can gloat over the dastardly destruction of a defenceless village and the massacre of its inhabitants? Not so much worse than Rossa, eh? We ourselves have never set much store by the mere abolition of the monarchy, holding that, *taken by itself* and under present conditions, such a measure would merely result in the saving of some million or so a year to the middle classes of this country, a result to which we Socialists are fairly indifferent one way or the other. We have even been accustomed to regard the present occupant of the English throne with the feelings of good-natured consideration usual in the case of an elderly female of fair average character. But this Graham business, with its speedy and gratuitous congratulation, has, we confess, revealed depths of blackness and cold-blooded brutality in the official mind which words certainly *would* fail adequately to express. However, great is the power of the ruling classes, and will prevail—that is, for a season. E. BELFORD BAX.

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

SIR,—You live in an age when events move rapidly onward, when ideas penetrate where bayonets cannot, and when thoughts fly from region to region with lightning speed. It is an age, too, when men rise to eminence, and in many cases as quickly lose their reputations. Many have risen to greatness, cheered by their friends and applauded by the thoughtless multitude. For a time they have been all powerful with the masses, when, by a single error, confidence has been destroyed, never to be revived.

You, sir, have risen to greatness in a few brief years, and until now have carried with you the confidence of a large portion of the population. Circumstances have favoured you; you have retained the confidence of the people partly because they believe you are not only willing, but certain, to keep pace with the onward march of events, and partly because you are supported by most powerful organisations. The commercial press of the country is mostly at your back. You are all but certain of its support. You: every word is duly chronicled and accepted as of authority. You have therefore wealth, position and vast influence, the support of the press and of great organised bodies ever ready to do your bidding, and to bend their wills to your word of command. These are no ordinary circumstances, and assure to you a power which but few possess. For good or for evil, vast influence is yours to-day. That influence rests on popular confidence. Great numbers of the working classes

place in you their strongest hope, because they believe you to be "the coming man," "the Leader of the future," "the incorruptible," the man destined to lead them on to liberty and the nation to prosperity. It is under these circumstances that I address you in reference to your late speeches, of January 5 and January 14, of the present year, and at the Eighty Club.

Most ages are characterised by the discovery of some new truth or the fuller development of some great question. The wise man will embrace the truth and accept its consequences, and the good and brave man will endeavour to realise in practice the principle involved in the greatest questions of the hour. In no period of the world's history did questions of equal magnitude agitate the human soul. Hopes the brightest and fears the deepest fill the human bosom. Will those hopes be realised by the embodiment in our institutions of the principle of eternal right, or will they still be doomed to endure the curse of political tyranny and the horrors of social oppression?

The great questions of the day are embodied in the system popularly known as Socialism. But there is one question frequently dealt with by itself and which is very popular among large masses of the population. I allude to the nationalisation of the land, and on it rest the hopes of great numbers of the working classes. Hence all were pleased when you dealt with the subject in your late speeches. I will take a few sentences. In your speech at Birmingham, January 5, you said, "If you will go back to the origin of things, you will find that when our social arrangements first began to shape themselves every man was born into the world with natural rights, with a right to share in the great inheritance of the community, with a right to a part of the land of his birth." All this is strictly true, not only of England, but of every country in the world. But you add, "All these rights have passed away." Some of them have been sold and some have been given away by people who had no right to dispose of them. Some of them have been lost through apathy and ignorance. Some have been stolen by fraud and some have been acquired by violence. Private ownership has taken the place of these communal rights; and this system has become so interwoven with our habits and usages, it has been so sanctioned by law and protected by custom that it might be very difficult and perhaps impossible to reverse it." Now, sir, on these last sentences I have a few remarks to make. "All these rights have passed away." These words are simply absurd. Natural rights can never pass away. They are as eternal as the human race. They can neither be abdicated nor alienated under any circumstances whatsoever. The declarations of usurpers, the decrees of assemblies, or the acts of the greatest majorities can never affect the existence of natural rights. If usurpation were sanctioned by a thousand generations it would not cease to be usurpation. It would still be a crime against humanity. Every act of usurpation is an act of war against the people. Natural rights can never pass away, can never cease to exist, and the assertion is not only absurd but self-contradictory.

Again, still speaking of natural rights, you say: "Some have been sold, and some have been given away," etc., etc. But the rights of the people can never be sold, can never be given away—no, not even by the people themselves. How could they be sold? Who could buy them? How be transferred? How separated from the people, even from a single individual? Neither can natural rights ever be lost, either through apathy or ignorance, or both. Neither can they be stolen by fraud, or be acquired by violence. What you meant was, that the land had been taken from the people, sometimes by fraud and sometimes by violence, and that the people, through apathy or ignorance, had, for the time being, permitted the robbery. But the robbery of the land does not affect the natural rights of the people. Not even of one individual. You also confound natural with communal rights: but the rights of the individual are antecedent to the very existence of the commune. Nor can the rights of the former be merged in the latter. The right to life, which implies the right to the means of life, belongs to every human being. That right depends on neither time nor clime. It is unaffected by the decrees of tyrants, the acts of assemblies, or the will of the greatest majorities. The land belongs to humanity. It belonged to all the generations of the past. It belongs to the present, having only a life interest in it. And it will belong alike to each generation in the future as long as the race shall exist. No matter how or when it was stolen from the people; no matter how many times it has been transferred from one to another; how many times sold, or how many times bought, as private property it is stolen property. And the right belongs to the people—and can never be taken from the people—to declare the land national property at any moment it shall so determine, without any consideration as to the claims of individuals.

You go on to ask a very remarkable question—namely; "What ransom will property pay for the security it enjoys? What substitute will it find for the natural rights which have ceased to be recognised?" The only ransom is the restoration of the land to the people. No substitute is possible, nor will any compromise ever be accepted. The question is so absurd that I regret it was ever asked. You go on—"Society is banded together to protect itself against the instincts of men who would make very short work of private ownership if they were left alone." No doubt about it. These instincts are right, are God-like in their nature; and those men, sir, are the salt of the earth and the glory of the human race. You add, "That is all very well, but I maintain that society owes to these men something more than mere toleration in return for the restrictions it places on their liberty of action." Society owes equal protection to all its members, and the only parties for whom toleration may be asked, are the land-thieves and the land-grabbers, until the land is restored to the people. As to the "something more," it is difficult to determine what you mean. As a substitute for natural rights is absurd and impossible, so is the "something more," except the full recognition of the principle of eternal justice. I know it is a very favourite saying with some people that half a loaf is better than none. But you cannot have half a principle; you cannot divide a right. Thus, as to the restrictions placed on the liberty of action of the men of God-like instincts, of noble aspirations, there is nothing new in the highwayman presenting the dagger while he rifles the pocket of his victim.

I turn to your speech at Ipswich, January 14, and I find the following: "I am sure that our Liberalism has no chance at all, unless it will reorganise the rights of the poor—their right to live and their right to take a fair chance of enjoying life. In the earlier stages of society those rights were recognised. They are still recognised in many countries. Land used to be held in common, and every man born into the community had his appointed share in the inheritance of the race. Well, now all that is changed. The birthright of the English people has been bartered for a mess of pottage, and it has become the possession of the owners of private property." The introduction of the story of the mess of pottage is rather unfortunate. Esau, we are told, did get the pottage, but the land-thieves hold both. They have taken the land and the fruits thereof; they hold the plunder and retain the pottage. The people are less fortunate than Esau of old.

I know there are a number of men who think that a compromise is not only possible, but even desirable. And they would have the people believe so. It is a great mistake. In regard to the land, it is neither possible nor desirable. The people are asked to assist in the abolition of primogeniture and entails, and thus to throw the land into the market. It would be as rational to talk of *Free Air* or *Free Light* as *Free Land*. It would be no boon to the people, it would be no blessing to the nation, for the land to be transferred to the capitalist class. They already possess the instruments of labour. They are already too powerful. And that power must be destroyed before the people can become socially free. Then, with regard to the cry of peasant proprietary, it is a sham, a delusion and a snare. Such a cry will never satisfy any thinking man; and, if carried out on the most extensive scale, it would not prevent the great social upheaval which looms in the near future—an upheaval that will sweep away both aristocrat and capitalist.

Now, sir, when you made the above speeches, some people might infer that you had no clear conception of the meaning of the phrase "natural rights," or that you played with words simply to bewilder your hearers. I do not think so. But most certainly natural rights can neither be bought nor sold, nor bartered nor lost, nor suppressed—no, not by all the statute laws that ever existed. They can neither be abdicated nor alienated. Their exercise may for a time be prevented by fraud or force, or the two combined, but the rights are as eternal as the human race, and will cease only when humanity ceases to be.

But you have, sir, just delivered a most remarkable speech at the Eighty Club, April 28. After Jan. 5 and Jan. 14 you were regarded by many as a revolutionary agent, as a dangerous character. Your more recent speech has confirmed these persons in their previous conclusions. They believe that you have gone too far now ever to recede; that you are for ever lost to the reactionary classes, and that your future is bound up with the great revolutionary movement of the near future. I believe so too. You admit the existence of social blots and sores in connexion with our modern civilisation, which are a disgrace to the age. You refer to the enormous increase of national wealth consequent on the even greater increase in our productive powers; and that, notwithstanding the increase of wealth, we have a million paupers and a million more verging on

pauperism. Then look at the vice and the degradation which everywhere prevail.

Space, sir, will not permit me to deal largely with your speech at the Eighty Club, but your recognition of the existence of evils, in connexion with our present social and economical conditions, is a step in the right direction. And having admitted the existence of the evils, you came to the remedy. You told your audience not to be afraid of words. Most valuable advice. But you told them also not to be afraid of the question of natural rights, for that these are "the eternal foundation of justice and equity." This, sir, is a truth which all can understand. It is clear and comprehensive, simple and beautiful. You go on to say: "And because State Socialism may cover very injurious and very unwise doctrines, that is no reason at all why we should refuse to recognise the fact that it is only by the organisation of the whole people for the benefit of all its members that the community may—aye, and ought to—provide for all benefits which it is quite impossible for individuals to provide by their solitary and separate action." This, sir, is a most valuable declaration. It is a recognition of the *oneness* of the whole community, from which should spring the *oneness* of purpose, the unity and the harmony of interests. It is the basis of the oneness of humanity and the brotherhood of the human race. True, it is a revolutionary doctrine, which means the extinction of all class privileges and sectional advantages. But, having gone so far, doubtless you are prepared to accept the consequences of the great and grand principle involved in the organisation of Society on a Socialistic basis, and will, ere long, grasp hands with all of every colour and of every clime who aim at the reconstruction of society on the principle of eternal right, of eternal justice—justice between each and all, in all the relations of life and through all the ramifications of society, and between people and people in all their international relations. Do this, sir, and your power will be increased a thousand-fold. You may be condemned by the enemies of the people, by the foes of light, of liberty and of love. But the friends of the true, the pure and the just, the wide world over, will hail you as a co-worker in the sacred cause of the poor and the oppressed, as a standard-bearer in the coming struggle for equal liberty, equal justice to each and to all, not excepting even one.

J. SKETCHLEY.

HOPELESS TOIL.

THE ruins of the ancient buildings on the Palatine Hill are one of the most interesting sights which the traveller can see at Rome. Among the many monuments and relics which time has spared for an interval of more than two thousand years, stands one of a little later date—the palace of the Flavii, erected by the Emperor Vespasian about the year 70 A.D., just before the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and at the height of the greatness and glory, and apparently lasting prosperity, of Imperial Rome. On the western slope of the hill, and slightly below the main part of the palace, is situated the Pædagogium, or school for the imperial slaves, who, like those of all the wealthier Romans, received a careful education. The walls of this building are a witness to the fact that these young slaves of ancient Rome had much in common with English school-boys of the nineteenth or any other century; for they are covered with names, sentences, sketches and caricatures, scrawled and scratched into the plaster in rude, boyish fashion with the point of the *stilus*, the ancient substitute for a pen. Among these has been preserved a caricature of the crucifixion of Christ, for the religion which at a later date was destined to reign supreme at Rome, was then merely an object of contempt and a subject of caricature among the Roman slaves. But the one to which I wish particularly to call attention is a sketch which was found on the wall of one of the small class-rooms. It seems to have been drawn by one of the boys who was on the point of leaving the school, to take his place in life as a trained and educated slave in the imperial household. It represents a mill for grinding corn, driven by an ass, whose business it is to walk painfully round in a perpetual circle, and whose reward for the performance of this duty is its daily allowance of food. Beneath this sketch the following words are scrawled in Latin: "Work, you little donkey, as hard as I have worked, and it will do you the same amount of good."

This hand-writing on the wall, eloquent still, though eighteen centuries old, shows us that its author must have been an intelligent boy, who, whatever else he may have been taught at school, had certainly learned to appreciate very correctly the social position of himself and his class. As a slave he had received an excellent education, having been taught to draw, and to express his thoughts in grammatical, and even epigrammatic language. But he had also learned to

understand that this education had been given him, not with a view to his own advantage, or to that of his class, or to that of society in general, but simply for the purpose of making a more useful slave of him; in order that his abilities might redound to the interests of his owner, and secure to that personage a larger money price for his slave. Now the free-born British workman of to-day, from the mere fact of his having been born in the nineteenth century, instead of in the first, enjoys the advantage of an insight into many things which were destined to remain a mystery to the earlier representatives of his class; but in the matter of a just appreciation of his own social position, perhaps because his social masters have not been at the trouble to give him such a good education, he, as a rule, compares most unfavourably with this slave. He has failed to comprehend the important point which Mr. Herbert Spencer has recently emphasized with all the weight of his authority, that if he is under compulsion to expend his labour for the benefit of others, it is indifferent whether that constraint is enforced by an individual or a class, and his condition as a slave is not affected thereby. In both cases he is in a state of permanent degradation as compared with his more privileged fellow-creatures, and in neither case can he emancipate himself from his condition, unless he is blessed with exceptional and extraordinary good luck. In both cases there may exist certain ameliorations of his lot, sanctioned either by custom or by law, which may prevent his being absolutely at the mercy of his master's caprice; but in neither case can the lot of the vast majority of his class be practically anything else but the lot of a slave. For instance, in the case of the Roman slave, it was legally enacted that the individual who owned him was not free to put him to death merely for the sake of fattening with his carcase the valuable fish which he kept in his artificial ponds, while in the case of the British workman it is enjoined that the class which condemns him to hard labour for life for its own profit and pleasure may allow both him and his family to exist in perpetual suffering from starvation diseases, but may not absolutely starve him to death, in case he should prefer the alternative of being separated from his wife and children, and being confined within the gloomy workhouse walls for the remainder of his life. Again, in the case of the Roman slave it was an established custom that those favourites of fortune who could successfully beg, borrow, steal or somehow manage to scrape together a little private hoard of savings, should be allowed to purchase their own freedom from their masters, set up independently in life, and in their turn purchase slaves for themselves, and suck their own advantage from the system of slavery of which they had themselves been formerly the victims; while in the case of the British workman, those who are born under an equally lucky star can also contrive to scrape together a little fund of savings, turn them into capital for themselves, rise from the ranks of the exploited, and exploit the labour of others in their turn. But in both cases the vast majority remain permanently in the position of unemancipated slaves, and in neither case can the rare exception do aught but prove the general rule.

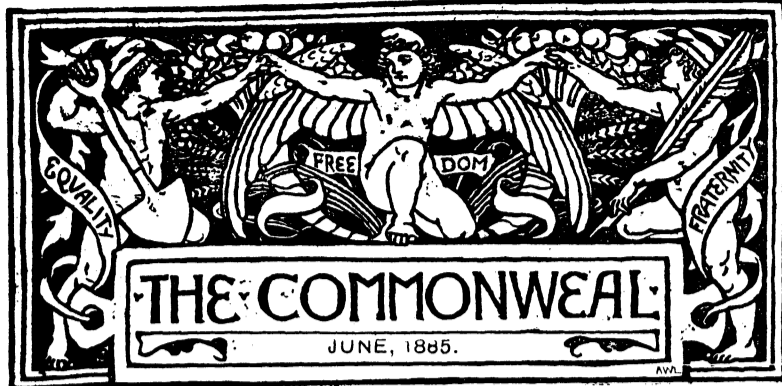
The capitalist system is simply the counterpart and modern mode of expression of the system of slavery which flourished in bygone ages. The capitalists have inherited the position of the slave-owners, the workers that of the slaves. But a brighter future than that of slaves lies before them, if only they have the courage to claim what has been owing to them for centuries. And this it is that they are at last rousing themselves to demand, and with less than this it is their duty to refuse to remain contented. For if they fail in this duty to their fellows, the condition of the free-born worker will remain practically identical with that of a slave; and as the British workman solemnly and sympathetically surveys the ass that painfully turns the mill, he will still be able truthfully to repeat the bitter words of the young Roman slave of old: "Work, you little donkey, as hard as I have worked, and it will do you the same amount of good."

J. L. JOYNES.

We should be glad if we could obtain regular reports from all trade societies and working men's associations of the rates of wages past and present, and of the state of trade, so that we may counteract the false reports of the hirelings of the Capitalist party, the Giffens and Levis.

The strength and glory of a nation is not in standing armies and ironclad fleets, but in the health, well-being and contentment of the people.—*Sir Robert Rawlinson.*

Absolutism is dead, though the corpse still moves. Feudalism is gone, though the baron's fool is some little longer-lived. It is historically necessary also that the *bourgeoisie* should have its day. Every dog its turn. Who knows but what the *bourgeoisie* may now be packing up its moveables?—*W. J. Linton.*



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 27 Farringdon Street, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamp.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 8 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

MANCHESTER friends can purchase this journal and other Socialist literature at the Democratic Publishing Co., 37 Travis Street.

A. J. SMITH.—Yes, an axe belonging to a ship and dropped overboard at sea has value in the economic sense. The refuse from mines has, if human labour is embodied in it, value in the economic sense. The difficulty—a very natural and very real one at first—is in the ordinary use of the word "value" and its economic use. Parallel cases in common language and in scientific language are, e.g., "selection," "atom," "deposit." Yes, again. The measure of value is the average social time under average social conditions required to perform the labour. With the whole question of the intensification of labour we deal later on.

R. WILLIS—Your letter and our reply are held over for next number.

A P P E A L.

THE Socialist League has decided to found a library of books, magazines, pamphlets, periodicals and daily newspapers, treating of and propagating the Socialist cause, for the free use and the education of its members. To this end the League appeals herewith to all members and to all friends and supporters of the great and just cause for which it fights to bestow, for this intended library, on the League as gifts such books and periodicals in their possession as treat on the Socialistic Question. All such donations received will be duly acknowledged with the sincerest thanks on behalf of the League by the delegated librarians, in the official journal of the League. The League hopes that in answer to this appeal so many books will be forthcoming that a catalogue comprising numerous works can soon be issued.

London, March 9, 1885.

C. BENSON AND R. THEODORE.

The following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League:—Antiquities, from Miller; Portugal, from English; a parcel of books, H. Seymour; a parcel of books, Lane; a parcel of books, W. Ramsey; Bebel's *Woman* and Grünlund's *Modern Socialism*, from Modern Press, for review.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

IV.—MOTHER AND SON.

Now sleeps the land of houses, and dead night holds the street,
And there thou liest my baby, and sleepest soft and sweet;
My man is away for awhile, but safe and alone we lie,
And none heareth thy breath but thy mother, and the moon
looking down from the sky
On the weary waste of the town, as it looked on the grass-
edged road
Still warm with yesterday's sun, when I left my old abode,
Hand in hand with my love, that night of all nights in the year;
When the river of love o'erflowed and drowned all doubt and
fear,
And we two were alone in the world, and once, if never again,
We knew of the secret of earth and the tale of its labour and
pain.

Lo amidst London I lift thee, and how little and light thou art,
And thou without hope or fear, thou fear and hope of my heart!
Lo here thy body beginning, O son, and thy soul and thy life;
But how will it be if thou livest, and enterest into the strife,
And in love we dwell together when the man is grown in thee,
When thy sweet speech I shall harken, and yet 'twixt thee and me
Shall rise that wall of distance, that round each one doth grow,
And maketh it hard and bitter each other's thought to know.

Now, therefore, while yet thou art little and hast no thought of
thine own,
I will tell thee a word of the world, of the hope whence thou
hast grown,
Of the love that once begat thee, of the sorrow that hath made
Thy little heart of hunger, and thy hands on my bosom laid.
Then mayst thou remember hereafter, as whiles when people say
All this hath happened before in the life of another day;
So mayst thou dimly remember this tale of thy mother's voice,
As oft in the calm of dawning I have heard the birds rejoice,
As oft I have heard the storm-wind go moaning through the
wood;
And I knew that earth was speaking, and the mother's voice
was good.

Now, to thee alone will I tell it that thy mother's body is fair,
In the guise of the country maidens who play with the sun and
the air;

Who have stood in the row of the reapers in the August
afternoon,

Who have sat by the frozen water in the highday of the moon,
When the lights of the Christmas feasting were dead in the
house on the hill,

And the wild geese gone to the salt marsh had left the winter
still.

Yea, I am fair, my firstling; if thou couldst but remember me!
The hair that thy small hand clutcheth is a goodly sight to
see;

I am true, but my face is a snare; soft and deep are my eyes,
And they seem for men's beguiling fulfilled with the dreams of
the wise.

Kind are my lips, and they look as though my soul had learned
Deep things I have never heard of. My face and my hands are
burned

By the lovely sun of the acres; three months of London town
And thy birth-bed have bleached them indeed; "But lo, where
the edge of the gown"

(So said thy father one day) "parteth the wrist white as curd
From the brown of the hands that I love, bright as the wing of
a bird."

Such is thy mother, O firstling, yet strong as the maidens of old,
Whose spears and whose swords were the warders of homestead
of field and of fold.

Often my feet on the highway, often they wearied the grass;
From dusk unto dusk of the summer three times in a week
would I pass

To the downs from the house on the river through the waves
of the blossoming corn.

Fair then I lay down in the even, and fresh I arose on the morn,
And scarce in the noon was I weary. Ah son, in the days of
thy strife,

If thy soul could harbour a dream of the blossom of my life!
It would be as sunlit meadows beheld from a tossing sea,
And thy soul should look on a vision of the peace that is to be.

Yet, yet the tears on my cheek! And what is this doth move
My heart to thy heart, beloved, save the flood of yearning love?
For fair and fierce is thy father, and soft and strange are his
eyes

That look on the days that shall be with the hope of the brave
and the wise.

It was many a day that we laughed as over the meadows we
walked,

And many a day I hearkened and the pictures came as he talked;
It was many a day that we longed, and we lingered late at eve
Ere speech from speech was sundered, and my hand his hand
could leave.

Then I wept when I was alone, and I longed till the daylight
came;

And down the stairs I stole, and there was our housekeeping dame
(No mother of me, the foundling) kindling the fire betimes
Ere the haymaking folk went forth to the meadows down by the
limes;

All things I saw at a glance; the quickening fire-tongues leapt
Through the crackling heap of sticks, and the sweet smoke up
from it leapt,

And close to the very hearth the low sun flooded the floor,
And the cat and her kittens played in the sun by the open door.
The garden was fair in the morning, and there in the road he
stood

Beyond the crimson daisies and the bush of southernwood.
Then side by side together through the grey-walled place we
went,

And O the fear departed, and the rest and sweet content!

Son, sorrow and wisdom he taught me, and sore I grieved and learned

As we twain grew into one; and the heart within me burned
With the very hopes of his heart. Ah, son, it is piteous,
But never again in my life shall I dare to speak to thee thus;
So may these lonely words about thee creep and cling,
These words of the lonely night in the days of our wayfaring.
Many a child of woman to-night is born in the town,
The desert of folly and wrong; and of what and whence are
they grown?

Many and many an one of wont and use is born;
For a husband is taken to bed as a hat or a ribbon is worn.
Prudence begets her thousands; "good is a housekeeper's life,
So shall I sell my body that I may be matron and wife."
"And I shall endure foul wedlock and bear the children of need."
Some are there born of hate—many the children of greed.
"I, I too can be wedded, though thou my love hast got."
"I am fair and hard of heart, and riches shall be my lot."
And all these are the good and the happy, on whom the world
dawns fair.

O son, when wilt thou learn of those that are born of despair,
As the fabled mud of the Nile that quickens under the sun
With a growth of creeping things, half dead when just begun?
E'en such is the care of Nature that man should never die,
Though she breed of the fools of the earth, and the dregs of the
city sty.

But thou, O son, O son, of very love wert born,
When our hope fulfilled bred hope, and fear was a folly outworn;
On the eve of the toil and the battle all sorrow and grief we
weighed,
We hoped and we were not ashamed, we knew and we were not
afraid.

Now waneth the night and the moon—ah, son, it is piteous
That never again in my life shall I dare to speak to thee thus.
But sure from the wise and the simple shall the mighty come to
birth;
And fair were my fate, beloved, if I be yet on the earth
When the world is awoken at last, and from mouth to mouth
they tell
Of thy love and thy deeds and thy valour, and thy hope that
nought can quell.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

III.—MONEY.

We have seen that the general equivalent, money, is that in which the values of all other commodities are expressed; that money is itself not merely a sign, but an actual commodity, having use-value, exchange-value, value, and that it has four functions. These four functions are now to be considered.

(1) *Measure of value.* Money is the universal measure of value. It is not that money renders the various commodities commensurable. It is because they are already commensurable as materialised labour, that their values can be thus measured. In this first function money is the general equivalent; it expresses the exchange-values of different commodities in terms of itself. This expression is the "price" of the commodities. The values of the commodities are transformed into imaginary quantities of gold. The amounts of money representing the different commodities necessarily vary, inasmuch as different amounts of human labour are embodied in them.

(2) *Standard of price.* In this, its second function, money is no longer the abstract general equivalent. It is an actual, concrete mass of metal. It no longer transforms the values of commodities into price, but it measures prices (*i.e.*, imaginary quantities of gold) against a certain fixed quantity, say £1, its multiples, its aliquot parts. Finally, it has in this function nothing to do with value. Certain masses of metal are here measured against a certain mass of metal, not their values against its value.

(3) *Means of circulation.* In the ordinary exchange of commodities—we are not yet concerned with capitalistic conditions at all—money plays the part of intermediary. The general formula for exchange of commodities will be $C—M—C'$. This means that a certain commodity, C , has been exchanged against a certain quantity of the general equivalent, M , and the latter again has been exchanged against another commodity, C' . Say that a hundred matches are exchanged against 1d., and this against one pipe-cleaner.

$C—M—C'$ necessarily implies $C'—M—C$, its reverse. In the double process represented by these two formulæ a metamorphosis of the two commodities concerned occurs. C in the

first and C' in the second are commodities that to their possessor have not use-value. Exchanged against M , and that in its turn against C' and C respectively, each of them has reached the hands of one to whom it has a use. In the process of exchange, in fact, commodities are constantly passing from places where their use-value is not recognised to places where it is recognised; from the sphere of exchange to that of consumption. For consumption is the realisation of use-value. This change is what is meant by the metamorphosis of commodities. Bearing in mind that $C—M—C'$ always involves $C'—M—C$, we see that the first stage in the metamorphosis of any commodity, C , is always the final stage of the metamorphosis of another commodity, C' . Money is here only the transition form of either of the commodities—its equivalent—which is in turn to be transformed into a use-value. In $C—M—C'$ we have also represented the two successive acts of selling $C—M$ and buying $M—C'$. The former of these (selling) corresponds with the first stage of the metamorphosis just mentioned (for C) and the second (buying) corresponds with the final stage of the metamorphosis (for C').

C and C' may be multiplied indefinitely. Their number is only limited by that of the commodities existing. And the sum of all the many overlapping circles $C—M—C'$, $C'—M—C$, $C''—M—C''$, $C''—M—C''$, etc., etc., is the circulation of commodities. It is always understood here, and whenever this phrase "circulation of commodities" may be used that nothing of capital is as yet implied.

This circulation is a different thing from the simple immediate exchange of products. It does not end when the products change hands as a simple immediate exchange ends. It is very important to get these two forms, and especially the second, quite clear and to distinguish each of them, and especially the second, from the capitalistic circulation, yet to be considered. For the orthodox school of political economists represent simple immediate exchange and the circulation of commodities as one and the same thing and they try to get rid of the contradictions and difficulties of capitalistic production by referring the relations of the agents in capitalistic production to the relations of the circulation of commodities.

It is in this important third function where it plays the part of intermediary in the circulation of commodities, is, in fact, a means of circulation, that money takes on the objective form of coin. Here we have a sign of value truly, but money is not a sign simply. That coin is but a symbol is shown by the fact that a brand-new sovereign represents no more exchange-value than an old and battered one, and yet more clearly by paper money. The latter is purely symbolic, its actual value having no bearing at all on the value stamped upon it. Here we have not to do with cheques, of course, but only with notes and the like that are State paper money. Just as the latter grows out of the third function of money, still under our consideration, the former grows out of the fourth function, yet to be studied.

The same quantities of the general equivalent that are expressed ideally in the prices of commodities are expressed symbolically in coin or in paper money.

(4) *Means of payment.* This fourth function of money, or the general equivalent appears when an interval of time elapses between the alienation of a commodity from its possessor and the realisation of its price by him. $C—M$, if I may use a rough way of representing what takes place becomes $C—M$. A house, *e.g.*, is let, dwelt in for three months, and then only a fraction of its value is paid to the landlord. Or a quantity of wine is given over to one who does not pay for it until a year has passed. There is here a great change in the nature of the metamorphosis of the commodity and a corresponding change in the function of the general equivalent. The latter is no longer merely a means of circulation. It is a means of payment.

Money now, as its appearance face to face with the commodity is postponed (it may be postponed until long after the commodity has been consumed), has now these functions. It is a measure of value of the commodity as before. It fixes the price of the commodity. It measures also the indebtedness of him that receives the commodity (B) to him that parts with it (A). Debtor and creditor, in fact, appear on the field. Finally it is an ideal means of buying. For although only promised as yet by B the debtor to A the creditor, still the latter reckons upon it as actual, and the real movement of commodities is affected by the ideal money.

The nature of the work of the general equivalent as a means of payment, whenever any time elapses between the parting with a commodity and the realisation of its price, and the difference between this function and that of money as a means of circulation will be seen if we consider the balancing of accounts that takes place between large firms and in clearing-houses. Here transactions of vast magnitude may be dealt

with, and yet the actual change of hands of money may be little or nothing.

Comparison of functions As (1) is general equivalent.
(1) and (2)

As (2) is mass of metal.

As (1) transforms values of commodities into imaginary quantities of gold.

As (2) measures imaginary quantities of gold against a fixed unit.

As (1) measures values.

As (2) measures masses of gold against each other.

C — M — C' A commodity C is exchanged against a certain quantity of the general equivalent M, and the latter against another commodity C'.

Metamorphosis Of commodity in passing from place where it has no use-value to place where it has. First stage is selling; second, buying.

Circulation of commodities ... The sum of all possible circles of the form C — M — C'.

Coin and paper money Signs of value.

Means of payment..... When a period of time elapses between the alienation of the commodity and the realisation of its price.

New functions Measures indebtedness. Is an ideal means of buying.

EDWARD AVELING.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The police outrage on the Club in St. Stephen's Mews is a most significant sign. In a review of Stepniak's new book on Russia in another part of this paper, it is pointed out that sooner or later the forces of law and order will begin to be up and doing in England. The police ruffianism on May 9 is evidence that some of the party of order think it is about time to begin.

With the particular politics of the Club attacked, we have no concern. If the Club were a Conservative or a Radical one, our protest would be forthcoming just the same. Here is the fact that a posse of police without rhyme or reason, break into a club, beat the members, break up the furniture, and so manage matters that a large quantity of property is stolen.

The shifts to which the police are reduced in order to get up even the semblance of a case against the men they have assaulted are as pitiful as their original conduct was brutal. All this afterthought of the Club as a refuge for escaped gamblers shows how hard-up the guardians of the peace are for a cause of offence.

In fact, at the present time of writing the police seem to see that they have blundered, and have been too much in a hurry. The time is not yet for a free and easy battering of peaceable men even if they are, in the delicate phraseology of "the force" a lot of "bloody foreigners."

More than one person in no way connected with or even sympathising with the socialistic movement has told me of the abominable behaviour of the police on the night in question. An eye-witness of the march through the streets declares that the rough treatment of the "prisoners" was the most disgraceful thing he ever saw. I am assured also, on quite unimpeachable authority, that after the maltreated men were within the station-house, one policeman, at least, struck one of them two or three severe blows in the face.

Summonses have been taken out against six policemen and the further developments of the case will be watched with interest. Until some definite magisterial decision is arrived at, the Committee of representatives of working men's clubs will probably take no final action. They hold themselves in readiness, unless justice is done in the matter, to move public opinion on it.

Mr. Bedgrave who has been one of her Majesty's factory-inspectors for a very long term of years and who, next to Leonard Horner, has been in that capacity amongst the best of the working-class advocates, has recently issued a report. This report will be dealt with at length in our next issue.

Another report, as to which the same promise may be made is the first one of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into the Housing of the Poor. All that we can say at present is that the first few pages deal with the legislative position and with certain facts bearing on the

question. Then follows an enquiry into the causes of overcrowding. This enquiry, of course, does not go really to the root of the matter.

Thus, to say that overcrowding is due to the fact that a very large fraction of the wages earned goes in rent is no explanation. Even granting that an unskilled labourer whose wage varies from 8s. to 18s. a week has to pay on an average 4s. a week rent for one room; even granting that 88 per cent of the poor pay more than one-fifth of their income in rent—yet why this is the case neither the report nor any of its commentators, as yet read by me, even offer a hint.

The same hiding of the eyes and fear of facing the actual is to be seen in the various remedies suggested. What is the good of consolidation of the existing law, of better railway accommodation, of the enfranchisement of leaseholds and the like, as long as the exploitation of labour, and the stealing of surplus-value are going on—as long as the labour and the production of surplus-value are the functions of the one class and the exploitation and stealing are the functions of the other?

The coal-strike in Yorkshire is according to all accounts the hardest that has ever been known. The masters had given a hint that they might be willing to accept arbitration. Thereupon the miners began to talk of a demand for an advance of 10 per cent in wages.

In the strike at Denaby Main, the miners a week or two ago were able to induce some men who came to take their places, to withdraw quite peaceably. Another batch that came a little later were not so amenable.

Mr. Goschen is to lecture in Manchester on the "Conditions and Prospects of Trade." Our Socialist friends in Manchester should try if they can get an opportunity of asking Mr. Goschen a few simple questions.

The Perth masons who struck recently for an advance of a halfpenny per hour, have had to give in. The Bradford masons, who demand a similar advance, are holding out.

E. B. A.

REVIEW.

Russia under the Tsars. By STEPNIK. Ward and Downey.

STEPNIK has again written a book that everyone will read. Following up the line along which he worked in "Underground Russia," there is no reason to doubt that the success of the earlier volume will be at least equalled by that of the new work. The country of the Muscovite, from its uncouth vastness, if from nothing else, has a fascination for us all. The struggle to the death at present waging throughout the whole domain, from the Crimea to Siberia, draws the eyes of all Europe. Even the average English person will be interested in an account of Russia, the highways and byeways of its social and political life, from the pen of one so observant and so intimately connected with the movement for freedom as Stepniak. Still more will every one of those who in England are openly declared antagonists to tyranny, read his book with eagerness and earnestness. Mudie's will probably do much business with "Russia under the Tsars." But its most understanding readers will be among the Socialists. For that average reader, of whom I have already spoken, will be amused with the history of the mir of the Russian village, the vetche of the ancient principalities, the evolution of a despotism out of free institutions. He will be shocked at the exile without accusation, imprisonment without trial, and at the treatment and tortures to which political prisoners are subject in the Troubetzkoi ravelin or on their way to Siberia. But, having been duly amused and duly shocked, he will put the book down with a smile of patriotic Pharisaism, thanking God that his country is not as others, or even as this Russia. But the Socialist will read Stepniak's book with altogether a deeper feeling. He will read it in the lurid light of the fact that in England a tyranny exists, not, indeed of the same form and uncomeliness as that of Russia, but not less real. Nor will he be able to get away from the consciousness that, when once this tyranny—of capital—is seriously menaced, the measures that will be adopted in this land against those that menace it will differ in no wise from those now employed in Russia. When once our onslaught on capital takes an actual, tangible form; when once our middle class begins to feel that their hideous and damnable reign is drawing to an end, we shall find that "the resources of civilisation," in the shape of police, soldiers, judges and prisons, will be turned against us.

Stepniak's book deals first with the evolution of the autocracy. This is the most interesting part, historically. Most English readers will hear with a sort of shock that the peasants of Russia have self-government, not less in degree than the rural communes of Switzerland and Norway. "Dark Places," the second part of the work, deals with the prisons in which political prisoners are confined, the tribunals before which they appear, and with Siberia. This is the most dramatic part of the work. Administrative Exile follows. This is exile, not at the hands of any tribunal, but at those of the administration, i.e., of the police. This is meted out without any trial, or even, in many cases, any accusation. The last part of the book deals with the crusade against culture, and the relations of the administration to the universities and the press are considered.

The early portions of "Russia under the Tsars" are those that will most surprise the English reader. He is already acquainted

generally with the kind of treatment to which Russian political prisoners are subjected. But a passage such as this comes very newly to him: "The tillers of the soil, who form the bulk of the Russian nation, still profess devotion to an ideal Tzar—the creature of their own imagination—still believe that the day is at hand when he will drive all landowners out of the country and bestow their possessions on his faithful peasants." Nor will his surprise be lessened when he finds that in the village assembly of to-day, as in the governing bodies of the ancient states, legislation by unanimous decision obtains.

The great strength of the government in Russia at the present time lies in its strategic position. The vastness of the country makes the concerted action of masses of the people a physical impossibility, and the want of moral union between the different classes of the nation increases the difficulty of the reformers, and strengthens the hands of the powers that be.

Few English readers, again, are there who will not be astonished at the fact, familiar enough to all students, that capital punishment in Russia is reserved entirely for political offenders. As long ago as 1753 the Empress Elizabeth abolished the death-penalty for any of the ordinary common-place offences. And even those who know something of Muscovite methods will possibly be startled at the extent to which the system of "mutual responsibility" has been developed. Under this system, prisoners are made to suffer for outbreaks, revolts, executions and the like that occur outside their prison walls. Thus as a consequence of an attempted escape in May, 1882, from the political prison of Lower Kara and of the pretended revolt on May 11 in that prison—a revolt got up and carried out wholly by the authorities—sixteen men who had finished their term of imprisonment were kept in prison another year, though they had nothing to do with either escape or revolt. Political prisoners elsewhere, who had not even heard of the difficulties at Lower Kara were treated in like fashion.

I quote only one of the many passages I am tempted to give from this deeply fascinating work. It is one in which the fates awaiting prisoners are grimly sketched.

"Yes, what will become of poor Thirty-nine? Oh, there are many alternatives for her, all equally possible. If by some shock her vital energy should be awakened and the acute crisis return, she may strangle herself with a pocket handkerchief or a piece of linen, like Kroutikoff; or poison herself, like Stransky; cut her throat with a pair of scissors, like Zapolsky, or, in default of other means, with a bit of broken glass, as Leontovitch did at Moscow, and Bogomoloff in the Preventive prison of St. Petersburg. She may go mad, like Betia Kamenskaia, who was kept in prison long after her lunacy had declared itself, and only released when her condition was utterly desperate, to poison herself shortly afterwards in a fit of suicidal mania. If she continues to fade she will die of phthisis, like Lvoff, Trutkovsky, Lermonoff, and dozens of others. Relenting too late, her custodians may release her provisionally, but only to let her die outside the prison, as they did with Ustugeaninoff, Tchernischeff, Nokoff, Mahaeff, and many others, all of whom fell victims to phthisis a few days after they were provisionally enlarged. If, however, by reason of abnormal strength of character, vigour of constitution, or other exceptional circumstances, she should survive until the day of trial, her judges, out of consideration for her tender age and long imprisonment, may let her end her days in Siberia."

The translation of our Russian friend's French appears to have been well done by Mr. Westall, although one wonders he did not prevent Stepniak from using so constantly the word "Mr." The style of the work is on the whole excellent. A tendency to discursiveness and want of system, here and there, are its only blemishes. All revolutionists will be grateful to their brother-revolutionist for a book of the most tremendous interest and importance. It is a work to be read, to be studied, to be remembered. Full of information, it is also full of inspiration for all who are fighting the good fight.

E. B. A.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE "DUTY" OF ALL SOCIALISTS.

COMRADES,—Our time has arrived for earnest out-door propaganda; and as it is quite clear already to you that idleness will not bring about the great change which all Socialists desire, the duty of all is plain. And I mean all, for there are some who think that they are entitled to remain quietly at home while others are continually at work. Let me point out how I think all can help.

(1) There are different lecturing stations where platforms are wanted. (2) There is a great deal of work to be done in circulating the *Commonweal*, and other literature, at all our meetings. (3) Often when a lecturer goes to fulfil his engagements there is no one to take the chair, often delaying or spoiling a meeting. (4) There is no better encouragement to a speaker than to find himself well supported by his comrades. (5) As more speakers are wanted, all who can attend meetings should feel it their duty to take part in debates, discussions, etc., by which method they will gain experience and qualify themselves for becoming active workers.

Let me beg of you to rally round us, showing that you are not mere Socialists in name only, but that you are willing to help to carry the battle ("alongside your comrades") into the enemies' camp. Our enemies are becoming alarmed, and are adopting active measures in some districts to suppress our propaganda. Think of our comrades in America, in Germany, France, Spain, Austria, Italy, Russia and the minor states. Do you think that their splendid organisations have been brought about by remaining at home in idleness? No, comrades, they have been actively engaged, in face of the many persecutions and difficulties which they have had to encounter, and I think it a lasting

shame that we English, Irish and Scotch Socialists should be so stupidly inactive while we still have the squares and parks open to us for spreading our principles. We are in that position now and are in the very midst of our enemies, for we are fighting the twin monsters Capitalism and Landlordism. We are surrounded on all sides, therefore we must be firm in our convictions, and stand shoulder to shoulder, always remembering that it is better to die fighting in the good and noble cause than to die as cowards die, of fear and starvation. Show by your willingness to work that you have the cause at heart, and are determined never to rest until the present system becomes a thing of the past and Socialism reigns supreme.

C. W. MOWBRAY.

SIR,—While the mysterious disappearance of the Rev. E. M. Geldart is still occupying public attention, the letter, a copy of which I enclose, will be read with interest by his brother Socialists. I had sent him a circular of the "Home Colonisation Society," asking for his help in advancing it. I think he is wrong in some of his criticisms, as that a co-operative body can only succeed at the expense of outsiders. And I would say "Yes" to his question, "Am I wrong?" at the end of the letter. Co-operation in household work among one set of persons by no means implies the torture of children, or intensifying the misery of those who are outside the co-op. circle.—I am, yours truly,

C. P. EDWARDS.

7 Rivercourt Road, Hammersmith

April 25, 1885.

(Copy.)

"REV. E. M. GELDART TO MR. C. P. EDWARDS.

"... I hope you will not think me narrow-minded if I say that, with every appreciation of the benevolent intentions of those who promote "Home Colonisation," I do not think they are going the right way to work to attain the objects they have at heart. But be that as it may, I, as a Collective Socialist in the fullest sense of the term, am obliged to concentrate what time and energy I have to spare in efforts for the complete nationalisation of the means of production. In other words, I am a Social Democrat, and whether or not the partial success of your (in spirit and intention, praiseworthy) undertaking—a success I hold to be problematical, in the extreme—would delay the revolution for which, in my humble way, I am working or not, any part I might take in your scheme would at all events divert my activity from the channel which, in my opinion, can alone lead to the ultimate establishment of 'Justice in all the relations of men and women.' It would be unfair and uncalled-for to criticise a scheme the details of which are not clear to me; but so far as I am able to gather, you look like other 'co-operative reformers' to the creation of various co-operative bodies, in the shape of joint-stock companions; and I am at a loss to understand how these are to succeed, save at the expense of outsiders, whether individuals or companies. As soon as you go in for one co-op. society which shall be co-extensive with the nation, I am at one with you; but short of that, it seems to me you do but perpetuate in another shape the evils of competition and production for profit, which Socialism desires to abolish. To make my meaning clear by one illustration. You propose among other things to promote 'co-operation in all kinds of work, including improved organisation in household work.' If you have read the descriptions of 'household work' drawn from the reports of the Children's Employment Commission, etc., contained in the work of Karl Marx, 'Das Kapital,' I think that you will see that to compete with these torture-chambers, you must either establish worse torture-chambers of your own, or, by the introduction of some labor-saving appliances, you must intensify the misery of the 'domestic establishments' already existing in their attempt to maintain the unequal struggle with your superior methods. Or am I wrong? Of course I am perfectly aware that all this is as far as possible from your intentions, which I am sure are excellent. . . ."

"Croydon, Oct., 1884.

They that make half revolutions only dig a tomb for themselves.—*St. Just.*

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

—*Goldsmith.*

Large numbers of our people are compelled to seek their livelihood by begging, robbing, cheating, flattering, spunging, forging, gaming, fawning, scribbling, whoring, canting, libelling, killing, and kindred occupations.—*Swift.*

Therefore our old forefathers so much abhorred the trade (of usury) that they thought a usurer unworthy to live in the company of Christian men. They suffered not a usurer to witness in matters of law. They suffered him not to make a testament, and bestow his goods by will.—*Bishop Jewell on "Usury."*

Indeed, if you will enforce that eighth commandment, the whole rights of man are well cared for; I know no better definition of the rights of man. "Thou shalt not steal," "Thou shalt not be stolen from,"—what a society were that! Plato's Republic, More's Utopia were emblems of it. Give every man what is his—the accurate price of what he has done—no more shall any complain, neither shall the earth suffer any more.—*T. Carlyle.*

POLICE OUTRAGE ON A LONDON CLUB.

The following particulars of the police raid on the International Club, Stephens' Mews, are compiled from an account given by a member of the club to a meeting of delegates held on Sunday morning, May 17.

On Saturday night, May 9, the members of the club were quietly occupied in their usual discussion and games when a loud noise was heard outside the club. The doors and windows were assailed by the police and a mob. The police incited the mob with cries against the "bloody foreigners," etc. The windows were smashed, and the police with drawn truncheons forced their way into the club-room, accompanied by a number of plain-clothes men and a mob. The members were at once assaulted by the police and the premises ransacked. One member, on appealing for protection to a policeman was told he would be protected with this—and a truncheon was thrust in his face. Another member was knocked down and trampled on, while the blood was flowing from a wound in his face inflicted by the police. A rush was made upstairs and the whole premises overhauled. Between fifty and sixty members were arrested and conveyed to the station, further maltreatment being inflicted on the prisoners by the police on the way. One of the prisoners, Schumann, was further assaulted in the police station by a constable who struck him a blow on the face with his fist, although his face was already streaming with blood from a wound near the eye, inflicted by a policeman's staff.

The police did not produce a warrant nor offer any excuse for the attack, nor did they in the least try to restrain the mob, but rather encouraged them. About £50 worth of property was stolen or spoilt. The beer-taps were turned on, the cigars stolen, and some goods stolen from several of the members' wives who were in the club. Most significant of all, the whole of the books and papers were carried off, the desk in which they were locked being broken open.

Steps are being taken to protest against this unwarrantable outrage. Delegates from a large number of London clubs have been summoned to consider the matter and take action. It is now fully admitted even by the capitalist press, that the attack was unprovoked and savage in the extreme. The prosecution against the members of the club has been adjourned for a fortnight, and all the prisoners liberated on their own recognisances. If the prosecution had a case, this would not have been done. But, on the other hand, the members have applied for and been granted a summons against the police authorities. The legal expenses will be heavy, and it is hoped that the readers of the *Commonweal* will contribute towards defraying them. William Morris, Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith, has been chosen treasurer, and will be glad to receive subscriptions.

A meeting of 40 to 50 delegates from London Clubs was held at 27 Farringdon Street on May 20, and unanimously passed the following resolution after a brief discussion, which was characterised by indignation on the part of the delegates against the police: "That this meeting of delegates of London Clubs, having heard the statement of the Provisional Committee and of the delegates of the International Club, resolves to form itself into a Committee charged to defend the cause of the International Club." Eleven of those present were not formally delegates as the notice of meeting was too short to get the formal sanction of their committees. The choice of William Morris as Treasurer of a fund to bear the legal expenses of prosecuting the police was endorsed. J. L. Mahon was chosen, *pro tem.* Secretary, with instructions to call a meeting of London Clubs of all kinds, and issue public appeal for funds. A barrister offered his services free. A meeting of London Club delegates will be held, probably on Wednesday June 3. J. L. M.

LECTURE DIARY: June, 1885.

- Friday, 5.—Merton Abbey, W. B. Adams, "Internationalism."
 Sunday, 7.—Hoxton, G. W. Fox, "Modern Fallacies."
 " Mile End, W. C. Wade, "England in the Fifteenth Century, and Now."
 " Hammersmith, a Lecture.
 " Woolwich, Radical Club, William Street, Edward Aveling, "Capital and Surplus Value."
 Friday, 12.—Merton Abbey, Frank Kitz, "Our Civilisation."
 Sunday 14.—Hoxton, H. Charles, "Society versus State."
 " Mile End, W. B. Adams, "Emigration."
 " Hammersmith, William Morris, "Hopes of Civilisation."
 Friday, 19.—Merton Abbey, C. W. Mowbray, "Development of Revolutionary Ideas."
 Sunday, 21.—Hoxton, David Nicoll, "The Coming Revolution."
 " Mile End, H. Halliday, "The Blind Samson."
 " Hammersmith, a Lecture.
 Friday, 26.—Merton Abbey, H. Charles, "Development of German Socialism."
 Sunday, 28.—Hoxton, Frank Kitz, "A Glance at the History of the Working Class."
 " Mile End, W. C. Wade, "Brotherhood."
 " Hammersmith, a Lecture.
 " Northampton Branch of the National Secular Society, Gold Street, William Morris, at 11 a.m., "Work as it is, and as it might be," at 7 p.m., "Hopes of Civilisation."

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

- Hoxton.—Pitfield Street, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. 7, J. L. Mahon and W. C. Wade.
 14, Halliday and David Nicoll. 21, Joseph Lane. 28, C. W. Mowbray.
 Canning Town.—Barking Road, at 3.30 p.m. 7, C. W. Mowbray. 14, Joseph Lane.
 21, W. C. Wade. 28, R. Banner and W. Bridges Adams.

BRANCH LECTURE ROOMS.

- Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Hoxton Academy Schools, Hoxton Street, N.
 Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.
 Mile End.—110 White Horse Street, Stepney, E.
 Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey.
 Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Open-air station, Vicar's Croft.
 Bradford.—3 Crab Street, Hall Lane.
 Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—Picardy Hall, 20 Picardy Place. Meets every Saturday at 7.30 p.m.

A BENEFIT for Adam Weiler on June 23rd, at 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Tickets at 27 Farringdon Street.



THE Provisional Council has decided to summon the first General Meeting of members to be held in London on Sunday, July 5. Delegates will attend from the Provincial Branches. The business before the meeting will include reports of the past work and present position of the League, the consideration of a set of permanent rules, and the election of a new Executive Council. A detailed agenda of the business will be duly forwarded to each branch, and further particulars published in the next issue of the *Commonweal*.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.—On February 14 the following circular was issued:—"The Socialist League (Britain) of International Revolutionary Socialists has no part in the calling of the proposed International Conference of Socialists purporting to be held in this country during this year; and we beg to inform our comrades abroad that we shall not be represented at that Conference if it meets." This is now published as some uncertainty about the Conference prevails. Foreign Exchanges are requested to reprint as we have not the addresses of all who were summoned to the Conference.

A lecture list has been printed containing a list of sixteen speakers, members of the Socialist League, who are willing to visit London and Provincial Clubs. Copies will be sent on application to any clubs that have not already received them.

At the conclusion of Edward Aveling's Lessons on Socialism a Social Entertainment will be held on Thursday, June 11, at the South Place Institute. The programme will be opened with a prologue by William Morris, and will include songs, musical performances and recitations by Eleanor Marx Aveling and Ann Taylor, and Edward Aveling, Adams, Bax, Percy, Taylor, Flick, Haendel, Nicoll, and the Choir of the International Working Men's Club. Door open at 8, to commence at 8.30 p.m. Tickets of admission at sixpence to all parts of the hall to be had from the Secretary of the Socialist League; Mrs. Aveling, 55 Great Russell Street; Miss May Morris, Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith; A. Scheu, Mainwaring, W. Morris, Lane, etc.

At the meeting of the Council on May 11, Frank Kitz and Lane gave an account of the police-raid on the International Club at Stephens Mews, and proposed the following resolution, which was unanimously passed:—"The Provisional Council of the Socialist League, after hearing the statement of facts concerning the outrage by the police on the members of the International Club of Stephens Mews, is of opinion that the police acted on that occasion in a most brutal and unjustifiable manner, and that this Council determines to take immediate steps to call public attention to the dangerous tactics of the police authorities." This resolution has been published in several of the daily papers, and a committee appointed to carry the last part of it into effect. J. L. MAHON, Sec.

REPORTS.

GLASGOW, EDINBURGH AND CHESTERFIELD were visited by William Morris. On April 24th he gave a most successful reading in aid of the Glasgow Branch of the Scottish Section; on the following evening a lecture at Picardy Hall, Edinburgh, which was well attended; and on Sunday, 26th, a lecture in Glasgow. On Tuesday a lecture was delivered to a good audience at Chesterfield. Unfortunately the Glasgow and Edinburgh Branch Secretaries have not forwarded reports.

POPLAR TOWN HALL.—On Friday evening, May 1, a public debate on Socialism was held in Poplar Town Hall, the chair being occupied by H. H. Champion, Hon. Sec. S. D. F. The audience was large and enthusiastic. The speakers were Arnold White and J. E. Williams (S. D. F.). The former moved a resolution to the effect that, "In the opinion of this meeting, the forcible acquisition of the means of production will not conduce to the permanent advantage of the poor;" whereas the latter moved the affirmative. On the opinion of the meeting being taken, it was found that a large majority sided with Williams.

GREENWICH.—On Monday evening, April 27, in the Hall of the Greenwich Liberal Club, Edward Aveling lectured on Scientific Socialism before a tolerably large and very attentive audience. The chair was occupied by the Rev. Ronald Bayne, Curate of St. Alostage, Greenwich. At the conclusion of the lecture, the chairman offered a few criticisms, and several questions were asked and answered.

HOXTON.—A meeting was held in Hoxton Academy Schools on May 3, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray in the chair. J. Lane delivered a lecture on "The National Loaf: who earns it and who eats it." Discussion ensued, in which Charles Mowbray, Binning, etc., took part. At 8 p.m., on May 10 (Halliday in the chair) a lecture was delivered by Andreas Scheu, "Source of Wealth, and Cause of Poverty," which was well received by the audience, who highly appreciated the lecturer's oration. On Sunday, May 17 (David Nicholl in the chair) J. L. Mahon delivered a lecture on "Politicians and Socialists." A discussion ensued in which Thomas Binning, Mainwaring and Pope took part.—G. W. Fox.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, May 3, our comrade Edward Aveling lectured, or rather gave a lesson on "Capital and Surplus Value." His lucid exposition was much appreciated by the audience, many of whom gave their names as being desirous of attending a series of Lessons in Socialism, which Dr. Aveling has consented to give in Hammersmith shortly. On May 10 our treasurer, William Morris, lectured to a crowded audience, taking as his subject "How shall we help?" The lecture was especially addressed to Socialists, on whom Morris urged their duty, as members of a militant body, to be constantly on the alert to attack the evils of commercialism. The discussion which followed was lively, and at its close several names were given in for the classes on Socialism. On Sunday, May 17, W. J. Clark gave a short address on "Imperialism and Democracy." His exposition of the fallacies of Radicalism provoked a considerable controversy. It has been determined in future to hold the business meetings on Sundays at 7 o'clock, instead of on Wednesdays as heretofore. The first meeting was held on the 17th. ult. with gratifying results, there being a good attendance of members.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The July number (6) will be ready on Tuesday, June 30th, and will be issued with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Saturday, 27th.

Supplement to "The Commonwealth."

VOL. I.—No. 5.

JUNE, 1885.

ATTRACTIVE LABOUR.

IN what I wrote last month I tried to make it clear that under the wages-system labour is bound to be unattractive as well as excessive in quantity and underpaid. The creation of surplus value being the one aim of the employers of labour, they cannot for a moment trouble themselves as to whether the work which creates that surplus value is pleasurable to the worker or not. In fact in order to get the greatest amount possible of surplus value out of the work, and to make a profit in the teeth of competition, it is absolutely necessary that it should be done under such conditions as make (as I wrote in my last) a mere burden which nobody would endure unless upon compulsion. This is admitted on all hands, nay is loudly insisted on by anti-Socialists. The necessity for the existence of class distinctions as a means of compelling people to work is always present in their thoughts; and no wonder, since the only type of worker that they can conceive of is the worker of to-day, degraded by centuries of forced labour, wearisome and hopeless. To such a man, indeed, ever fresh and fresh compulsion must be applied at any cost, at any risk, until the string breaks with the strain. It is no wonder that the bare idea of the destruction of the hierarchy of compulsion terrifies those who rejoice in our modern civilisation. But for us whose business is leading people towards the destruction of that hierarchy, who believe that men's morals, aspirations, and what not, are made by their material surroundings, there is no room for fear of the consequences of revolution. We do not *fear* for the transformation of civilisation, we *hope* for it; nay it is an assured hope for us which consoles us for the disappointments and griefs of the passing day, which makes "life worth living" for us; and my reason for writing this is to do my best to quicken that hope in the minds of our comrades. For that purpose I want if I can to give a very slight sketch of attractive labour which, of course, I presuppose is to be done not for the profit of a master, but for the production of wealth for the use of ourselves and our neighbours.

I can see, without much straining, labour going on under quite the reverse of the circumstances which surround it at present, and yet the world none the poorer for it. It would, one might think, be possible in the first place for a man to choose the work which he could do best; which if he were a healthily constituted man in mind and body, would mean from the outset that his work would be no longer a mere burden to him, since everyone likes to do what he can do well; there is at least some pleasure in such work. This choice of work would not be difficult; for though it may seem under our present profit-ridden conditions that people have little choice in such matters, are listless and don't care what they do, so they can but live by it pretty easily—this state of mind is artificially produced by commercial tyranny. People's innate capacities are pretty much as various as their faces are; but individual character and varied capacity are not cherished by the system which tends to get rid of skilled labour altogether. If a man would live now, as a part of industrial economy, he must submit to be the hundredth part of a machine and swallow any longings he may have to exercise any special faculty.

But in a reasonable community these varied capacities would be looked out for and cultivated; the industrial arts would be an essential part of all education, and not only would they be taught gradually and easily to children, and as a part of their pastime, but grown men also would have opportunities for learning more than one craft. There would be no reason for forcing them to practice one craft only all their lives long. Nay many, or most, men would be carrying on more than one occupation from day to day. Surely almost everyone would wish to take some share in field or garden work besides his indoor occupation, even if it were no more than helping to get in the harvest or *save the hay*; and such occasions would become really the joyous and triumphant festivals which the poets have dreamed of them as being, and of which pleasure there is still some hint or, it may be, survival in *barbarous* countries. But besides such obvious change in work as this, there could certainly be found useful outdoor occupation whereby a person could vary his or her indoor work; helping, for instance, in the work which has to do with the transit of foods. It needs but people to turn their attention to life and not to profit-scraping to find such opportunities.

This matter of fitting people's work to their capacities and not, as now, their capacities to their work, would be the most important reversal of the present system of labour. And though my hint about it has been put in a few words, I beg our readers to consider what a difference it would make in labour if it were carried out. It is not too much to say that the difference would be immeasurable; labour so set about would not differ in degree from our present labour but in kind. But to complete the change, two other elements are necessary: leisure and pleasantness of external surroundings. I need not say much about the first, it may be thought, since among the better-off part of the workers the struggle with the employers about the length of the working-day has been going on so long, and in our own times, so obviously; though even with these it has been and is being fought on the assumption that the wages-system is to endure for ever—that the hierarchy of compulsion is necessary and the shortening of the day's labour has really meant a mere raising of wages.

As for real leisure in work I am afraid I must say that working men do not know what it means; their work being generally an anxious, strained hurry of drudgery, varied by what the natural repulsion to such slavery is sure to bring about as a reflection of it, a listless dawdling through the day, when owing to the due driver not being to the fore they are able to indulge in it. Both of these miseries are miles apart from the way of working when people are not working for wages, but for the wealth of the community: the work would be done deliberately and thoughtfully for the good's sake and not for the profit's sake, but cleanly and briskly too, under the influence of hope and the looking, not to next day's drudgery, but this day's further pleasure by men saying, "Let us get through with this job, and then on to the next piece of our life." In work so done there is no slavery; whereas ordinary work now is nothing but slavery. It is only a question whether the slaves shall be idle or industrious. Perhaps on the whole, looking at the effect on the community, they had better be idle.

Work so done, with variety and intelligently, not intensified to the bursting point of the human machine, and yet with real workmanlike, or rather artistic eagerness, would not be a burden, but an interest added to life quite apart from its necessity; with such work to do we might even bear with equanimity as a temporary evil, some of the discomforts of our town life, though surely not the dreadful squalor which the hierarchy of compulsion condemns us to to-day. But there is no reason why we should bear with the discomforts; it is, for instance, only the necessity for making a profit that compels us to the wretched and even ridiculous want of elbow-room, which is the universal rule in factories.

The crowding up of factories into huge towns, or congeries of towns, is a thing which we shall refuse to bear when we work voluntarily and for the purpose of leading happy lives. A great deal of work is still done on the workshop rather than the factory system. There is no sort of need for these workshops being heaped together in the mass of disorder and misery which we call a big town. Centres of a manageable size would afford all the necessary elements of life and refinement and movement when all were educated and had the leisure which alone can make education valuable, and had the intelligence which, pretty equally distributed among every knot of men and women, would not be repressed by sordid misery. The only thing which makes huge centres desirable to the privileged few at present, is the fact that the lives of the greater part of men are wasted in drudgery. On the other hand, where associated labour on the large scale was necessary, and the factory system in its fullest organisation had to be used, each of those factories highly improved as to the means of production, as it would be, should be itself a town. It should be no mere phalangstery on a philanthropical basis, arranged for the passing an existence somewhat better indeed than our helpless wage-slaves of the mill now live, but bare of the real joys of life; but it should contain in itself all the resources for a refined and well-occupied life—at once manly, restful and eager. There is no reason why it should not be beautiful itself, and the country about it might well be a garden. When we were working for our own wealth, and not the waste of others, we should surely think it well in spending part of our work on housing ourselves decently, and on taking care that we left behind our work no signs of the haste, bred by the terror of ruin and starvation, in the shape of smoke and ash-

heaps and all the unutterable filth which now disgrace our manufacturing districts and distinctly brand the work done there for what it is—work done by helpless slaves for helpless masters.

But work done under such conditions as I have been trying to sketch out would, I am sure, be attractive to all except the exceptions, the monsters of vagabondage and loafing who are now bred by the excessive overwork which is the general lot of the workers or by the privileged idleness of the rich, and whose descendants might last through a few generations, but would soon melt into the general body of people living in the happy exercise of energy.

By such work and such a life we should be set free from intestine warfare among ourselves for the nobler contest with Nature, and should find that she also, when conquered, would be our friend, and not our enemy.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANISE!

II.

If you wish the revolution of society to evolve apace, *Educate*, though this task be even harder than to *Agitate*, the people.

Educate! Reform and train, enlighten and invigorate yourself and fellow-workers in mind and soul and body; for the battling to be done needs men and women of clear intellect, of sympathetic social impulse, of strong determination and enduring frame. *Educate!* Not in the sense and meaning of the Philistine, but right against and in the teeth of him. Not by coating over the savage with an outward gloss of gentility, that will not stand the scratch, but by instilling into the very life-blood of those you are dealing with those elements of reason and emotion which will give them strength to proclaim their convictions, to stand forth in protest and rise in rebellion against the rule of brute force, fraud and hypocrisy!

Educate! Though your task be as gigantic and your labours seem as ill-rewarded as the toil of Sisyphus. *Educate!* Although you have not only to undo the work of professional idiots, of quacks and cheats, who do their pernicious business with the approval and subsidy of the State, but you have also to counteract the influence of those very circumstances and surroundings, which are the cause of, and continually recreate, the boundless misery and ignorance of this world.

Educate! Learn and teach to combat all prejudice and superstition. Give rational scope to the exercise of your senses so that you may trust and obey them safely and to the exclusion of all and every "authority." Never blindly take for granted anything you hear simply because someone with a name and with a station has asserted it; but doubt and inquire, try and investigate before you judge, so that you may become *convinced* of a truth and need not *believe* it. Study the laws which have been found to determine the phenomena of nature and those of animal life, so that you may willingly comply with them for your sake and the sake of others; observe and study above all the chain of causes and effects which has brought about that form of human organisation which has for its purpose the *production and distribution of wealth: Society*. For it is only when you understand the true nature of this institution, the conditions of its existence and its life, the manner and tendency of its growth and development, that you will be able to gauge the motives of human action, of human passion and desire, of human love and hatred, of human wealth and poverty!

Educate! It is *this* knowledge, mainly, or the want of it, which will determine whether our race is to fall into barbarism naked and undisguised, or whether it is to evolve into a higher and nobler form of existence:

Educate! Learn and teach that man is eminently a social being; the creature, not of himself, but of society, of its arrangements and opportunities, its liberties and compulsions, its privileges and its constraints. There is no "self-made man" any more than there is, for the matter of that, a "self-grown" flower or a "self-composed" mineral. All his acquirements and shortcomings, all the force or weakness of his character, all his virtues and his vices, and all his luck or misadventures, he owes to his natural inheritance, the circumstances he was born into and the chances he came across in the path of his aggressive or defensive life. The struggle for existence, which in the animal world results on the whole in the survival of the fittest, has in human society, with its artificial divisions, assumed a modified aspect. What with superstition, authoritative rule and capitalism, the struggle for existence between man and man has become a wild and reckless scramble for an *advantageous position*, from the pinnacle of which the favourites of circumstances may with impunity exploit, coerce and rule their

less fortunate fellow-creatures. This unequal battle for an advantageous position is not conducive to the evolution towards perfection of the human kind. Its pressure crushes, rather than gives scope to, noble gifts and humane aspirations, whilst it allows the cunning and unscrupulous to raise themselves to power.

Educate! Learn and explain what are your "liberties," and what is meant by "freedom." We are free of mind when our mental faculties are strong and are acting healthily; we are free in body when we enjoy the full use of all the mechanical faculties of our physical frame. But to ensure substantial freedom of mind and body, that is, of ourselves, there is necessary to us another freedom, and that is the *possibility of securing the conditions* which will keep our mind and body in a state of healthy life, namely, *food and shelter*.

This *economical power*, the power of sustaining life and making it worth living, is the *Fountainhead of Freedom*. It is at present the privilege of a few; to make it attainable to everyone, to spread its humanising influence over all the members of society, is the main object of Socialism. History is but the tale of a contest with nature; with the poverty, the ignorance, the helplessness, and with the constraint of every kind which, at the beginning of record, the human species found itself bound by. To gradually overcome such powerlessness it needed the banding together of individuals into social groups, and hence it follows that the aim and purpose of society must be the evolution of all its members to that degree of freedom which, by their isolated individual efforts they would ever fail to attain—to *Social Freedom*. A society in which the few are rich and the many poor; in which the rich are idle and the poor overworked; in which the idle are debauched through abuse of their abundant means, and the overworked are enfeebled and demoralised through want and servitude—such a society fulfils not its purpose; it stands condemned and cursed by its results, and its days are numbered.

Educate! For by so doing you will hasten the downfall of the old and the advent of a new form of society—a society in which there is no room for slaves or masters; which knows no private enterprise and risk, no private gain or disadvantage; a society in which both human toil and pain are lessened, and human joys increased a thousandfold, through being shared by all in common; in which, through joint-responsibility of all, a chance to each is given to unfold his natural gifts for good in all their might and splendour, whilst his evil leanings even so for want of chance must perish.

Educate! Whilst lifting up your minds and morals in pursuance of our lofty aims, be not neglectful of your bodies; for healthy minds need healthy frames to dwell in, and New Society's birth, perhaps abnormal, may need your help in many ways. 'Tis but too true that most of you have hardly any choice, but let those who have, look not to fashionable food—for that is always dear, like everything the crowd goes after—but here, as in the better food elected for your mind, break up new roads and study that which even for your little means will bring the stronger nourishment. Seek light and air and healthful exercise to gain and keep the funds of strength so needful to the lives of pioneers, and if it be too late to get them for yourselves, strain every nerve to have the healthier conditions for your children. Make them hard of body, clear of head, keen of eye, and warm and steadfast in the love of truth and beauty. Teach them to know no one above nor anyone below them, to neither fear the one, nor threaten the other, but to vie with their equals only in one endeavour: to excel in fitness for the common task, whose fulfilment will bring them happiness. *Educate!* Thus tutored will the generation grow, which is to gain and see, and to enjoy that day of social freedom our souls are longing for!

Educate! Educate! Educate!

ANDREAS SCHEU.

With the "pluck" worthy of junior representatives of this great nation, some half-dozen louts belonging to the English middle classes attacked and did to death a small boy a short while ago. The louts were in the "upper forms" of King's College School, their victim in the lower. An official inquiry is to be opened, and the affair is in the hands of the Public Prosecutor. Had the murder occurred in the course of a row between roughs on the Embankment, the perpetrator or perpetrators would doubtless have been singled out and have met with condign punishment. As it is, the criminals being "the sons of gentlemen," and the honour of the functionaries of a high-class public school being at stake, the evidence will as certainly be found "insufficient to procure conviction." The coroner's jury has already considerably returned a verdict of "death from misadventure" in as clear a case of (to say the least) manslaughter as ever came before a jury. But, after all, the country can, perhaps, hardly afford to blight the prospects of these noble youths. They bid fair to make admirable British soldiers—*i.e.*, Arab-shooters.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

FRANCE.—When we were told some few weeks ago that in consequence of the damning revelations of M. Andrieux, ex-prefect of police, the "political prisoners" would be amnestied, everyone believed the statement. It seemed impossible even for a bourgeois Republic to avoid such an act of common decency. But we had reckoned without our virtuous and patriotic Republicans. The political prisoners are *not* to be amnestied. A "pardon" was indeed offered Louise Michel, but she refused to accept it. It is so difficult for the average bourgeois of "sated virtue" and "solvent morals" to understand the motives that actuate such a woman as Louise Michel that her refusal to leave her prison is looked on as but one more sign of madness. But could an honourable woman have done anything else? Louise Michel and a number of other persons were condemned—Louise being denounced and generally looked upon as the "leader" of the others. She naturally asks why should the leader be spared when the followers are punished? And until all her fellow prisoners are amnestied, Louise will continue in gaol with them; she shared their "crime" and will share the penalty.

The number of persons receiving "relief" in Paris has augmented to an almost incredible extent within the last ten or twelve years. The following figures will give some idea of how the misery of the people in Republican and Malthusian Paris has grown. The number of "paupers" was, in 1861, 90,287; 1863, 101,570; 1866, 105,119; 1869, 111,357; 1872, 101,719; 1874, 113,713; 1877, 113,317; 1880, 123,735; 1883, 123,324. On the subject of the present condition of the workers, a Parisian friend has given me some very interesting details. For example, in the street where he lives, a sort of "bureau" has been opened, where working men, by applying at 8 o'clock in the morning, can get a piece of bread and glass of water. Be it noted that *respectable working men* (not even the most unhappy class of the permanently unemployed) *only* are admitted, and yet, from 3 o'clock in the morning, a crowd draws up in front of the bureau, and, to get a piece of bread and glass of water, hundreds wait there for hours!

The excitement in Paris over the possible war, or wars, has thrown all other matters into the shade. For the time being, however, the coming election is beginning to occupy public opinion. On the subject of the election a correspondent in Paris writes that, "the manner of voting will be changed: it will be by *scrutin de liste*, and takes place in this wise. The town of Paris formerly elected twenty deputies, each person voting for a deputy in his own quarter. For the future every elector will vote for a list of twenty deputies, who will represent the department of the Seine, instead of voting by *arrondissement* (quarter). This voting by list forces fractions of the same colour to coalesce in order to make common cause in the electoral struggle. The monarchists, Legitimists and Orleanists, "pure" and "impure," and the dirtiest of Bonapartists will join hands to get out one monarchical list. The Opportunists are trying to get M. Clémenceau and a portion of the Radicals to join them; they even announce that M. Clémenceau and other Radicals will be placed upon their list. It is probable that Clémenceau will have to protest against this use of his name for electioneering purposes.

The Socialist party wishes to make use of the *scrutin de liste* in order to bring union into its ranks. For some years the Socialist party in France, and especially in Paris, has been much divided, and consequently it has not been represented in electoral bodies as it might be. At the present time a central committee has united eighty-two syndical chambers (*i.e.*, trades unions) and Socialist organisations. So the union of all the Socialist bodies has fairly begun."

GERMANY.—In connection with the recent police outrage at the Working Men's Club, in St. Stephen's Mews, the following facts as to a similar outrage committed by the Berlin police may not be without interest. A public meeting—to which I believe I referred briefly in the first number of the *Commonweal*—was held in the 6th electoral district of Berlin to celebrate the return to the Reichstag of the Socialist deputy Pfaunkuch. This meeting, although carried on in the most orderly fashion, was forcibly broken up by the police. Many persons were violently assaulted, and when, after they had been attacked in the most brutal fashion, they defended themselves and refused to allow the police to ill-use them, were arrested for "assault." It was, of course, perfectly clear to everyone that the whole thing had been got up by the police in order to cause a disturbance at the meeting, and to get a chance of arresting a certain number of Socialists. The case has now been tried in Berlin, and although the reactionary press had indignantly denied the responsibility of the police in the whole business, it was indisputably proved that it was an organised assault on the part of the police. Police-Lieutenant Zieske, "one of those silly people who are too stupid even for the Prussian police," admitted in his evidence that he had received orders to provoke the meeting—which was affected to be a large one—into making a riot by forcibly dissolving it without any pretext whatever. Other witnesses also spoke to the brutality of the police. The accused, four in number, were, despite this evidence, *not contradicted by the police*, respectively condemned to from four months imprisonment and two weeks of arrest to two months imprisonment.

While Socialists were being thus dealt with in Berlin, two other trials, of a somewhat similar nature—*i.e.*, for assaults on officers in the discharge of their duties—were going on at Ebling and at Hanover. In the first town some "respectable" persons, arrested at a *Conservative* meeting, which had become so riotous and disorderly that the interference of the military was necessary, were either acquitted, or, in ex-

trême cases, sentenced to four weeks' imprisonment; and in the second, some drunken officers, who had assaulted the night-watch and beaten them with their drawn swords, were, though sentenced to a few days' imprisonment, released immediately after. A correspondent of the *Sozial Demokrat* contrasts these light sentences passed on riotous Conservatives and drunken officers with those inflicted upon Socialists "who had been provoked in the most infamous fashion, and who are punished with four months' imprisonment. Such is the 'equality in the eyes of the law' in our capital, as administered by 'irresponsible' judges."

ITALY.—That this land of sunshine and of beauty is yet, so far as its people are concerned, one of the poorest and most wretched in all Europe, in all the world, is a well-known fact. That the peasants are at least trying to make some stand against the land thieves is good news, and from the papers I see that an important movement has begun among the agricultural labourers in Mantua. It is true these men at present ask from their landlords only such a wage as shall buy them their daily bread, but their exploiters, at all events, have understood that this "means mischief," and have denounced their labourers as Socialists, and demanded military support from the Government. Hereupon larger districts in the province were occupied by the military, and the officials of all the agricultural labourers' unions, *over 200 men*, were arrested, and sent off to the prison at Mantua. In all villages the funds of the unions were seized, all letters and lists of members taken away, and this it would appear simply by order of the police. Of course, the peasants are accused of "outrages," and it is said a few vines were hurt, and even some cattle maimed; but on the showing of the police itself, there was nothing to warrant such an arrest *en masse*. What the Government actually intend doing with all the troops called out it is impossible to say, but bad as this beginning has been, probably "worse remains behind." Meantime a large demonstration by the agricultural labourers has been prevented, but one of the papers asks, "Will this prevent their going to the towns to demand with violence the liberation of those arrested? The numerous cavalry patrols that constantly occupy the high roads may possibly prevent the arrival of the peasants for a time. But will minds be pacified in this manner, and is the Government itself competent—has it the power—to bring about an understanding between the masters and labourers on this great question of agricultural production? It must not be forgotten that it is the most bitter need that is driving the peasantry to such acts."

DENMARK.—The political situation here is very strained. The ministry has been in a minority for ten years. Three times the Folkething has been dissolved, and three times has the Opposition returned, each time stronger than before. In the 1884 election three Socialists were returned—Holm, tailor; Hördum, shoemaker; Trier, professor. The situation has been aggravated of late by the Government, although the Folkething had refused the budget, arranging the finances and thus violating the constitution. The Opposition appealed to the shocked public spirit, advising the entering of the rifle corps and the habituating themselves to the use of arms. The people replied by joining the corps *en masse*. Then the Government forbade the importation of arms into Denmark, and began to bring pressure to bear on the rifle corps. All State officials (especially the schoolmasters) were attacked if they took part in the organisation of these corps. Journals, especially the Socialist ones, are constantly being prosecuted. All this does not intimidate the people. The last Sunday in April the ministerial party called their adherents together in the Hippodrome. They only mustered 3,000—4,000. At Nørrefeld (a place of exercise for the garrison) 70,000 met under the Socialist flag to protest against the action of the Government. The *Social Demokrat* spoke out clearly of the revolutionary character of the meeting. Most of the journals said it was the largest ever organised, and the reactionary papers did not dare to speak of the numbers present. The Socialist party has not felt it a duty or a wisdom to especially initiate the movement against the Government; or, in other words, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Radicals. But through its representatives it has declared that if the Opposition is consistent in its conduct, it can always reckon on the labour classes. Denmark has two daily Socialist papers—the *Social Demokrat* (Copenhagen) 18,000 subscribers, and *Demokraten* (Aarhus).

AMERICA.—The London papers published a short cablegram a few weeks ago, stating that eight "tenement houses" in New York had all collapsed, causing considerable damage. No more, at least so far as I am aware, has here been said about the matter, but it is one that deserves more than a passing notice, not only because of the sensation it has created in New York, nor because the "damage" included the death of one working man and severe injuries to many others, but because the whole affair is so characteristic of our modern commercial system. These eight houses that have all literally fallen to pieces were built by one Buddensiek, an ex-butcher, who had taken to house speculation. A few words as to this gentleman's antecedents. He was, as I have said, by trade a butcher and had a butcher's shop. Some years ago, however, he turned his attention to building and constructed a large tenement house in Second Avenue. The house soon let, but almost as soon, it was found, not only that the basement filled with water, but that "a hideous stench filled all the rooms" Illness broke out, and finally workmen had to be called in to examine the building. It was found that Buddensiek instead of having the chief drain of the large house made to communicate with the canal, had found it cheaper to have it taken only some twenty-five feet off, and there covered over. His next exploit was to build some houses in Fifty-two Street. Here again, they had hardly been let before malaria, diphtheria, etc., broke out

among the lodgers, and on examination it again appeared that so bad were the materials and so careless the workmanship of the various pipes and drains that "the water from closets and sinks dripped into the cellars, turning them into a regular death-giving swamp." Nothing daunted, it appears from the Sanitary Commission of 1879 that thirteen charges were brought against Buddensiek, and since then he has on ten different occasions been prosecuted. Disgusted at such unwarranted interference with his individual liberty, Buddensiek took to using "men of straw," in whose name he carried on his business of builder. Of these men one or two were arrested, but on the ground of a technical error escaped punishment. So much for Mr. Buddensiek's past. So far, it will be seen, that he has been invariably successful, and but for the collapse of the houses alluded to, nothing of all this would probably have come to light. But the authorities, much against the grain, for it has since been proved that many of the building inspectors, and other officials, had been bribed by the ex-butcher, have been forced to take steps against him, as the death of the working man Walter, caused by the fall of the houses, had to be examined into before the coroner. Witness after witness was called, and proved that it was absolutely impossible that the houses (I should add that these were philanthropically built for the "benefit" of the working classes) could possibly hold together any length of time, and that "the only wonder is how they could be run up at all." C. B. Malone, of the Bricklayers' Union said: "The stuff used for mortar was clay and bad lime instead of sand and good lime. But sand costs two to three dollars a load, and clay costs nothing. To enrich himself, and other contractors, Buddensiek risks the life of his workmen and the unfortunates who are forced to live in such miserable jerry-houses. Buddensiek constantly employs 'scabs' who work under the union wages, and it is most marvellous that more of these houses have not fallen in." Evidence like this by competent workmen, far too voluminous to quote here, has been brought forward.

In their verdict the jury declare Buddensiek and his partner Frank chiefly responsible for the death of the man Walter, but that this is also due in part to the "incompetence and the neglect of duty of Inspectors Dailey and Mackey." In consequence of this verdict, Buddensiek and his accomplice, Charles Frank, as also Inspectors Dailey and Mackey, have been placed under arrest.

At the coroner's inquest the insolent manner of Buddensiek has caused no little indignation. The following passage from the report of the inquest is interesting. One of the witnesses, a mason, pointed out that the bricks used were so bad that "some crumbled up in one's hand, while others were so damp and soft, they stuck together." "Who stuck together?" asked the defendant's lawyer. "The bricks," explained the coroner. "Oh! I thought the working men," answered the lawyer, laughing. The coroner was silent for a moment, and then said: "I should not wonder if the working men would stick together one fine day, but for a different purpose!"

The indignation of the working classes in New York has been so great there were "fears" that Mr. Buddensiek might be lynched. A large meeting was called to consider the whole matter—for in New York alone there are 1,500 houses built by this enterprising butcher on the same ingenious plan. The police were extremely anxious to prevent this meeting (for there is not the shadow of a doubt that, besides the two Inspectors who have been arrested, a large number of the "officials" in New York are compromised in the affair), and, in order to stop it, resorted to the usual police tactics. The meeting was to be held at Wendel's Assembly Rooms, and Police-Inspector Walling wrote to the proprietor of the hall that "the Socialists intended to make a riot, and that he would do wisely not to let his hall for such a purpose." But Captain Wendel answered that he should certainly not break his contract, and that he would not prevent the meeting. Then "Walling instructed the Commander of the 22nd district, Captain Kililea, to call on Wendel and put the matter to him again. Kililea sent a detective to Wendel, who, however, could not induce him to alter his determination, and was obliged to report that Wendel would not let himself be intimidated. When Captain Kililea heard this he had the alarm-bell rung and called out all his reserves—thirty men—and ordered them off to the hall. They were armed with revolvers and bludgeons." Of course they could not prevent the meeting, at which thousands were present, while thousands had to remain outside for want of room in the hall. The resolution passed at the meeting, besides denouncing the "professional murderer Buddensiek" and his accomplices, the "bribed officials," declares that the meeting "sees in men like Buddensiek and his fellow-criminals the necessary product of the method of capitalistic production, with its consequences of wild hunting after wealth and contempt for human life," and "calls on the workers of New York to have a care that severe justice be dealt out, not only to this one villain, but to work with all their strength to bring about a juster social condition, that will put an end to all Buddensieks." This resolution was enthusiastically carried, and Captain Kililea's thirty men, having stayed to the end of the meeting and made no sign, then marched back again to the station-house to report.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

TO MESSRS. GIFFEN, LEVI AND CO.

(Iron Founders' Society's Report for February, 1885.)

WE now present to your notice a very interesting table, which we hope will be instructive and useful to our members. It is a very good reply to the professional accountants, who are very desirous to impress upon the general public that the working-class incomes have so largely increased during the last twenty years. It would, perhaps, be folly to deny that our

order has not benefited by the rapid strides made in the increased wealth of the country at large. It is, therefore, interesting to know, from actual figures and facts, how much increase, if any, has actually come into the pockets of the mechanics and labourers. The answer, so far as our own particular trade is concerned, is given in the table printed in this issue; the accuracy of the figures can be vouched for as gathered from our past annual reports, which are no supposition, but absolute facts. Really, in a monetary sense, we are no better paid than we were twenty years ago, when the cost of rent is taken into consideration. Then, again, look at the increased speed we are compelled to work at the moment any work comes into a shop; the pressure is put on and men are compelled to hurry on, and what for?—why, to hasten our discharge. We can remember the time when employers considered how men were to live when work got slack, and it was a great concern to them what the men would do when discharged from their employ. It is otherwise now with the large majority; they have no care or consideration for the men, very often thinking no more of them than a shovelful of coals or a piece of pig-iron, or hardly as much, because they feel that so much money has gone with the loss of the raw material; but human labor is a thing of very small account in their estimation. It is this feeling and acting on this principle that largely helps to make trade bad. Quantity, quantity is the cry. Quality is getting to be a thing of the past. What is the issue? The name for good work, which made our trade in the past, is fast leaving us; hence one of the reasons why the cry is ever raised, "The trade is leaving the country." They have only to thank themselves. Reckless competition is doing its fell work. Riches and wealth will never compensate for the decay of Men.

(Signed)

WM. HENRY KEY, A.C.S.

EDWARD WOOD, C.S.

EDWARD WATKINS, *Chairman.*

I herewith extract three averages of ten years, namely—1855 to 1864, 1865 to 1874, and 1875 to 1884, though in the report the figures are also given for each year:—

	Yearly average number of members in decade.	Average number of unemployed members	Proportion of unemployed members to every 100 members in the Society	Approximate weekly wages when at work.	Holidays and unemployed time deductions.	Net average wages per week of members.
First 10 years ...	7,459.2	941.3	12.6	£ s. d. 1 9 0	15 6	£ s. d. 1 4 6
Second 10 years...	10,251.2	1,257.3	12.2	1 11 6	16.7	1 6 3
Third 10 years ...	11,883.4	1,775.8	14.8	1 13 0	19.8	1 6 6

There are also reports for Feb., 1885, from 113 branches in the different manufacturing towns in Great Britain. In all except four trade is described as very bad; these four are described as improving.

As our friends the iron founders, according to their report, see with us so plainly the cause of slack trade, and the decay of men; also that hitherto their trade societies have been unable to bring about improvement, they should now reconsider their position; it is a case of cause and effect. The cause is monopoly and competition. The effect that all surplus wealth goes to the monopolists and exploiters of labour, (the idle), while those who produce all the wealth get in return just sufficient to keep them in working order and to beget children to take their place when worn out, just as in battle. We trust that they will now join hands with us for the removal of the cause as the only way to alter the effect, and that in place of the present struggle for a miserable existence we may so alter the conditions of that existence that every one shall work, and in return shall get all that he can require, not only food, clothes and shelter, but leisure and means of enjoyment. This can be done by associative effort only—call it Communism, Socialism, what you will.

JOSEPH LANE.

A friend writes deprecating a forcible revolution; it would be better, he says, to obtain justice without violence, lest we should have violence without justice. True; yet surely, whatever may be in the future, we have not far to seek to find violence without justice in the present. Do men choose a miserable life, or are they forced into it? No one wants violence if a decent life for everyone can be obtained without it. But it is to be feared that the natural sequence of enforced misery will be violent revolution. We ask our friend, is that the fault of the wretched or of the system which has made them wretched?

Our friend also regrets that the *Commonweal* shows a tendency towards Communism, and appears to be departing from Lassalle's position, that to everybody should be secured the fruits of his industry. We ask, in turn, how can you measure the fruits of a man's industry as an individual? It is as a social being, helping and helped by all others, that he can claim anything; and surely nothing but Communism can satisfy this claim, by taking his deeds, giving his needs.—W. M.

It is proposed to raise a fund for a testimonial to Mr. J. Sketchley, who for forty-six years has been working for the cause of the People. His long services are so well known that it is to be hoped the appeal on his behalf will be well responded to. William Morris is the treasurer of the fund.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

Vol. 1.—No. 6.

JULY, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

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NOTES ON THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

THE past fortnight has been fertile in surprises. By something as sudden as the stroke of Harlequin's wand, the Gladstone Ministry found itself resigning as the consequence of a defeat which was the result of "accident," say the Liberal leaders, with so much solemnity that it would be uncivil to doubt them. Yet when one considers that they were pledged to bring in a Coercion bill, which the Radical wing were pledged to oppose (though, indeed, they would pretty certainly have broken that pledge), one can't help thinking that if it was not an accident carefully provided for, it was an accident that resulted from a sudden flash of inspiration on the part of the leaders, who saw on the night of the debate what could be made of the turn which things were taking. By such inspirations do great generals win battles, and usually they are not so modest as to call them accidents afterwards.

The trap, though thus laid in the sight of the bird, was entered with apparent willingness. But then comes another surprise. The Tory leaders, who surely might have taken it for granted that they would have to be at least as kind to their enemies as to their friends, seemed to think it worth trying whether they could not have a Session without any enemies at all; or, perhaps, as their heads cleared from the intoxication of their triumph, they began to see that they might, in turn, put their opponents in a more or less awkward position, which would tend to discredit them before the new electorate. Hence has resulted a curious game of some interest to those who are fond of watching the domestic game of "Patience"; of no interest otherwise, except so far as it may discredit both parties before all sensible people.

But where are the "sensible people"? Scattered thinly, I fear, among the general population. Yet, if they would only unite, they would move the world.

Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone, having threatened more than once to retire altogether, has had his hand forced by the offer of the gilded shelf of an earldom, and has declined it, to the great jubilation of the semi-radical Liberals, who, probably with reason, see in his refusal a token of his sticking to his post of leader, even when this "crisis" is over.

Sir Stafford Northcote, on the other hand, has been shoved on to the shelf willy nilly—an incident of little significance even in the insignificant game of politics.

Except that it betokens that, whatever other results the "Political Crisis" may have, it will at any rate have put Lord Randolph Churchill in the place he has been playing for—the virtual leadership of the Tory party. Time will show what

he will do there. It may turn out that his cleverness is only that of the ordinary Parliamentary trickster, and that he will simply kick down the ladder by which he has mounted, according to the rule in such cases; or he may show the higher qualities of the gamester, and be original enough to stick to his text of Tory Democracy, in which case he may lead his party into some queer places, out of which it is possible that the worker may win some advantage.

Nervousness about the consequences of action on the results of the General Election seems to have weighed much on the possible office-holders. For instance—a small instance: Sir M. Hicks Beach, tackled by temperance societies as to his utterance in the Budget debate championing the licensed victuallers by favouring a tax on tea and sugar rather than spirits and beer, is driven to a reply which recalls Mrs. Wilfer to us; for he says, in fact, that when he advocated the said taxes, he did so with the reservation that he didn't mean it in any sense whatever.

Again, as to the coercion for Ireland. At first it was asserted (or assumed) that Lord Salisbury would only take office on the understanding that the Liberal leaders would pledge themselves and their party to help in passing that aid to "the reign of order" in Ireland. But again, the *Standard* indignantly proclaims that there is no foundation for this assertion. Indeed, the Tory Ministry would be in a tight place here; for surely their passing a Coercion Bill would mean their giving up all hope at the general election.

The imaginative man is almost driven to suppose that this surrender and acceptance of office is a sham battle on both sides—a tacit plot of Whig, Tory, Liberal, Radical, in view of the general election, to let coercion slide with a certain amount of dignity. If so, it is a curious illustration of the proverb—When rogues fall out honest men prosper.

Mr. Chamberlain seems inclined to pronounce in favour of Home Rule, and condemns the Castle Government unsparingly, whatever his opinion once was. After all, we are getting on, along some lines at least. Or will there be a fresh reaction after the general election, when it turns out that the new Parliament is composed of much the same elements as the old?

The *Times* calls on Lord Salisbury to make alliance with the moderate Whigs rather than with the Tory democrats. A writer in the *Pall Mall* follows suit, and has a vision of a "patriotic" party of the future. It is clearly quite impossible for Lord Salisbury to follow this advice at present; but perhaps such a coalition will one day take place, and will produce a party not only reactionary, but of such portentous priggishness and stupidity, that it will be of great service to the cause of the people.

And now at last the crisis is over, and Lord Randolph Churchill and his cloak, Lord Salisbury, are "masters" of the parliamentary hubbub. Nor need anybody sleep the worse for it to-night, not even the editor of the *Pall Mall*, although he threatens dreadful things, the Russian ambassador, for instance, leaving London unless he gets an explanation of the language used by Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph. Well, well, he will have the explanations, I suppose, and will stay.

And Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, longer sighted than some, are going to Ireland to get used to the atmosphere of Nationalism—or to try and outflank Mr. Parnell. Who would have thought it four years ago? Not I, who heard a Radical meeting yelling with joy at the announcement of the

arrest of Mr. Parnell by the Government of which the two allies were members. So the world moves.

If in the foregoing notes the subject of this crisis seems to be treated with levity, I can only say that it is almost impossible to speak seriously about such contemptible trifling, which is unparalleled by anything save the Court changes in the worst periods of the Byzantine Empire. If only people could see how contemptible it is, and so duly estimate the worth of Parliament.

One thing, of course, it points to—the break-up and confusion of all the old parties. There is hope in that, at any rate. Futile as the new Parliamentary parties will certainly be, they will not be so long-lived as the old, consolidated as these have been by tradition and long habits of attack and defence. Doubt, irresolution, and waiting to see which way the cat jumps will be for a long time the characteristics of the new parties, under which, condemned by all “respectabilities,” the revolution will form, and at last, when it gets strong enough, will drive all parties which are not of it to consolidate into one party of open conscious reaction. May we all live to see the day which will bring that about!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE FACTORY INFERNO.

MR. REDGRAVE, chief inspector of factories, has recently issued his report for 1884. The student of its predecessors will be pained, but not surprised, to find that this latest report is miserably like all its fore-runners. The same callous indifference to human suffering and to human life; the same kinds of diseases affecting the workers but never the masters; the same crowd of preventable accidents; the same prosecutions of employers for breach of the acts, with acquittals or wholly inadequate sentences; the same unholy alliance between masters and magistrates.

The sanitation question in all its aspects is vexing the minds of the inspectors almost as much as in the earlier years of the working of the Acts. The difficulties of so much of the question as refers to ventilation are made greater by the susceptibility, partly real, partly imaginary, of the workers to cold draughts of air. I say “partly imaginary,” because the English working classes are almost as antagonistic to fresh air as a German in a railway carriage. They do not understand its value, and they over-estimate its likelihood of doing harm. If the grinding toil in which they exist left them time to study a little elementary physiology, they would know that a thousand times more injury is likely to result from a close room than from one with a little draught in it. Whilst, however, the prejudice against the slightest trace of draught is, I think, absurd, it must not be forgotten that the physical strength of the class as a whole, and of certain individuals, has been undermined, and there is an over-susceptibility to chest affections.

The inspectors who visited the London millinery and dress-making shops, report “that in comparatively few places are any special means taken to secure adequate ventilation.” Some of the details given in regard to the East-end sweaters’ establishments are painfully interesting. Visits were made to 1478 shops. 724 were not under inspection at all, and 387 were not within the control of the inspectors as far as sanitary measures were concerned. In 907 of these 1111, alterations were required. In 132 of the 367 wholly under supervision, alterations were required. Here are one or two cases.

“No trap to sink. Drinking water from cistern not covered over. Filthy heap of refuse: no proper dust-bin. Water supply to W.C. (from same cistern) out of order. Three families in this house.

“Very dirty place. Place strewn with filthy rags and bones. No drain. W.C. the receptacle for refuse.

“Overcrowded. Drinking water and W.C. supply connected. Tap for drawing drinking water is in the W.C.

“W.C. almost inside workroom. No water supply, except in basement not accessible to tenants. No dust-bin. Condition of drinking water complained of. All houses on this side of street supplied from one cistern at No. 18.”

The modern system of production drags in its train diseases that affect the workers only, and not the exploiters. Only three are mentioned in this report: those of the wool-sorters, the millers, the file-cutters. In Bradford the wool-sorters’ disease is so frequent that a code of regulations has been drawn up for the workshops that reads like the directions one sees posted in a hospital for some virulent disease. But the carrying out of these regulations is voluntary, and every worker knows what that means.

Upon the subject of millers’ asthma the report runs thus:

“It is quite exceptional to see a person who has worked any time in a flour mill who is not more or less affected as to the respiratory organs. The average life of millers is stated to be only forty-five years.”

Flour-mills are not under the Acts. Here is one out of many piteous cries to the inspectors:

“Sir,—If it comes within your duties under the Factory Act to protect men obliged to work for sixteen to twenty-one hours per day, I shall ask you to look up some of the flour-mills in this town. Health is sacrificed for the sake of holding bad situations.—Yours,
Hoping for help.

January 28, 1884.”

The file-cutters suffer from lead-poisoning. One symptom of this affection is the drooping of the wrists and the weakening of the thumbs. An increase in the number of cases presenting these particular phases of lead-poisoning has been observed of late. This increase is due to the increased strain and jar on the muscles caused by the greater hardness of the steel used in making files.

“A hammer 7lbs. weight is required to do the work at the present time which twenty-five years ago could be done with one 5lbs. weight.”

This is another instance of the way in which advances in manufacturing industry tell against, and not for, the workers.

In 1884 there were 403 fatal accidents that came under the notice of the inspectors; 1,337 cases of amputation of a limb; 830 fractured limbs; 981 injuries to head and face; 5,413 lacerations, contusions and the like; in all, 8,964. If to these reported and recorded cases are added in imagination the large number of accidents that never come under the notice of the officials, it will be seen that England does pretty ill in the way of maiming its workers.

The larger number of these are preventable, and would be prevented if the employers were not blinded with their wild race for wealth. The two chief causes of them are the non-fencing of machinery and the cleaning of machinery in motion. The former is clearly the fault of the masters only. The latter is due to the habitual payment of piece-wages. This habit begets in the workmen, women, and children a feverish anxiety not to lose a moment even if the attendant risk be the loss of a limb. With regard to the fencing difficulty I quote one case only:

“With your consent, I lately prosecuted an important company for having neglected to fence certain mill-gearing. A poor girl had been told to remove dust in brick-works at a spot (as the manager stated) 8 feet from an unfenced shaft and cogged wheels. She was not on that day cautioned not to approach the shaft where most of the dust was to be found. Her clothing was caught by the shaft: she was gradually dragged into the wheels. Both legs were cut off and one arm broken. She died the same day.

“At the hearing of my case, an engine-wright (who stated that he had been in charge of the machinery for seven years) said that he had not thought a guard necessary, and, although a girl had been killed, he was still of the same opinion.

“The chairman of the company prosecuted would, I am convinced, have acted generously to the relations of deceased had he not conscientiously believed that his managers had taken all reasonable precaution, and that a dangerous precedent would have been established by admitting blame.”

On the cleaning of machinery in motion Inspector Coles writes:

“I am sorry to see that the number of accidents, especially in textile factories, has increased very much of late. The truth is, that nearly one half of the accidents which take place arise from women and young persons cleaning the machinery when it is in motion. In some mills, however, I am afraid scarcely sufficient time is allowed for cleaning the machinery when stopped, though in many cases the fault lies with the work-people themselves, who, being on piece-work, are reluctant to lose any time by stopping the machinery.”

Quarries, in which very frequent and very terrible accidents occur, are not under the Acts. As to the ship-building yards the only accidents that need be reported in any are the fatal ones, and wherever only men are employed and no mechanical power is used not even fatal accidents need be reported and the inspectors have actually no jurisdiction at all.

I cannot refrain from quoting, ere I leave the subject of accidents, one case that is tragically interesting in view of the lethargy of masters in this connexion.

“I had twice told him verbally that he must fence an upright shaft, running through the first-floor room from floor to ceiling. Finally I sent him an order to fence at once. He always assured me that there was no danger to be apprehended from it whatever, and that it had been running so for years. He neglected to comply with the order sent, and shortly afterwards was himself killed through the shaft obtaining a hold on his overcoat as he was standing near it.”

From the list of prosecutions of employers for infringing the Acts, one or two old, old truths came out again. The cases of

prosecution are but the merest fraction of the actual cases of infringement. The penalties are always fines and infinitesimal at that. The magistrates are all on the side of the masters. One or two examples in support of these propositions.

"Samuel Whitaker, cotton spinner, Durn, Littleborough. Neglecting to limewash the factory for a period of twenty-four months. Penalty, 2s. 6d.

"Bamber and Co. (Limited), cotton spinners, Mount Pleasant Mill, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire. Failing to fence crank and crank-shaft of engine, whereby one Walter Brooks, was killed on December 7, 1883. Penalty, £5.

"Thomas Turnbull and Son, Whitby. Employing four boys more than seven working days without certificates of fitness. Magistrates were of opinion that penalty in one case was sufficient.

"William Hodgkinson, draper, Bridge Street, Warrington. Employing six females after 4 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. Penalty, 6s. The magistrates remarked that it was "a very arbitrary law" which required them to inflict penalties for such offences.

Of the London magistrates Mr. Paget appears to be the most brutal and tyrannical.

"G. H. Newton, firewood manufacturer, Hertford Street, N. Employing a child for more than seven days without obtaining surgical certificate. Employing two young persons for more than seven days without obtaining surgical certificates. Failing to keep register with prescribed particulars, etc. The defendant pleaded guilty to the charges, and attempted no defence whatever. Mr. Paget, however, pressed him to withdraw the plea of 'Guilty,' and to plead 'Not Guilty.' The first case was proved by Mr. Paterson, when the magistrate asked for the production of the 'prescribed form.' An adjournment was therefore asked for, with a view to the production of this document, whereupon Mr. Paget instantly dismissed the cases. Under these circumstances I withdrew the remaining case. In addition to dismissing the first case in question, Mr. Paget allowed the defendant a guinea costs."

EDWARD AVELING.

EAST-END WORKERS.—III.

I HAVE a few words to say on the conditions of the workers at the East-End. Not far from Whitechapel Church, in one of the back turnings, there stands a warehouse where a number of young girls, men and women are employed. It is used as a warehouse for storing and cleaning corn and cotton. The day's slavery commences at 7.30 in the morning. There are several machines on the premises. One is a blower for blowing the dirt and dust out of corn—a blinding and fearful task, the wind blowing the dust and dirt in all directions, so that the people in the neighbourhood call the place "The Dusthole." All this could be prevented if proper machinery were used. Girls have to work at this all day long, from 7.30 a.m. to 6 p.m., no time being allowed for refreshments from 7.30 till 1 o'clock. This is under the Factory Act, too. The inspector has only visited the place once in five years, and when he came the people were not at work. The wages that the girls earn are seven or eight shillings a week. How can a girl feed, clothe and keep herself decently on such a sum, for work which is surely killing her day by day? It is nothing else but slow murder. There are also bales of cotton weighing from three to five hundredweight, which have to be trucked about by girls. Then there is a crane for loading goods into vans. Sometimes the weights lowered by this amount to nine hundredweight, and they are never less than three hundredweight. This crane is also worked by girls. They can be seen during the week engaged at these different tasks. The girls also sling the bales, etc., at the loopholes. I should like some of the well-kept and pampered ladies, who come to open exhibitions, etc., at the East-End, to see some of the work done by their fellow-countrywomen in a so-called civilised and Christian country.

I think they will have a day of reckoning to settle before long, for Socialism is making rapid progress in the East-End of late. Talk and explain Socialism to the people who have to work in such dens of infamy, and it is accepted gladly by them as being the only means whereby they can lead a happy and pleasant life, instead of living, as now, a life hardly worth living. Can men, who force people to work under such evil conditions, have any human feelings left in them? How long the workers will endure these horrible surroundings I know not, but of one thing I am certain, that when they come to fully understand Socialism it will be an ill day for those that stand in their path, debarring them from the means of existence and happiness. I myself, a worker, would not care to lead such a life of constant and exhausting toil another day if it were not for my hope in Socialism—the good time that is to come for all. But I, and others like me, are not inclined to die without a struggle. Better to die fighting than to go to the grave without a struggle as thousands are dying now, slowly murdered by the capitalistic

system, either by slow starvation or by the injurious work they are employed at. And all this for the sake of the greed and gain of their employers, that these may grow fat upon the flesh and blood of their fellow creatures. J. SLODDEN.

No. IV.

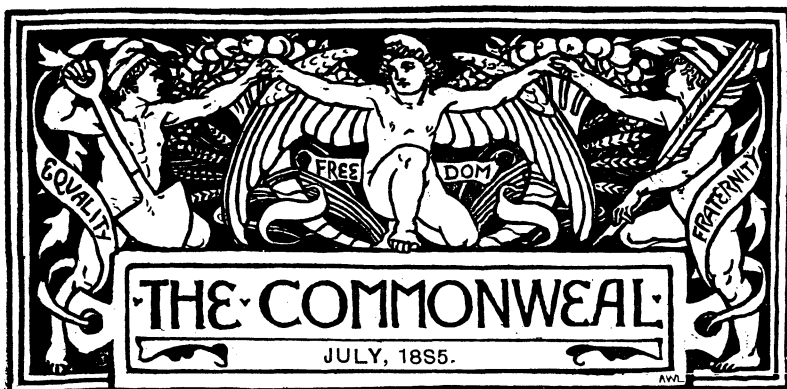
SOME thirty years ago a popular writer foresaw that with an increased population there must ensue a corresponding increase in the demand for cheap clothing, which, in its turn, would result in an increased number of sweaters. But he failed to see another cause altogether beyond the economic principle of demand and supply which slowly but surely was tending to increase the number of wretched tailors and heartless sweaters. The majority of these workmen are foreigners, partly because of the persecution to which they have been subjected on the Continent, but mainly because of the exaggerated accounts regarding the state of the British labour market prevalent abroad. (It must be understood that I am not yet dealing with the manufacturer). The last few years have been signalised by the immigration of an unusually large number of Polish, Russian and other Jews. The majority of these having so far belied the famed shrewdness of their race as to land in England without being able to utter a syllable of the English language, find themselves unable to obtain employment. Then, when reduced to extremities, the sweater puts in an appearance among the helpless immigrants, and speedily strikes a bargain with them. The immediate result is that the foreigners are conveyed to the sweating establishment and taught to make up cloth into a particular part of a garment. For the sweater is too well alive to his own interest to teach the foreigners the whole of the trade. In a few days the embryo tailors are proficient in their work, and, in return for the merest pittance, are kept in bondage, the sweater in the meanwhile pocketing, in addition to his ordinary large profits, the difference between the prices he pays these hapless people and those which he would have paid in the usual way to any of the workmen for whom he might have advertised.

And to this bondage they have to submit, since, being able only to do one part of a garment or one particular portion at the most, they are handicapped in their efforts to obtain other employment. If, however—as they often do—they manage to learn by fair means or by foul the whole of their trade, then, by dint of pinching and starving themselves to the utmost limits, they manage to scrape together sufficient to start a sweating establishment of their own, and thus the ranks of sweater slave-owners are continually increasing. Knowing by experience the amount of work which their employes can be made to do, and the hardships to which they have perforce to submit, their hearts are as callous as those of their late employers. But even when the employe is kept at one particular kind of work throughout his apprenticeship (as the sweater delights to call it), yet he can often manage to become a sweater. By scraping and saving, he may get sufficient capital to start a shop, and when the time comes when he must look for "orders," he can get a sample of a garment from another sweater, which, passed off at the clothing establishment as his own make, may secure him the desired orders.

Yet, whether the ignorant foreigner or the skilled journeyman starts as master, there is still left to suffer from the greed of the others a class the least able to bear the hardships inflicted upon them—girls and women. Receiving money that can scarce be called wages, so miserably small as it is compared with the work they do; working from twelve to fifteen hours a day in rooms devoid of the most simple sanitary arrangements, their daily life is something not far short of martyrdom. From what has been shown, it will be evident, then, that the ranks of the sweaters are continuously swelling. From this there can be but one result, that is, and has for long, been making itself felt. Competition necessarily cheapens labour, but the sweaters are by no means disposed to suffer in their own pockets from lower prices. Instead of contenting themselves with a decrease of profits, which they could very well afford, they make their "hands" work longer and for less pay than formerly.

LEWIS LYONS.

Space has failed us for treating with due seriousness this month Lawrence Grönlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," but it is purposed to review it next month. Meantime, I call our readers' attention to it as a most useful introduction to Socialism. Besides the English edition (edited by Mr. G. B. Shaw) which is abridged and somewhat altered, Mr. Reeves, of Fleet Street, has on sale some copies of the American edition (price one shilling) which is preferred by the author.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Two numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Belfort Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Labour v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

MANCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, Hightown, Cheetham.

JULIUS BORDELLO writes from the New York Labour Lyceum that Socialism is still in the States a foreign plant. Most of the Socialists are German. He suggests that mutual monthly reports of the proceedings of the different Socialistic bodies be sent from one organisation to another.

ANDERS A. SORENGEN, Marvin, Grant Co., Dakota, U.S.A., greets the *Commonweal*, and will write to us from time to time.

A WORKING WOMAN, Desborough, near Market Harboro', asks for a lecturer, if possible William Morris, after his visit to Northampton.

H. W. FARNALL (New Zealand).—The *Watchman* to hand and placed on our exchange list. Kindly send a few extra copies for our country branches, and in return you will receive extra copies of the *Commonweal* and all other literature published by the Socialist League.

C. U. R. PUND (Commissioner of Labour, Michigan, U.S.)—Thanks for two copies of the 1885 Report of the Labour Bureau just to hand.

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Labour Leaf*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Le National Belge* (daily)—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Bebel's "Woman"* (Modern Press)—*Il Paria*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Daylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocate*—*Oldham Chronicle*.

THE following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—"National Evils," from J. Lane; "Co-operative Commonwealth," from Lawrence Grönlund; "Ideal Commonwealths," from W. C. Wade; "Arbeit Unterrichts," by Seidel, from the publishers; "Evolution and Revolution," by Elisée Reclus, from the publishers; "Our Land Laws," "Poor Laws," "Past and Future of Politics," from James M. Cherrie; a batch of the publications of the Scottish Land Restoration League, from James M. Cherrie, Glasgow.

"THE COMMONWEAL."

THE following methods of aiding the circulation of the *Commonweal* should be noted and acted upon, and further suggestions should be sent by its friends and supporters.

What Individuals can do.—Get annual subscribers. For 1s. 6d. the journal is sent post free for twelve months to any address in Britain, America, Germany, France, Canada, etc. Take a few copies of each issue and a contents bill to some of the newsagents in the vicinity of your dwelling or workshop. Get them exposed for sale and the contents bill displayed, and promise to pay for what is left unsold. Take a few copies to meetings and sell them among the audience.

What Branches can do.—Impress upon every member that this journal is the organ of the PARTY, that therefore its success concerns EVERY MEMBER, and that it is the duty of every member to see that it is bought and read by all his friends, companions, and shopmates. Have the paper on sale at all the branch meetings. Organise small selling parties for public meetings. See that every member of the branch supplies the newsagents near his house or factory. Advertise it on all publications issued by the branch.

THE Provisional Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class

SOCIALISTS AT PLAY.*

(Prologue spoken at the Entertainment of the Socialist League at South Place Institute, June 11, 1885).

FRIENDS, we have met amidst our busy life
To rest an hour from turmoil and from strife,
To cast our care aside while song and verse
Touches our hearts, and lulls the ancient curse.
And yet—what's this? To no luxurious mood
By what we hear to-night shall we be wooed.
War, labour, freedom; noble words are these;
But must we hymn them in our hours of ease?—
We must be men. You comrades, you who came
In trust of England's ancient honoured name
Unto this "home of freedom o'er the wave,"
"This loosener of the fetters of the slave,"
E'en here have felt the petty tyrant's will,
Who robs and worries where he may not kill.
We must be men, or we shall find one day
Our boasted safe asylum swept away:
The blue-coat's staff, the spy's report, shall be
Emblems of England's saved society.

Yet more, what's this? The wail shall reach your ears
Wherewith Hood moved the listening town to tears—
But not to deeds: and your familiar friend
Shall hear his rough rhymes with your longings blend,
Ashamed to think how little he may do
To share his lot with labour and with you.
Lastly, we pray you ere we part to raise
Your voices once more in the "Marseillaise,"
The glorious strain that long ago foretold
The hope now multiplied a thousand-fold:
Nay, hope transfigured; since at last we know
The world our country, and the rich our foe.

So through our play, as in our work, we see
The strife that is, the Peace that is to be.
We are as warriors waiting for the word
That breaks the truce and calls upon the sword:
Gay is their life and merry men they are,
But all about them savours of the war.
Their glittering arms are all their childrens' toys,
Amidst their ballad sings the trumpet's voice;
About the sheep-cotes girt for war they go,
Pale gleams the glaive above the seed they sow.

All this is good; let other men forget!
Let others rest while they are living yet!
But we, but we—what time have we for rest,
Who see the worst, who see the coming best?
Long is our task, and soon the day is o'er,
And once departed cometh back no more.
How good the stroke once struck! How good the deed
Done once for all! How good the help at need!

So be we gay; but yet, amidst our mirth,
Remember how the sorrow of the earth
Has called upon us till we hear and know,
And save as dastards never back may go!
Why, then, should we forget? Let the cause cling
About the book we read, the song we sing,
Cleave to our cup and hover o'er our plate,
And by our bed at morn and even wait.
Let the sun shine upon it; let the night
Weave happy tales of our fulfilled delight!
The child we cherish and the love we love,
Let these our hearts to deeper daring move;
Let deedful life be sweet and death no dread,
For us, the last men risen from the dead!

Thus shall we barter what poor ease and rest
Is yet our own amidst a world oppressed
For deeds and hope of deeds: thus shall we see
Clear if far off the better days to be;
And live like men nor lack for helpful friends
Whatever fate the time upon us sends.

There! let the peddling world go staggering by,
Propped up by lies and vain hypocrisy,
While here we stand amidst the scorn and hate,
Crying aloud the certain tale of fate,
Bidding the happy day when sword, in hand,
Shall greet the sun and bless the tortured land.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

* The "Pilgrims of Hope" will be continued in the August Number.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

IV.—CAPITAL, SURPLUS-VALUE, LABOUR-POWER.

BEFORE continuing this series, a word or two of explanation, called forth by one or two *vivâ voce* criticisms that I have received. Some bewailing has reached my ears on the subject of the formulæ used. These formulæ are used for simplification's sake. The employment of symbols serves two purposes, at least. It saves time and it puts a more or less complex set of truths into a condensed, rememberable, expansible form. If the formulæ only are learned, no good is effected. But if the facts are mastered and the formulæ merely taken as concise representations of the facts, all is well. I feel that some of my readers to whom signs and symbols are less familiar than they are to others, may have had some little difficulty in using the formulæ at first. But with steady perseverance, as indeed many of them have already found, the difficulties are surmounted, and then the advantages come into play.

A warning also that certain friendly comments convince me is necessary. These definitions that we use for convenience's sake in our study of Socialism and its economics are, like all definitions, only useful conventions. As I have pointed out again and again elsewhere, such a thing as a rigid, hard and fast, incontrovertible, wholly satisfactory definition is, with our knowledge of to-day, impossible. Those that will take the trouble to refer to my articles on Evolution and Definition in *Progress* for May, June, July, 1883, will see that I there insisted upon the fact that with the recognition of the truth that no such thing as special creation exists, and that all is of development, comes the impossibility of rigorously marking off by definition any particular order of phenomena from any other. Now, Socialism is the only logical, perhaps one may say the only, application of the principles of Evolution to economics and to history. By consequence the Socialist, when he defines a term, is fully conscious that the definition is but a convenience and a convention. Just as the vegetable kingdom glides into the animal, so the feudal system glides into the capitalistic; as species are practically indistinguishable in their extreme forms from allied species, so it is difficult to distinguish the product from the commodity. We take for the latter the definition already given—a product in which the embodied human labour is recognised. But we know that as the products of man's labour begin to be exchanged one with another, they are called commodities, even before their inherent and essential property of value-carriers is clearly recognised.

And having said this, let us at once return to our formulæ and definitions. $C-M-C'$. Here is the symbolic representation of the exchange of a commodity against money, and of this money against another commodity or other commodities, C' . Now we have to consider quite another change, quite another relation. This new object of study is the series that starts, not with an ordinary special commodity, but with the general equivalent, money. We have now to investigate the succession of events that follows upon the possession and investment of this mass of the general equivalent.

$M-C-M'$. Money (M) is exchanged against a commodity (C), and this latter against a second quantity of money (M'), as to whose relations of magnitude to M nothing need be said at present. All that is to be done just now is to compare the two sets of facts—an exchange starting with an ordinary commodity, and an exchange starting with the general equivalent. And this comparison will be rendered more easy and more clear if once again we use formulæ.

$C-M-C'$. [Circulation of commodities].

$M-C-M'$. [Capitalistic circulation].

Some five differences are to be noted. (1) Each process is the converse in its successive stages of the other. Notice how the formulæ once more help in the comprehension of this. It is so easy by the first to understand that the former exchange here is of an ordinary commodity against the general equivalent, and the latter exchange is of the general equivalent against an ordinary commodity or ordinary commodities; whilst by the second we see that the order of these two processes is reversed.

(2) Again, the successive actions on the market are in the two cases converse. The first begins with an act of selling ($C-M$), and ends with one of buying ($M-C'$). The second begins with an act of buying ($M-C$), and ends with one of selling ($C-M'$).

(3) The middle terms in the two cases differ. In case 1, that of commodity-circulation, the intermediary is money, the general equivalent. In case 2, that of capitalistic circulation, the intermediary is some commodity *not* money.

(4) The results in the two cases differ: That in the first is C' , a use-value to him that acquires it. The result in the second case is M' , an exchange-value.

(5) Finally, as far as this comparison of the two formulæ and of the facts they represent is concerned, the initial and ultimate terms of the two circulations have their differences of comparison. Thus, in the formula of commodity-circulation, it is seen that C and C' , the extreme terms, do not necessarily differ in quantity, though it is obvious that, if the transaction represented by $C-M-C'$ is to mean anything, C' , as the mark implies, must differ *qualitatively* from C . The bread (C') we obtain by exchange will differ qualitatively from the coats, or the chairs (C) *e. g.*, that we alienate or get rid of. But in the formula of capitalistic circulation it is seen that M and M' , the extreme terms, do not necessarily differ in quantity, though they are alike qualitatively. He that puts out money M will not be content, and his putting-out would have no meaning, if the M' that comes back to him is only the equivalent of M .

To sum up. The five chief differences between the commodity-circulation and capital-circulation are: (1) Their converse order; (2) The one begins with selling and ends with buying, as the other begins with buying and ends with selling; (3) The intermediary in one case is represented by M , in the other by C ; (4) The results are respectively a use-value and an exchange-value; (5) The extremes of the transaction in the one case differ in quality, in the other, differ in quantity.

From this last we derive the expression $M-C-M+\Delta M$. Here M in the earlier form is replaced by $M+\Delta M$. This means that the original money or capital invested comes back to the investor as something larger than it was at starting; that M is on its return larger by a quantity, ΔM . ΔM is to represent the gain, and Δ expresses the fraction of M that this gain is. An example. Suppose a capital of £100 (M) and the return = £105 (M'). Then $M+\Delta M = 100 + \frac{1}{20}$ of 100 and $\Delta = \frac{1}{20}$. Now this ΔM represents surplus-value.

Around these questions of surplus-value and of capital rages the fight between the orthodox political economists and the advocates of Socialism. The latter declare that the one source of all capital is, and always has been, surplus-value. They declare, further, that the one source of all surplus-value is, and always been, unpaid human labour. These are the central propositions of scientific Socialism, that have, as we believe, never been refuted, never even seriously touched, by any one of its opponents. With them it rests to show any other source of capital than the unpaid labour of wronged and robbed human beings.

Capital is, as will be seen from this, not made up of things, but of the values of things. As the values, *i. e.*, the embodied human labours, become capital, much transformation and concealment of the identity of all values as crystallised human labour occurs. Hence the necessity of a form by which this identity may be recognised. That form is money.

The capitalist is the supporter of the circle $M-C-M'$. His single aim is ΔM , or surplus-value. He never seeks or even thinks of use-values or exchange-values as such. They are only to him the source or the embodiment of surplus-value, *i. e.*, of a value coming back to him in excess of that which he advanced.

Let us address ourselves briefly to the question of the origin of this surplus-value. None of our earlier formulæ helps us. None of the transactions that they represent affords a loop-hole for ΔM . In all of them, from $x A = y B$ to $C-M-C'$, the exchange is in reality of precise equivalents. I wish I had the time and ability, and that my readers had the time and the patience to follow in detail Marx in his exhaustive analysis of these earlier phases of commodity-transactions, in the inexorable way in which he leads his reader, however unwilling, to the conclusion that no where among these is the origin of surplus-value to be found. Not even in the circulation of commodities, therefore not even in commerce. The section in which he does this is the second of the fourth chapter, pp. 131-143. I have no hesitation in calling these twelve pages the most condensed and most irrefragable piece of reasoning I ever read. Until I studied these, Darwin's chapter on "Instinct" in the "Origin of Species" ranked highest within my range of reading. Now it ranks only second, if indeed comparisons are to be made between masterpieces.

The orthodox political economists seek for the source of surplus-value in the ordinary circulation of commodities. They believe that they find it by reason of a confusion between use-value and exchange-value, and by reason of an ignoring of the fact that *as commodities whose values are to be compared with that of a general equivalent, money, no one can take out of circulation more than he puts in. The sum of the values in circulation does not and cannot increase.*

The capitalistic-circulation formula remains. In the transactions that it symbolises must be found the source of surplus-value. This cannot be in M , which only realises the price of the commodity C . Nor can the first part of the transaction, $M-C$, give us surplus-value, as this is an exchange of equiva-

lents. Nor can the second part, C—M', as here the commodity only passes from its natural form, C, to its money-form, M'.

One last possibility remains. Clearly, exchange-value is no source of surplus-value. Can a use-value be the source? Can the consumption of some commodity, *i.e.*, the realisation of its use-value, give rise to ΔM ? Is there a commodity of such a nature that its very consumption begets value, and, therefore, exchange-value? Is there a commodity whose consumption realises labour? The answer to all these questions is, Yes. And the commodity is labour-power.

C—M—C' (1) The two formulæ for the circulation of commodities and capitalistic circulation respectively.

M—C—M' (2) Comparison (a) Inverse order; (b) 1, begins with selling, ends with buying; 2, *vice versa*. (c) Intermediary in 1 is general equivalent; in 2 is commodity. (d) Result in 1 a use-value; in 2 an exchange-value. (e) Extremes in 1 differ in quality; in 2 differ in quantity.

M' = M + ΔM ... In capitalistic circulation M' exceeds M by a certain fraction Δ of M.

Surplus-value The excess of returning M' over advanced M = ΔM .

Requisite A commodity whose consumption creates value and exchange-value. This is labour-power.

EDWARD AVELING.

A GLORIOUS LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

How much longer will the people of England rest content to be swindled by the present form of Government? We have had a very good taste of Liberal administration this last five years. When the members of the dead Government stood on the hustings they promised the working classes of this country retrenchment and reform. But what has been their action since they have been in office? They have acted in quite a contrary direction to that which they promised. They have squandered money and wasted valuable lives in Zululand. They have disgraced their country by putting down a just and popular rebellion in Egypt, and banishing Arabi Pasha. They have thrown away millions of money in the Soudan, and slaughtered thousands of brave Arabs, defending their own against a band of thieving pashas. They have used coercion in Ireland until its true representatives have defeated them and forced them to resign. Worse than all, this glorious Liberal Government, which in 1880 promised to enfranchise two millions of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, has linked itself with the thieving House of Landlords for the purpose of defeating the object it so loudly proclaimed. When the House of Lords threw out the Franchise Bill, some of the members of the Government spoke, in what was thought to be strong language, of the step; but, as usual, all ended in smoke. After the whole country had spoken out on the subject, and almost demanded the abolition of the hereditary chamber, this miserable Government gave way to the Lords, and once more sold the people. And what is their action now with regard to this Franchise? They have supported the disqualification of one-fourth of those they promised to enfranchise by assenting to the action of the Lords, who, of course, deny the right of any man to vote who has had perhaps a penny-worth of medicine for his wife or child. This will fall mostly on the agricultural labourer, whom the Government trotted up from all parts of the country to make an exhibition in Hyde Park when the Lords threw out the Franchise Bill. Could anything be more monstrous than this last act? This House of robbers and beggars denies a man his birthright, when they are the vermin who feed upon his body? Is it possible that the last action of the Liberal Government, in assenting to this, will pass without opening the eyes of the people to their jobbery? Even Mr. Chamberlain, the most advanced Radical amongst them, let this pass without protest, and then he had the audacity to come out and tell the people that the Tories got their friends to do in the Lords what they did not dare to do in the Commons!

Surely it is time the working men of England began to think and act for themselves, instead of being duped by so-called Liberal and Radical leaders. We have had enough of the jobbery of the present form of government to prove that political parties are a fraud. It is time that the people of this country began to take the affairs of the nation into their own hands, and to compel all to do their fair share of necessary labour. If once the masses could realise their power, and not fear to use it, they would soon be able to sweep these political humbugs out of their path.

Then, fellow-men, think for yourselves. Satisfy yourselves as to your rights, and tell these swindlers in plain language that you will not be bamboozled by them any longer. Should they deny you those—well, take them; and if fair means fail, on their shoulders will rest the blame should force be used.

H. G. ARNOLD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.—ANOTHER VIEW.

TO THE EDITORS OF "THE COMMONWEAL."

WE wish to give to everyone the first value of his labour, and therefore to completely overthrow the capitalistic system. How shall we do this? Some friends tell us that if we amend the present state of things we shall prolong its existence. That the Radicals who want an eight-hours' Bill are not striking at the root of the evil, for the shortening of hours would lessen discontent, and thus delay the emancipation of labour. That the condition of the disinherited has not been improved by Parliament, and that the essence of politics being to tax as much as possible, we should hold aloof from them and prepare for revolution. It is disheartening to hear that by lessening an evil we perpetuate it. When Parliament interferes to protect the workers it strengthens our cause. The Mines and Factories Acts have benefited a large section of the producers, and abolished the state of things when women were employed as beasts of burden, children were stunted and diseased, beaten, overworked, oppressed in every way; both women and children made to crawl on all-fours in the passages of the pits, dragging carts by a chain passing from the waist between the legs; and all lived in an atmosphere of filth and profligacy, which could hardly leave a thought or feeling untainted by vice. The Education Act enables the toilers to clearly understand the unrighteousness of capitalism, and to realize the true "idea of the working class" and the duty of the State. We are governed by "politicians," but surely it is wiser for us to choose our governors than to leave the choice to others. If we cannot, in the near future, find trustworthy men to represent us, shall we ever be able to trust our delegates? It is true that wealth has generally won at elections, but the next appeal to the people will be under much less unfavourable conditions. Then the wage-earners will form three-fifths instead of one-third of the electors. Soon election charges will be borne by the rate-payers, and, with expenses limited and bribery discouraged, why should we despair of peaceful methods? Let us resolutely unite to give them a fair trial.

R. F. E. WILLIS.

(Answered on page 61.)

EAST-END WORKERS.—II.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE "COMMONWEAL."

UNDER the above heading I wrote a short article in the March number of the *Commonweal*. I then offered to give the names of some of the sweaters and their employers. The International Tailors and Tailoresses' Union, accordingly invited me to meet them on Monday, June 8, at their club-room at the Spread Eagle, Mortimer Street, W. I am glad to see Trades Unionism becoming international, and I am happy to see the tailors setting such a good example. There are, I believe, seven corresponding secretaries who keep up communication with most of the European states and America. The prices paid in the East-end seemed to startle our friends, and they accordingly sent word to their comrades abroad acquainting them with the state of affairs. This society is open to all members of the tailoring trade, and the contributions are one penny per week. I hope the workers will at last open their eyes and become organised for the great battle which must be fought between capital and labour. Should any branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors wish for a true account of the state of the tailoring trade in the East-End and the prices paid, I shall be most happy to place my services at their command at any time.—I am, yours fraternally,

CHARLES WILFRED MOWBRAY.

INQUIRY COLUMN.

By the direction of the Provisional Council a part of the *Commonweal* is to be henceforward reserved for those who desire to ask questions or to make suggestions bearing upon Socialism, its theory and practice. A letter from a friend at Bradford opens the ball. In the present issue the difficulties he puts forward are not dealt with.

Solutions of the difficulties are asked from any of the readers of the *Commonweal*, and the best of these will be published in the next number. Students and opponents are earnestly entreated to make this column successful and useful by sending inquires and statements of difficulties in connexion with Socialism.

"Bradford, Yorkshire.

"An intelligent inquirer wants to know why Socialists do not begin at once with themselves by uniting to form a little Socialistic community, which, if their principles are right, would demonstrate to the world the feasibility and good of Socialism. He maintains that, if the professed Socialists of England alone—small as their numbers are—could, or would, only trust each other, they might easily raise land and capital sufficient for a start, and the outside world of workers, seeing the advantage of the system, would gradually come and join, until at last the whole country would become Socialistic, and capitalists would be annihilated without confiscation. . . A very common idea is, that brain-labour is infinitely superior to, and should, and always will, have far greater reward than manual labour."

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

FRANCE.—Everyone who has observed the tactics of the French government—and it matters little whether that government be represented by the infamous Ferry or the virtuous Brisson—has long known that its chief aim and object of late has been to provoke a street riot, in order that advantage might be taken of any such disturbance to shoot down or arrest the men who are “dangerous,” because, like Cassius, “they think too much.” Despite many efforts, some of which have been noted in this “Record,” the precious plan had generally failed. But on May 25 last an enticing opportunity presented itself—an opportunity so excellent, that the austere and virtuous Brisson could not resist.

Since the amnesty was granted the Communards six years ago, it has been their habit to go every year, on the anniversary of that terrible May week of 1871, to Père Lachaise, where lie so many of their comrades, to place flowers and wreaths upon the tombs of the martyrs, and, carrying the red flag of the revolution, remind themselves and their brother-revolutionists that after “Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce.”

This year, as on previous occasions, a meeting of all revolutionary societies and clubs had been organised, and the Socialists of Paris proceeded in large numbers to the cemetery. But here, without rhyme or reason, without the shadow of a pretext, these *absolutely unarmed* and quiet persons are suddenly attacked by armed police and soldiers, who, according even to the reactionary press wildly and indiscriminately charged men, women and children. The accounts of this brutal assault, of the numbers of men and women dangerously wounded by the banditti of “order” given even by the bourgeois penny-a-liners are enough to prove how ferocious and how cowardly the attack was. I need here enter into no details, as these are now well known. I would only again remind our English Socialists that for six years like demonstrations had been held and not interfered with; that there is no law that prohibits the carrying of red flags; and that the persons taking part in the demonstration were unarmed, and had no intention of creating any kind of disturbance.

One asks oneself what the French Republican (!) Government can possibly hope to gain by such an act. They have thereby only again shown the people that a bourgeois government is the worst of all. They have given the French proletariat—aye and the proletariat of the whole world—two Whit Sundays to remember instead of one. And vengeance is not only the Lord’s!

A few days after this massacre two funerals of Communards took place: those of Amouroux and Cournet. A fresh riot was feared, but matters passed off quietly. The funeral of Victor Hugo also was undisturbed.

This massacre is bad enough, but another infamy calls equally for our attention. No doubt all our friends remember the so-called “dynamite attempts” at Monceaux les Mines, and how it was absolutely proved that the whole affair was got up by the police. The action of the police in this matter has never been disputed or denied. And yet the men arrested on the charge of committing the outrage have been condemned to twenty, twelve and ten years’ penal servitude. This, it seems to me, is almost worse than an open attack by soldiers. These condemned men were many of them known as earnest Socialists, and they have in this monstrous fashion been got rid of.

SWEDEN.—The *Sozial Democrat*, of Zurich, publishes a most interesting letter from a Swede, which, for the benefit of English readers, I translate: “As news from our far-off land reaches you so seldom, I believe you and your readers may like to have some information respecting the social movement in our country.

“Two years ago Socialism was known to us only through the calumnies of the reactionary press. This new theory was everywhere passed over with mockery and contempt. But the position has changed. We have already a small Social-Democratic party, and the ‘Red Spectre’ is no longer mocked at, it is beginning to be feared. . . . Two years ago a large working-men’s movement was started in Stockholm. . . . This movement, brought about in the first place by the oppression of the workers, was, however, soon misled into a wrong direction. One of our greatest capitalists, the ‘brandy-king,’ L. O. Smith, made a desperate and energetic effort to place himself at the head of the movement, so that he might exploit the workers for his own ends. A great many were, in fact, taken in by him, and in consequence of Smith’s representations the movement grew so quickly that within a few months 20,000 persons in Stockholm, and many thousands in the country, became his followers. But gradually the real objects of the man became evident; the people would have no more to do with him, and the whole movement has collapsed. But the stirring up of the workers has been of the greatest service. They are learning that they have a common interest to defend against the capitalist class; they have at last learnt that they are a power. At the same time as the movement referred to above, another had begun. . . . A Swedish tailor expelled from Germany, August Palm, began preaching in Stockholm and other large towns a new, to us still unknown Labour Gospel—the Gospel of Socialism. He spoke everywhere in the open air, for no halls were let him, and he started a small paper, the ‘Will of the People.’ In short, with the

smallest means he carried on a most energetic propaganda. This poor, persecuted, despised tailor has among us, the real people, sown the first seeds of Socialism. He has already succeeded in forming a small party, and our prospects are not now nearly so dreary as a short time since.”

AUSTRIA.—Of the massacre of workmen by the soldiery at Brünn I have as yet no further details than those given in the bourgeois press. I hope to have a full account of the terrible affair next month.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

THE POLICE OUTRAGE AT THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN’S CLUB.

THIS case, after occupying the court for nearly three weeks, has been brought to an end in its first stage. Three of the policemen who broke into the Club on May 9—amongst them the furious Sergeant Tubman, who felled the members of the Club with a chair—are committed to take their trial at the Old Bailey. Mr. Poland, the Public Prosecutor and champion *par excellence* of the injured and innocent policemen, begged and pressed the magistrate to square matters by letting his poor policemen off, by dealing with the case summarily; and also Mr. Newton, the presiding judge, tried at the last moment to “throw oil on the troubled waters.” But Mr. Abrahams, instructed not only by the injured club members, but also by the recently-formed International Club Defence Committee, pressed the case, and, no choice being left to Mr. Newton, he committed those poor, innocent and fearfully ill-used policemen for trial. Full light will there be thrown on this infamous outrage, and we shall give all details of the proceedings when the time comes.

X. Y.



GENERAL MEETING.

THE first general meeting of members of the Socialist League will be held on July 5, in the new offices of the League, at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. The business before the meeting will be to hear the report of the work of the Provisional Council and elect a new Executive Council in its stead. The items on the agenda at present are reports from the officers of the Provisional Council—viz., Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, and Manager of the *Commonweal*; reports from the branches, including statements of their membership, finances, meetings held by them, special local action, and comments on the working of the League under the Provisional Council, and the performance of its officers’ duties. It is hoped that this business will be finished at the first sitting of the meeting, which will be from 10.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. The meeting will resume work at 3 p.m., and consider a set of constitutional rules drafted by the Council, the election of the Executive, and any other business that may be brought up by members or delegates.

All members of the League are competent to take part in the deliberations, and vote on all proposals submitted to the meeting. Delegates are expected to attend on behalf of the provincial branches and the Scottish Land and Labour League, which is the Scottish section of our organisation. The Labour Emancipation League, which is affiliated will be represented by its members in person.

At 8 p.m. a supper will be served. The tickets (one shilling each) must be applied for not later than June 25.

The Socialist League has taken new and extensive premises at 13 Farringdon Road (near Holborn Viaduct). There will be a large lecture room, reading room, and printing and publishing office. A series of weekly lectures and monthly meetings of London members is projected, and the larger space will be a convenience to members in many ways.—J. L. MAHON, Secretary.

THE following resolution was unanimously passed on Monday June 1: “That this meeting of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League expresses its indignation at the conduct of the French Government in wantonly creating disorder at a peaceful meeting on Sunday May 24.”

REPORTS.

OLDHAM.—The *Oldham Chronicle* reports that on Sunday, June 1, “the Socialists had a great day in Oldham.” Speeches on the principles of Socialism were delivered in the market-place to “large crowds.” Peach, Smart, McCutcheon, Hall, Horrocks and “Equitas” were the speakers; and “the audience listened very attentively to the arguments advanced. . . . It was evident from various expressions

heard amongst the crowd that considerable impression was produced by the speeches."

HAMMERSMITH.—On May 24, David Nicoll lectured on the "Coming Revolution." There was a good attendance, and a moderate discussion. On May 31, H. Charles lectured on "Society versus State," to a numerous and attentive audience; there was a brisk fire of questions after the lecture, which was a thoughtful and closely reasoned one, the questioners pressing the lecturer in spite of his disclaimer of putting forward a cut and dried scheme, to meet all kinds of imaginary difficulties. The subject, as often happens, was so thrashed out in the question-time that there was little time afterwards; but the evening was a satisfactory one. Laurence Gronlund, the American Socialist, was present and spoke expressing his pleasure at attending at such a successful Socialist meeting, and the general attention and eagerness of the audience.—June 7, G. B. Shaw lectured on "Driving Capital out of the Country," to a fairly numerous audience. In the debate that followed, the speakers by no means kept close to the economic question treated by the lecturer but dealt with the difficulties concerning Socialism in general as they occurred to their minds. The lecturer answered in his usual brilliantly sarcastic style.—June 14, William Morris lectured on the "Hopes of Civilization." The lecturer gave a sketch of the class-struggle from the close of the Middle Ages till the present day, and protested against the futile attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to shut their eyes to the struggle and to form a new middle-class as a buffer between them and the proletariat. The questions and debate were eager and spirited. Some reasonable questions were asked as to the attitude of Socialists towards Co-operation; others seemed troubled by the phantom of sham science in considering the future of the human race, and the relative claims to importance of heredity and surroundings. Andreas Scheu made an eloquent speech from the chair in support of the lecturer. The room was crowded and many strangers were present.—At a meeting of the Branch held on June 14, it was decided to inaugurate open-air meetings on Saturdays, at 6 p.m., at the top of Weltje Road; the first to take place on June 27.—June 21, Laurence Gronlund lectured on "Socialism in England and Abroad." There was a large audience, who gave an attentive hearing to the lecturer's lucid explanation of the historical development of the stages of Society leading up to the present Capitalist system, from which, the lecturer argued, Socialism must necessarily evolve. There was an animated discussion, in which several of the Branch members took part.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month a Branch has been formed in the North of London. It will soon commence active propaganda. A short manifesto in leaflet form, with announcement of meetings, etc., will be issued in a few days. A regular series of open-air meetings will be commenced, and arrangements are being made for discussions among members of the Branch. These will be held on Wednesdays at the Branch meeting-place, "The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town, N.—W. Blundell, Sec.

HOXTON (L. E. L.)—June 7, Mainwaring in the chair. G. W. Fox gave a humorous address on "Modern Fallacies," which was much relished. Afterwards a discussion took place on the best means of strengthening the organisation of the Branch. Shackwitz offered to provide accommodation for committee to meet once a week at his shop. This was accepted.—June 14, T. Binning in the chair. Proceedings commenced by singing "Marseillaise." Henry Charles gave an interesting lecture on "Society v. State," which led to a brisk discussion amongst our members as to the respective merits of the Anarchistic and Collectivist ideal, the latter evidently finding most favour. Notwithstanding the sultry weather, there was a very fair attendance.—June 21, David Nicoll gave a short and somewhat fiery address on "The Coming Revolution." The discussion which followed was desultory, and turned mainly on the question of co-operation. Undoubtedly good is being done by stirring the minds of men and women to the need of a change in Society. We hope ere long to see this discontent organised and directed towards the end we have in view. A proof of the success of our propaganda is shown by the attempt to boycott us. We have to leave our present meeting-place owing to pressure put upon the committee from whom we rent the school-room. On and after July 5 our meeting-place will be changed.—*Open Air*...June 7, very successful meeting. Mahon, Wade and Nicoll kept large audience together for an hour and a half. An officious policeman gave zest to the proceedings by interrupting Mahon and calling upon him to "get out of that," which he flatly refused to do, much to the satisfaction of the crowd. The P. C. then took the address of the speaker; one of our comrades presented him with one of the Socialist League pamphlets, and he retired somewhat crestfallen, leaving our speakers with an excellent text to enlarge upon.—June 14, Comrades Nicoll and Halliday kept together a large audience for an hour and a half, great interest being evinced, though no opposition was offered. The meeting on 21st was also very successful, and the members feel satisfied that their steady and sustained action is producing good results.—T. Binning.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.—Since Wm. Morris's visit, the work of the League has been largely that of selling and distributing literature. A series of three lectures were given in the Secular Hall on Sunday evenings during May and June. The first two were by an Edinburgh member of the League, on "Value" and "The Conflict of Classes"; the last by J. Bruce Glasier, Glasgow, "The Elements of Socialism in Our Present Society." The lectures were well received, and elicited some remarks which showed that Secularists should devote further study to the subject of Socialism before giving an opinion either for or against it. The meetings of the League will be held during the summer months at 4 Park Street.

LEEDS.—On Sunday afternoon, 14th, new ground was broken on Hunslet Moor. Circulars and back numbers of the *Commonweal* were distributed to an intelligent and attentive audience. A little opposition was offered at the close of the meeting which was satisfactorily disposed of. In the evening a very successful meeting was held at the Vicar's Croft, when Comrade Sollitt's humorous remarks upon "Pulling the String" were favourably accepted amidst laughter and applause. The members of the Branch have turned up at these meetings in a highly encouraging and gratifying force, which it is trusted they will persist in doing. The *Commonweal* is on sale at all the meetings of the Branch, and it is believed that it will soon have a large circulation in this town.—T. Maguire, Sec.

OXFORD.—The Branch of the Socialist League has met regularly once a week. Members of the Marx Club, which consists of undergraduates of the University, have at several of the meetings in May and June read papers on Socialism, and discussions have followed. On June 9 a private meeting, organised by the Branch and by the Marx Club, was held; William Morris and Laurence Gronlund lectured and answered questions proposed to them.—F. Martin, Sec.

MERTON ABBEY.—The Branch has held several meetings during the past month, at which discussions of an interesting kind have taken place. The business meetings are now held on Friday, before the lecture, instead of on Wednesday, as formerly. The monthly financial report shows a decent balance in favour of the Branch. Arrangements are being made to hold monthly meetings in a large hall instead of the weekly lectures.—T. Simmons, Sec.

MANCHESTER (Socialist Union).—On Sunday, June 14, our Manchester comrades opened a new station for open-air propaganda at the New Cross, and were successful in getting a good audience. There was a running fire of good speakers, each being allowed five minutes. The secretary went among the crowd and succeeded in enrolling several new members. At the same time Oldman was in command of the Market Place, Oldham, and in the evening Peach and Bourne assisted him, and leaflets were distributed, announcing a meeting at Coffee Tavern on following night, to form Branch. In response we had a good muster on Monday evening, Oldman and Bourne being present for the purpose of organisation. The *Oldham Chronicle* devotes nearly a column to the report of a debate on Socialism held in the Market Place on Sunday, June 15. Oldman represented the Socialists, and gave a very fair statement of the Parliamentary and Revolutionist parties. Mr.

Greenwood followed with an attack on the Socialists, quoting lengthily from the Manifesto of the Socialist League. The debate was listened to by a large crowd and the proceedings were very lively. Our comrades in Manchester are working hard and doing some good propagandist work.

SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENT.—On June 11 a Social entertainment was held at South Place, in conclusion of the "Lessons in Socialism." The programme consisted of the prologue by William Morris, which is printed in another column; pianoforte duet by Bax and Liddle, recitations by David Nicoll, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Aveling; songs by Percy Taylor, and performances by the choir of the I. W. M. C. In conclusion the audience sang the Marseillaise. The evening was spent with pleasure to the audience and profit to the funds of the Socialist League.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday June 7, Comrade Minty, lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, on "Liberalism and Toryism: the two great Delusions." He forcibly demonstrated the utter uselessness of mere party politics to the workers of the country, and notwithstanding some opposition, the sympathies of the audience were unmistakably with him. On the 21st, our energetic comrade again lectured at the same place, on "Socialism and Radicalism." Following the lines of his previous lecture he showed that Radicalism was really a greater delusion than Toryism, inasmuch as the latter promised little, whereas the former promised much and did nothing for the benefit of the workers. He maintained that the so called Radicals of to-day had no right to the name they went under, which meant one who goes to the root or first principles of a thing. This the Radical so-called did not do, and the only real Radical was the *Socialist*, who did. The Radical capitalist was so much bound up in his own private interest as was the Tory landlord. Radicals belong to the class that grinds out the very lives of the workers in manufactories and mines. And, as soon as, owing to the state of the "market," no "profit" can be made out of the wage-slaves, turn them adrift and then pose as "philanthropists," subscribe liberally to soup kitchens, preside at lectures on "Thrift" "Emigration," "how to live on a sixpence a day," etc. He then gave an exposition of the principles of Socialism and appealed to his audience as workers to embrace them, and by spreading them, hasten the day when harmonious co-operation for the production and distribution of the goods of life to all should take the place of the wretched anarchy and injustice of Society of to-day.—F. P. Secretary.

LECTURE DIARY: July, 1885.

Saturday	11.—	Memorial Hall, Albert Square, Manchester, William Morris, "The Hopes of Civilisation."
Sunday	12.—	Large Hall of Cucumber Gardens, Royton, William Morris, at 3 p.m.
"	12.—	Hammersmith, Dr. Hoggan, "The Position of Women."
"	19.—	" G. Brocher, "The Icarian Communities in America."
"	26.—	" A. Beesley, "Primitive Property."

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.
Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.
Bloomsbury.—Stanley Coffee House.
North London.—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Open-air station, Vicar's Croft
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Saturday at 7.30 p.m.
Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.

Manchester Socialist Union.—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.
Oldham.—Coffee Tavern, Yorkshire Street. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the *COMMONWEAL*.)

North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. 7, J. L. Mahon, "Misery and Revolution"; 14, David Nicoll; 21, W. C. Wade; 28, C. W. Mowbray.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 9, Nicoll and Wade; 12, Mahon and Halliday; 16, Mahon; 19, Lane and Mowbray; 23, Mowbray; 26, Nicoll and Wade; 30, Nicoll.

Canning Town.—Barking Road. Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 28th June, Mahon and Halliday; 12th July, Lane and Mowbray; 19, Nicoll and Wade; 26, Mahon and Halliday.

Mile End Waste.—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 28th June, Lane and Mowbray; 12th July, Nicoll and Wade; 19, Mahon and Halliday; 26, Lane and Mowbray.

Hammersmith.—Every Saturday evening at 6 o'clock. Speakers from the League and the Branch.

Open-air speakers will meet at 13 Farringdon Road on Wednesday, July 22, at 8.30 p.m., to arrange lectures for August.

NOTICE.

The Socialist League has taken New Premises at 13 Farringdon Road, near the Holborn Viaduct.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The August number (7) will be ready on Saturday, July 25th, and will be issued with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Wednesday, 22nd.

LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

The *Commonweal*, monthly, 1d.; annual subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.

Art and Socialism, by William Morris, 3d., post free 3½d.

Chants for Socialists.—1, The Day is Coming; 2, The Voice of Toil; 3, All for the Cause; 4, No Master; 5, The March of the Workers; 6, The Message of the March Wind. The six poems in one pamphlet, 1d., post free 1½d.

The Socialist Platform.—1, Trades' Unions, by E. Belfort Bax, 1d., post free 1½d. 2, Useful Work v. Useless Toil, by William Morris, 1d., post free 1½d.

Socialist Leaflets.—1, Why be "Transported"? 2, "Down with the Socialists!" also, "The Soudan War" (a Manifesto). Assorted package sent gratis on receipt of stamp for postage.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13 Farringdon Rd., Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.

Supplement to "The Commonweal."

VOL. I.—No. 6.

JULY, 1885.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

(AN ANSWER TO "ANOTHER VIEW.")

A FRIEND, R. F. E. Willis, whose letter we publish, seems inclined to answer the question, "Shall Socialists enter the Parliamentary struggle?" in the affirmative. The question is such a serious one that I make no excuse for answering our friend at some length.

I must admit that as a matter of policy it might be prudent to affect a belief in the Parliamentary method of revolution, even if we did not really believe in them, and this all the more in the face of the coming election, which has aroused such hopes in the minds of Democrats—hopes likely to be disappointed, even on the mere Democratic side. But I am convinced that all such dishonesty is sure to fall back on the heads of those that practise it, and that it is no use enrolling recruits who do not really agree with us, and will fall away before the first sincere declaration of our principles. Therefore I think that Socialists ought not to hesitate to choose between Parliamentarism and revolutionary agitation, and that it is a mistake to try and sit on the two stools at once; and, for my part, I hope that they will declare against Parliamentarism, as I feel assured that otherwise they will have to retrace their steps at the cost of much waste of time and discouragement.

I now ask our friend—what is the object of Socialism? Do we not hope to see society transformed, to be changed into something quite different from what it now is? On the other hand the object of Parliamentary institutions is the preservation of society in its present form—to get rid of defects in the machine in order to keep the machine going. Liberal legislation (and there is no other, for the Tories are forced to legislate liberally when they are in office) means yielding what is absolutely necessary to popular demands in the assured hope of hushing those demands, so that the fleecing of the people may not come to an end.

Let us take the Factory Acts instanced as an example by our friend, and see how the thing works. It was necessary (as it still is) to our capitalist manufacture that the auxiliary labour of women and children should be employed, so as to keep down the cost of production by lowering the wages of adult males. But in the earlier years of the great machine industry, the monstrous abuses in the employment of women and children, which could no longer be hushed up, threatened the existence of that employment. Necessity therefore compelled the manufacturers to submit to the palliation of these abuses, so that now the burden of this still shameful labour is lightened, and thereby the system is saved—which means that the wives and children of our factory workmen cheapen labour for the manufacturers at the expense of their own husbands and fathers. Meantime there is still left a large mass of "auxiliary labour," untouched by the Factory Acts, which will remain till Socialism has transformed our civilisation.

On the one hand, therefore, the slavery of the better-off workers, though lightened, is confirmed. On the other, the fringe of labour, which is absolutely necessary to our present system of manufacture, is left untouched or even changed for the worse.

This is the regular course of Parliamentary legislation, which acts like a doctor trying to heal his patient by attacking the symptoms and letting the cause of disease alone. In short, for the purpose for which it is intended, the support of the class-state, Parliamentary legislation is valid, otherwise it is a delusion.

I should like our friend to understand whither the whole system of palliation tends—namely, towards the creation of a new middle class to act as a buffer between the proletariat and their direct and obvious masters; the only hope of the bourgeois for retarding the advance of Socialism lies in this device. Let our friend think of a society thus held together. Let him consider how sheepishly the well-to-do workers to-day offer themselves to the shearer; and are we to help our masters to keep on creating fresh and fresh flocks of such sheep? What a society that would be, the main support of which would be capitalists masquerading as working men! Shall the ultimate end of civilisation be the perpetual widening of the middle classes? I think if our friend knew as well as I do the terrible

mental degradation of our middle classes, their hypocrisy, their cowardice, their joylessness, it would scare him from attempting to use their beloved instrument of amelioration—Parliament.

It is a new Society that we are working to realise, not a cleaning up of our present tyrannical muddle into an improved smoothly-working form of that same "order," a mass of dull and useless people organised into classes, amidst which the antagonism should be moderated and veiled so that they should act as checks on each other for the insurance of the stability of the system.

The real business of Socialists is to impress on the workers the fact that they are a class, whereas they ought to be Society; if we mix ourselves up with Parliament we shall confuse and dull this fact in people's minds instead of making it clear and intensifying it. The work that lies before us at present is to *make Socialists*, to cover the country with a network of associations composed of men who feel their antagonism to the dominant classes, and have no temptation to waste their time in the thousand follies of party politics. If by chance any good is to be got out of the legislation of the ruling classes, the necessary concessions are much more likely to be wrung out of them by their fear of such a body, than they are to be wheedled and coaxed out of them by the continual life of compromise which "Parliamentary Socialists" would be compelled to live, and which is deadly to that feeling of exalted hope and brotherhood that alone can hold a revolutionary party together.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE WORK BEFORE US.

THE writer of this article has come to England—the country which has been a leader of humanity ever since she had the splendid daring to attack the doctrine of "divine" rights, *vested* rights, by cutting off the head of her king—to join his fellow-Socialists in the battle that now is being waged all over the civilised world. Against what? Some will say: against the selfishness of the well-to-do classes? I prefer to say, against in-grown habits, against the indolence, the sluggishness of human nature, on the one hand, and on the other, against traditional views of the universe and the place we ought to fill in it, against mistaken notions which men have, and most naturally have, of their own true interests. If that be so, then it follows that our work is of a two-fold nature—to arouse and quicken the consciences, feelings, impulses of men, to *agitate*; to inculcate correct knowledge of society and our relation to it, to *teach*.

It has made me truly happy to find that the Socialist League, and, indeed, all in Great Britain who deserve the name of Socialists, are devoting all their means and energies to mental, intellectual activity. It particularly gave me satisfaction to read, in the May number of the *Commonweal*, "We must first have a mental revolution, or the physical one would be hopeless, but that just in proportion as the mental revolution is complete *will all danger of a sanguinary one be averted*." That is, in my opinion, exactly the correct idea, and I think that we ought everywhere and at all times to lay stress upon it, so as to disarm the suspicion born of misapprehension. Rifles may be good enough, when the conditions are ripe, but they are irresistible only when *ideas* take aim at the butt-end. Therefore I apprehend that our first and main business is to put ideas into the minds of the people, full well knowing that if they are once there, actions will follow fast enough.

The fundamental Socialist idea which we then are to impress on the people is, I conceive, this: that as Society hitherto has been based on wealth, in the future Society is to be based on labour. And let it never be forgotten that this means labour *intellectual as well as manual*. Those who work with the head have had pretty nearly as little consideration and as little influence on the conduct of public affairs as those who work with the hand; they are in very many instances just as badly off as the latter, and when they are, they are liable to feel their inferior condition most keenly; and what is perhaps of the greatest importance, it is an absolute necessity to a successful issue of our movement that we draw people of education into it, and they will never be more wanted than just now at the start. Fortunately, our movement is of such a character that it can

appeal with a peculiar force to educated people of our times. Socialism, indeed, may be said to be in the air in educated circles and centres—think of the many magazine articles and books that have appeared of late, bearing on the subject. Why, Socialism is the logical outcome of the highest and deepest modern British thought! As the writer of this the other day told the students at Oxford, the grand doctrine of Evolution which English scientists have installed on the throne of the human mind is the greatest intellectual revolutionary achievement since Copernicus, since it is nothing less than the divine basis on which the splendid edifice of Socialism is to be reared. Therefore the keynote to all my remarks will be this, that Socialism is—not the best, not the wisest system (though that certainly it is as soon as the conditions are ripe)—but the *INEVITABLY* next stage in our development; that Socialism, in other words, will be but the necessary historical product of English life, philosophically, religiously, industrially, politically and socially. Socialists thus are true scientific prophets, the only clear-seeing practical thinkers of the day, capable of drawing right conclusions from England's past to England's future. We have not come to destroy but to fulfil. That is a reasoning that I am sure educated minds will be peculiarly accessible to, and it should afford great encouragement to all. Reformers have always found the great majority indolent; they have seen before them a great mass of almost inert matter, and have asked each other, frequently in tones of despair: "How shall we move this heap of stones?" The new philosophy saves us from such despair, and gives us redoubled energy by revealing to us the true mode of progress: that evolution, or the power behind evolution, pushes mankind, unwillingly and generally unwittingly, onward, at the same time raising up such men as the reformers of the past and us Socialists of the present to cooperate with it, and through whom to act.

This evolution doctrine, again, should guard us against becoming *vindictive* reformers. It is so very difficult for all of us to refrain from letting that *righteous* hate we all feel towards the prevailing system pass into hate of classes and persons. This is bad policy, and must also be bad in principle, since the new philosophy teaches us that Socialism is a growth of the *whole* body politic, and not merely the ascendancy of one class over others.

It seems to me that we ought to make all possible use of the splendid occasion which the next general election to Parliament affords us to make propaganda and spread our ideas. Perhaps no other election in any country ever before gave us such opportunity, since perhaps in many districts—the war scare being over—*democracy* may become the issue. Of course, we do not for a moment think of electing members of Parliament. Supposing even it were necessary to nominate candidates in order to create occasions for the discussion of our principles, it would be absolutely immaterial to us whether these candidates were beaten by one vote or won by one. Indeed, the least available men would be the most useful candidates to us.

It was Victor Hugo who said: "Ideas are the lightning; the revolution is the thunder." The Socialists of Great Britain have inaugurated an intellectual agitation, which will grow in magnitude and intensity till in twenty to twenty-five years hence a revolutionary thunder clears the atmosphere for ever. I verily believe we are, to use Tennyson's phrase, "ringing in the Christ that is to be."

LAURENCE GRONLUND.

SOCIALISM OF THE TEA-TABLE.

AMONG the various kinds of half-hearted Socialism with which comfortable capitalists of different degrees of foolishness love to enter upon an occasional flirtation, Socialism of the Chair has its own importance and its recognised place, while Socialism of the Tea-Table is commonly ignored even by those writers who profess that they have made a careful study of all the phases of the movement. And yet there can be little doubt that the influence of this same despised Socialism of the Tea-Table makes itself felt in far wider circles than that of its more authoritative, but not more dogmatic, rival of the Chair. For the influence of this latter is exercised only by a few metaphysically-minded professors upon an extremely limited company of *dilettanti* students, while that of the former is co-extensive with the aggregated area of the tea-tables of the world, and co-equal with the dark brown beverage which is dispensed thereupon in its power of stimulating the nerves of the languid. And when the vast volume of the daily flow of this liquid, and the enormous extent of the acreage which it periodically floods, are duly considered, an examination of the subject cannot be supposed to be beneath the dignity of the most serious Socialist publication. It is with the view of encouraging such examina-

tion that I wish to touch slightly upon its most familiar tendencies and topics.

Socialism of the Tea-Table is, before all things, benevolent. Its recognised expositors, whether at five or six o'clock in the afternoon, are anxious that all the world should be saved and brought to a practical acquaintance with the comfort to be extracted out of a cup of tea. The grinding toil of a factory shocks their sense of the propriety of things, and the idea that any of the unemployed poor should actually suffer from starvation gives them a feeling of pain which can scarcely be removed even by their third cup. But for these things they are ready with their remedy, and in its efficacy they have complete faith. The remedy is the immediate enrolment of the unemployed or overworked poor in domestic service, in order that they may be profitably and pleasantly employed in the making and handing round of the tea of the unemployed rich. Now, to those who are unacquainted with the logic of the tea-table, this idea may seem impracticable and even slightly absurd, but that does not prevent it from being so securely ensconced in the brain of the tea-drinker as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty to dislodge it. The chain of argument which supports it is this. It is obvious that those who are employed in catering for the caprices of the rich, and supplying them with unnecessary luxuries, are in a more comfortable position than those who are starving for want of employment. It is also obvious that a servant out of place is an actual addition to the sum of human misery, and an extra competitor for wages among the rest of the wage-wanting class. Nothing can be plainer than the fact that domestic servants are withdrawn from the competition for subsistence, except, perhaps, this other fact—that the rich could no longer stand in the relation of a kind providence to them if their riches were to be confiscated by Socialist legislation. The idea of the rich being compelled to perform a share of useful work themselves is quite precluded by the patent fact that the labour market is already over-stocked, and that work, whether useful or useless, is the hardest thing of all for the unemployed to find, even under the present conditions of the supply and demand of labour. Words are inadequate to picture the misery which would consequently be produced if the unemployed rich were obliged to compete for work with the unemployed poor. Thus the true remedy for distress shines clear through the confusing mists of puzzle-headedness, and it is this—*increase the desire of luxuries among the rich, and you will increase the beneficent flow of wealth from their capacious pockets into the innumerable slender purses of the poor, who must be occupied in appeasing them.* Thus the prospect of the Socialist of the Tea-Table is lighted up by a vision of the time when there shall be enough rich people to employ all the poor in satisfying their desires. The prospect is so pretty that it seems almost a pity to say anything that may dim the spectacles through which it is seen. And yet it must be pointed out that the idea that there is any flow of wealth from the purses of the rich to the pockets of the poor is as complete an illusion as the notion that the various springs and sources and tributaries of a river are kept continually full by a steady flow of water from the sea, with which it mixes at its mouth. For we have only to look at the facts to find that the flow is in exactly the opposite direction. The pockets of the rich are filled by the continuous influx of innumerable rills of riches which have their rise in the labour of the poor. The rich are the vast receiving-house where the results of toil are consumed and destroyed, but the stores are perpetually replenished by the unceasing efforts of the poor. The papers and parchments, the bonds and title-deeds, with which their safes and strong boxes are stuffed to the bursting, are merely the talisman by means of which they are enabled to conjure the wealth that is produced out of the hands that produced it. This is the explanation of the mysterious anomaly of production for profit instead of production for use. The producers themselves have no voice in the matter. If they cannot produce a profit for other people, they are not permitted to produce at all. Thus want of clothing is coincident with want of work, since clothes are no longer made for the purpose of protecting from cold the bodies of the persons who make them, but solely for the purpose of making a profit for the capitalist when he throws them upon the market. Gluts of food and clothing exist side by side with shivering and starvation, and the sovereign remedy for the distress is supposed to be a greater demand for luxuries among the rich, in order that the poor may obtain employment in producing useless things. To the Socialist of the Tea-Table the word "employment" is a kind of fetish. He hears that the depression of trade is throwing thousands out of work, that the army of the unemployed is increasing day by day, and that innumerable "hands" are permanently idle; and, like Satan in the nursery hymn, he is

eager to find them something to do, even though it be merely mischief. Since employment for its own sake is the great object, it is obvious that the hands may be as busily employed in sowing tares as in sowing wheat, and that a man may work as hard at the treadmill as at the plough. And, so long as he is paid his regular wages for the work, it seems at first sight that the one employment is as good as the other, so far does the capitalist system blind the eyes of its victims to the real nature of things. But in the long run the difference becomes plain enough, and the tares come up instead of the wheat, or the land lies sterile for want of the plough, while the men are toiling steadily at the treadmill. And then, when it seems that common sense must at last assert itself, and the difference between useful and useless work be made manifest to all, comes the true triumph for the Socialist of the Tea-Table, for he is enabled to point out with pride that an enormous amount of employment is now at last to be had, since the idle hands may be set to the task of pulling up the tares, or of fencing in the tracts of sterile land for the formation of a deer forest. And his satisfaction is complete, for his opponent is compelled to confess that such arguments are indeed unanswerable.

J. L. JOYNES.

A NEW MARSEILLAISE.

YE sons of Freedom, wake, 'tis morning
 'Tis time to deal with liars and lies;
 On high the reddened sun gives warning
 That day hath dawned, and black night dies.
 That day hath dawned, and black night dies.
 But will ye lie in sleep for ever?
 Shall tyrants always crush you down?
 Lo, they have reaped, and ye have sown,
 The time hath come your bonds to sever.

Chorus—To arms! to arms! again—
 The red flag waves on high.
 March on, march on
 With sword in hand—
 March on to liberty.

Long have ye heard your children weeping—
 For bread they cried in vain to you.
 Why do ye lie there, dreaming, sleeping?
 When there is work and deeds to do.
 When there is work and deeds to do.
 Your lords and masters pile their plunder;
 They feast and prey and do not spare.
 But from your weary toil and care
 They wring the wealth at which ye wonder.

Chorus—To arms! to arms, etc.

Though Force and Fraud alike oppose you,
 Yet in your hand is might and power;
 And though your tyrants' hosts enclose you,
 And overhead the black clouds lower,
 And overhead the black clouds lower.
 Yet what are Force and Fraud before ye
 But as the leaves of autumn trees
 Borne wildly onward by the breeze
 When the storm rises in its fury?

Chorus—To arms! to arms, etc.

But when the fight is done and over,
 And freedom reigns with us again;
 When tyrants the green earth doth cover
 And ended is the toil and pain,
 And ended is the toil and pain,
 Then in the world will be bright weather,
 For hope and peace shall fill the earth.
 Then life and love will have new birth—
 For men shall dwell in joy together.

Chorus—To arms! to arms! again
 The red flag waves on high.
 March on, march on,
 With sword in hand—
 March on to liberty!

DAVID NICOLL.

Between truth and falsehood, purity and corruption, justice and usurpation, there is eternal war. Between them there never can be peace.—*Social Democracy.*

REVIEW.

Woman in the Past, Present, and Future. By AUGUST BEBEL. (From the German, by H. B. Adams-Walther).

"THE question as to what position in our social organism will enable woman to become a useful member of the community, will put her in possession of the same rights as its other members enjoy, and ensure the full development of her powers and faculties in every direction, coincides with the question as to the form and organisation which the entire community must receive if oppression, exploitation, want and misery in a hundred shapes are to be replaced by a free humanity, by a society which is physically and organically sound. The so-called woman's question is therefore only one side of the whole social question, which is at the present hour agitating all minds; only in connexion with each other can the two questions reach their final solution." In these words, in the introduction to his book, Bebel has summed up his position with regard to the woman question. For him, as for all earnest Socialists, it is a part of the whole social question, and must therefore be discussed as fully, as freely, as frankly as any other.

That a work dealing so thoroughly and ably as Bebel's with such immense questions as woman's social position, the relations of the sexes, marriage, prostitution, population, must be of the greatest value to all Socialists and to all students of social science, is self-evident. But to English Socialists such a work is doubly valuable, for we have to fight, not only the usual prejudices and opposition of the governing classes, but also the hypocrisy of a Bible-reading nation still imbued with the early Christian fear and hatred of nature and of woman (as the embodiment of all evil and temptation) which would forbid every open reference to either subject. The ordinary English *bourgeois* will tolerate, indeed enjoy, an indecent innuendo or doubtful allusion; but he will turn away in virtuous horror from a frank and serious discussion of serious questions, and feel a thrill of moral indignation at an earnest and scientific examination of them. Hence in England the most determined champions of women's rights rarely deal with the all-important marriage question, and when a woman is brave enough to do so she has to do it anonymously, besides assuring the world that she is "respectable." Socialists in England—especially we *women* Socialists—are, then, deeply indebted to our comrade, August Bebel, for his brave and noble work, and should be grateful to Dr. Adams-Walther for her careful and fairly accurate Englishing of it.

I have already pointed out that the position taken by Bebel, with regard to the woman question, is that this is part of the whole Social question, that with the abolition of class-rule must come also the abolition of sex-rule, that the emancipation of man and that of woman are equal necessities, that we cannot have the one without the other. Man and woman must both, in a word, become "human beings."

The first part of Bebel's book is devoted to an historical survey of woman in the past—and this, I say it with all respect, is of less value than other portions of his work. There are, as it seems to me, certain inaccuracies, and in the light thrown upon the position of woman in primitive conditions of society, by Engels, in his latest work on the "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," it is not possible to accept all Bebel's statements on this head. But this does not affect the real value of his book, nor does it apply in any way to his masterly treatment of the position of woman in the present and in the future.

As a scientific Socialist, Bebel of course holds that we must seek for the real cause of woman's enslaved position in her economic dependence upon man, and that her "emancipation" means nothing but economic freedom. In other words, man and woman become truly emancipated only with the overthrow of the whole modern system of capitalistic production.

Against the idea—not, I fear, uncommon even among Socialists—that woman is at best a very inferior sort of animal, never by any chance capable of such greatness as man, Bebel points out that if woman is an inferior creature to-day, she is only, like the proletarian, a victim of the circumstances in which she is placed, and is no more to be blamed for her ignorance than is the working man who believes that the present régime is the best, and must go on world without end. Against the postulate that a different physical constitution justifies in a man what is considered criminal in a woman, and that a very "venial slip" in the one is an unpardonable crime in the other; against the teaching that would impose one code of morals for man and one for woman, Bebel protests very earnestly—and he does more than protest. He proves that his demand for perfect equality of the sexes, that his assertion that the passions of men and women being the same, the moral rules applied to one should apply to the other, are founded on reason and true morality.

Bebel's treatment of the marriage question is admirable. Of course the virtuous Philistine of all classes will be profoundly shocked. He thinks the "necessary evil" of prostitution not unpleasant, and above all, he likes to feel that the "family," as now constituted, is a small kingdom of which he is the despotic sovereign. To be told that under a rational system of society there could be no prostitution, and that our modern idea of marriage is absolutely immoral, is not pleasant, and it is no doubt hideously coarse to say that, while "marriage should only be entered upon by two persons inspired by mutual love, for the purpose of exercising their natural functions," the modern *bourgeois* property-marriage "is regarded by most women as a kind of almshouse . . . and the man, for his part, generally counts up the advantages of marriage with the greatest exactitude. . . Still worse is it to maintain that marriage represents one half of the sexual life of the *bourgeois* world,

and prostitution represents the other. Marriage is the front, and prostitution the back of the medal. When a man finds no satisfaction in marriage he generally resorts to prostitution, and when a man for one reason or another remains unmarried, it is again prostitution to which he has recourse. Provision is thus made for men who are celibates by choice or force, as well as for those whom marriage has disappointed, to gratify their sexual instincts in a manner forbidden to women. . . . These men appear daily in society with the grave and dignified air of guardians of morality, order, marriage, and the family; they are at the head of Christian societies for the suppression of prostitution. Our social organisation resembles a great carnival festival, in which everyone wears his official disguise with decorum, and indulges his inclinations and passions all the more unreservedly in private." All which our Philistines "most powerfully and potently believes, yet holds it not honesty to have it thus set down."

All the hideous evils of our modern society in which the small class of unproductive exploiter fattens upon the unpaid labour of the workers; in which men, women and children are driven to compete against each other for a starvation wage, and in which the women—the wives and daughters and sisters of the wage-slaves—have to sell themselves to the man of family and property, all these monstrous conditions render "Social Reforms," in Bebel's opinion, an impossibility. They can only be cured by a Social revolution. How this is to come about, what are the immediate steps to be taken, Bebel does not pretend to prophecy, but he says: "I maintain that within a given time all the evils described will have reached a point at which their existence will not only be clearly recognised by the vast majority of the population, but will also have become unbearable; that a universal irresistible longing for radical reformation will then take possession of almost the whole community, and make the quickest remedy appear the most opportune, . . . then the whole of this private property (viz., land, machines, implements, means of traffic, as well as the private possession of the sources of food and the articles of food) must be converted into common property, by one great act of expropriation."

Those persons who are so constantly asking us what we intend doing "the next day" would do well to read—but that is exactly what they are incapable of doing!—the chapter on the "Socialisation of Labour" in this volume. Bebel, naturally, does not pretend to lay down any hard and fast law as to what is to be done he only shows how we *must* work along certain lines.

"After society has entered into exclusive possession of all the means of production, the equal duty of all to labour, without distinction of sex, will become the first fundamental law of the Socialistic community, inasmuch as needs cannot be satisfied without a corresponding amount of labour, and no healthy person, capable of work, has a right to expect that others should work for him. The assertion of malicious opponents, that Socialists refuse to work, and, in fact, intend to abolish work altogether, is an absurdity on the face of it. Idlers can only exist as long as others work to support them. This admirable condition of things is the one in which we live, and those who profit by it most are the most declared enemies of Socialism. On the contrary, Socialists maintain that he who will not work has no right to eat. But by work they do not understand mere activity, but useful, i.e., productive work. The new society demands, therefore, that each of its members should execute a certain amount of work in manufacturing, in a handicraft or in agriculture, by which he contributes a given quantity of products for the satisfaction of existing needs. *Without work no enjoyment, and no work without enjoyment.* . . .

" . . . As the Socialistic community does not constitute itself in order to lead the life of proletarians, but in order to abolish the proletarianism of the majority, and to bring the largest possible measure of the amenities of life within the reach of all, the question arises, how high will society place its average claims."

Official posts are only held by delegates for a time:

"The character of an official does not attach to the delegates, inasmuch as the appointment is neither permanent nor affords the possibility of advancement. There is no such thing as an hierarchical system. For the same reason it is an indifferent matter whether any intermediate body shall be established between the central and local executives, for instance, provincial executives. If they appear necessary, when the time comes, they will be established; if they are superfluous, they will not be established. The practical necessity decides. When more advanced development has made old forms of organisation obsolete, they will be abolished, without any flourish of trumpets or violent disputes, as the question touches no personal interests, and a new organization will be introduced with just as little trouble. One sees, this executive is as far removed from our present system as the heavens are from the earth."

Moreover, both the individual and the community being equally interested,

"All will devote their ingenuity to the improvement, simplification and acceleration of the process of production. The ambition of inventors and discoverers will be stimulated to the highest degree. The community of the future will have scholars and artists of every kind, and in very considerable numbers, who will devote a small portion of each day to assiduous physical toil, and spend the remainder of their time according to their tastes, in the pursuit of their studies or arts. The antagonism which exists to-day between hand and head-work, which the ruling classes have done their best to accentuate . . . will thus be abolished."

"As therefore there are no 'wares' in the new community, neither will there be any money. Money is the representative of wares, and yet at the same time a ware itself; it is the social equivalent of all other wares. But the new society possesses no wares, only objects of necessity, of use, whose making requires a certain amount of social working time. The working time which the making of an article requires is therefore the only scale by which its social value can be measured. Ten minutes of social work in one branch, are exchangeable for ten minutes of social work in another, neither more nor less. For society is not intent on earning, its task consists only in effecting the exchange of articles of equal quality and equal use-value among its members. If society finds for instance that three hours work a day is

necessary for the production of the requisite quantity of goods, it will appoint three hours as the length of the working day."

Everyone will therefore receive from society the equivalent of his labour, neither more nor less. Socialists protest, and Bebel most energetically, against the confusion of the present State administration with a really Socialistic administration. In Socialistic administration for all there are no employers, no superiors, as no oppression; all are equals, and enjoy equal rights.

In these "equal rights" all—i.e., women as men—have their share. In the new community woman being entirely independent, she becomes a free being, the equal of man.

"Her education is the same as that of man, except where the difference of sex makes a deviation from this rule and special treatment absolutely unavoidable; she develops all her mental and physical powers and capabilities under natural conditions of existence; she can select such fields for her activity as her wishes, tastes and faculties may direct. She works under exactly the same conditions as a man. Having performed her share of social labour in some branch of industry, the next hour she becomes educator, teacher, or nurse, later on she devotes herself to art or science, and afterwards exercises some executive function. She enjoys amusements and recreation with her own sex or with men, exactly as she pleases and occasion offers.

"In the choice of love she is free just as man is free. She woos and is wooed, and has no other inducement to bind herself than her own free will. The contract between two lovers is of a private nature as in primitive times, without the intervention of any functionary, but it is distinguished from the primitive contract by the fact that the woman no longer becomes the slave of a man who obtained her as a gift or by purchase, and can cast her off at his pleasure."

Under such conditions "her household and children, if she has any, cannot restrict her freedom, but only increase her pleasure in life. Educators, friends, young girls, are all at hand for all cases in which she needs help."

On the vexed question of population, I suppose I need hardly say that Bebel rejects the "theory" which has been called after Parson Malthus (although his book "did not contain a single sentence thought out by himself"). He here, as in all other matters, accepts the teaching of Karl Marx. The relative over-population of to-day, a result of our capitalistic system of to-day, will disappear with the system of which it is the outcome. It is a well-established fact that families "increase in an inverse ratio to the height of wages," and that the poorer a district the more densely it is populated. Happier circumstances would not, then, conduce to increase, but rather to *diminish*, the number of children. Further, "for two thousand years man has been possessed by the most insane aversion to concern himself frankly, freely and naturally with the laws governing his own origin and development, and to study scientifically the conditions of generation and conception in the human race." With a more healthy and natural condition we shall better understand the natural laws that bear upon this question, and

"We must finally take into account that woman will occupy a totally different position in the society of the future, and will have no inclination to bring a large number of children, as 'gifts of God' into the world; that she will desire to enjoy her freedom and independence, and not to spend half or three-quarters of the best years of her life in a state of pregnancy, or with a child at her breast. Certainly there are few women who do not wish to have a child, but still fewer who wish to have more than a limited number. All these things will work together in regulating the numbers of human beings, without there being any need for our Malthusians to rack their brains at present."

Before concluding this short review, I feel it my duty to call attention to the supremely careless manner in which the English translation of Bebel's book has been printed. Of slight errors as to the meaning of the original, due chiefly to the translator's want of familiarity with the technical terms of economy, and of certain grammatical errors for which the translator may also be accountable, I do not speak. I refer only to simple mistakes in printing and the use of type. Of these, in a volume of 264 pages, there are no less than 176!

I end with a quotation from this fine, thought-compelling work, in which Bebel so eloquently calls upon every man and every woman to help in our great struggle:

"This final victory will be all the more decisive, the greater the zeal and energy with which each individual pursues the path before him. No one has a right to consider whether he himself, after all his trouble and labour, will live to see a fairer epoch of civilisation, and still less has he the right to let such a consideration deter him from the course on which he has entered. Although we cannot predict the duration of the single phases of development, nor the form which they will assume, just as little as we can with any certainty foresee the length of our own lives, in a century such as ours we have no cause to relinquish all hope of witnessing the victory. We struggle and strive onwards, unconcerned as to when or where the boundary posts of new and better times for humanity shall be erected. If we fall in fight, the rearguard will take our place; we shall fall with the consciousness of having done our duty as men, and with the conviction that the goal will be reached, in spite of all opposition from the enemies of humanity and progress."

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

RELIGION is the foundation of government, and those governments which have not this basis are built upon sand and are very easy to overturn.

It is as usual to see a young working man become an old beggar and die in a workhouse, as to see a carriage-horse come to the hackney coach, and at last die in drawing a costermonger's cart.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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AUGUST, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Sunday, July 5, 1885.

HELD AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

THE first General Conference of the Socialist League will be remembered with pleasurable feelings by all that took part in it. It was a day of heartiness and good feeling; of realisation of hopes and the planning for future work. Whether the organisation founded in December last, and having its second birth, as it were, on Sunday, July 5, 1885, is to exist until the principles it works for are understood and accepted of men—whether it will ever be merged in a larger, wider, more international body; whether those gathered together on that Sunday will see in their time anything more than the lessened darkness of the sky before the dawn of the better day that is to come; whether any of them will be able to sing *Nunc dimittis* ere they depart—these are but secondary questions. The one thing of primary importance is that a veritable Socialist body is in existence, and is at work in England, the home of capitalism.

A genuine enthusiasm marked from first to last all that was done. Even the dry details of business reports were signals for cheering. In an assembly of men and women holding pronounced and advanced views, considerable difference of opinion upon points of detail and even, now and again, on larger questions, was assured. But even where the difference was marked enough to be called a divergence, all discussion was carried on with kindness and generosity. In one thing the Conference was unanimous—its earnestness for Socialism, its eagerness to do everything for the furthering of the cause.

And now the League is thoroughly on its feet. Its Council and officers have been chosen. The inspiration of our first gathering together is yet strong upon us. Our work lies before us. The hideous moastrosities, cruelties, and blasphemies due to capitalism, assail our every sense. Our fellows lie supine, or if they struggle at all, so fight they as those that fight the air. To work, then!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

EDWARD B. AVELING.

MORNING SITTING—11 to 1.30.

C. W. Mowbray proposed, and F. Lessner seconded, William Morris as Chairman.

C. W. Mowbray and Thomas Wardle, jun., were elected scrutineers on the motion of Lessner and Halliday.

Some discussion arose on the position of a member who had joined the League that day. It was ultimately decided that he could be present, but was not entitled to vote.

On the motion of Theodor and Mowbray, Edward Aveling, H. Halliday and J. L. Mahon were deputed to act as Secretaries to the Conference.

The Chairman, having read the agenda, said: Friends, though a speech is probably not expected of me, just a few words. The circumstances under which the League was formed are known to you all. Any body of Socialists have the right to make an association, as we have done, for the spread of revolutionary International Socialism. Their business, above all others, is to see that the doctrine is carried through purely, and not mixed with opportunism. The doctrine is a change in the basis of society. Of course, to some it seems absurd for a few people in an upper chamber to talk of this. But it is not we that are to effect this change, but the world of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow. We have to do with the past, the present and the future. We suffer many checks, some defeats, and not a little coldness at times amongst ourselves. We do not all of us always stick pertinaciously to the task, ready to make sacrifices in the certainty that things will change. For my part, I believe we shall see much of it in our own time. Now for the business of to-day. The Provisional Council, whose self-

appointment you endorsed in a measure by joining the League, will give you in their account. They ask for justice, and not charity, at your hands. I would beg of everybody to be ready to bear criticism in the interests of the cause. We are all friends, but must give no favour to one another, treating all as members of the party, and then there can be nothing personal in the criticism. Let us all speak our minds freely, and if we think mistakes have been made, name those that have made them, and then receive, and if possible accept, their explanation. Let us consider ourselves to-day and always members of the cause that we are leading in this country, and go straight forward to the end of the ideal we have in view. Let us remember that all other successes in arts, or what not, depend on the success of this movement. Although we are in a minority, we are entitled to feel, even as we walk about the streets, pride and exultation in the cause that we have at heart.

J. L. Mahon, as Secretary of the Provisional Council, read its report.

Report to the General Meeting of Members of the work of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League (July 5, 1885).

The Socialist League was formed December 30, 1884, at 27 Farringdon Street, London, E.C. At the first meeting were—Wm. Morris, S. Mainwaring, W. J. Clark, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Edward Aveling, E. Belfort Bax, James Davis, Joseph Lane, J. Cooper, John L. Mahon, Edward Watson and Robert Banner. A Provisional Council was elected to carry on the work of the League. That Council received several additions from time to time and is now constituted as follows:—W. Bridges Adams, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Robert Banner, E. Belfort Bax, Thomas Binning, Henry Charles, William J. Clark, J. Cooper, E. T. Craig, W. Hudson, Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Frederick Lessner, John L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring, William Morris, C. W. Mowbray, Chas. Theodor. *Provincial Members*—C. J. Faulkner (Oxford), Thomas Maguire (Leeds), James Mavor (Glasgow), Andreas Schou (Edinburgh). The officers of the League are:—Treasurer and Editor, William Morris; Secretary, John L. Mahon; Financial Secretary, Henry Charles; Sub-Editor, Edward Aveling.

There are now eight Branches of the League—at Hammersmith, Bloomsbury, Leeds, Merton Abbey, Bradford, Oxford, Stratford, North London—the aggregate membership of which is 160. In addition to Branch members, there are 70 members enrolled at the Central Office who do not belong to any Branch, thus making the total membership of the League about 230. There is also affiliated to the League, the Labour Emancipation League, Hoxton, and the Scottish Land and Labour League, with Branches at Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Publications.—The publications issued by the Provisional Council are—(1) The Manifesto of the League, of which 10,000 have been circulated. (2) The *Commonweal*, which will be dealt with in a separate report. (3) A Manifesto on the Soudan War, of which over 12,000 have been circulated. (4) Morris's Chants for Socialists, collected and published at one penny. (5) Socialist Leaflets (two), of which 14,000 have been circulated. (6) The first two numbers of a series of pamphlets, entitled the "Socialist Platform." Of these, No. 1 is "An Address to Trades' Unions;" 350 were distributed free among the engineers lately assembled in conference at Nottingham; and the sale of the second, "Useful Work v. Useless Toil," by William Morris, is proceeding satisfactorily; but it is impossible to give definite details of the sale of either, as they are quite recently issued and returns have not come in from the Branches and newsmen.

The chief public meetings carried out or taken part in by the League have been—

1. A course of 17 meetings at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, E.C. On fifteen evenings Edward Aveling gave a series of "Lessons in Socialism," being an explanation of Marx' "Das Kapital." On the other two evenings were a public meeting introductory to the Lessons and a Social Entertainment in conclusion. The attendance at the Lessons ranged from 40 to over 100.

2. A meeting was held at Neumeyer Hall, Bloomsbury, in celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune. The hall was filled with an enthusiastic audience, and the proceedings were of the most satisfactory nature.

3. A meeting was held at St. James's Hall on April 2, organised and presided over by Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P. The purpose of the meeting was to protest against the British military operations in the Soudan and demand their cessation. As the Council had issued a Manifesto on the subject and given prominence to a series of articles in their journal which dealt with the question in a manner distinctly different from that of any other party in the country, it was felt that some action must be taken in reference to the meeting. The resolutions to be submitted to the meeting were considered by the Council, and it was determined to send two delegates to the meeting to move a rider which contained an explanation of the cause and indicated the means of preventing the recurrence of such wars in the future. The rider was very well received by the meeting, but, owing to the trickery of Mr. Bradlaugh—who first cheated the League delegates out of their time and next confused the meeting when the vote was called for—the rider was lost.

4. On April 23 a meeting to protest against the War was organised by the League. Immediately before the meeting the announcement of the

withdrawal of the military forces in the Soudan was made. This had the effect of limiting the audience, but the utmost enthusiasm was shown by those who attended, and the meeting was a decided success.

Several resolutions of public interest have been passed by the Council from time to time, chief among which are the following:—

1. A resolution of sympathy with the administration of the *Cri du Peuple* in its efforts to unmask the infamous action of the Secret Police, and condole with Citizen Jean Queroy in the murderous attack made upon him by two of the emissaries of the French Republican Government.

2. A resolution repudiating the proposed "International Conference of Socialists."

3. That the invasion of the Soudan was undertaken with the covert intention of exploiting that country for the purposes of commercial greed, and that therefore the check inflicted on the British invaders should be hailed by all supporters of the cause of the people as a triumph of right over wrong, of righteous self-defence over ruffianly brigandage.

4. A resolution of condolence with the French Socialists on the death of their comrade Jules Vallés.

5. A rider to the resolutions at the St. James's Hall meeting on April 2:—"That this meeting believes the invasion of the Soudan has been prompted solely by the desire to exploit the country in the interest of the Capitalists and Stockjobbers, and warns the working class that such commercial wars will always take place until they unite throughout the civilised world in taking their own affairs in hand themselves."

6. "This meeting of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League considers the action of Mr. Bradlaugh as chairman of the St. James's Hall meeting of April 2, 1885, to have been a flagrant breach of faith towards a delegate of the League, and resolves to treat Mr. Bradlaugh in future in accordance with this consideration of his conduct."

7. "That the Provisional Council of the Socialist League after hearing the statements of the facts concerning the outrage by the police on the members of the International Club of St. Stephen's Mews, is of opinion that the police acted on that occasion in a most brutal and unjustifiable manner, and that this Council determines to take immediate steps to call public attention to the dangerous tactics of the Police authorities." This resolution was followed by action calling upon the London Clubs to send delegates to a meeting to consider the matter. A most successful meeting was held, and a Defence Committee formed in whose hands the matter now rests.

8. A resolution of indignation at the conduct of the French Government in wantonly creating disorder at a peaceful meeting in Paris on Sunday, May 24.

During the past six months lectures under the auspices of the League have been delivered at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Chesterfield, Oxford, Northampton and Bristol, by William Morris. Also by Edward Aveling and Laurence Grönlund at Oxford.

Various open-air meetings have been held in London, at which good work has been done in spreading the literature, etc. An especially good meeting was held at Hyde Park on June 28, when a large number of the *Commonweal* was sold. The most promising meetings are those in connexion with the Hoxton Branch of the Labour Emancipation League and the Hammersmith and North London Branches of the Socialist League.

Two Social Entertainments have been held; the first, in aid of Comrade Adam Weiler, from which a surplus of over £10 was made for his benefit. The second entertainment was in conclusion of the "Lessons in Socialism," and was very successful.

The attendance of Council Members at Meetings has been as follows:—Mahon present 28, absent 0; Mowbray and Lane present 25, absent 3; Eleanor Aveling present 25, absent 3 (twice on duty); W. Morris present 24, absent 4 (always on duty); Edward Aveling present 24, absent 4 (3 times on duty); Bax, Binning and Mainwaring present 23, absent 5; Lessner present 21, absent 7 (twice on duty); Clark present 21, absent 7; H. Charles present 19, absent 6; Adams present 15, absent 7; Scheu and Theodor present 15, absent 0; Cooper present 12, absent 16; Kitz present 11, absent 17; Banner present 6, absent 22; Hudson present 1, absent 24; E. T. Craig present 1, absent 27. Cooper, Kitz and Banner live out of town, and were seldom able to attend. Craig had declared his inability to attend when elected.

The conclusion of this report formally intimates that the Provisional Council ceases to exist as soon as you have heard and accepted this and the reports of its other officers.

JOHN L. MAHON,

July 5, 1885.

Secretary of the Provisional Council.

The portions of the Report relating to the Soudan War and Commune meetings were warmly applauded.

The Chairman explained that the absences of most of the members of the Provisional Council, who had made few attendances, were due to work or the distance at which they lived from the place of meeting. He urged, in the election of the new Council, that any whose names might be put up and who could not attend, should say so.

Mowbray added information as to lectures given by lecturers (appointed by the Council) in many London clubs.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Arnold, seconded by Fuller—carried.

Charles read Financial Report.

Mowbray asked, What was the deficit? Charles: "None."

Morris explained that there were £40 still standing for hire of South Place, because of certain disputed items in the bill.

Shackwitz asked about the *Commonweal* and the Lessons.

Chairman ruled that that must come up afterwards.

Nicoll asked what was the cost of printing. He thought the general expenditure excessive, needing to be cut down all round. The total expenditure averaged about £1 ahead for all the members of the League. He thought every one was hardly worth £1.

Charles pointed out that the only items which could be reduced were office expenditure, printing and the *Commonweal* payments.

Nicoll asked the cost of the Lessons.

Charles: About £40.

Faulkner thought Nicoll was under the impression that the £1 ahead had been spent on the individual members. The question was really whether the money had or had not been well spent.

Mahon gave detailed reasons for heavy office expenses and postage, showing that most of it was occasioned by non-recurrent causes.

Nicoll raised the question of hiring South Place, and of the whole expenditure on the Lessons, asking could it not have been done cheaper.

Mowbray objected to cavilling over the past, even if mistakes might have been made. What they had to do was to look determinedly and hopefully to the future.

E. T. Craig recommended as two means of increasing the funds: an increase in the number in branches and of the contributions of each.

The Chairman: Founding a League, like starting a new business, is expensive. Such items as the expenditure for the hiring of South Place will be unnecessary henceforth. That was one of the reasons for taking these rather expensive premises. It is hoped that money will be made out of the Hall. I must plead guilty to not taking enough trouble to bleed people. I find that the poor pay better than the rich, and, considering the object of the League, this is not very astonishing. We must be on our guard against reducing expenses to such an extent as to injure the efficacy of the work. The thing to do is to get more money rather than reduce expenditure.

Lewis Lyons pointed out that the expenses for furniture would not recur.

H. Charles suggested the appointment of auditors.

R. Banner and S. Mainwaring proposed the adoption of the Financial Report, subject to its being passed by the auditors.

Lewis Lyons asked to whom the auditors would report, and C. Mowbray suggested that they should look over the accounts that day. The late Financial Secretary replied that the accounts were too many and too complex for that to be done. He took it that the auditors would report to the new Council, and also through the paper.

Ogden supported Charles.

J. Lane pointed out that the auditors should be selected outside the limits of the Provisional Council.

On the motion of Theodor and Maudhurst, Beasley was appointed, and on the motion of Graham and Mainwaring, Wade.

The Report of the Editors of the Journal was then read by Edward Aveling.

Report of Editors of COMMONWEAL.

Our report is really before you in the six numbers of the *Commonweal* issued. Following out the principles of the League, the journal has been as much as possible educational and organising. With eight pages for the first and second numbers, the supplement from No. 3 onwards has made each issue one of twelve pages. The earlier numbers bore witness to the fact that the leading Socialists of Europe were in sympathy with the League.

The first number, necessarily a hurried production, was hardly to be, and we believe never was, taken as typical. But it contained the Manifesto.

As to the chief articles and their writers, you are in a better position to judge than even we are. But, although thanks are out of place in an organisation where all work is a free-will offering, we are constrained to mention the earnest help given by many working men.

The Reports, the most important part of the paper, have been fairly full. They can be yet fuller if all Branch Secretaries will make a point of forwarding, if possible week by week, notices of the doings of their branches.

The help, not only of secretaries and officials generally, is asked. Every individual member can aid by forwarding extracts from newspapers, paragraphs and quotations bearing upon the movement and Socialism generally. These should be sent week by week, and even day by day. Nothing that is to go into the *Commonweal* of a particular month should reach the Editors later than the first post on the 23rd of the preceding month.

An Inquiry Column has been started in the July number. The success and usefulness of this depend on the energy with which members of the League propound and answer questions and encourage the friends and enemies of the Cause to ask questions.

We are quite conscious that the *Commonweal* has not been a newspaper. As a monthly journal it could not assume this character. In discussing, as you will, the question of keeping the paper as a monthly or making it a weekly, we feel sure that you will bear in mind the relative expense and amount of literary work involved in the two cases.

WILLIAM MORRIS (Editor).

EDWARD AVELING (Sub-Editor).

E. T. Craig hoped that the future numbers of the *Commonweal* would contain a list of the places where it was to be obtained.

Donald suggested that the Report of the Manager of the *Commonweal* should be read at once, so that the discussion on the *Commonweal* might turn upon the financial as well as the literary aspect of the paper.

E. Belfort Bax moved a resolution: "That the *Commonweal* be published weekly at ½d., and consist of four pages only." It was essentially the most important part of our work, and if his suggestion were carried out it would be made much more effective than at present, London and the provincial Branches being kept well abreast of the movement. The relative cost of production would be reduced by one-third, while there would be far more than that proportionate increase of good. He thought it advisable that the contents of the paper should be Socialist news, scientific articles being published as pamphlets.

Lyons spoke against the conversion of the *Commonweal* into a weekly as likely to detract from its position of influence. It was on all hands admitted to be superior to any other journal in the cause. He would suggest that all Branch addresses should be given, as also the names of newsagents who supplied it.

Charles moved, Donald seconded, the postponement of discussion upon the resolution until the Manager's Report had been read.

Lessner suggested dealing with the literary matter first.

Maudhurst considered it best to deal with the financial and literary sides of the question together.

Maguire strongly supported Lessner's view.

Theodor thought that it would uselessly prolong discussion if these points were taken separately. The financial position must be made clear before any definite result could be reached.

Motion carried by a majority of 28.

J. L. Mahon then read the

Business Report of the COMMONWEAL.

The paper had started with a good circulation, the first edition (5,000 copies) of the first number being quickly disposed of, and a second edition issued. During the following six months the sale had been very regular and is now increasing. Owing to the large size of the paper and the exclusion of advertisements there is now a loss on each number, but this is steadily decreasing. There is a good list of yearly subscribers, obtained chiefly by the members canvassing among their friends. The largest amount of papers were sold at Branch meetings and by members at public meetings. The paper had certainly been successful and greater success in the future seemed assured. It only required that each Member and Branch of the League should continue their exertions encouraged by the result of their labours in the past, and the next Conference would have a still better report laid before it.

After reading his report, Mahon explained that a good deal of the expenditure would be non-recurring. There were many difficulties, involving much expense, in connexion with the first number. The first printer who undertook the work threw it up when it was partly done. The second took to editing the paper himself, and cut about the copy and the proofs. Alterations in the proofs, that cost on one occasion as much as £1 18s., were steadily declining in number and expense. Subscribers were coming in slowly but surely. More had given in their names during the last month than at any time since starting the paper. The average loss on each number was gradually reducing. Considering all these things, and that the average circulation was so large, he thought there was no reason to be despondent.

E. Belfort Bax again moved his resolution, seconded by Charles.

Theodor asked for estimates of probable cost.

Charles thought that they would come out in the discussion.

Craig explained that he spoke from an experience extending over many years. It would be fatal to the success of the paper to reduce the size or the quantity of matter now contained. The supplement was a great improvement. He was well satisfied with the quality of the paper lately. If anything, there was a little too much science in it for the reading public. The result of reducing the price was doubtful and dangerous. He was confident that if it were kept at its present high level the *Commonweal* would force a success by sheer merit. He was strongly opposed to any reduction in either size or price.

J. Lane contended for eight pages and a penny weekly. The party that took it now would support it weekly as well as monthly, and those who could pay a halfpenny could pay a penny. Only four pages would leave too little space for articles.

C. W. Mowbray supported Lane. To fall off to four pages would be detrimental. It was only a question of determination and sacrifice for individuals. There were in the office now several back numbers of the *Commonweal*, and no men to distribute them. If the paper were brought out weekly it could carry on the account of the movement from day to day, and people would take it then for news. As to the finance question, could not the printing be done on the premises of the League? There were practical printers members of the organisation, and this would help to reduce the expenditure.

Lewis Lyons was opposed to the reduction of the scientific part of the paper. The workers, he knew by personal experience, to a large extent bought the paper just on account of the scientific articles on Socialism. He would make two other practical suggestions. First, if anyone went into the country he should be supplied with extra copies of the *Commonweal* for propagandist purposes. Second, that when any regular bookseller, such as Morrish of Bristol, forgot to order the monthly supply it should be sent from the publishing office without the order.

Fox spoke in favour of a weekly issue as a working man. He supported the eight pages and penny weekly. But he wanted to see other things besides Socialism in the paper. The working classes have enough to do with their pennies, and if we are to expect them to take in the *Commonweal* every week we must make it more of an ordinary paper.

Donald pointed out that as the loss on the monthly was

what it was, we might fairly reckon that, with the knocking off of the Supplement, the weekly loss would be still considerable, and would be heavy in the course of a year. He suggested the setting aside of two pages for advertisements. There was nothing detrimental to the principles of Socialism in advertising Pears' Soap, for example. None of the existing papers lived on our lines, and it was legitimate for us to take this matter into consideration. There would also come the question of who was going to edit a weekly paper. Could not a story be run through the journal, and could not current news be given? Those that wanted scientific Socialism could get Marx' book. He did not think reports of branches were so important, but should like to see a list of the branches and their engagements in the paper.

Shackwitz thought there would be no difficulty if the sale were organised and the meetings better arranged. The sale depended very much upon the meetings, and with bad management of these there would be a deficiency in the sale. The first thing, therefore, was organisation.

E. T. Craig said this latter charge could not lie against the Hammersmith Branch. It had recently held two stormy public meetings, and had done well with the sale of the paper.

Beasley thought that we should moderate our x's and y's, especially the ex's. He suggested that the matter should be left in the hands of the Council, with an expression of the desire on the part of the Conference that the paper be made weekly. It should be borne in mind that a monthly paper was soon old, but the whole matter was a practical question that could not be discussed in the time at the disposal of the Conference.

E. Belfort Bax thought it was not right to leave too much in the hands of the Council. If the Conference or the League as a whole could not bring out a weekly paper, it couldn't; if it could, it could. They might try a halfpenny issue for a time.

Theodor believed that a four-page issue per week would only cost £7 or £8. They had a practical printer, a member of the Provisional Council, who was willing to take it up as composer and manager. He inclined to the four pages for one penny, and thought the question ought to be settled by the Conference.

S. Mainwaring felt that this was the most important question before the Conference. He objected to the halfpenny price. With so large an average sale as they had, the fact yet remained that there was a monetary loss every month. To distribute and manage the paper would cost as much with a halfpenny one as with a penny. With those likely to read the *Commonweal*, price was less the object than the time and the will to read.

T. Maguire thought it would be wise to leave the matter to the Council after all opinions had been given at the Conference. The opinions were so many and so different, and the estimates were not absolute. A decision on the matter could be better arrived at by a few than by a large number. He thought the reason the paper had not been successful was because it was not adapted to the working classes. What was wanted was to get the attention of the superficial and frothy men. The *Labour Enquirer* was the sort of paper he meant. We must tempt the people with something attractive and superficial. With a weekly paper there would be a continuity of interest, though there would be only one attempt to sell it, as compared with four for the monthly. He did not think the reports useless, though they were too long in the July number.

Robert Banner wanted a weekly paper. He wanted a daily, as probably the rest of the members of the League did. In fact, he wanted a Social revolution, but he had to wait for it. But how were they going to get a weekly? First, where was the money to come from? And second, where were the writers to come from? And did they seriously want a Socialist rag, with no literary ability in it? If they did want the superficial light stuff that some of them had been talking about, let them buy other papers. Socialists had been told long enough and often enough that their ideas were unscientific. And now, when this was being shown to be false, actually some of the Socialists themselves objected. If they were going to write for the dregs of the people, they might be sure that they would not understand anything that might be written. But if they wanted to appeal to intelligent people, they must make these see that the whole thing is based upon science. In fact, that is the great difficulty of Socialism, that it is a complex scientific question, and therefore can't be dealt with superficially. We have to teach this difficult question to the working classes, and the first thing to do is to make them understand our language.

After some little discussion as to whether the morning sitting should continue until this question was decided, it was determined to adjourn.

(Continued in the Supplement.)



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Two numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Belfort Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Labour v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

MANCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, Hightown, Cheetham.

JAMES SALWAY (Oldham).—A Branch of the Manchester Socialist Union has been formed.

MICHAEL GABRIEL is at work for the cause in Dublin.

THOS. BARCLAY (Leicester).—The *Commonweal* is on sale at the Secular Hall book-stall.

JULES BORDELLO (New York Labour Lyceum).—Your subscription pays the *Commonweal* for eight months. You will see all literature of the League noticed in this paper. You can have the first two numbers of the "Socialist Platform" at 5s. per 100, or 45s. per 1,000; in addition to this you will have to pay carriage. The Council of the League have read your letter, and will be glad to exchange news about the position of the parties. Can you send to the Council a full brief account of the position and prospects of the Socialist movement among the native Americans, either private or for publication?

T. P. BARCLAY.—Thanks for encouraging letter. Shall be glad to look at any articles you may send.

ANYONE willing to form a Labour Emancipation League in Manchester is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street.

G. J. (Liverpool).—The *Altruist* is published by Alcander Longley, 712 Chestnut Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. Subscription, 50c. per annum.

R. F. E. WILLIS (Liverpool).—Article received. Probably used next month.

E. T. (Southport) suggests that the leaflets should be pasted upon hoardings, etc., in conspicuous places, and thinks this would do us good service.

ANDREAS SCHEU's "What's to be Done?" (Part III.), the "Lessons in Socialism," "East-End Workers," and the review of Grönlund's book stand over for want of space.

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Labour Leaf*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Le National Belge* (daily)—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Bebel's "Woman"* (Modern Press)—*Il Paria*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Daylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocate*—*Oldham Chronicle*.

THE following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—"Russia under the Czars," from Stepniak; Annual Report of the Bureau of Labour, from Pond; "National Review," from English; a parcel of books, from Craig; "English Leaders," from Beckett.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The September number (8) will be ready on Tuesday, August 25th, and will be issued with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Thursday, 20th.

THE CHOLERA IN SPAIN.—Everywhere the upper classes suffer but little from the epidemic.—*Daily News*, July 21.

The first concert of a series will be given on Saturday, August 1, at 8 p.m., at our new hall, 13 Farringdon Road. Admission free. Working men and their wives specially invited.

The International Working Men's Clubs Defence Committee is much hampered for want of funds. All lovers of Liberty are invited to contribute. William Morris, Treasurer, Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

THE Provisional Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

V.—NEW BIRTH.

It was twenty-five years ago that I lay in my mother's lap
New born to life, nor knowing one whit of all that should hap:
That day was I won from nothing to the world of struggle and pain,
Twenty-five years ago—and to-night am I born again.

I look and behold the days of the years that are passed away,
And my soul is full of their wealth, for oft were they blithe and gay
As the hours of bird and of beast: they have made me calm and strong
To wade the stream of confusion, the river of grief and wrong.

A rich man was my father, but he skulked ere I was born,
And gave my mother money, but left her life to scorn;
And we dwelt alone in our village: I knew not my mother's "shame,"
But her love and her wisdom I knew till death and the parting came.
Then a lawyer paid me money, and I lived awhile at a school,
And learned the lore of the ancients, and how the knave and the fool
Have been mostly the masters of earth: yet the earth seemed fair and
good

With the wealth of field and homestead, and garden and river and wood;
And I was glad amidst it, and little of evil I knew
As I did in sport and pastime such deeds as a youth might do,
Who deems he shall live for ever. Till at last it befel on a day
That I came across our Frenchman at the edge of the new-mown hay,
A-fishing as he was wont, alone as he always was;
So I helped the dark old man to bring a chub to grass,
And somehow he knew of my birth, and somehow we came to be friends,
Till he got to telling me chapters of the tale that never ends;
The battle of grief and hope with riches and folly and wrong.
He told how the weak conspire, he told of the fear of the strong;
He told of dreams' grown deeds, deeds done ere time was ripe,
Of hope that melted in air like the smoke of his evening pipe;
Of the fight long after hope in the teeth of all despair;
Of battle and prison and death, of life stripped naked and bare.
But to me it all seemed happy, for I gilded all with the gold
Of youth that believes not in death, nor knoweth of hope grown cold.
I hearkened and learned, and longed with a longing that had no name,
Till I went my ways to our village and again departure came.

Wide now the world was grown, and I saw things clear and grim,
That awhile ago smiled on me from the dream-mist doubtful and dim.
I knew that the poor were poor, and had no heart or hope;
And I knew that I was nothing with the least of evils to cope;
So I thought the thoughts of a man, and I fell into bitter mood,
Wherein, except as a picture, there was nought on the earth that was
good;
Till I met the woman I love, and she asked, as folk ask of the wise,
Of the root and meaning of things that she saw in the world of lies.
I told her all I knew, and the tale told lifted the load
That made me less than a man; and she set my feet on the road.

So we left our pleasure behind to seek for hope and for life,
And to London we came, if perchance there smouldered the embers of
strife
Such as our Frenchman had told of; and I wrote to him to ask
If he would be our master, and set the learners their task.
But "dead" was the word on the letter when it came back to me,
And all that we saw henceforward with our own eyes must we see.

So we looked and wondered and sickened; not for ourselves indeed;
My father by now had died, but he left enough for my need;
And besides, away in our village the joiner's craft had I learned,
And I worked as other men work, and money and wisdom I earned.
Yet little from day to day in street or workshop I met
To nourish the plant of hope that deep in my heart had been set.
The life of the poor we learned, and to me there was nothing new
In their day of little deeds that ever deathward drew.
But new was the horror of London that went on all the while
That rich men played at their ease for name and fame to beguile
The days of their empty lives, and praised the deeds they did,
As though they had fashioned the earth and found out the sun long hid;
Though some of them busied themselves from hopeless day to day
With the lives of the slaves of the rich and the hell wherein they lay.
They wrought meseems as those who should make a bargain with hell,
That it grow a little cooler, and thus for ever to dwell.

So passed the world on its ways, and weary with waiting we were.
Men ate and drank and married; no wild cry smote the air,
No great crowd ran together to greet the day of doom;
And ever more and more seemed the town like a monstrous tomb
To us, the Pilgrims of Hope, until to-night it came,
And Hope on the stones of the street is written in letters of flame.

This is how it befel: a workmate of mine had heard
Some bitter speech in my mouth, and he took me up at the word,
And said: "Come over to-morrow to our Radical spouting-place;
For there, if we hear nothing new, at least we shall see a new face;
He is one of those Communist chaps, and 'tis like that you two may agree."

So we went, and the street was as dull and as common as aught you could see.

Dull and dirty the room. Just over the chairman's chair
Was a bust, a Quaker's face with nose cocked up in the air.
There were commonprints on the wall of the heads of the party fray,
And Mazzini dark and lean amidst them gone astray.
Some thirty men we were of the kind that I knew full well,
Listless, rubbed down to the type of our easy-going hell.
My heart sank down as I entered, and wearily there I sat
While the chairman strove to end his maunder of this and of that.
And partly shy he seemed, and partly indeed ashamed
Of the grizzled man beside him as his name to us he named;
He rose, thickset and short, and dressed in shabby blue,
And even as he began it seemed as though I knew
The thing he was going to say, though I never heard it before.
He spoke, were it well, were it ill, as though a message he bore,
A word that he could not refrain from many a million of men.
Nor aught seemed the sordid room and the few that were listening then
Save the hall of the labouring earth and the world which was to be.
Bitter to many the message, but sweet indeed unto me,
Of man without a master, and earth without a strife.
And every soul rejoicing in the sweet and bitter of life:
Of peace and good-will he told, and I knew that in faith he spake,
But his words were my very thoughts, and I saw the battle awake,
And I followed from end to end; and triumph grew in my heart
As he called on each that heard him to arise and play his part
In the tale of the new-told gospel, lest as slaves they should live and die

He ceased, and I thought the hearers would rise up with one cry,
And bid him straight enroll them; but they, they applauded indeed,
For the man was grown full eager, and had made them hearken and heed.

But they sat and made no sign, and two of the glibber kind
Stood up to jeer and to carp his fiery words to blind.
I did not listen to them, but failed not his voice to hear
When he rose to answer the carpers, striving to make more clear
That which was clear already; not overwell, I knew
He answered the sneers and the silence, so hot and eager he grew;
But my hope full well he answered, and when he called again
On men to band together lest they live and die in vain,
In fear lest he should escape me, I rose ere the meeting was done,
And gave him my name and my faith—and I was the only one.
He smiled as he heard the jeers, and there was a shake of the hand,
He spoke like a friend long known; and lo! I was one of the band.

And now the streets seem gay and the high stars glittering bright;
And for me, I sing amongst them, for my heart is full and light.
I see the deeds to be done and the day to come on the earth,
And riches vanished away and sorrow turned to mirth;
I see the city squalor and the country stupor gone.
And we a part of it all—we twain no longer alone
In the days to come of the pleasure, in the days that are of the fight—
I was born once long ago: I am born again to-night.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

It has more than once been our duty to fall foul of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in this journal. We have attacked it and its editors unsparingly. And we are the more anxious now to say how sincerely we sympathise with them and thank them for their efforts—not without risk in this land of hypocrisy—to make generally known a condition of things almost too hideous for belief. The Socialist League has already, through the resolution of its Council, expressed the feeling of its members on this subject. Still, while I believe that I am speaking for many of my fellow-workers, I think it only fair to say that I alone am responsible for what follows.

The Government was, by the action of certain of its own adherents—the virtuous Mr. Cavendish Bentinck to wit—placed in a very awkward position. By its orders a few helpless men and little boys had been arrested for selling copies of a paper containing certain "revelations"—(of these revelations anon)—with regard to the "morality" of moral England. It was clear that if these men and boys were to be prosecuted for merely selling the paper, those who wrote, edited and published it must be prosecuted too. But this was impossible. It is a *secret de polichinelle* that many "highly respected" and respectable members of our governing classes would be hopelessly compromised if a prosecution were instituted. The *Pall Mall* distinctly announced that, while unwilling to expose individuals or drag certain persons into the matter, its editors would feel bound to do this in the event of a prosecution. Prudence is the better part of valour. Stern necessity forced Sir R. Cross to declare, in answer to Mr. Bentinck's question and amidst cheers from the "gentlemen," who felt evidently relieved by the decision, "that the Government would not prosecute."

So far so good. To recede is to acquit the editors of the *Pall Mall* of the only fault they could have been accused of—and which

would be indeed a serious one—the *invention* from purely prurient and base motives, of the matter published in their paper. Whatever doubts may have existed on this head—and how doubt could exist after the facts *officially* made known *four years ago* by the Parliamentary Commission is a mystery—are now set aside. We may take it that the Government and the whole governing classes admit the truth and fidelity of the *Pall Mall* revelations—which "revelations" are only, alas! stale news to those people who have studied the question. I would only here ask what compensation will be awarded the men and boys who were persecuted for selling a paper which the "Government" of the country does not dare to prosecute. Some compensation assuredly is due.

But we Socialists have something more serious to consider than even the wrong done to these few boys and men whom our "bold gendarmes" have "run in." We have to consider the question itself. The Queen, the Marquis of Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone, *e tutti quanti*, have expressed their sympathy and "horror." The question is therefore not only made respectable, but very sure to be shelved like that of the "Bitter Cry." And necessarily. All these people—and some may really be sincere in their horror—do not know how, or do not dare, to go to the bottom of the question. I have not observed that one single journal originally said that the horror was in the facts set forth, not their crude setting, or that the shame and wrong and woe thus laid bare are due to the whole condition of "Society" as it is to-day, and not to a few exceptional cases of immorality.

Then, after the first indignant protest of outraged British respectability, the middle-class press and the classes it represents soon recognised, with the perspicuity peculiar to the *bourgeoisie* of England, that a question which, if taken in hand by the workers themselves may prove dangerous, had better be comfortably killed "by much cherishing" than met by open opposition or downright honest indifference. The matter has, therefore, been "taken up"—taken up that it may be conveniently dropped so soon as the "sensation" shall have died out. And die out it must and will unless the class really concerned—unless the proletariat—take care that it does not.

I have no wish to insinuate that many of the good men and women whom the *Pall Mall* revelations have shocked are consciously helping to suppress "the movement" or aiding in the continuation of the very crimes they wish to prevent. I believe the *Pall Mall* editors and writers are thoroughly sincere. I believe the Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. Morley are so. I even believe that there are people who can honestly "thank God Almighty" for "permitting to come to light" horrors which any respectable almighty deity would never have allowed to exist. I know many good men and women who are convinced that a new Criminal Act, extending the same penalties to men as to women (a suggestion with which I, too, am heartily in sympathy) and raising the age at which girls are supposed to be able to sell themselves, from 13, as now, to 16, or 18, or 21, would do away with the indescribable crimes and misery in our midst.

But is this so? Does not the very fact that these good people admit that many girls must and will at *some time* sell themselves to wealthy purchasers, demonstrate the rottenness of their whole theory? Does this not at once condemn any scheme of reform they may propose? And let us, for argument's sake, admit a great many improbable things. Let us suppose a Criminal Act has come into effect that embodies all the suggestions (many of which, I repeat, given the conditions of to-day, are no doubt righteous and just) of the new reformers; let us suppose a Royal Commission has actually, after a few thousand sittings, done something, and brought some criminals to book; let us suppose Sir Richard Cross has really left no stone unturned in searching for and punishing the said criminals. Let us suppose this, and that all the various "refuges," "armies" and kindly individuals have done everything they could do. What then? Where should we be? To all intents and purposes, *exactly where we are now*. A few individuals might have been punished, a few others saved. And after? All would be the same for the great mass of the people as before.

So long as this accursed system of capitalistic production holds, a curse alike and a demoralisation alike to all classes, so long *must*—it is no question of individual will—this condition that is just now shocking us all continue also. So long as the producers are the bond-slaves of the capitalist and land-owning classes, so long will these things go on. So long, indeed, as we have two classes face to face, the one literally in a position to buy, and actually buying, the *bodies* of the other, so long will the crimes that necessarily result from such a system continue. The special form of crime just now stirring even the middle-class, is only one result of the whole system. Our lives are unnatural and horrible, and engender sins not due to natural depravity and wickedness but to an artificial and abnormal state of society. We produce not only the victims, the poor helpless girls and

children; we also manufacture the criminal men and women by the conditions in which we place them.

This is no new doctrine to Socialists. They do not need sensational articles to make them realise to what humanity has fallen. The old Communist manifesto of 1848, our own manifesto of 1885, equally declare that under the present unnatural régime we must expect unnatural crimes. With our "property bourgeois marriage we must accept its complement of venal prostitution." This is no new thesis with us, but we may be allowed just at this moment to point out that we Socialists alone, of all parties, declared long since that, to quote the bourgeois press itself, "something must be done." It is only the "something" we differ about.

There are those who accuse us of being, to say the least, "unpractical," because instead of trying "to help where we can" we demand a revolution. I maintain that we Socialists alone are truly practical, because we alone dare to go to the root of the ill. Ask a doctor to cure a patient living under absolutely unhealthy conditions in the midst of pestilential air and unsanitary surroundings. He will tell you you must change these surroundings if you would save the life of the individual. We but apply to many, to all individuals—i.e., to society—what the doctor applies to the one. We say so long as human beings are the slaves they now are—whether they be the slaves of wealth or of poverty—this disease must continue.

And so, instead of trying to do what is impossible, and seeking to make healthy individuals where the whole system is diseased, we say, "do away with this unnatural state of things. Do not foster unnatural crime by unnatural conditions. Live free and healthy lives, and men and women will be free and healthy. Abolish the cause of the disease and the disease will disappear. For why do these poor little children sell themselves? *Because they and their belongings are poor.* They want the money for bread which certain rich individuals, who buy them as they would any other commodity, can give them. And so long as there is a class that must sell its labour-power—and the labour-power of the poor takes many forms—so long must this iniquity continue.

Ere I conclude, there is one special point I must touch on. There are some, even among our friends, who will be shocked that a woman should speak of these matters, and who hold that "womanly custom had left it better unsaid." Against this I protest with all my strength. If this is no woman's question, what is? We may shrink from handling it as the young medical student shrinks from entering the dissecting room, but if we would heal, we have no right to turn aside. While this wrong is being done—and as it is done to one child, to one woman, it is done to all women—we must face it, grapple with it, and vanquish it—not, cowardlike, turn back. It is no pleasant task, truly,—but are the lives of the mass of us pleasant? We, the women, must, above all the rest, bestir ourselves. Us chiefly it concerns, and we must work only with those who can really help us; those who understand that the "salvation" of society means the revolution of society. The old biblical story may serve our turn. We need a deluge—aye! though it were one of blood—to wipe out the sin and wickedness of this society of ours. It is with those who would revolutionise society that our work as women lies.

In conclusion, but a word. I would it might go forth and fill all hearts as mine is full. I say to all men and women who would change this shameful life we lead: Remember always and everywhere what the work before us is. Think, you men, of what, under the present condition of society—which no Act of Parliament can remedy—what your sisters, what the women you love, and would make your wives, what your children may be driven to. And you women, as you hold your little babes in your arms—those little ones, blood of your blood, flesh of your flesh, dearer to you than life itself—think that in a few short years they will have to sell their little pure bodies or starve. Worse than this. Think that you, who now love them so, may fall to this—that you yourselves will sell them, these babes you have brought forth in pain and anguish, as you sell any other of your few possessions—as, perchance, you have had to sell, or will sell, your own selves. Think of this and all it means. And, thinking of it, come and fight with us Socialists against a state of things so utterly hideous.

Men and women, come to us. Work with us. Do not believe those who tell you any political party, or any "reformers" or any special legislation, can do away with crimes that are only the result of our whole system of society to-day. If you would do away with these crimes, you must do away with their cause. Help us. Help us to save not only yourselves, men and women; not only your little children. Help us also to save the very criminals, who now "drain your sweat and drink your blood." Come to us. Join hands with us; and hand in hand, heart to heart with us, labour in this great cause. Never forget that when once the people will there is no gainsaying them. Once you rise "in unvanquishable number," you are many, they—your enemies—"are few."

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

THE CONGO.*

WERE it not for our Socialism—for our conviction that the present, like every previous world-order, must pass away as a tale that is told—a book such as this of Mr. Stanley's would leave upon us a settled melancholy only to be relieved by the hope that astronomical research might before long be in a position to assure us of the absorption of this planet by the sun at an early date. "*Ewige vernichtung nimmt uns auf,*" sing the crew of the "Flying Dutchman" in their weariness of the continuous round of a pleasureless and purposeless existence—a cry which the Stanleyised savage will, we imagine, before long be expressing in eloquent Congoese, as he looks back to the time before commerce, Christianity and civilisation had done their dire work—or, shall we say, to the time ere the European trader and missionary had begun to take a kindly interest in him.

"Short as was my view," says Mr. Stanley (Vol. I., p. 130), "of this concourse of bronzed aborigines, I foresaw a brilliant future for Africa, if by any miracle of good fortune I could persuade the dark millions of the interior to cast off their fabrics of grass clothing and don the second-hand costumes made, say, at Whitechapel. See what a ready market lies here for old clothes, etc." That's the style! Brilliant future, old clothes, cheap spirits, last of all, the "factory system!" Mr. Stanley talks of *persuading* "the millions of the interior" to adopt the vile European shoddy which, as he must be well aware, means deterioration of *physique*, if not death, to the savage used to natural conditions. We all know what that *persuading* signifies. There is a *crescendo* in the market-hunters' persuasion which culminates in the roar of Gatlings and the rattle of Schneider rifles. After this, freedom of trade in cheap goods is established, deterioration more or less slow, but none the less sure, succeeds the rougher and readier war-carnage.

The band of harpies, traders and missionaries combined, who have followed in the track of Mr. Stanley's marauding expedition may be estimated by the following extract from the preface to the present volumes:

"Besides the work of the International Association, of which these volumes are the record, the English Baptists have carried the banner of peace up the Congo beyond the equator; and the American Baptists, taking up the work begun by the Livingstone Congo Mission, are urging on the civilising work side by side with their English brethren. London and Church Missionary Societies have planted their Christian flags on Lakes Victoria and Tanganika. The African Lakes Company and the Free Kirk of Scotland are earnestly at work on Lakes Nyassa, and are advancing to Lake Tanganika. Serpa Pinto and Weissman have crossed Africa; Iven and Capello have performed remarkable journeys to the east of Angola. Monsieur de Brazza has given France a West African Empire; Germany has entered the field of colonial enterprise, and has annexed all the territory in South West Africa, between Cape Frio and British colonies in South Africa, the Cameroons territory and a fertile province in East Africa; Italy has annexed territory on the Red Sea; Great Britain has annexed the Niger Delta; and Portugal now possesses 700,000 square miles of African territory."

Thus the plundering goes merrily on. The explorer reconnoitres the ground, the missionary prepares the soil, the trader "works" it. The time is then ripe for protectorates and annexations, followed by the wholesale conversion of the refractory nation, by fire and sword if other means fail, to the gospel of—"old clothes."

The present volume narrates the process of wheedling and hocussing native chiefs in preparation for the "pounce." "The fact of my arrival at Ulundi has become generally known, and various chiefs have sent their boys to me to say I must expect friends and visitors. It is politic to submit to any trifling delay of this kind, for I shall presently have to obtain workmen from them to make the great waggon-way into the interior" (Vol. I., p. 164). The italics in this passage are our own, but it is only one picked out haphazard which illustrates the process above referred to.

Wellnigh every page of the book expresses the hope and faith of the market-hunter's pioneer, that the redemption of Africa by international capitalism draweth nigh. Mr. Stanley of course takes great interest in "Christian missions." But we will do him the justice to say that he can hardly deceive anyone as to the special reasons for his interest in them. Christianity, it is perfectly obvious, is to Mr. Stanley the indispensable handmaid of the great religion of the nineteenth century, commercial enterprise, and for this reason alone is to be respected. It is true he baptises a chief now and again, but there is no serious attempt to disguise the fact that the water of baptism, as received from Mr. Stanley's hands, is a sign that the devoted chief is possessed of the faith that moves "old clothes" rather than mountains. We could hardly fancy Mr. Stanley with an ineffable

* *The Congo; or, The Founding of a Free State.* By Henry M. Stanley.

sweetness on his countenance and the open Bible on his lap, majestically ordering a couple of rebel chiefs to be taken from his presence and hacked to pieces. This belongs to the art which conceals art, and the genius that can reduce humbug to such a fine art as this is made up of a rare combination of qualities. Mr. Stanley would probably exhibit less calm in the settlement of refractory chiefs. But in spite of Mr. Stanley's humbug being rather crude, it appears to go down well with the frequenters of Exeter Hall. The Baptists give him dinners and meetings, in return for which he offers them chaffing patronage and the protection of his name.

In the chapter on Europeans in Africa Mr. Stanley rails at certain adventurous young men who have gone out under his auspices, and of whose failure through personal deficiencies he holds strong opinions. In perusing his strictures one feels one would like to hear the opinion of these young men on Mr. Stanley and his "association." We know of one case in which a young man who would of course be put on Mr. Stanley's black list as a person of intemperate habits and a failure, was sent out with promise of large salary which should have been duly paid to his account at Banana, and who died some two years afterwards. Did the wife and child he left behind in England get any of the money due to him? Not a single franc. We do not venture to suppose for an instant that Mr. Stanley himself is anything less than the soul of honour in things commercial, as befits the pioneer of civilisation in the benighted regions of the earth. But the morality of the Congo Association would certainly appear to be a minus quantity, and "intending emigrants," lured by its specious promises, would do well to take note of this fact. Yet after all, it is admitted that only a tolerably well-marked product of the nineteenth century, is a fitting instrument, under Providence as embodied in Mr. Stanley, to exploit the new territory. On p. 376 of Vol. II. we read: "It is specially with a view to rouse the spirit of trade that I dilate upon the advantages of the Congo basin, and not as a field for the pauper emigrant. . . . It is the cautious trader . . . the enterprising mercantile factor . . . the European middleman"—he is the man who is wanted. "These are they," says Mr. Stanley, "who can direct and teach the black pauper," etc. "They are the missionaries of commerce, adapted for nowhere so well as the Congo basin, where are so many idle hands and such abundant opportunities all within a ring fence." We can quite believe it; the Congo basin must afford at the present moment a virgin field for the exploits of this description of rascaldom—we beg pardon, for the earnest zeal of such missionary types of the commercial spirit as those above indicated.

Mr. Stanley certainly preaches his "gospel of enterprise" (as he himself terms it) with the zeal of an apostle. He is doubtless wise in his generation.

As regards style, this book will probably please those who affect the second-rate American reporter. An attempt to be didactic is fatal to Mr. Stanley from a literary point of view. He then twaddles away in the manner of a lower-form schoolboy, as thus:

"There is a law of nature which has decreed that a man must work. The divine law declares that only by the sweat of his brow shall a man eat bread. There is a law pretty generally recognised among the advanced nations—that every honest labourer is worthy of his hire, but only the conspicuously meritorious deserve special commendation. The stern practice of the world is that a man shall not obtain his food for nothing. Unless he labours in his vocation, neither shall he receive wages."

The above is culled from the preface which we have already referred to.

"I now commit my work," says Mr. Stanley, "to the public, in the hope that it will effect a happy change for Africa, and give a greater impetus to the true civilising influences which are seen in the advancement of commerce and in the vitality of Christian missions."

This conclusion to the same precious document sounds as if Mr. Stanley had some faculty for sarcasm, but perhaps he is only naïve. At all events, the whole book sings the same song. We take leave of Mr. Stanley with this quotation, and resign him and his "association" to the final verdict, not of the Civilised world of to-day, but of the Socialised world of to-morrow.

E. BELFORT BAX.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

GERMANY.—Lieske, accused of assassinating Police-inspector Rumpff (one of the worst specimens of the police-agent, who after doing more than one man to death was himself stabbed, as my readers may remember, at Frankfort); Lieske, has been "found guilty" and condemned. Bearing in mind the many cases in which bourgeois judges and bourgeois juries have legally murdered men; remembering the Manchester and the Clerkenwell martyrs, the many French, German and the recent dynamite trials; remembering all these, I think I may still say that not one of them has been more infamously unjust than this

Frankfort trial. I cannot, like some of our Socialist German papers say that "only in Germany" would such an iniquity be possible. I believe that exactly the same thing would, under the circumstances happen with French bourgeois judges, or with a "respectable" British jury. But this does not make the infamy less. The interest is increased if we can take this trial as typical of bourgeois "justice" in general rather than as an example of German bourgeois injustice in particular.

As to Julius Lieske there is *no*, absolutely *no*, evidence against him. Those who have followed the whole trial will admit that I am not exaggerating in making this statement. But readers of the *Commonweal* shall judge for themselves. I will simply give the facts. I will not suppress or seek to attenuate a single one, but state them exactly as they were brought forward by the prosecution.

Rumpff, it may be remembered, was found dying from a wound inflicted by a sharp instrument, in the front garden of his house, on January 15 of this year. *No trace of the assassin could be found.* Many persons were passing the streets at the time, and many swore to having seen the assassin. Of their evidence presently. On January 19 a young working man was arrested at Hockenheim. The incriminating circumstances against him were these. (I reproduce them almost verbatim). When arrested he behaved in a fashion that showed he had "something on his conscience;" he offered resistance to the *gendarmes*, trying to shoot one. It was found that the papers he presented were not his; that up to the Rumpff affair he had been at Frankfort; that in Switzerland Lieske had belonged to an Anarchist club, and that "witnesses" (!) were there to prove he had spoken "threateningly." Further, *he had a wound on his left hand.* This is all. Now we will admit that this might be enough to authorize an inquiry. But if these "incriminating circumstances" did not lead to further discoveries, they would mean nothing. But this would not do. A victim must be found, and Lieske being to hand, probably he would do as well as any other for the purposes of the police.

For *five months* the "inquiry" was carried on, and at last Lieske is placed on his trial. Rumpff had been killed by a wound from "some sharp instrument." Note that none of the doctors and experts could say what *kind* of instrument. But no sooner is it known that Lieske is a shoemaker, than it is taken for "absolutely proved" that the wound "must have been inflicted" by a double-edged knife, such as is used by shoemakers. This is the first piece of weighty evidence. Then comes the wound on the left hand, which was made the *pièce de résistance* by the prosecution. But in face of the actual facts, this wound, far from proving *against* Lieske, proves for him. It is pretty certain that the assassin of Rumpff seized him by the *throat* (the likeliest thing, both to stop cries and get a stronger hold), while the stab was struck in the left side, straight at the heart. Now if, as the prosecution alleged, the wound in Lieske's hand had been inflicted by himself while holding his "victim," he would have had to simply seize him by the coat, and thus give him a chance of struggling. Is this, I ask anyone, probable? It was shown by the doctors that the wound had been struck straight and with great force. How, then, could the striker have managed to cut his own hand? Yet, impossible as it will seem, this hand-wound was the "chief count." So important was it considered, that the prison doctors stooped to the infamy of *preventing it to heal.* It was artificially kept open and made worse! There yet remain the "witnesses" who "saw" the accused commit the act. *Not two of these gave the same evidence.* Each contradicted the other in a fashion that, were it not so horribly tragic, and were not an innocent man's life in question, would be simply grotesque. Neither as to appearance, dress, actions, did two of these credible persons swear the same thing. Yet on this evidence has Lieske been condemned to death. All reports are unanimous that the sentence has created the greatest sensation, and that the public "fully expected Lieske's acquittal." The venal bourgeoisie press have since tried to show that, though there was no real evidence, "the man's behavior after the sentence proved his guilt." Was there ever such logic?

Let us note here that this "behaviour after his trial" refers to his excited demand for proof of guilt. "You say I am a murderer," he cried, "give the proofs—the proofs!" And, on being led away, he shouted to the multitude, "Throw dynamite bombs!" What does this prove? All through the trial, from beginning to end—Lieske is hot-tempered, and easily loses his head—he has strenuously *denied* everything in the counts against him; has denied being an Anarchist, or connected with Anarchists; has denied any desire to remove Rumpff or any other police-agent. And probably that cry of his means only that since such iniquities are possible, dynamite is the only weapon left. I have no desire to represent Lieske as a hero. He has strongly denied being an Anarchist or Socialist. But if the German Government kills him, it will be one of the most horrible murders ever committed even by the German Government. There may be truth in the suggestion that Lieske knows who the actual executioner of Rumpff is, and that all his denials are only cloaks to hide what he is too brave and generous to betray. If this is so, Lieske is doubly a martyr. But in any case his name will not be forgotten, nor those of the criminals who have done this innocent man to death.

E. M. A.

[There is not much space left for the "Record" this month. I have therefore thought it better to give readers a full account of a matter every one of us should take to heart, and of which but little can be learned from the ordinary press, and to leave over all other news for next month.]

Custom may lead a man into many errors, but it justifies none.—*Fielding.*

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

As a consequence of the crisis, the shower of "Court holy-water" has been falling pretty heavily, and has even reached artistic circles in the form of baronetries for Mr. Millais and Mr. G. F. Watts. Mr. Watts has declined the "honour" however, a fact which artists must rejoice over, as Mr. Watts, in spite of his being a member of "Society," has always shown real enthusiasm for his art. Mr. Millais, once a great painter, now a great picture-dealer, seems to have accepted. His acceptance does not disgrace his second calling.—W. M.

A new Socialist paper, the *Worker's Friend*, has been started by the Jewish section. This journal, which is printed in Hebrew character, and appears monthly, promises, so far as can be judged from the first number, to be a very useful co-worker in the cause.

At a meeting held at Morley Hall, Hackney, on July 1, in favour of — Russell, Q.C., M.P., as candidate for that division, the chairman, in introducing him to the audience, informed them, among other extraordinary things, that he (the chairman) was not in favour of the State lending small farmers money to buy land, as he believed that to be rank Socialism. There is evidently ground for good work in Hackney.

The second volume of Karl Marx' work on Capital is now out in Germany. It is on the circulation process of capital and is almost purely scientific. The third part, the manuscript of most of which is in hand, will be the most lively reading of the three. Those who know the verve and play of passion and humour with which certain parts of the first volume are written will know something of what to expect.—E. A.

BRANCH REPORTS.

INTERNATIONAL EXCURSION.—On Sunday, July 19, an excursion of Revolutionists, organised by the International Club, Stephen's Mews, went to Epping Forest. They were conveyed in twenty large brakes and a few smaller vehicles, all of which were gaily decorated with red flags and liberty caps. A good band was in attendance and played revolutionary airs on the route. The day was merrily spent in various open-air amusements. William Morris and F. Kitz delivered short speeches in the Forest, which were enthusiastically received. Nothing of an unpleasant nature occurred to tarnish the day's pleasure, and the Socialists of London have good reason to be proud of the large and orderly company which turned out at their invitation.—J. L. M.

BLOOMSBURY.—Since the public meeting in June, this Branch has started a series of meetings for discussion in Soho. The first, held on Thursday, July 16, took the form of a talk on "What is Socialism?" followed by a series of interesting questions and answers. On the last two Thursdays in July the members and their visitors will take for discussion the Bradlaugh and Hyndman debate. The help of Mahon and Charles from the North London Branch was very useful.—Thomas E. Ward.

OXFORD.—This Branch of the League has met weekly, and has had discussions on Socialism, in which most of its members have taken part, and some good debates have followed on the subjects.—F. Martin, Sec.

LEEDS.—At a meeting held on Sunday, the 12th, at the Vicar's Croft, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by an assembly of about 500 working men: "That we heartily admire and applaud the brave stand made by the conductors of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in exposing the criminal vice which obtains throughout London Society." A quire of the *Commonweal* was sold.

STRATFORD.—This Branch is progressing slowly. We have no meeting-place yet, but hope to get one for the winter. On Saturday, July 11, a most successful open-air meeting was held, at which Comrades Banner, Nicoll, Lyons and Sparling spoke. We are causing great excitement.—H. H.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month the open-air meetings have been carried on with great success. At every meeting there have been interesting questions and lively discussion. Literature has sold well, over three quires of the *Commonweal* having been disposed of. Two indoor meetings have been held, at which papers on "Co-operation" and "The Wages Question" were read by L. Grünlund and J. L. Mahon. In addition to this the members of the Branch have attended two political meetings, Radical and Conservative, and by asking questions and raising discussion excited the interest and sympathy of the audiences. Of course the attitude assumed at political gatherings has been non-political. Sporting Conservatives, wealthy Radicals, and Labour Candidates—who have turned against their class—are all alike subjected to our criticism, which always turns upon purely social questions.—J. L. M.

MANCHESTER (Socialist Union).—On Saturday, July 11, the Manchester Socialists had a great field day. At the invitation of the M. S. U., William Morris delivered a lecture at the Memorial Hall on "The Hopes of Civilization," and comrades and friends assembled in force and gave him the heartiest of welcomes. An animated discussion followed the lecture. Several old Owenites asked questions, one alluding to E. T. Craig; the Co-operationists pleaded their scheme as a solution, which the lecturer controverted; a feetotaller bored the meeting with a long and pointless harangue; but on the whole the discussion was good, and throughout the greatest interest was shown in Socialism. All the newspapers here give excellent reports of the proceedings, and the M. S. U. has enrolled a long list of new members.—Thomas Ewing.

PECKHAM.—A. Scheu lectured on Owen, Marx and Blanqui, on July 19, at the Chamberlain Club, Peckham, to a good audience who received the lecture well, and an interesting discussion followed.

ROYTON.—William Morris lectured on the afternoon of Sunday, July 12, at the Cucumber Gardens at Royton; subject, "The Depression of Trade," Mr. Lord, an old Owenite, taking the chair. Several members of the Manchester Socialist Union were present. The audience, largely composed of young men, was attentive, but the subject of Socialism was clearly quite new to them, and they did not know what to think of it. In the discussion which followed the opponents showed their usual inability to grasp the subject from the class point of view, clung fondly to the humbug of Parliament, and, though themselves the obvious victims of physical force, were very anxious that the lecturer should pin himself to the Quaker doctrine of peace at any price.

OLDHAM.—It had been announced that William Morris would address an audience in the Old Market Place, but the authorities had thought fit to veto the right of public meeting there. The members of the Manchester Socialist Union, with Morris and other friends, waited in a coffee-room overlooking the market-place, and watched an excited crowd gathering there, and "law and order" moving them on. On the Socialists going out into the square they were received with applause. Comrades Oldman and Morris then led the way to "Thomasfields," the present market, where a thoroughly good meeting was held, some 1,500 being present. Comrade Oldman presided and opened. Morris followed, speaking altogether of Socialism, as did T. Ewing, who gave a lucid speech. Oldman wound up proposing

a resolution condemning the authorities for their interference with the right of public meeting, which was carried unanimously, and it was announced that the question would be fought out to the end. Comrade Sellar, an indefatigable worker in the cause, had his name taken by the police for selling the *Commonweal* in the market. The meeting throughout was most orderly and attentive; and much assent was shown to the Socialist arguments. The Manchester Socialist Union is working enthusiastically and with judgment, and is doing good work in the neighbourhood.

DESBOROUGH.—William Morris gave an address on July 14 in this village, which is inhabited by shoemakers and iron-stone quarrymen. The audience was mostly composed of workers, only some half-dozen of the middle class being present. The working part of the audience was very sympathetic. What opposition there was came from two middle-class persons, one male, one female. Their arguments were quite beside the point, and were received with emphatic signs of dissent by a large part of the audience. The general feeling here is very good, and some of our friends are most enthusiastic and are working with much intelligence in the cause. Our delegates could always be sure of a good reception in Desborough, and it ought to be cultivated and made a rallying-place for Socialism in those parts.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday afternoon, July 12, Midgley lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel on "The Robbery of Labour, and the Remedy." Referring to the existence of the widespread poverty and misery which was known and acknowledged by all parties in the state, he, as a Socialist, affirmed that the cause was simply labour-robbery. In the evening Mitchell lectured at the "Royal Oak," Shipley, on "The Principles and Aims of Socialism," which he defined as "the nationalisation of thorough co-operation and the institution of real Democracy." He drew attention to the present position of Socialism in England and the large amount of notice it was receiving in the higher-class magazines and reviews. He explained that Socialism was the natural evolution of society. Rawlings and Bamford opposed; Bland and Minty also took part in the discussion. Rawlings undertook to deliver an opposition lecture on Sunday evening, August 2, at the same place. We believe we have opened up good ground for propaganda at Shipley.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, June 28, J. C. Foulger lectured on "True and False Freedom," combatting the received Radical opinion that political freedom would emancipate the workers. In the course of his instructive address, he showed clearly that we never shall be really free until we have equal political freedom. In the discussion which followed comrades Craig and Grünlund spoke, the latter criticising a statement of the lecturer, who had said that he thought society would follow the ordinary law of development—centralisation, followed by de-centralisation and ultimately by communism. On July 5, in consequence of the Conference, no meeting was held, many of the members attending it. On July 12, W. Bridges Adams lectured on Emigration. Beginning with an able retrospect of the colonisation of classical times, the lecturer gave a mass of statistics from the most worthy sources, proving beyond the possibility of doubt, that an enormously larger population might live, and in comfort, in this country if the labour-power of the whole of its inhabitants were organised for useful production. A considerable discussion followed, to which two returned colonists contributed some facts, which, however, only served to strengthen the lecturer's position. On July 10, G. Brocher lectured on "The Icarian Communities in America," founded by Caba about 35 years ago. The history of these communistic societies shows how, notwithstanding almost every imaginable debt, unskilled labour, most of the original emigrants being makers of articles de Paris, artists, literary men and the like, and the strong attraction which boulevards, cafés and theatres have to draw Frenchmen back to their native land, notwithstanding all these difficulties—difficulties which would certainly have broken up an ordinary colony—the communistic principle has been so strong that the communities, though small, are in a flourishing condition to-day. Our comrade's most interesting lecture was followed by considerable discussion, in which comrade Beasley made a brilliant reply to questions on competition and compensation. The out-door meetings at the top of Weltye Road have been continued every Saturday. Comrades Rock, Donald, Beasley, Morris, Kitz, Mowbray, Lane, Banner and others speaking. The want of intelligent opposition at the out-door meetings is much felt; the sort we have been most favoured with being rather of the braying order.

LECTURE DIARY: August, 1885.

- Sunday 2.—Hammersmith, J. L. Mahon, at 8.
—Hoxton, C. W. Mowbray, "Co-operation for Production," at 8.
" 9.—Hammersmith, G. B. Shaw, at 8.
—Hoxton, W. C. Wade, "The Cry of the Children," at 8.
" 16.—Hammersmith, Laurence Grünlund, at 8.
—Hoxton, W. Morris, "Commercial Depression," at 8.
" 23.—Hammersmith, William Morris, at 8.
—Hoxton, David Nicoll, "Socialism and Political Economy," at 8.
" 30.—Hammersmith, E. Marx Aveling, at 8.
—Hoxton, E. B. Aveling, "Curse of Capitalism," at 8.

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

- Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.
Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.
Bloomsbury.—Stanley Coffee House, 183 Wardour Street. Every Thursday at 8 30 p.m.
North London.—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Open-air station, Vicar's Croft.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Saturday at 7.30 p.m.
Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.

- Manchester Socialist Union.—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.
Oldham.—Coffee Tavern, Yorkshire Street. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

- (Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the COMMONWEAL.)
North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. 4, C. W. Mowbray; 11, H. H. Sparling; 18, D. Nicoll; 25, W. C. Wade.
Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 2, H. H. Sparling; 6, W. C. Wade; 9, Nicoll; 13, Mowbray; 16, Mahon; 20, Nicoll; 23, Lyons; 27, Lane.
Mile End Waste.—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 5, Nicoll and Mahon; 12, Lane; 19, W. C. Wade; 26, Lyons.
Hammersmith.—Every Saturday evening at 6 o'clock. Speakers from the League and the Branch.
Stratford.—"Argument Lamp," end of churchyard. Every Saturday at 6 p.m. Open-air speakers will meet at 13 Farringdon Road on Wednesday, August 19, at 8 p.m., to arrange lectures for September.

Supplement to "The Commonweal."

VOL. 1.—No. 7.

AUGUST, 1885.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

AFTERNOON SITTING—3 p.m.

Chairman: We now have to resume the discussion on the paper. Since we closed the morning sitting another resolution in the name of Theodor and Beasley, "That it be referred to the Council to take steps for the bringing out of the *Commonweal* as an eight-page weekly paper as soon as the necessary funds have been guaranteed," has been handed in.

Bax and Charles were willing to withdraw their resolution in favour of that of Lane or that of Theodor.

Lane withdrew his in favour of Theodor's resolution, which was carried *nem. con.*

Lane suggested that the names of those willing to take so many quires of each issue of the weekly paper should be given in at once.

Mahon suggested that it should be understood that these guarantee copies would be taken at the full price.

Hopkins thought they ought to be taken at the trade price.

Charles that both methods might be adopted.

Many names of guarantors were then given in, and the list read by H. Halliday.

Some further discussion then took place on the question of full price or trade price.

Theodor and Lane proposed and seconded that the matter be left to the discretion of each individual.

Benson asked if the guarantees applied to the weekly only.

Bax: Only for the weekly.

Chairman: If we're unable to manage the monthly, clearly we cannot the weekly. As I understand, we try to get a scheme for a weekly and as soon as possible get into regular working order. All that have said they would take a certain number of copies of the weekly issue will assuredly do the same for the monthly.

On Fox inquiring again as to the literary character the paper would assume, the Chairman said it was impossible to be opened again. For himself, unless it were thoroughly Socialistic, he would have nothing to do with it.

On the motion of Banner and Charles the Conference passed to the next business. This was the reading of Branch Reports.

BLOOMSBURY.—Started on March 1 1885. Received the charter from the League on showing twelve members on its books. Little or no work was done the first month, save the election of officers and drawing up the necessary rules. April brought accessions, and the branch had to think about changing its quarters. This took time and prevented the members from attending to anything more useful to the welfare of the cause. May opened with more new members, and an Oxford member attached himself to the Branch while in town. It was in this month that the Branch organized the public meeting held the following month, also the drawing up of the Statistic Sheets. June brings more new members and the public meeting, which may be considered a success. To it are due the new members of June. The publishing of the Statistic Sheets, the Branch trusts, will be taken up by the League. On Thursday nights a series of lessons and discussions on Socialism for the working classes are to be held. The Branch considers it wise to close its books at the end of June, as the end of the half year, although it has only been in existence three months. The balance-sheet is appended for inspection.—Thomas E. Wardle, Sec.

BRADFORD.—Our Branch was formed in March last. Since the formation of the Branch we have had weekly meetings mainly devoted to the mutual education of our members in the Principles of Socialism. The more advanced have evinced great earnestness and desire that we should all thoroughly grasp the end we have in view and be quite unanimous thereon. We have also fraternal discussions as to the best means to be adopted for spreading a knowledge of our principles and of gaining adherents to our Branch. It appeared to us that the best thing we could do for a start, would be to visit in a body a well-known Radical debating-room in the town, and obtain permission to state our principles and invite discussion. We have done this on several occasions and desire to record our grateful appreciation of the help afforded to us by Maguire, of Leeds, who rendered us valuable assistance by delivering an admirable lecture entitled "Socialism: Is it Practical?" Our Librarian, Minty, has also twice lectured to good audiences at the same place, and his efforts have been provocative of much useful discussion. Two other members of our Branch are now preparing lectures to be delivered this month. Our audiences have been deeply interested, and we have undoubtedly produced an impression. We desire to record our appreciation of the valuable assistance we have received from Secretary Mahon, through his numerous and encouraging letters, also of the promptness with which he has attended to our communications. We are very pleased with the manner in which the *Commonweal* is conducted and trust that the high-class tone it has hitherto maintained will be continued. The only suggestion we desire to make, is that reports of the meetings of the Executive Council should be inserted in the *Commonweal*. We regret we shall not be able to send a delegate to the Conference, but all comrades present may rest assured that our heartfelt sympathies are with them.—Fred. Pickles, Sec; George Minty, Librarian.

EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW.—The report of the Scottish Section, the Scottish Land and Labour League, showed that they have two active branches, one in Edinburgh, another in Glasgow. The work done has consisted of a regular course of weekly lectures in both cities, which were well attended. At some of the larger meetings the League has had as many as 600 in an audience. At all the meetings the literature of the party has been on sale, and about 4,000 pamphlets have thus

been put into circulation. The Manifesto of the League has been widely distributed throughout Scotland. The Edinburgh branch kept open a free reading-room during the winter months, and it is the intention of both branches to have one in the ensuing season. The *Commonweal* circulation is increasing, and some members are exerting themselves to get it put on sale in the shops of the country booksellers, and this with some success.

HAMMERSMITH.—This Branch was founded on January 28 last, and holds its meetings in a room provided by our Treasurer and adjoining his house. Amongst those who constitute the Branch at present, there is a greater evidence of seriousness and of a desire to work for the cause of Socialism than has been shown heretofore. Until last month it has been the custom for the members to meet twice a week—on Sunday and on Wednesday evenings. The meeting on the latter day, which was held solely for the purpose of conducting the business of the Branch, has been discontinued, and the business is now transacted at the meeting held on Sunday evening, one hour before the lecture. An attempt is now being made to organise a series of outdoor meetings during the summer months. Two of these have been held in King Street, Hammersmith, with tolerable success. Although the Branch is inclined to place greater trust in the indoor meetings, still it is felt that as a means of propaganda the open-air gatherings may become valuable, especially as affording an occasion for the sale of Socialistic literature. The lectures, which have been given every Sunday since the starting of the Branch, are generally well attended, and often good discussions take place, some of our hardest working members having come originally as opponents. A reading-room, open to the public on Saturdays and Sundays, has been provided during the last three months. A library of Socialist and general literature for the use of the members has been presented by our Treasurer and other members. A Manifesto has been printed and circulated locally.—Emery Walker, Sec.

LEEDS.—As yet our work has not been so much a matter of enrolling names and acquiring members as of spreading a general knowledge of the principles of Socialism. Tens of thousands of people have been enlightened more or less in this regard who had never before even heard of Socialism save in connexion with riot, robbery and bloodshed. Open-air meetings and debates are held every Sunday, our great lack as yet being a sufficiency of speakers. Our object just now is to get into rooms of our own before the dark days set in, so that we may the more efficiently organise ourselves, continue our agitation through the winter, and reap the fruits of our summer labours. In conclusion, then, we are glad to be able to speak in terms of the highest praise with regard to our official treatment, which has always been of a kind and encouraging character.—T. Maguire, Sec.

MERTON ABBEY.—Good work has been done, but the weekly lectures have not been so successful as the members of the Branch had hoped they would be. It is now determined to make a new start, to take a larger hall where the Radicals meet, and instead of weekly meetings, to have monthly ones. This new work will be taken in hand immediately.—J. Simmons, Sec.

NORTH LONDON.—The North London Branch was only formed a few weeks ago. Our propagandist work consists in the commencement of a promising series of open-air meetings. The first was held under the shadow of Cobden's Statue, in Hampstead Road, a week ago, and was attended by a large crowd of people, who listened with interest to an hour and a half of Revolutionary talk, and afterwards purchased over 40 copies of the *Commonweal*. We are very hopeful of carrying on these meetings throughout the summer with increased success. A short leaflet, calling attention to the Social question, has been issued. The Branch also have in view the starting of a series of meetings for discussion among members, for the purpose of interchanging opinions and qualifying for public speaking. One special action the Branch has determined on is to push the sale of the *Commonweal*, and as long as there is a loss on the production of the paper it will pay in to the Council one penny for each number, instead of keeping a profit on the sale.—J. L. Mahon.

OXFORD.—On February 25, W. Morris and Edward Aveling lectured here on "Socialism." The meeting which they addressed numbered about 400, and consisted about equally of the Town and University. At a meeting on March 2 by a section of what had once been the Oxford Radical Association, it was agreed to apply to the Socialist League for leave to join that Society as a Branch. Leave was given and the Oxford Branch of the Socialist League came into existence shortly afterwards. Another result of the visit of W. Morris and Edward Aveling was the foundation of the Marx Club among the undergraduates of the University, a Club which turns its attention to the discussion of Socialism and questions concerned with it. The Branch has met regularly once a week and at some of its meetings members of the Marx Club have read papers, and these have been followed by discussions. On Monday, June 9, W. Morris and L. Grönlund lectured to a meeting of about 80, organized by the Oxford Branch and the Marx Club acting together. The subjects of the lectures were "Useful Work v. Useless Toil" and "Socialism as a Necessary Development of Society." On Monday, June 22, and Thursday, June 25, Rev. C. L. Marson lectured to the Branch on "Why I became a Socialist. And how the poor live and die." The Branch has founded a library which contains about 60 volumes. Most of these are on Socialist matters, but a certain portion of them are books of general literature.—F. Martin, Hon. Sec.

STRATFORD.—Branch only formed June 25, with great promise of success.—H. Halliday.

As the agenda originally planned for the morning sitting were now worked through, a new Chairman had to be elected.

On the motion of Mowbray and Mahon, Morris was re-chosen.

It was decided to adjourn for twenty minutes at five o'clock.

Charles suggested that rules be taken after the adjournment. Scheu objected.

Charles moved, Banner seconded, that motions relating to Executive be taken at once.

Motion ruled out of order.

Discussion of rules proceeded with.

The Chairman stated before the rules were read that a large number of amendments to them had been put in from Liverpool in the names of R. F. E. Willis and Jenny Moule, neither of whom was able to be present.

Andreas Scheu proposed that no motion or amendment should be taken whose mover and seconder were both absent. His proposition fell through.

The Chairman then read each rule, asked for discussion upon it and amendments to it. When the rule was left intact or

finally modified as the result of discussion and amendment, he put it in its ultimate form to the meeting.

The rules as amended will be found on p. 76. Upon one or two of them interesting discussion took place.

Division IV., Rule 2.—There was considerable discussion as to whether the literary publications of the Branches should or should not be submitted to the Central Council.

It was proposed by Smith and seconded by Kitz, that the direction "all publications and rules of Branches require the endorsement of the Executive Council" be omitted. It was pointed out that occasions might arise when the immediate production of leaflets or manifestoes was necessary; and that it was wise to create a feeling of independence among the Branches, and that over-centralisation was an evil.

Edward Aveling opposed the proposed alteration. The Council would have no check upon the utterance of any Branch, and yet would be held responsible by the public for whatever was said. If any unwise or inaccurate publication was made there would be no blame of the particular Branch, but there would be any amount of blame of the League with which the Branch was associated.

Mainwaring proposed the insertion of the words "where practicable" after "rules." He instanced a strike of workmen in Wales, in which he had taken part, where delay in communicating with the central body had rendered the strike practically useless.

Rose seconded.

Adam Taylor: There was a difference between the cases with which the rule was concerned and those quoted as parallel. To grant perfect freedom of publication to all the Branches of the League would be the "thin end of the wedge." They might publish manifestoes bearing on national questions which would implicate the League.

J. Cooper moved the insertion of the words, "to be issued at the risk of the branch," in the place of the last seven words. Nicoll seconded.

W. J. Clark asked how many alterations were permissible in any one rule.

H. Charles, why individuals should not be subject to the same censure as branches.

Andreas Scheu said there was no distrust of the branches implied in the provision, nor any actual tyranny. The League was a young organisation. All of the branch-formers were enthusiastic, but they had not had too much experience. Caution was necessary. The loss of time involved in any case would not be great, was certainly not of great moment as yet, and might be incurred with advantage. The General Election was near, and there would be much opportunity then of making blunders and committing the League to them.

F. Lessner took it that the object of the rule was to secure the position and action of the League in the future. The only intention was to see that Socialism alone was promulgated, and to guard against any possible loss of principle.

J. Lane: The power ought not to be taken out of the hands of the branches. It would do them good to take part in public questions on their own account. The country members would be found quite as capable as those in London.

W. J. Clark said that he was of opinion that as the affiliated bodies were allowed to do as they liked in the publishing of leaflets, and so on, some of the members of the League would take to joining the affiliated bodies. As to any collision with the authorities there could be as yet no danger in it. As to the General Election it was still a question whether this should be let alone or not by Socialists. He considered that they ought to act as firebrands and utilise the meetings of the political parties to disseminate their principles. On the amendment that the last clause be omitted being put, it was lost by a majority of two. Mainwaring's amendment of the insertion of the words "where practicable" was lost by a majority of five; Cooper's, the substitution of the words "to be issued at the risk of the branch" was lost by a majority of seven.

Rule 5.—Donald and Lyon moved and seconded the insertion of the words "the funds of the dissolved branch to go to the Central Executive;" the former putting the possible case of a donation to a branch intended for the League becoming alienated if the branch went over to another body. It was suggested that this should go into the branch rules, Scheu pointing out that the Council might be accused of wilfully dissolving a branch in order to get their funds if such a regulation held. After some discussion the suggestion was adopted.

Rule 6.—On the motion of Faulkner and Cooper it was decided, after some discussion, that a branch should not become extinct even if its members fell below six, before a period of three months had elapsed. A minority of three voted against this. The adjournment then took place.

The discussion of the rules was resumed at 5.20.

Division V., Rule 4.—Adam Taylor proposed that the editors of the official journal should be elected by the Council, and not the Conference. He had been very pleased with the *Commonweal* so far, but he thought the editors would be better chosen and the paper managed by the Council.

Childs seconded.

Scheu raised an objection, and, on the amendment being put, it was lost by a considerable majority.

On the motion of Binning and Bax, it was decided that the Conference should fix the maximum salary of the Secretary, not merely the salary.

Rule 5.—Mahon and Halliday proposed the substitution of "should" for "must." Carried.

Rule 6.—Lessner and Beasley proposed that the words "at least three months" be substituted for "more than three months." Carried.

The motion by Shackwitz and Mowbray, that "one month" and "a fortnight" be respectively altered to "six weeks" and "one month," was carried after discussion, in which Binning and Beasley supported the original reading.

The 8th of the Provisional Rules, that "each annual Conference appoints time and place of next meeting," was, on the motion of Faulkner and Mahon, struck out.

Division 6, Rule 1.—It was moved by Charles, seconded by Nicoll, that the Council consist of fifteen members. Arnold supported twenty as the best number, giving larger attendance.

Binning pointed out that the possibility of the many different committees would impose a severe strain upon any less number than twenty.

Bax agreed with the amendment.

Morris thought it would be a great mistake to reduce the number.

Charles suggested that committees were not necessarily composed wholly of Council members.

Scheu said that twenty was much the better number, as tending to be less exclusive.

The amendment was negatived.

Beasley moved, Binning seconded, to omit "who is able to attend," and to insert "that three successive absences without adequate cause shall vacate the seat, such seat to be filled up by remaining members of Council."

Clark moved that when three vacancies had occurred, an extraordinary Conference be summoned to elect new members.

Mowbray seconded.

Upon the motion of Binning, seconded by Clarke, it was agreed that vacancies be filled up by co-optation, unless the lapsed member belonged to a Branch, when such Branch should elect his successor.

Rule 2.—In the rule as drawn up for submission to the Conference there was inserted, on the motion of Edward Aveling and Faulkner, "that the Executive Council appoint time and place of Annual Conference."

Rule 3.—F. Lessner and Bax proposed that the three Branches on whose initiative an Extraordinary Conference might be summoned should consist of not less than 50 members.

Faulkner suggested that the 50 should be any 50 drawn from not less than three Branches. This was accepted by the mover of the Amendment.

After Wade and Mowbray had supported the rule as it stood, the amendment was put and lost by a majority of 11.

Rule 4.—Upon this Lyons was anxious to know on what conditions exclusion would take place.

The Chairman pointed out that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast conditions, but that it was possible for branches or affiliated bodies to take public action that would be out of harmony with the principles of Socialism.

On the motion of Beasley and Faulkner, the euphemism to "call on any member to resign" was replaced by the phrase "to expel."

After the discussion of the rules for the Executive Council, which had been drawn up and suggested by the Provisional Council for the consideration of the Conference, two additional rules on the motion of individual members were discussed.

Theodore and Bax proposed that the Secretary should not be a member of the Executive Council.

Faulkner did not agree with the proposal.

Binning reminded them that they must avoid the difficulty of not being able to select the Secretary from amongst those elected for the Council, though he was distinctly in favour of such Secretary not having the power of voting.

Beasley thought paid officials of any kind should be allowed a voice in the deliberations.

Edward Aveling said that there was no desire to close the mouth of any particular individual, but it was absolutely necessary, for the conduct of business, that the Secretary who had to look after and record all that was taking place, should be

left quite free to do this. If he were allowed at the same time to take part in the discussion, neither portion of his work would be done well.

After a little further discussion the resolution was carried *nem. con.*

Theodor then moved another resolution, that not more than one member of a family should have the right of voting on the Council. He only introduced it as a matter of principle, without any personal feeling whatever, but he thought that the influence, for example, of husband and wife might lead to biassed voting.

Fox seconded.

Mowbray opposed, and asked if it were likely that a man and a woman who had their hearts in the cause would work less well for it after than before marriage.

W. J. Clark objected to any organisation becoming a family association.

Binning contended strongly against the resolution. He pointed out the fallacy of thinking that because two people were members of the same family they should necessarily agree.

Andreas Scheu, answering Clark, hoped that the Council of the League itself would partake more and more of a family association.

The resolution was put and lost, only three voting for it.

Rule 7, dealing with the *Commonweal*, was amended on the motion of Wess and Lazarus by the insertion of the words "or affiliated bodies."

Beasley and Mahon proposed that the rules, so amended, should be published in the *Commonweal*—carried.

Branch Rules then came on for discussion.

On the suggestion of Beasley these were to be headed "suggested Branch rules."

The Chairman then asked for discussion on these.

Lane called attention to Rule 2, and moved that the word "occupation" be struck out. He thought the name and address of any member would be quite sufficient. To ask for the occupation was rather inquisitorial, and the giving of it might lead to difficulties in the case of the working-men members.

Mowbray seconded.

Scheu spoke in favour of the retention of the word. The more closely connected we are and the more we know of each other the better. He could not think a man or woman fit to be a member of the League who was unwilling to give his or her occupation. Nor did he at all see any more likelihood of danger to a working man who might join the movement from the fact that his occupation would be entered along with his name and address. The objection to giving such details appeared to him anti-socialistic.

Graham spoke of the advantage that would follow from our knowing what classes of workmen were represented in the League, and what was the strength of each class.

Lane's motion on being put was lost, only five voting for it.

Faulkner reminded the meeting that with Rule 12 must be incorporated the "three months" decision arrived at in connexion with Rule 5, Division 4. The Chairman reminded everyone that the Branch Rules are only suggestions, and by no means compulsory.

The Chairman having stated that he had certain motions from R. F. E. Willis and Jenny Moule bearing upon the Manifesto, and having read the motions, it was unanimously decided, on the motion of Theodor and Mowbray, that the proposals of the Liverpool members should be allowed to drop.

The next business was the election of the Council. Some 34 names were proposed and written upon a black-board. Every member of the League present was then required to write out 20 selected by him from the 34 as the members of the Council for whom he voted. The scrutineers reported the following as elected. The names are given in alphabetical order: H. Arnold, Edward Aveling, Robert Banner, E. Belfort Bax, Thomas Binning, H. Charles, C. J. Faulkner, Laurence Grönlund, Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Frederic Lessner, J. L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring, Mary Morris, William Morris, C. W. Mowbray, David Nicoll, C. Theodor, W. C. Wade, Thomas Wardle.

On the motion of Adam Taylor and Emery Walker, William Morris and Edward Aveling were re-elected editors of the *Commonweal*.

E. Belfort Bax and Oscar Richards proposed that the maximum salary of the Secretary should be £2 a week.

W. Cooper and — Graham proposed as an amendment £1 10s., but after some little discussion the amendment was withdrawn and the original proposition carried *nem. con.*

This closed the business of the Conference.

After the actual business of the Conference was at an end, the members present sat down to supper. This over, William Morris was called for. He said that he was very anxious that the literary character of the paper should be maintained. He,

for one, could not offer to the workers what he did not himself think good. The journal must be Socialistic. He was also very anxious to get some music as a power in their organisation. It roused the spirits often apt to be depressed with the hardness of the work. Sentiment and the passions must be appealed to. Further, all must be prepared to sacrifice. He longed to see yet more of the revolutionary fervour. Then as commercial matters grew worse, as they of necessity must, instead of accepting everything dolefully, of lying down to die, all would be up and doing.

Edward Aveling was then called upon. He reminded them that Socialism was essentially a scientific question. The first appeal should certainly be to people's feelings. But, these once aroused, the solid, reasoned basis on which the whole thing rested should be shown. Just as the working classes that thought had accepted Darwinism in natural science as at once satisfying their longings and their reason, so in good time, on the same grounds, would they all accept Socialism in economics. Taking, for the moment, the threefold division of mind into Feeling, Intellect, Will—we must first stir the emotions of men and women, next satisfy their reason, and thus stimulate their will. That will, when once it was that of a people that felt and that thought, must be irresistible.

Frank Kitz and Andreas Scheu were also called for.

Kitz said: Comrades, I had no desire to speak, but as you have called upon me, I will say a few words. Without being egotistical, I may say that this gathering is to me an event of singular importance; for, looking back some ten or eleven years, when associated with the remnants of the followers of Owen, Bronterre O'Brien and Feargus O'Connor for Socialistic propaganda, we met with so little success that Socialism seemed dead in England. In fact, so conspicuous did the few workers become, through isolation, that it was said, in a university town whereat a Socialist lecture was delivered, that there was only one Socialist in London, and he, myself. A few comrades, some of whom I see sitting around, gathered together, purchased press, type and paper, and paid the rent of a room wherein to print Socialistic literature. Yet we made our influence felt. Our pleasant experience to-day should not be exceptional, but general. In the darksome houses of the wealth-producers and their bitter struggle we find our inspiration and incentive.

Scheu spoke of the international character of the movement, congratulated the League on its women helpers, and dwelt upon the forbearance that each should have for and from his fellows.

Other speeches were made by L. Grönlund, Thomas Binning and Eleanor Marx Aveling. The "Marseillaise" and "La Carmagnole" were sung by Kitz and Brocher respectively. The chorus in each case was taken up by all present. Morris's "March of the Workers" and "No Master" were also sung as choruses.

A C O N T R A S T.

THE marriage is about to take place of a young lady of the Royal family. The veteran manipulator of the taxes of the country obtained for her £6,000 a year. It being subsequently discovered, apparently, that the intended husband had no money, £30,000 is proposed to buy their furniture. This couple have never worked, nor want to work; they live on the earnings of the people.

In a room at Chelsea live a young man, his wife, and child (an infant). The husband has been out of employment four months and owes rent. On Saturday night came a loud knock, followed by a timid "Come in." The landlord appeared. He wanted his rent. The woman answered, she had no money to buy food. "Then go on the streets and get some," replied the property-holder. The husband had sat silent, but this was too much for even a broken-spirited man. He rushed to put the landlord out; was seized; a scuffle ensued. The poor fellow being weak from want of food was easily mastered. "He might have killed me," he said afterwards; "he had me by the throat." His wife wept as she bathed his bruised face, and trembled at the cursings of the retiring landlord. This couple are workers, willing to work when work is obtainable; but compelled to assist to keep the Princes and Princesses in laziness.

Are there not some things to account for the spread of Socialism?

J. B.

It is possible to play the part of a demagogue to a ruling as well as to a subject class, and he who demands that the voice of the poor should be heard in the councils of the State, is not so dangerous to the public peace as he who flatters the insolence of wealth, and bids it maintain a system which secures its own ascendancy.—*J. Bryce.*

"The English live under squires, territorial potentates, extensive employers, and local oligarchs, and under this régime they endure an amount of positive tyranny or negative neglect, that they would not find surpassed under the most despotic system of the Continent."—It will amaze the reader to learn that this inflammatory passage is taken from the *Times* newspaper of October 19th, 1864.

COLLAPSE OF A WORKSHOP.

LEADS was startled for a few minutes on the 1st of July by the direful news of the fall of a nail-factory, wherein six women had been crushed to death and four others seriously injured. Hastening to the scene of the disaster, I was surprised by the appearance of the mill. An irregular pile of old and new buildings, the finely-squared bricks of the red and the new portions contrasting in a marked manner with the jagged, mortarless bricks of the black and the old portions, so much so that the walls which were unaffected by the accident presented the look of a ruin that had been patched here and there to keep it from crumbling to bits.

The accident happened in one of the sections of the older portion, a building of three stories, some 20 yards by 18 in length and breadth. The two upper stories were closely packed with hundredweight bags of nails. In the uppermost storey there were half-a-dozen machines at work, and half-a-dozen more on the bottom floor, where ten women were engaged in tending them. The vibration of these nail-machines is something tremendous, sufficient alone, one would think, to reduce so ricketty an edifice to dust and rubbish. It is believed that the top floor first gave way, carrying with it the second. Then they descended together, an avalanche of masonry, bricks, machinery and hundredweight bags, burying the ill-fated people beneath, the dead along with the living. Seven or eight people working in the upper storey escaped with life at the expense of limb, some by jumping out of the windows, others by sliding down the rain-spout. After two hours' work among the ruins six broken and mangled corpses were recovered and four mutilated survivors, who were removed to the hospital.

It is a sad side of latter-day civilisation. All the deceased were women, and married. One was close upon her confinement. Another's husband had emigrated, another was a widow. The rest were mothers, doubtless forced to work in order to provide for their families and their unemployed husbands. Great, notwithstanding, is civilisation! And great will be the progeny of such women used so well, so well cared for under this the capitalist reign of glory, A.D. 1885! But surely the owners of the factory will be prosecuted. Have we not Factory Acts and an Employers' Liability Act specially provided to protect the workers? The prosecution of the employers will not undo what has been done, nor serve to exercise material influence upon other employers for that matter. Labour is now employed simply for fortune-making, and the way to make fortunes, according to Political Economy, is to produce cheaply and sell dearly. Therefore the employer will patch his mill, prop his mill, or risk his mill—do anything, in fact, to save expense but the right thing, because it is *his* interest thus to do.

Thus do well-intentioned Acts of Parliament fail, and thus they are doomed to fail, until they deal with *causes* instead of *effects*. It is to the employer's interest that he shall incur as little expense as possible in production—competition has so ordained it. Hence his unwillingness to repair or improve. Hence the factory inspector's grumblings.

All the penalties in the world (and how shamelessly tardy is "the law's delay" in this direction!) will never avail while it is to the employer's interest to set the law at covert defiance. And so it will always be until the community supplants the individual. But when, by virtue of Socialism, the individual capitalist is no more, then will the cause of these evils be forever abolished. Then may we go on our ways rejoicing that the commonweal of the just is with us.

T. MAGUIRE.

INQUIRY COLUMN.

"Your Manifesto is silent as to the *mode* in which 'the instruments of production' are to be 'declared and treated as the common property of all.' Do you propose to return Socialists as members of Parliament in such numbers as will enable them to make it the law of the land that they shall be so dealt with, or do you propose to seize upon them by mere superiority of physical force—in other words, do you mean to fight for them and attempt to form your ideal state of loving universal brotherhood by killing those of your fellows who are opposed to your plan?"

"If the Revolution you speak of is to be effected in a peaceful manner by Parliamentary action, must it not be brought about very gradually, by instalments of measures, incomplete in themselves, but nevertheless stepping-stones to your desired goal? And in this case is it not wrong to say that no amount of mere administrative changes would be of use?"

"When you are in possession, do you Socialists propose to establish a system of equal pay for all, whatever a man's occupation may be, and regardless, not only of his natural capacities, but also of his willingness or unwillingness to exert those capacities to the utmost, for the common

good? You will admit that some men do more and better work than other men, at the same jobs and in the same time."

"Is not Herbert Spencer right in affirming that you cannot change men's hearts by Acts of Parliament—Socialistic or otherwise. And is not this change of heart, 'regeneration,' as religious folk term it, the one indispensable thing needful to establish an earthly paradise? Is it not also entirely true that you will never get golden results from leaden instincts? And does it not therefore follow that the essential thing to be done is to improve the individual moral character of yourselves and others?"

"Are the last eight words of the Manifesto to be understood as meaning that all the persons whose names are appended to it are Atheists or Agnostics? How is it that the majority of the leaders of Socialism everywhere belong to that class?"

AMENDED RULES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

I.—This organisation to be entitled "The Socialist League."

II.—Any person may join the Socialist League who will accept its principles as stated in its Manifesto and adhere to its rules; and who is not objected to by the Executive Council.

III.—The weekly subscription of members is AT LEAST ONE PENNY. Members, able to afford more than this minimum, are free to fix their regular contributions according to their means. Country members belonging to no Branch may contribute one shilling per quarter. Exceptions to this Rule only to be made by the Council, or by Branch Committees.

IV.—(1) If any number of MEMBERS (not less than seven) apply to the Executive Council for leave to form a Branch in their district, the Council shall at once inquire into the circumstances, and, if these are satisfactory, furnish Rules and render every necessary assistance. (2) Branches thus formed shall elect their own Officers and Committee of Management, draw up their own rules (provided such rules in no way oppose the principles of the League), and issue manifestoes and leaflets for local purposes. All such publications and rules require the endorsement of the Executive Council. (3) Branches must contribute one penny per member EVERY MONTH towards the general expenses of the League, to be forwarded monthly to the Treasurer of the Executive Council. (4) Branches are invited to communicate with the Executive Council before holding any important public meetings, or taking any important steps in propaganda, and are expected to send monthly reports of their work and of the number of their members to the Executive Council. (5) A Branch may be dissolved by the Executive Council if that body is unanimous in the conviction that the existence of such Branch is injurious to the cause. The Branch may appeal to the Annual or a Special Conference, whose decision is final. (6) A Branch may dissolve itself by a vote of three-fourths of its members. If the number of members fall below six a Branch shall become extinct. (7) Any Socialist body may be affiliated to the League by the Executive Council. The terms of affiliation to be arranged by the Executive Council and the body desiring to affiliate.

V.—(1) There shall be an Annual Conference, consisting of Delegates elected by the Branches of the League and its Affiliated Bodies. (2) Every Branch shall be entitled to send one representative. Branches numbering fifty members may send two, and one delegate for every additional fifty. The expenses of the delegates to be defrayed by the body which elects them. (3) Affiliated Bodies can only send one delegate for every one of their Branches, whatever may be their number of members. Should they affiliate on the terms of Branches they will have the same representation. (4) The Annual Conference shall decide generally the work of the League for the ensuing year, and receive the account of the retiring and elect the new Executive Council; it shall elect the Editors of the Official Journal, "THE COMMONWEAL," fix the salary of the Secretary, appoint two Auditors to audit the financial statement of the Council, and despatch other business of importance that may be proposed. (5) All Branches and Affiliated Bodies intending to be represented at the Annual Conference, should give notice to the Council at least six weeks before the Conference. (6) Branches and Affiliated Bodies that have not been in existence at least three months before the Conference cannot vote by their Delegates without permission of the majority of the other Delegates. (7) Notices of intended amendments to the Programme or Constitution of the League must be sent to the Executive Council at least six weeks before the Annual Conference, and must be printed on the digest of the business. This digest must be sent to all bodies entitled to take part in the Conference at least four weeks before the Conference.

VI.—(1) The Executive Council shall consist of twenty members, who shall be elected at the Annual Conference, subject to removal by a vote of censure at an Extraordinary Conference, and shall consist, as far as possible, of a Delegate from each Branch or Affiliated Body, who shall report each week to his society, the business transacted at the Council Meetings. The Executive Council shall appoint its own officers, the chairman to be appointed at each meeting from among those present. Any member absent from three consecutive meetings without due cause given and allowed, shall lose his seat. All vacancies to be filled up as follows: if the retiring member belong to a Branch his successor to be chosen by the Branch, otherwise by co-optation among the Council. (2) The Executive Council shall be bound to carry out the resolutions and instructions of the Annual Conference; it shall cause to be drawn up and forwarded to all Branches and Affiliated Bodies a half-yearly report and financial statement, and appoint time and place of Annual Conference. (3) It shall be competent for the Executive Council or for any Three Branches to summon Extraordinary Conferences in the course of the year. (4) The Executive Council has power to refuse admission to, or may exclude any Branches or Affiliated Bodies from the League. Such Societies or Branches may appeal against the action of the Executive Council to the Annual Conference, or may demand to have their case brought before any of the Extraordinary Conferences. (5) The Executive Council has power to expel any member provided that not less than two-thirds of the Executive Council deem him or her to be acting contrary to the interests or principles of the League.

VII.—THE COMMONWEAL is the official Journal of the Socialist League. All notices to the Branches, or to Affiliated Bodies, or to members, appearing in it must be taken as official. Every Branch should have a file of the journal for reference. Members and Branches are invited to do their utmost to extend the circulation of the journal. Secretaries are requested to send Reports of Meetings.

VIII.—(1) Anything not provided in the present Rules shall be supplied by special regulations from the Executive Council subject to revision by the Annual Conference. (2) These Rules shall come into force from and after the date of the present Conference.

NOTICE.—Following out the instructions of the Conference, the Council are making arrangements for the printing and publishing of the *Commonweal* at the offices, 13 Farringdon Street. They hope to issue the October number thence. They have decided that it is not possible to bring the journal out as a weekly before January, 1886. To do so then will only be even possible in the event of a guarantee to a considerable extent being forthcoming. That guarantee the supporters of Socialism are asked to provide. Communications should be addressed to the Manager (not the Editors), 13 Farringdon Street, E.C.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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ONE PENNY.

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MR. CHAMBERLAIN AT HULL.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN may be said on the whole to stick to the road he has taken; perhaps even his Hull speech shows a slight advance. He may be said to have preached from a text furnished by an agricultural labourer in these words: "Neighbours and friends, you have known me for forty years; I have lived and worked amongst you. I am not a drunkard; I am a steady man; I am an industrious man; I am not a spending man. I have worked and laboured for forty years; it has been a weary task, and I ain't any forwarder now than I was when I began." "What," said Mr. Chamberlain, "is the remedy?"

I think it at least possible that Mr. Chamberlain knows what the remedy is; but he is "a politician," and the exercise of courage and good faith, to say nothing of logic, is forbidden to all "politicians;" therefore Mr. Chamberlain could only show his audience as much of the remedy as he thought they were prepared to receive, which in fact consisted of free education, graduated taxation, and a queer muddle of land reform, in which free trade in land, fair rent for the farmer and allotments for the labourer, were mingled with the restitution of charitable trusts and stolen commons.

Although Mr. Chamberlain admitted that no prescription should limit restitution, he was careful to disclaim "confiscation," which will not reassure those who understand that word as it is understood by the privileged classes; even a writer commenting on this speech in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is able to see this, though otherwise he is a person of quite peculiar stupidity.

He (the specimen of stupidity), though rejoicing in Mr. Chamberlain's adhesion to the "eighth commandment," with charming simplicity quotes Macaulay to show that no property would be safe unless there were a strict limitation to the application of the ancient Hebrew law, "Thou shalt not steal."

Mr. Chamberlain's attack on common-stealing will, however, tend to make him popular with the general public, and it certainly is something that he is willing to apply the "eighth commandment" so far. Will it be possible to educate him to apply it to those who steal people's labour from them generally, and not only by making them pay for the use of land which is their own—certainly a gross form of stealing?

For if Mr. Chamberlain comes to think of it (if politicians ever do think, which is doubtful), he cannot fail to see that all his reforms together will not get his labourer much "forwarder." He will still have no time to accept education, however "free" it may be. No magic, no shuffling of the cards, will get taxation in the long run out of anything save labour; the labourer must pay it. And as for the disgorging of the land-thieves, Mr. Chamberlain will find it little use asking for "restitution" without an army at his back, which army, as it will be composed of workmen, will ask for something more than the restitution

of the commons: it will claim for the labourer the right to a full share in all the wealth to the production of which he is necessary. That is the only way in which he can "get forwarder."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANISE!

III.

If you wish the social revolution to evolve apace, *organise* the forces which you have raised through agitation and enlightenment, in order to effectually attack and finally overthrow the powers which are the main-stays of our present society.

Organise! Find out, bring together, and bind into one consciously-acting mass, all the isolated elements of discontent and indignation, of understanding and of burning human love, which are scattered about in this "best imaginable of worlds." Left to themselves, they will be driven around like chaff in the world's whirlwind, to nobody's good; but banded together for one end, they may work wonders in the way of rousing and firing their neighbours, and influencing their actions for the better.

Organise! For what we have to assail is a vast organisation, firmly set and deeply rooted in the notions and habits of an individualistic generation. *Organise!* For however conflicting the personal interests of the privileged may seem, and however fiercely they may compete with and prey upon each other, the common object of their rapacity is *unpaid labour*. And whenever their capital principle, "Make your fortune out of the distress of your neighbour," is called in question and endangered, they invariably sink their minor differences of caste and individuality, and, rallying together on the base of their common purpose, show how their seemingly opposed interests are virtually interlinked into one gigantic social tyranny—the *hierarchy of capitalism*.

Organise! The system of acquired rights, of vested interests and of private property, in industry and commerce, in Church and State and Family, is a formidable fortress.

It holds all the positions advantageous in the strife for life, and is surrounded by unsurmountable walls of righteous laws, with equitable ditches and most charitable traps. The onslaughts upon this iniquitous stronghold have been fierce and numerous. But they are mostly made single-hearted and single-handed, and hence fail wretchedly. Thousands of outraged human beings have protested in burning words and desperate deeds against the dominion of monopoly and privilege, but have spent their lives in vain and died in desperation.

Organise! For isolated individual action in a struggle so universal, against a foe so formidable, means fruitless waste of precious force and energy. As you have, even for the attainment of trifling personal ends, to combine several of your capacities and bring their concentrated power to bear upon one special point—how can you dream of bringing about so thorough a change in men's minds and habits, and in the position of Social Power, by leaving it to everyone's own pleasure and convenience, to attack the ruling system in his own poor way, with his own poor means, and at his own scanty opportunities?

Organise! If we were many as we are few, such personal efforts, by being very numerous and working on many points, might be effective. But behold what a handful we are as compared with the host on the other side! Every capitalist's family is a closely-bound combination against the wage-workers, by whose loss they prosper; a conscious or unconscious conspiracy against the economical freedom of the creators of wealth. A man, who, in consequence of inherited or acquired cunning and of favourable circumstances, has managed to amass out of the unpaid labour of his fellow-creatures a fortune for himself,

must naturally be desirous of leaving a *similar* fortune to each of his offspring, in order to give them a start of the beggarly pack around them and to secure to them an existence of luxury and idleness. His sons and daughters are taught to marry for love of money and social position rather than for love of their partners, maintaining and increasing thereby their influence and power over the poor toilers, whose families are broken up and scattered to the winds by the insecurity of their labour, by the competition for bread among their own members, and by the constant change of domicile, forced upon them through search for work all over those parts of the globe, which have been taken possession of by man-abusing commercialism.

Organise! For it is only through organisation that the present state of things can be put a stop to and a new order begun. I know there are among us friends who look at the absolute and unrestricted liberty in all his actions of the individual as their ideal of human freedom; who consider, therefore, the subordination of their own "free" will even under that of a number of brotherly co-workers as "submitting to tyranny;" who dread the degrading consequences of officialism, and who, in view of all that, do nothing to further (if they do nothing to prevent) the establishment and growth of party-organisation. Yet: *Organise!* For the work we have set our minds to *can not be done without!* Organisation is the only means whereby to utilise every individual capacity to the best possible purpose, by making it work most effectively along with others towards one great common end. If we were able to be most useful and most effective, each one for himself, why have we combined? And since we have combined for strife, why should we not make our combination as powerful as we can?

Organise! Even though from organisation there seem to be inseparable the notions of leadership and command, of office and subordination. Let us modify those notions and thus limit the mischief they may do when left unguarded. Our *leader be our cause*, and our *commander the necessity of the moment*. If we delegate the power of command to any one person among ourselves, it must only be for a spell of time, for a distinct purpose and out of necessity. But if it *be* necessary, then let it work its purpose to the full and set aside all ideal notions of "personal liberty," of which we have, *out of our own resolve*, divested ourselves for the time being. Let us guard only the limit of this handing over of ourselves to the discretion of any one comrade: let it be *the perception of his failing to fulfil his trust*. Then must we be ready—every one of us—to take in hand the task he has shown himself unfit to perform. No "dignity" or "distinction" among us, save that which we confer upon ourselves by the sincerity of our actions.

Organise! Learn and teach to organise, for the ground-work of the Social Revolution will be the *organisation of labour*, and of the *production and distribution of wealth*. To create the necessities and comforts of life with the least possible exertion, and to secure a fair share of enjoyment to everyone who has been useful in the creation of our stock of wealth; to obtain from each according to his capacities and to provide for everyone according to his needs—this great ideal of Revolutionary Socialism can never be achieved without organisation, without combining in an effective, punctually and easily-working way all the manifold good, beautiful and willing forces, which will form the human elements of the future commonwealths.

Organise! For it is not the much-vaunted, and still more misunderstood, "independence," that "absolute" liberty of action or inaction, in every respect of the individual, we are striving for. The goal of the Social Revolution is *that ease and well-being, that mental and physical culture, that social economical power*—in short, *that complete freedom* from the care and worry, which now make the life of man well-nigh unbearable. Such freedom can be attained *for all* only by unreserved co-operation of all the members of the human family. The "absolute liberty" of the idealist is impossible among human beings. The liberty of "laissez faire, laissez aller," is the liberty of barbarism, which, when fully carried through, entails the charmlessness and destitution of barbarism for the greater part of mankind. To attempt (for whatever imaginary ends) to isolate human beings in their work, their aims, their efforts and their enjoyments, is to misconceive the relationship between man and nature, which latter yields her most bountiful blessings to those who best understand and most readily comply with, that necessity which governs her causes and effects.

Organise! It is necessary for the undoing of what there is, and for the doing of what there has not yet been: the founding and keeping alive of a society in which there is harmony between work and enjoyment, between freedom and restraint, between word and action—a society, which knows neither slaves nor commanders; a federation of communities, in which everyone serves because everyone loves and understands!

Agitate! Arouse the indifferent, spur the sluggish, and fire the luke-warm!

Educate! Show the causes and effects of tyranny and serfdom, of riches and poverty, of power and helplessness; discourage that which is bad, and culture that which is good in us; make ourselves and others fit for the tremendous task before us!

Organise! Recruit and hold together in the form best fitting the ends of intellectual, social and political warfare, all those elements of society which are destined by necessity to carry to a triumphant issue the throes and onsets of the labouring Social Revolution.

That is what is to be done:

Agitate! Educate! Organise!

ANDREAS SCHEU.

MEETING ON THE RECENT EXPOSURES.

ON Wednesday evening, August 5, a crowded meeting was held at Farringdon Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist League.

The chair was taken by Thomas Binning.

The CHAIRMAN: We, as Socialists, intend to do our best to prevent the question raised by the recent disclosures from being a mere sensation. Others may be content with the temporary regaining of a waning popularity. It is for us to go to the root of the matter, and to try to assign a real cause and a real remedy for these evils. This will be evident from the one resolution that will be presented to the meeting. That resolution reads as follows:—"That this meeting, recognising the hideous sexual corruption of the capitalistic classes, and the iniquities practised by them on the children of the working class, is of opinion that these evils are inevitable under the capitalistic system, and will never be removed, or even remedied, until that system is at an end."

WILLIAM MORRIS: Two things are to be noticed. First, that the children of the poor are always the victims. Second, the terrible and miserable unhappiness of the whole affair. There is much talk of immorality. Whatever is unhappy is immoral. It is unhappiness that must be got rid of. We have nothing to do with the mere immorality. We have to do with the causes that have compelled this unhappy way of living; the causes that drive girls and women into the streets, to sell their love, not to give it. These causes are the same that make a man degrade himself by over-hours and competition. There is the closest of relations between the prostitution of the body in the streets and of the body in the workshops. Women's wages are not even subsistence wages. They are intended to cheapen labour for the manufacturers. The first thing that is necessary, is that all women should be freed from the compulsion of living in this degraded way. We aim at the real liberty of every human creature, not the liberty to starve or to sell oneself or one's child. Society to-day is like a wrecked ship where people eat one another. The real Minotaur is Capital—not one man, but the whole system is guilty. To get rid of this system is our serious business. We desire that all should be free to earn their livelihood—with that freedom will come an end of these monstrosities, and true love between man and woman throughout society.

J. L. MAHON: Our legislators are of course dealing with this question in the gingerly manner that is usual when the interests of the working classes are affected. The working classes must be determined to put a stop to these evils. The debates in Parliament have been an insult to the manhood of every working man. These things must go on as long as there is a poor and a rich class, and the daughters of the latter are compelled to sell their bodies. What is our duty? To teach our fellows not the immorality of the women, or even of the men, but the conditions that make this necessary. The useless, dangerous existence of the two classes must be ended. The responsibility is especially upon us workers, who are most injured. I beseech my fellow workmen to take up this question of Socialism. The work of teaching and spreading its principles is the holiest and best to which a man can devote his life.

LEWIS LYONS: Money will buy women to-day. We want to put an end to the possibility of anybody being able to buy, in any form, another human being. We must make the working classes see that they are giving these men the money to outrage their own daughters.

C. W. MOWBRAY: I have tried twice to get the opportunity of speaking at the Social Purity Alliance meetings. I wrote and made oral applications to move a rider at their readings in the sense of our resolution. Of the written applications no notice was taken. Three attempts to speak ended in my being "chucked out" of the meeting. This is another proof that the middle-class people want to gloss over the question, and are afraid really to tackle it. Can women pay 4s. a week for lodgings, get food and clothing, out of 2½d. per gross of match-boxes and find their own cardboard and paste. Take the case of the tailoring. For making a coat 6d., a waistcoat 3d., a pair of trousers 4d. A girl may make seven or eight pair of trousers per day of 14 hours. To get the poorest of living, she must work 18 or 19 hours. Certain philanthropists are paying 2s. 9d. a week for 16 to 18 hours a day. It is useless to talk about the Factory Acts. The inspectors are dodged in the most shameless fashion. Once again we say, remove the cause, cut out the cancer whose symptoms are pinched faces in the streets, whose effects are prostitution, suicides, an increasingly dangerous mass of men. And let those who object to force remember we are ruled by force. We are forced to work, forced to

obey the laws in the making of which we have no voice. Our sisters and daughters are forced to become prostitutes. It is certain that the changes we desire will not be brought about without tremendous struggle, sacrifice and suffering, but surely anything is better than keeping this monstrous class out of your hard earnings.

The CHAIRMAN then asked if there were any amendment.

Mr. WEDDELL rose to propose as an amendment "That individual responsibility for personal purity is the only remedy for this evil." I deny that the evil depends upon the capitalistic class, or any other. I deny that any but the individual man is responsible. If you got your way the end would be destruction. Your principles are unworkable. Individual responsibility is everything.

H. H. CLARK seconded: I am a Socialist. As I understand the supporters of this resolution, the condition of society is responsible for everything, even for the wrongs of individuals. I dissent from this latter conclusion. Even if the social condition were attained that I long for, am working for, and would die for, yet I think that individuality will have very free play. With the most perfect system I think there could be criminal vice in individuals.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING: A word or two on the amendment. It speaks of individual responsibility. But you must put the individual into such a position that he can be responsible. How are children of ten to thirteen to be "responsible?" Yet they form the largest number of the victims. But I go further. The men themselves, horrible as are their actions, are not responsible. As the inevitable outcome of social conditions, they are no more responsible than are the children. We do not make the class struggle. We only point out that it exists; and because we want to do away with it we are attacked. We do want to do away with all classes. This evil cannot be remedied. It must be wiped out, and the only chance to do that is to put everyone in the position that makes individual responsibility possible. As to legislation, it is of course well that the same penalties in certain matters should apply equally to men and women; but these laws will not really help the workers. We all know that laws are not applied equally, and it will be so with these. There has been some talk of the "exaggeration" that has been introduced. If the facts are true, the language cannot be exaggerated—and it is admitted that the facts are true. The fact is, women are driven to prostitution; not only women of the working class, but many of the middle class. Governesses are often supposed to be able to teach two or three languages and "accomplishments," and must dress respectably, on 6s. a week. Nearly all women obliged to earn a living have to choose between starvation and prostitution, and this must go on so long as one class can buy the bodies of another class, whether in the form of labour-power or sexual embraces. Enthusiasm alone is of no use. That is why we want men and women to join with us at once in bringing about those changed conditions that will make responsibility to oneself possible.

A. K. DONALD: The individual responsibility that the mover and seconder of the amendment spoke of generally leads to the putting of hands in the pockets. We must be strongly on our guard against this. Under the republics of which mention was made, prostitution of course existed, and this seems to be taken by non-Socialists as a reason for tolerating prostitution to-day. Not only the daughters, but the sons of the working classes, are prostitutes. To take an example not yet mentioned to-night, those who are made soldiers and policemen to guard the property stolen from the workers are prostitutes. Yet, in a certain sense individual responsibility is necessary, for unless we exert ourselves we must sink deeper in the mire. The fact that Blue Books containing full accounts of these horrors were published years ago, shows us that the legislators who live on your plunder are anxious to retain a fair field for the vices of themselves and their friends. Let us redouble our exertions to end this state of affairs.

EDWARD AVELING: We have a mixed audience here. Many of us are Socialists, and the causes and the only remedy for these evils are familiar to us. We are most anxious that those who are not Socialists should understand these. And we are anxious they should be reminded how worthless has been the action of the Press and of Parliament since these matters have come before the public. Even the so-called papers of the people have shown how completely they are the papers of the capitalist. As proof, take the disgraceful utterances of the *Weekly Dispatch*; and as further evidence of the wide spread of literary immorality, notice how such a man as Mr. G. R. Sims, who has in his way written at times on behalf of the poor, speaks of this matter in the *Referee*. As to Parliament, the conduct of such men as Warton, Hopwood and Harcourt, is typical. And let the worshippers of Messrs. Gladstone and Bright notice that upon this tremendous question one of these gentlemen has given no utterance whatever, and the other has practically said nothing. A word as to the effect of the publication of these facts. Judging from my own case, I am certain that they have opened the eyes of many people. I do not profess to be better than the other men of my own class, and I can only tell those present that the facts now disclosed were to me absolutely new. From that we may fairly argue that many hundreds of men, and probably thousands of women, have been made acquainted with them for the first time within these last few weeks. I, like one of the previous speakers, wonder at times how you working men can restrain yourselves from seizing the representatives of the capitalistic class, and breaking their necks across the nearest curbstone. Mind, that is not what I or any Socialist advises you to do, but we do advise you to break the neck of the damnable system that makes these things necessary.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment, for which only seven voted, and the original resolution was carried.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The education of the working classes is, to the average middle class man, merely a means to the end of fitting both more completely for the station of life into which it has pleased Providence to call them. The former are to become more speedy and docile producers; the latter more extensive recipients of surplus-value.

As proof, let us study the instructive history of Dundee and Mr. Frank Henderson, M.P. By the sixth section of the Education (Scotland) Act, no child was to be employed as a half-timer who had not passed Standard III. Dundee masters dreaded that many half-timers would be shut out and the masters lose some of their profits.

Mr. Frank Henderson therefore made special efforts in the House that he adorns to obtain a modification of the regulation. He thought Standard III. too high, and induced the House of Commons to postpone the enforcement of the new rules for a year.

Since the passing of the Education Act, we learn on authority that the factory children are "quicker to learn, more amenable to discipline and much less mischievous." This, being translated, means that they are more ready to become machines, less likely to rebel against their unhappy lot, and less childlike.

"It became the duty of the commissioners to ascertain how far the private holding of land. . . has worked to public disadvantage." This is a part of a report of certain commissioners in the United States. What do you think are the three words I have left out? "About Niagara falls." Does it not read minus these, like a manifesto from a Socialist or at least a Land Nationalisation Society?

There is a sort of germ of hope in the idea. If the commissioners are anxious about the defacement of scenery that results from private property in land, one of these days, perhaps, there may be some anxiety about the defacing of man that results from private property in the means of production.

Then one of these days a measure like that just passed in America as to its wording may come to pass. "That the lands be purchased by the State in order that every part of them shall be for ever free of access to all mankind." Only there will be no "purchasing" and the lands will be not those round Niagara but those over the whole area of the globe.

Railway dividends are likely to be low. The meaning of this to all who have not any dividends to draw is that (1) the passenger receipts have decreased, and this means increased poverty among the workers; (2) the goods traffic has decreased, and this means diminished trade, especially in the iron and coal districts.

The new class of capitalists are the tradesmen, represented by Maple, Shoolbred, Whitely, who has had "another fire." Maple is going to stand for St. Pancras.

There is no more significant sign of the times than the mushroom growth of these pests of civilisation. Like the industrial capitalist, they have but one idea—surplus-value. They live entirely upon the results of the unpaid labour of others; they are a distinct injury to the community. The exploitation that goes on in their colossal establishments is as bad as that in any factory.

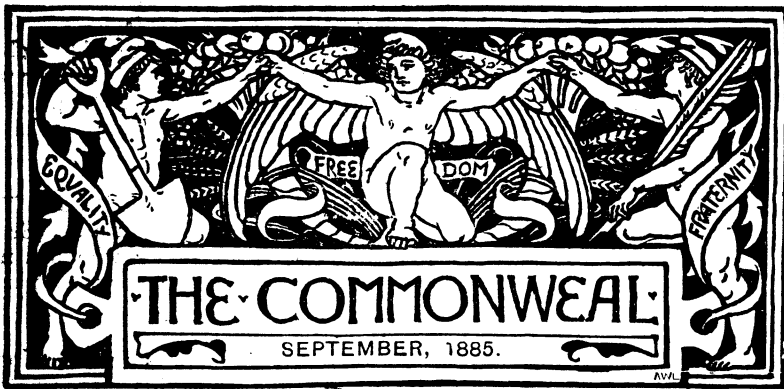
REPORT OF THE PROPAGANDIST COMMITTEE.

(Adopted by the Council, and inserted in the "COMMONWEAL" by order of the Council).

- (1) It was decided that lectures should be started (in the Hall, Farringdon Road) in the first week in September, and given on Wednesdays and Sundays.
- (2) That a Children's Sunday School be held at 10.30 on Sunday mornings as soon as a sufficient number of pupils' names have been given in. Intending pupils can apply to 13 Farringdon Road for further information.
- (3) That a catalogue of the Library books (to be kept in the Secretary's office) be written and hung in the Hall.
- (4) That all standing Committees shall meet on Wednesday nights at 7.30 p.m.
- (5) That the Reading Room be open daily from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sundays and Wednesdays from 10 a.m. till the lecture commences. Members as far as possible to volunteer to take charge during the day.
- (6) That Friday nights be set aside for choir-practice.
- (7) That Social Evenings (admission free) shall be held (if possible) every fourth Saturday evening; August 1 and 29, Sept. 26.

Lastly the Propagandist Committee earnestly ask all friends to give or lend them pictures and decorations for the Hall.

THE Hall of the League has been let to Edward Aveling on Tuesday nights during the months of October (starting the 6th) to April for the purpose of giving lessons in science. These lessons to be entirely under his own control and for his own benefit, and not under the auspices of the League. The classes will be connected with South Kensington, will deal with Animal Chemistry, Physiology and Geology. Intending students can communicate, as to fees, etc., with Dr. Aveling at 55 Great Russell Street, W.C.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

IMPORTANT—Newsagents, etc., who supply the *Commonweal*, are asked to send in their names and addresses to the Manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for publication. The following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1, "Why be Transposed?" No. 2, "Down with the Socialists!" No. 3, "To the Radicals"; No. 4, "The Cause of Prostitution." Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Three numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Balfour Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Work v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny; the third, by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, on the "Factory Hell," 16 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

LECTURES will be given throughout the winter at Farringdon Hall on Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m. The series will commence on Sept. 9. Subjects will be announced in *Pull Mall Gazette* and *Echo* on current evening.

DUBLIN.—All sympathisers with our movement are urgently requested to write to the Secretary at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

MANCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, High Town, Cheetham.

A CHORUS is now being formed at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. All members and friends (especially ladies) of the Socialist League who possess fair voices, are invited to join. No previous knowledge of music necessary. Further information may be obtained from Edwin Pope. Chorus practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

ROBERT SEIDEL writes from Mollis, Canton Glavis, forwarding a copy of his "Instruction by Manual Labour" and a critical attack upon it by H. Laupp. We hope to be able to review both works.

A READER (Northampton).—The quotation you forward from the *Weekly Times* of July 25 is, as you say, quite Socialistic in sentiment. Under a Socialistic régime holidays will not be the fragmentary, practically useless, things they are to-day. Every day will be a holiday, and work, as it ought to be, pay.

WM. HOLMES (Chicago, U.S.A.) writes us that he regards the *Commonweal* as the "ablest Socialistic paper in the world. I only wish," he adds, "I was in London and could take part in the agitation with the comrades there. . . . Quite a good many intelligent and wealthy business and professional men in the city call themselves Socialists, but they are the kind that do us no good—the milk-and-water sort—and are too much engrossed in scrambling for the Almighty Dollar to heed the cries of the disinherited and suffering proletariat. We have a good field here, and are doing good work, but we lack the co-operation of men of genius and means. Nevertheless, the Chicago Group of the International have not been idle in the work of propaganda, and we shall continue to spread the good seed as best we can."

ANYONE willing to form a Labour Emancipation League in Manchester is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 46 Bold Street.

The editors insert with pleasure the following letter:—"DEAR COMRADES.—In your report of the Conference I am made responsible for the senseless statement that 'what was wanted was to get the attention of the superficial and frothy men.' I do not desire superficial Socialists any more than I desire insane Socialists. What I did say was that the workers were for the most part superficial, and that if we wished to create among them a desire and a demand for the *Commonweal* we must look to it that our articles are simpler in construction and more interesting in style than they have been heretofore.—Yours fraternally, T. MAGUIRE." [As the person responsible for the Report in our last issue, I must, in justice to myself, state that I took down verbatim in my shorthand what Comrade Maguire said.—EDWARD AVELING.]

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Worker's Friend*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*Wage-Worker*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Tolcross Advertiser*—*Il Parja*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Laylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocate*—*Detroit Labour Leaf*—*Boston Liberty*—*Dublin University Magazine*—*Union Socialiste*—*Christian Socialist*—*Justice*—*Church Reformer*—*National Review*—*The Word*—*Boston Woman's Journal*—*San Francisco Chronicle*—*Watchman* (N.Z.)—*Index*—*El Angel del Hogar*—*Republican*—*Cleveland* (O.) *Carpetweaver*—*Journal Vigilance Association*—N.Y. Progress.

The following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—Parcels of books from Craig, Spauling, Morris and Wardle; "Odes of Horace," from Nicoll; "Communism," from A. Longley.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number. The October number (9) will be ready on Friday, Sept. 25th. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Monday, 21st.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

VI.—THE NEW PROLETARIAN.

How near to the goal are we now, and what shall we live to behold?

Will it come a day of surprise to the best of the hopeful and bold?

Shall the sun arise some morning and see men falling to work, Smiling and loving their lives, not fearing the ill that may lurk In every house on their road, in the very ground that they tread? Shall the sun see famine slain, and the fear of children dead? Shall he look adown on men set free from the burden of care, And the earth grown like to himself, so comely, clean and fair? Or else will it linger and loiter, till hope deferred hath spoiled All bloom of the life of man—yea, the day for which we have toiled?

Till our hearts be turned to stone by the griefs that we have borne,

And our loving kindness seared by love from our anguish torn. Till our hope grow a wrathful fire, and the light of the second birth

Be a flame to burn up the weeds from the lean impoverished earth.

What's this? Meseems it was but a little while ago
When the merest sparkle of hope set all my heart aglow!
The hope of the day was enough; but now 'tis the very day
That wearies my hope with longing. What's changed or gone away?

Or what is it drags at my heart-strings?—is it aught save
The coward's fear?

In this little room where I sit is all that I hold most dear—
My love, and the love we have fashioned, my wife and the little lad.

Yet the four walls look upon us with other eyes than they had,
For indeed a thing hath happened. Last week at my craft I worked,

Lest oft in the grey of the morning my heart should tell me I shirked;

But to-day I work for us three, lest he and she and I

In the mud of the street should draggle till we come to the workhouse or die.

Not long to tell is the story, for, as I told you before,
A lawyer paid me the money which came from my father's store.
Well, now the lawyer is dead, and a curious tangle of theft,
It seems, is what he has lived by, and none of my money is left.
So I who have worked for my pleasure now work for utter need.
In "the noble army of labour" I now am a soldier indeed.

"You are young, you belong to the class that you love," saith
The rich man's sneer;

"Work on with your class and be thankful." All that I hearken
to hear,

Nor heed the laughter much; have patience a little while,
I will tell you what's in my heart, nor hide a jot by guile.

When I worked pretty much for my pleasure I really worked
with a will,

It was well and workmanlike done, and my fellows knew my skill,
And deemed me one of themselves though they called me gentle-

man Dick,
Since they knew I had some money; but now that to work I
must stick,

Or fall into utter ruin, there's something gone I find;
The work goes, cleared is the job, but there's something left
behind;

I take up fear with my chisel, fear lies 'twixt me and my plane,
And I wake in the merry morning to a new unwonted pain.

That's fair: I shall live it down—and many a thing besides
Till I win the poor dulled heart which the workman's jacket
hides.

Were it not for the Hope of Hopes I know my journey's end,
And would wish I had ne'er been born the weary way to wend.

Now further well you may think we have lived no gentleman's
life,

My wife is my servant, and I am the servant of my wife,
And we make no work for each other; but country folk we were,
And she sickened sore for the grass and the breath of the
fragrant air

That had made her lovely and strong; and so up here we came
To the northern slopes of the town to live with a country dame.

Who can talk of the field-folks' ways: not one of the newest the
house,

The woodwork worn to the bone, its panels the land of the mouse,

Its windows rattling and loose, its floors all up and down ;
 But this at least it was, just a cottage left in the town.
 There might you sit in our parlour in the Sunday afternoon
 And watch the sun through the vine-leaves and fall to dreaming
 that soon
 You would see the grey team passing, their fetlocks wet with
 the brook,
 Or the shining mountainous straw-load : there the summer
 moon would look
 Through the leaves on the lampless room, wherein we sat we
 twain.
 All London vanished away ; and the morn of the summer rain
 Would waft us the scent of the hay ; or the first faint yellow
 leaves
 Would flutter adown before us and tell of the acres of sheaves.

All this hath our lawyer eaten, and to-morrow must we go
 To a room near my master's shop, in the parlous of Soho.
 No words of its shabby meanness ! But that is our prison-cell
 In the jail of weary London. Therein for us must dwell
 The hope of the world that shall be, that rose a glimmering spark
 As the last thin flame of our pleasure sank quavering in the dark.

Again the rich man jeereth : " The man is a coward, or worse—
 He bewails his feeble pleasure ; he quails before the curse
 Which many a man endureth with calm and smiling face."
 Nay, the man is a man, by your leave ! Or put yourself in his
 place,

And see if the tale reads better. The haven of rest destroyed,
 And nothing left of the life that was once so well enjoyed
 But leave to live and labour, and the glimmer of hope deferred.
 Now know I the cry of the poor no more as a story heard,
 But rather a wordless wail forced forth from the weary heart.
 Now, now when hope ariseth I shall surely know my part.

* * * * *

There's a little more to tell. When those last words were said,
 At least I was yet a-working, and earning daily bread.
 But now all that is changed, and meseems adown the stair
 That leads to the nethermost pit man wife and child must fare.

When I joined the communist folk, I did what in me lay
 To learn the grounds of their faith. I read day after day
 Whatever books I could handle, and heard about and about
 What talk was going amongst them ; and I burned up doubt
 after doubt,

Until it befel at last that to others I needs must speak
 (Indeed, they pressed me to that while yet I was weaker than
 weak).

So I began the business, and in street-corners I spake
 To knots of men. Indeed, that made my very heart ache,
 So hopeless it seemed ; for some stood by like men of wood.
 And some, though fain to listen but a few words understood ;
 And some but hooted and jeered : but whiles across some I came
 Who were keen and eager to hear ; as in dry flux the flame
 So the quick thought flickered amongst them : and that indeed
 was a feast.

So about the streets I went, and the work on my hands increased ;
 And to say the very truth betwixt the smooth and the rough
 It was work and hope went with it, and I liked it well enough :
 Nor made I any secret of all that I was at

But daily talked in our shop and spoke of this and of that.
 Then vanished my money away, and like a fool I told
 Some one or two of the loss. Did that make the master bold ?
 Before I was one of his lot, and as queer as my head might be
 I might do pretty much as I liked. Well now he sent for me
 And spoke out in very words my thought of the rich man's jeer ;
 " Well sir, you have got your wish, as far as I can hear,
 And are now no thief of labour, but an honest working man :
 Now I'll give you a word of warning : stay in it as long as you can,
 This working lot that you like so : you're pretty well off as you
 are.

So take another warning : I have thought you went too far,
 And now I am quite sure of it ; so make an end of your talk
 At once and for ever henceforth, or out of my shop you walk ;
 There are plenty of men to be had who are quite as good as you.
 And mind you, anywhere else you'll scarce get work to do,
 Unless you rule your tongue ;—good morning ; stick to your
 work."

The hot blood rose to my eyes, somewhere a thought did lurk
 To finish both him and the job : but I knew now what I was,
 And out of the little office in helpless rage did I pass
 And went to my work, a *slave*, for the sake of my child and my
 sweet.

Did men look for the brand on my forehead that eve as I went
 through the street ?

And what was the end after all ? Why one of my shopmates heard
 My next night's speech in the street, and passed on some bitter
 word,

And that week came a word with my money : " You needn't come
 again."

And the shame of my four days' silence had been but grief in vain.

Well I see the days before me : this time we shall not die
 Nor go to the workhouse at once : I shall get work by-and-by,
 And shall work in fear at first, and at last forget my fear,
 And drudge on from day to day, since it seems that I hold life
 dear.

'Tis the lot of many millions ! Yet if half of those millions knew
 The hope that my heart hath learned, we should find a deed to do,
 And who or what should withstand us ? And I, e'en I might live
 To know the love of my fellows and the gifts that earth can give.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

V.—LABOUR-POWER. MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE. ESSENTIALS FOR LABOUR.

In capitalistic circulation, the excess of the returns to the
 capitalist over his outlay is surplus-value. The source of
 surplus-value is some commodity of such a nature that its
 consumption (or the realisation of its use-value) creates value.
 This commodity is labour-power. The one source of all surplus-
 value, as, indeed, of all value, is human labour-power.

Labour-power is the sum-total of all the physical faculties
 of man that can be put into action to produce use-value. Of
 course, the word physical is here used in the wide sense that
 is, I think, its only sense. All bodily faculties are included,
 those of the brain as well as those of the muscles. The facul-
 ties of the brain are but functions of a particular part of the
 body. They are therefore physical, and enter into that totality
 of functions which is the labour-power of the individual.

Labour must not be confused with labour-power. In this
 confusion of the two, a very common event, is the fruitful
 source of much misunderstanding by the student and misrep-
 resentation by the opponents of Socialism. Labour is the realisa-
 tion of labour-power. Every ordinary person has labour-power.
 Not everyone realises it, *i.e.*, performs labour. The labourer is
 the human being who does realise his faculties in the production
 of use-value.

That labour-power and labour are not one and the same
 thing is seen again when we consider the means of subsistence.
 Labour-power realised in the production of use-value, or not so
 realised, needs maintenance, restoration. Its possessor, whether
 he is a labourer or a University cricketer, requires means of
 subsistence. Whether labour is or is not put forth, means of
 subsistence are essential.

What are these means of subsistence ? They are food,
 clothing, housing, warmth, rest, children, education. On the
 first five there is no need to dwell. The last two call for a
 word of comment. The commodity labour-power must be con-
 tinuous on the market. There must be a constant supply. As
 one generation of labourers passes another must take its place.
 Children are an actual means of subsistence for the stock of
 labour-power as a whole in the community, not of course for
 the labour-power of the individual parents. For a like reason,
 education is necessary to prepare the children for the due use
 of their labour-power in the way that the capitalistic system
 commands.

These means of subsistence have to us a special interest, as
 it is their equivalent that the labourer produces during the
 earlier part of his working-day. Until he has produced their
 equivalent he can and does produce nothing whatever for his
 lord. But the moment he has produced so much value, whether
 in yarn that he has made out of cotton, or bricks that he has
 made out of clay, in the soil that he has ploughed, or the cattle
 he has driven a-field—the moment, I say, that he has put into
 any commodity or commodities so much value (the result of his
 labour-power realised), as is the equivalent of the means of sub-
 sistence necessary to maintain that labour-power, from that
 moment all other value that he may produce is not his, but
 another's.

In this connexion the student is not concerned with how the
 relative positions of capitalist and labourer have come about.
 That will have to be considered later. The labourer and the
 holder of capital are face to face to-day. That this is the case
 not even the capitalist will deny. Explanations as to how this
 came to be, he and his can and do offer. On these explanations
 much will have to be said later. For the present, let us only
 note that it is by no means a question of natural history, or to
 be accounted for by immutable natural laws. Evolution has

been at work—social evolution. That social evolution has gone sufficiently far to have produced at least four results ere the production of surplus-value, *i.e.*, the capitalistic production, comes about. These are (1) that exchange-value and use-value are distinct; (2) that simple exchange has passed into circulation of commodities; (3) that money is playing its four parts, as measure of value, standard of price, means of circulation, means of payment; (4) that labour-power has become a commodity having exchange-value, and is paid by wage. Once more let us understand that the method by which this fourth result has been brought about, is not dealt with here.

In which of its four functions does money play its part in the alienation of the commodity labour-power from its possessor to the capitalist? In the fourth of these functions, *i.e.*, as a means of payment. Money is said to be a means of payment, when a certain interval of time elapses between the parting with the commodity (a house that is let, *e.g.*) and the return to its primary owner of its exchange-value in money. This is precisely what occurs with the commodity labour-power. For the labourer gives this commodity to the capitalist, say for a week, and receives at the end of the time his wage, after the use-value of his labour-power has been realised. The utilisation and the payment of the labour-power are not simultaneous. From this it results that the ordinary talk of the capitalist as advancing anything to the labourer is inaccurate. The advance is made by the labourer.

Let us now see in detail how surplus-value is produced. Labour is the realisation of labour power. There are three main essentials to the production of a use-value. These are: (1) an *object* on which to work, cotton, *e.g.*; (2) *means of labour*, machinery, *e.g.*; (3) *human activity* [true labour]. A use-value and therefore a product are formed when human activity works through means of labour on an object. Each of these three, especially the first and second, needs comment.

The object upon which human labor is to be expended may be natural or primitive, as a piece of wood or virgin soil. It may be raw material, such as cotton, a product upon which human labour has already been expended.

The means of labour must not be confused with the means of production. The latter is the larger term. The means of labour are everything that is interposed between the human being and the object on which his labour is exerted. Now this object itself is a means of production, but not a means of labour. These means of labour, intermediaries between man and the object (natural or raw material) may in their turn be natural or artificial. Examples of the former are the material conditions necessary for labour—ground to stand on and such agents as wind and water. Examples of the latter are machinery, buildings.

It will be noted that some of the objects of labour (raw materials) and some of the means of labour (the artificial ones) are themselves products. They have resulted from human labour that has previously worked upon some object.

We are now in a position to discuss two last points, for the present. (1) What are the fates of products? (2) What is productive consumption? A product may (a) be consumed at once, as a loaf of bread eaten new; (b) be consumed ultimately, as a wine that is laid down for many years; (c) serve as an object, primary or auxiliary raw material, of labour [cotton is a primary raw material, the dye that is united with it a secondary]; (d) serve as means of labour, *e.g.*, a tool.

Productive consumption occurs when the products are consumed as a means to the functioning of labour-power. The using of a machine, the eating of food by a labourer, are instances of productive consumption. Individual consumption, a better name than unproductive, occurs when the products consumed are for the enjoyment of the individual, as in the eating and drinking of the idle classes. The result in the former case is that the consumer produces something other than himself—a new commodity of some sort. The result in the latter case is that only the man himself is produced or re-produced.

Labour-power	The sum of man's faculties that put into action can produce use-values.
Labour	Realisation of labour-power.
Labourer	He that realises his labour-power and produces use-values.
Means of subsistence	Requisites for the maintenance and restoration of labour-power.
Enumeration of these	Food, clothing, housing, warmth, rent, children, education.
Preliminaries to Capitalism...	Exchange-value and use-value distinct. Simple exchange succeeded by circulation of commodities. Money with four functions, especially that of

means of payment. Labour-power a commodity, paid by wage.

Advance.....	Made by the labourer to the capitalist.
Essentials for production of a use-value	(1) Object. (2) Means. (3) Labour.
Object	Natural or raw materials.
Means of labour	Natural or products.
Fates of products.....	Immediate consumption. Deferred consumption. Raw material. Means of labour.
Productive consumption	Products consumed as a means to the functioning of labour-power

EDWARD AVELING.

CONFESSIONS OF THE CAPITALIST, SAMUEL SMITH, M.P.

ON commercial and trading subjects, "the Liverpool Smith" is an acknowledged adept, and, on social questions, one of the greatest authorities in this country. At least, so says the *Liverpool Mercury*. He is certainly noted for his opposition to Socialism, and his fear of it. Therefore, we commend to the attention of capitalists generally his avowal before the House of Commons of the failure of commercialism.

After mentioning the shameful facts that about two-fifths of the board-school children in London go without breakfast; that upon an average every poor working-man loses about twenty days in the year from *simple exhaustion*; that in London alone fully 60,000 families live in single rooms, Samuel Smith makes the ghastly confession that more than four-fifths of the deaths in London occur in workhouses and hospitals, the great mass as the results of wretched homes.

After our marvellous "progress," our undreamed-of increase in power over nature, this is the state of the people in the wealthiest city in the world! Is it not too high a price for the luxury of having a mercenary middle class and a "refined" aristocracy?

"The average wages of the working man throughout London are not more than 15s. to 16s. a week. I believe that there is no city either in Europe or America that contains anything like the wretchedness that is to be found in this City of London. London, however, does not stand alone in this matter. The same state of things exists in all our large cities, and, speaking of Liverpool, the city I represent, I would venture to say that we have just as great a proportion of people in that town living on the verge of starvation as there are in London. The lower stratum of the population is just as poor now as it was a hundred years ago."

As for the member for Liverpool, we must credit him with seeing that, as "our trade is exhausted," "there is looming in the future a starving proletariat." But, alas! after an eloquent recital, which would have made a righteous man fierce with indignation at the murderous effects of the greed and callousness of our governors, this representative of the people coolly explains that he is "an advocate of State-aided emigration." But, alas! he and his friends are unable to "ship off tens of thousands of the London poor," because "they have been so wretchedly trained, that they are of no use as emigrants." Hence he concludes, from the State's neglect to perform the important duty of preventing the degradation of its workers, that their children must receive compulsory industrial training.

As someone may reasonably inquire what was done after so much talk, it is worth adding that the plea, "Why should a boy, who has committed a small theft, get the benefit of industrial training, while his brother, who has not committed any crime, is left to run about the streets?" was met by the suggestion that this "Christian philanthropist" should contribute with others toward the expenses of voluntary night-schools; and finally Mr. S. Smith was willing to withdraw his amendment, but it was negatived without a division.

There is no need for emigration. If the whole area of the United Kingdom (seventy-eight million acres) were controlled by the workers instead of by the monopolising idlers, it would support in comfort a much greater population than we now have. Every thoughtful person knows that the producers are degraded because they have to maintain a huge middle-class and a luxurious nobility; but plutocrats are naturally tempted to disguise this simple truth. It is scarcely credible that this "philosophic thinker" has not read Mill "On Distribution;" yet if he has, how can he conscientiously call Socialism immoral and impracticable without mentioning the contrary statement of the great economist? For himself, Mill hoped to improve the competitive system, but his words clearly testify to the righteousness and feasibility of Socialism.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of these various schemes, they cannot be truly said to be impracticable. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The apportionment of work to the strength and capacities of individuals, the mitigation of a general rule to provide for cases in which it would operate harshly, are not problems to which human intelligence, guided by a sense of justice, would be inadequate. And the worst and most unjust arrangement which could be made of these points under a system aiming at equality would be so far short of the inequality and injustice with which labour (not to speak of remuneration) is now apportioned as to be scarcely worth counting in the comparison?

Although the cotton broker, Samuel Smith, might be supposed to know something of how fortunes are made, he will probably find food for reflection in these words of one of the few noble, outspoken English gentlemen (Ruskin's 60th letter to the workers): "No man ever became or can become largely rich merely by labour and economy. All large fortunes (putting treasure-trove and gambling out of consideration) are founded either on occupation of land, usury, or taxation of labour. Whether openly or occultly, the landlord, money-lender and capital-holding employer, gather into their possession a certain quantity of the means of existence which other people produce by the labour of their hands." R. F. E. WILLIS.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

AMERICA.—The following are some extracts which English comrades are sure to find interesting, taken from a letter sent us on the organisation of the International Working Men's Association in California. One of its secretaries tells us that their "system is the formation of groups for the study of a prescribed course of Socialistic reading. . . Each student gets a red card. When he is 'educated,' and has formed a group of his own, he gets a white card. All white card-holders in San Francisco are members of the committee. . . A managing committee of twelve divides this coast into districts, and each member has the charge of the correspondence of a district. There are two Eastern correspondents, and an English and German foreign correspondent. . . The objects we specially aim at are the formation of groups throughout the country. We are very poor, but we have one lecturer out, and hope soon to have another. We also strive to get our men to move about from place to place to form fresh groups. We take great interest in all Trades' Unions here, striving to pick out the leaders and educate them. . . For this purpose, in addition to our two meetings per week, a speaking class is held weekly, which is well attended. We have since March last organised the coasting seamen into a union 2,000 strong. . . We have formed a Central Labour Union . . . and we are engaged in federating all the trades of the water-front. Our own paper, *Truth*, went under . . . but against this we can place the conversion of two established papers in San Fris., to which one of us manages regularly to contribute; the founding of a paper at Eureka, Cal., and one at Salem, Oregon, both of which flourish, and the transfer of all our subscription list to the *Denver Labour Enquirer*, which is doing great work among the miners and railroad men. . . I need not tell you that our work is being done with a view to ultimate action, which we conceive is, for many reasons, more feasible at an early date here than elsewhere. . . In most of our judgments events are like to move too quickly with us. . . I am an Englishman, and know something of England, having travelled all over that country. I read all I can lay hands on as to the progress of Socialism there, and I cannot but think that matters are moving more quickly by far both here and in the East. . . The feeling on both sides, of rich and poor, seems to me incomparably more bitter than in the old country." . . In conclusion, our comrade suggests opening a regular correspondence with English Socialists, as this would be "encouraging and beneficial to both you in England and to us here."

It is certainly very encouraging to us to know such good work is being done in America, and all letters like these are beneficial to us.

A propos of our correspondent's conviction that "events are moving faster" in the new world than the old, I may quote a passage from a most valuable series of articles by Paul Lafargue in the *Neue Zeit* on the American agricultural labourer, or rather that large portion of them "who possess not a foot of land; the roof above them, the very bed on which they sleep, the spoon with which they eat, are not their own; . . . they can call nothing theirs but the food they eat and the rags that cover them. They have no regular dwellings in the country, which they leave for towns as soon as the work for which they were engaged is done. They are hired by the day, week or month. . . In the autumn they are dismissed, and in the winter only a few remain on the farm to look after the cattle and mind the machinery. The workers go to the towns and villages, where they try to get along as best they can. These men, without property, without a home or a family (for only single men are employed) constantly driven hither and thither from town to country and country to town, these men with the bodily strength and perseverance of the peasant and the intelligence of the town labourer, are destined to form a class that will be incomparably more dangerous to capitalism than is that of the industrial proletariat." The ferocious Acts against "tramps" show that the capitalists are beginning to understand their danger.

The recent strike riot at Chicago was much more serious than would appear from the newspaper reports. Regular barricades seem to have

been thrown up, and the police—these gentry are the same all the world over—"fell upon the people, striking them in the most brutal manner, and severely wounding many persons." A number of arrests were made, and over a hundred men are to be prosecuted.

GERMANY.—It was not to be expected that the police of the holy German Empire would let itself be outdone by the gendarmes of a Republic. The achievements of the French police at Père Lachaise have fired the ambition of their German colleagues, who have just had a field-day at Frankfurt. The funeral of the Socialist, Hugo Hiller, attended by thousands of Socialists, offered an opportunity that was not to be neglected. So when some red crowns, sent from various parts of Germany, had been deposited upon the grave of the comrade who had worked so hard for the cause, and was now at last taking his well-earned rest, when red flowers had been strewn, and a Socialist began to speak, Police Commissary Meyer stepped forth, summoned the people to disperse, and, without waiting to see what they would do, gave the order to "draw swords and drive the mob away." A terrible scene ensued. Men, women and children fell bleeding beneath the sabres of the brave saviours of society. The fact that several children were badly wounded is even reported in such a radically respectable paper as the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. We need no further details. We know this old story of brutal attacks upon unarmed peaceful citizens only too well.

This is how the police disturbed the funeral of a Socialist at Frankfurt. At Barmen they would not allow another Socialist to be buried at all by his friends, but actually "confiscated" the corpse. This sounds like a ghastly joke. But it is an actual fact. This man had died on the Wednesday, and was to be buried on the Sunday—twenty-four hours beyond the legal time, it is true, but this extension is usual when the legal time falls on a Saturday. It was known that a band was to accompany the funeral procession, and the police, duly informed of this, offered no opposition at first. But on the Saturday afternoon the organisers of the funeral were informed that "any gathering at the churchyard was prohibited" by the Anti-Socialist Law, and that no bands would be permitted to enter. This, however, was not enough. The sagacious police-officer found that a large number of people would gather, music or no music, and that this must, at all costs, be prevented. But how? In this predicament a doctor—Strauss by name—came to the rescue. Accompanied by a commissary of police, this gentleman proceeded to the house of the deceased, and declared that, on sanitary grounds, the body must there and then be removed. Not only the brothers, but several *independent doctors*, protested against this unheard-of and quite unnecessary interference—to no purpose. Another commissary, three more policemen and four carriers, appeared on the scene, broke open the locked door of the room in which the dead man lay, and carried off the corpse with no more ado to the churchyard. The next day, however, thousands of persons—the numbers doubled through this shameful police outrage—gathered at the house of the deceased Socialist, formed into a large *cortège*, and proceeded to the cemetery, bearing large crowns tied with red ribbon. At the cemetery the procession found the gates locked, but these, despite the efforts of the police, were burst open, the crowns placed upon the new-made grave, and speeches made. The police stood by helpless. After the speeches the crowd quietly dispersed.

DENMARK.—Our fellow-organ, the *Sozial Democrat*, of Copenhagen, on the 25th of July issued a special number to celebrate the fact that it now publishes *twenty thousand copies daily*, a fact of which it and our Danish comrades may well be proud. This "special" number gives some interesting and instructive details as to the movement in Denmark, and contains an account of the paper since its foundation. A few years ago the *Sozial Democrat* was a small weekly. It is now, as I have already said, a daily, of large size, consisting of twenty-eight columns, or about 168,000 letters in all. With such results, it may well say that Socialism is a power in Denmark! Those who cannot read Danish would do well to get this number all the same, for it contains a map of Denmark, well worth studying, in which the spread of Socialism in the country can be seen at a glance, the various groups, unions, etc., in various parts, being marked off in red. Altogether our comrades are to be heartily congratulated; when we think of the 20,000 subscribers to this paper, we can only wish we would go and do likewise.

FRANCE.—On Sunday, August 9, the monument to Auguste Blanqui was unveiled at Père Lachaise, in the presence of thousands of Socialists and representatives of most of the different Socialist organisations. The monument, by Dalou, which represents Blanqui lying upon his bier, is said to be an artistic masterpiece. To speak of Auguste Blanqui is to speak of one of the noblest, truest, most heroic of the many noble men who have given their lives for the people. His was not the enthusiasm of a few short years or months; his was not one single act of heroism. His whole long life was that of a martyr. Forty years of imprisonment under every kind of government, all manner of persecution, the cruellest sufferings of body and mind, had been powerless to shake the iron energy, to destroy the unconquerable faith, of this man. At every revolution—when he was not in prison—we find him to the fore; and when the Commune offered to Versailles the Archbishop, and I know not how many other hostages thrown in, in exchange for the single Blanqui, the Versailles very wisely refused to give him up. Blanqui in prison was more valuable to them than a wilderness of archbishops. "No god or master" was Blanqui's motto. And in the ordinary sense of those words he was true to them. In the higher, nobler sense, Blanqui acknowledged both god and master. Truth was his god, and his master was that cause he served so faithfully.

There is a great stir in France anent the approaching elections. I hope to give a full account of the action taken by the various groups next month. ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

APPEAL!

COMRADES.—At the General Conference of the League a resolution was passed to the effect that the monthly *Commonweal* be transformed at an early date, and as soon as the necessary funds are collected, into a weekly paper.

Steps have been taken by the Council towards realising this resolution. A printing plant has been bought, a practical printer and compositor has been engaged, thus enabling the Socialist League to print the next monthly issue of the *Commonweal* on the premises of the League, and so all preliminary conditions are fulfilled for changing the monthly paper into a weekly one.

What we now want is FUNDS to guarantee the continuous appearance of the weekly paper when once started. To collect such funds the undersigned Committee has been chosen, and this Committee herewith opens a subscription for

A WEEKLY COMMONWEAL FUND,

and now earnestly solicits from all—Socialists, and outsiders who sympathise with us—donations and subscriptions, whether they be small or large, in order that at an early date a well-supported weekly issue of the *Commonweal* may appear and spread far and wide the *Glad Tidings of Socialism*.

E. BELFORT BAX, WILLIAM MORRIS, C. THEODOR.

Farringdon Road, Sept. 1, 1885.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY ("Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho).—The Thursday night discussions continue to be a success, and many new members have joined through them. We have also started open-air meetings, as advertised in the Lecture Diary, and these have also served to strengthen the Branch and push the sale of the *Commonweal*.—Thomas E. Wardle, Sec.

SOCIAL EVENING.—On Saturday evening, August 1, the first of a series of free evenings for the people was held at the Farringdon Hall. The room was quite full and for two hours working men, women and children seemed to enjoy themselves thoroughly. Pianoforte selections were played by Ann Taylor and W. B. Adams; May Morris, Frau Walther, E. Pope, W. Wade, Andreas Scheu sang; the readers were Eleanor Marx Aveling, David Nicoll, J. L. Mahon, H. H. Sparling, Donald, Edward Aveling. The evening closed with the singing by all present of the *Marseillaise*. The next Social evenings will be held on the last Saturday in August, i.e., August 29, and on Sept. 26, at 8 p.m. Admission free.

STRATFORD.—A new open-air lecturing station has been started here with great success. At the meeting on Saturday, August 1, Kitz was arrested on a charge of causing an obstruction. On the case coming before the magistrate, however, it was dismissed. The next meeting was held at the same place and attended by a very large audience. It was addressed by Mahon, Morris and Wade, who were well received. Sixty copies of the *Commonweal* were rapidly sold and a much larger number could have been disposed of if they had been at hand. The third meeting was addressed by Sparling, and was again well attended. A Branch has been formed and a course of indoor lectures will soon be started. Those willing to assist are invited to attend the open-air meetings on Saturday evenings and give their names to some of the speakers.—J. L. M.

LEEDS.—A very successful meeting was addressed by T. Maguire at the Vicar's Croft, Sunday afternoon, August 2. There was a submitter of "bosh" and "nonsense" present, whose stupid interruptions, however, were soon silenced by the threatening attitude of our hearers. Forty copies of the *Commonweal* were sold at the close of the meeting. In the evening another meeting was held at the same place by Sollitt, when the remainder of our supply of the *Commonweal* was easily disposed of. Meetings have also been held on the 9th and 16th, when Sollitt has succeeded in keeping interested audiences together, inclement weather notwithstanding.

MANCHESTER.—Socialism is making great progress in Manchester. All parts of the town are becoming permeated with its principles, and everywhere the workers are beginning to see that it is the only doctrine worthy of their serious consideration. This being the case, our comrades here, have recognised the necessity of strengthening still further the friendly relations existing between Manchester and London. For this reason, a special meeting of the M. S. U. was held on August 5, when the following resolution was moved, and, after some little discussion, unanimously agreed to: "That the M. S. U. be now dissolved, and that a branch of the Socialist League be formed instead thereof." After being in existence for a period of three months, as an independent organisation, the members of the M. S. U. arrived at the conclusion that they could advance the cause of Socialism better by becoming allied either to the S. D. F. or to the S. L. Of the two bodies, they preferred the latter, its principles being, in their opinion more advanced. Those principles are now being preached in all parts of Manchester, our comrades believing that wherever two or three people are gathered together, there ought to be a Socialist in their midst. By this means they hope to arouse the people to a just sense of their wrongs.—Thomas Ewing.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month we have held four open-air meetings, which have been attended by upwards of one hundred persons each. The meetings have been very enthusiastic. A few interesting questions have been asked by small capitalists, and have been answered by the speakers very satisfactorily to the audience, but not to the questioners, which has caused much amusement, and has ended in a lively discussion after the meetings have been over. Over five dozen *Commonweals* have been sold. A few strangers have attended our indoor meetings, and have afterwards joined the branch. The branch has appointed Fuller and Graham to find a hall in the neighbourhood of Camden Town, where we may hold indoor lectures and debates during the winter months.—Fuller, Secretary.

BRADFORD.—Continuation of the debate at Royal Oak, Shipley, arising out of Mitchell's lecture reported last month, took place Sunday, August 2. Many spoke for and against Socialism, Maguire (of Leeds) amongst the former. Mitchell replied to objections, and debate was adjourned to Sunday, August 23. The matter is exciting great interest in the district.

HAMMERSMITH.—On July 26, Beasley lectured upon "Survivals of Ancient Socialism." The very common error that Socialists are endeavouring to found an altogether unheard-of system of society, without regard to the teachings of history, was refuted by the lecturer's account of those curious survivals of the communal holding of property, which still exists in Russian service, Switzerland and other countries. The lecture was followed by a good discussion. Mahon lectured on August 2, his subject being "The Rights of Capitalists," to an attentive and critical audience, many of whom seemed to think it right, natural and proper, that the earth and the fulness thereof should be at the disposal of the capitalist class. On August 19, George Bernard Shaw (Fabian) gave an ethical discourse, entitled, "Socialism and Scoundrelism." The lecturer said that Socialism had been so frequently dealt with from the optimist point of view, that, for a change, he proposed to look at it from the pessimist position, and show that, regarding the subject from either standpoint, the revolution was natural and inevitable. Even supposing every individual in the country resolutely opposed its advent, he believed the change would come notwithstanding. The lecturer dealt with the seven deadly sins of the Roman Catholic Church, and, in his usual brilliantly paradoxical manner, showed how each one of these, in a Socialistic state of society, would lose much of its harmfulness, and in most cases even become, under altered circumstances, an absolute virtue. Thus pride becomes self-respect; avarice, prudence; envy, emulation; and so on. The audience was one of the largest we have had here, the hall being filled to overflowing. On August 16, Lawrence Grünlund answered the question, "Are the rich getting richer, and the poor poorer?" with a number of statistics which tended to prove, while some improvement had taken place in the position of skilled workmen during the last forty years, the benefit of the enormous increase in the efficiency of labour had almost entirely gone to the capitalist classes and their parasites. Our propaganda meetings have been held every Saturday as usual, Kitz, Locke, May Morris, Mahon, Donald, Cooper and others speaking. These have caused excitement, and, among other results, an improved attendance at our indoor meetings.

OLDHAM.—This branch meets every Wednesday, at 7 p.m., for enrolment of members and to explain the aims and principles of Socialism to inquirers. Meetings are held in Curzon Ground every Sunday afternoon and evening (weather permitting) for the same object. Inquirers should communicate with John Oldman, Secretary *pro tem.*, 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham.

HOXTON (L.E.L.)—Successful Sunday out-door meetings have been held at Hoxton at 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. each Sunday, the speakers being—Mahon, Nicoll, Wade, Sparling, Donald and Mowbray, assisted by Mainwaring, Graham, Shackwitz, Pope and Allman. Over five quires of papers have been sold. Our Thursday nights meetings have been exceedingly successful this month; speakers Mowbray, Wade and Sparling. We should be glad of more speakers at those meetings, and therefore invite any who can attend to do so. The indoor lectures have been as follows:—2nd, C. W. Mowbray, "Industrial Co-operation"; 9th, W. C. Wade, "The Cry of the Children"; 16th, W. Morris, "Commercial Depression"; 23rd, D. Nicoll, "Political Economy"; 30th, E. Aveling, "Curse of Capitalism."—C. W. Mowbray.

PADDINGTON.—At the John Bright Club, Paddington Green, W., on Sunday, August 16, C. W. Mowbray delivered an admirable lecture, entitled "Productive Co-operation." The audience was very attentive and frequently applauded. Opposition followed, which was ably replied to amidst continuous applause; and a vote of thanks was unanimously passed. The Secretary of the Club—Mr. R. Cuerel—challenged the lecturer to debate the subject of "National Co-operation"; this was readily accepted, and arranged for Sunday, Sept. 27, commencing at 8.30.—H. G. A.

LECTURE DIARY: September, 1885.

Tuesday	1.—Mile End, W. Morris, "Hopes of Civilisation." —Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	2.—Farringdon Hall, public meeting at 8.30 p.m., "The International Club and the Police." —Leeds, M. Sollitt, "Education as it is and ought to be."
Sunday	6.—Hoxton, J. L. Mahon, "Rights of Capitalists." —Hammersmith, A. K. Donald.
Tuesday	8.—Mile End, Edward Aveling, "The Curse of Capital." —Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	9.—Farringdon Hall, Edward Aveling, "The Capitalistic Octopus." —Edinburgh, a lecture. —Oldham, a lecture. —Leeds, T. Maguire, "Labour and Capital."
Thursday	10.—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	13.—Hoxton, H. H. Sparling, "The Latter-Day Devil." —Hammersmith, J. L. Mahon, "The Science of Political Economy."
Tuesday	15.—Mile End, J. L. Mahon, "A Socialist View of Civilisation." —Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	16.—Farringdon Hall, Andreas Scheu, "Our Bounden Duty." —Edinburgh, a lecture. —Oldham, a lecture. —Leeds, C. McHale, "My Views on Socialism."
Thursday	17.—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	20.—Hoxton, Joseph Lane. —Hammersmith, W. Morris, "The Guilds of the Middle Ages."
Tuesday	22.—Mile End, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson." —Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	23.—Farringdon Hall, C. W. Mowbray, "Co-operation for Production." —Edinburgh, a lecture. —Oldham, a lecture. —Leeds, J. Finn, "Socialism and Co-operation."
Thursday	24.—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	27.—Hoxton, H. Charles, "Bourgeoisism." —Hammersmith, Andreas Scheu, "Love and Hunger."
Tuesday	29.—Mile End, H. Charles, "Socialism and Anarchism." —Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	30.—Farringdon Hall, W. Morris, "The Larger Hope." —Edinburgh, a lecture. —Oldham, a lecture. —Leeds, F. Corkwell, "Why am I a Socialist?"

Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.—The Lecturers will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces.

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

LONDON.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Mile End.—Swaby's Coffee House. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m.
Hammersmith.—Kelmcott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Every Sunday at 8.
Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.
Bloomsbury.—"Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.
North London.—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

PROVINCIAL.

Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.
Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.
Manchester.—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.
Oldham.—Mrs. Wright's Coffee Tavern, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the *COMMONWEAL*.)

North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. 1, Donald; 8, Mahon; 15, Nicoll; 22, Sparling.
Bloomsbury.—Broad Street, near Brewery. Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.
Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 3, Sparling; 6, Lane; 10, Mowbray; 13, Nicoll; 17, Mowbray; 20, Nicoll; 24, Wade; 27, Donald.
Hyde Park.—Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. 6, Scheu; 13, Mahon; 20, Donald; 27, Nicoll.
Mile End Waste.—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 6, Mowbray; 13, Donald; 20, Lane; 27, Mahon.
Manchester.—New Cross, Oldham Road. Every Sunday at 3 p.m. 6, Prince and McDonald; 13, Oldman and Goodwin; 20, Ewing and Parkinson; 27, Morley and Grundy.
Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. 6, Morley and Prince; 13, Ewing and Oldman; 20, Morley and McDonald; 27, Parkinson and Ewing.
Stratford.—"Argument Lamp," end of churchyard. Every Saturday at 6 p.m. 5, Mowbray; 12, Nicoll; 19, Mahon; 26, Lane.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Every Sunday afternoon and evening.
Soho.—Broad Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. 1, Mowbray; 8, Wade; 15, Mowbray; 22, Mahon; 29, Sparling.
Leeds.—Vicar's Croft. Every Wednesday.

Supplement to "The Commonweal."

VOL. 1.—No. 8.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

A NEW PARTY.

It would undoubtedly be futile to prophecy as to the immediate results of the forthcoming general elections, or to wager which side may get the majority; but whichever does come uppermost in the struggle, certain tendencies in the elected and the electors are likely to develop in a manner which can fairly be judged of, without pretence to the gift of prophecy, by noting the signs of the times at present; and it is not out of place, even in a Socialist paper, to look into these tendencies, since some of our friends are so anxious to try their luck in the game which is going on at St. Stephens, hoping that they may be allowed to remain Socialists even in the midst of the House of Commons.

It was easy to foresee that when the Tory Ministry came in it would make some attempt to dish the Liberals, though perhaps not quite so easy to foresee their eagerness in that amusement, and still less the speedy revolt of their own friends against it. Coercion in Ireland is turning out as much of a stumbling-block to the Tory party as it was to the Liberals. Lord Randolph Churchill is not to have it all his own way after all; there are Tories who are bent on trying what chance they have of preserving something more of Toryism than its name. There is apparently likely to be as wide a split in the Tory party as there has been for some time past in the Liberal. This has somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. A week or two ago it seemed as if it were a mere struggle between the Liberals and the Radicals, and that the latter depended for their chance of forming a strong party in the next Parliament on the success of the Tories in the elections; that a large Liberal majority would defer the hopes of the Radicals.

But now behold disunion in the hitherto united party, and such a state of parties, such a condition of party strife as seems to a Socialist to offer a most splendid opportunity—for leaving it alone. The "collective wisdom" is falling into chaos quite fast enough without our help.

And yet, it may be said, from out of that chaos something will emerge. Will that something be as favorable to our hopes as the chaos itself? Ought we not to try to bring out of the confusion something which will at all events approach nearer to Socialism than anything which has yet called itself a party?

Well, I think the Liberal split and the Tory revolt against overdoing dishing are merely superficial tokens of the creation of a new party which is now going on. Old Toryism, though not at an end in the country generally, has confessedly no chance of a majority in Parliament. Liberalism as a party has fulfilled its programme, and has nothing left to do. Radicalism is itself divided between the last dregs of the "Manchester school" and the new democracy, with some form of land nationalisation as one of the planks of its platform.

"There are no solid parties, then?" says the Parliamentary Socialist. "Let us go in and make a party and sway Parliament in a Socialist direction."

True, there is as yet no solid party, but I repeat there is one forming, which I believe will be the strongest which our times have seen, and by whatever name it may be called, it will be the party of reaction grown conscious that firm and serious resistance must be made to the claims of labour for equal rights for all. Read the serious articles in the *Standard* and the *St. James' Gazette* on this subject and you will recognise how different they are from the ordinary artificial tongue-in-the-cheek Tory articles. Sensible men of all the *bourgeois* parties are beginning to be alarmed and to see that the business cannot be played with, that Parliament must not be allowed to dally with its true function of seriously considering the best means of upholding our present economical and social conditions, and of using those means in the teeth of all opposition, all sentiment.

The party which this instinct (for such it is) will form will not deal in sensation; it will be peaceful, considerate, philanthropical; it will rally to it all "reasonable" and "practical" men who have to do with public matters; it will doubtless make large concessions to the cries of distress which will swell year by year, and so gather to it more and more the "good" men of the comfortable classes, while it will put down coolly and remorselessly anything which openly wears the token of danger. It will, in a word, govern us, and

will do so as the committee of that Hierarchy of Compulsion which, under various disguises of free trade, personal freedom, and the like, is the one enemy which we Revolutionary Socialists have before us.

And outside this party, what will there be in Parliament to resist it? Nothing but a scattered discontent, which will be helpless there, discredited by all *respectable* persons, who will point to the good deeds of the "party of order," and protest most energetically against any interference with those who are so busy making people happy and "contented." Any attempt to deal with such virtue and consistency from a revolutionary standpoint will be absolutely useless until the Revolutionary Socialists have stirred up and organised the discontent outside Parliament—until the workers have become conscious that their interests must be opposed to those of the governing classes, however anxious the latter may seem to be, or may really be as individuals, to promote their happiness and content; and when that time comes, what need will there be for Parliamentary agitation?

Meanwhile, once more it seems to me that the new party will soon raise its head up, and will put an end to puny opposition in Parliament. It will govern so reasonably and strongly that no one outside our ranks will have a word to say against it. Should that discourage us? By no means; it will unite the suffrages of all respectable people by aiming at bringing about peace by every means except the only one possible—the abolition of classes. It will have a great success, and be blessed by the whole *bourgeois* world, and—will lead us into Revolution.

With its respectable march let us have nothing to do, nor affect to think that it can serve our cause otherwise than by that repression which it will assuredly try. Let all our efforts be directed towards giving it something to repress.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION.

Of all the phrases with which the masses of the people have been deluded during the present century, probably the one at the head of this article has been oftenest and most successfully used to that end. Yet it would be difficult to find a combination of four words in the English language, so "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." We, the workers are exhorted by our "pastors and masters" to be thankful for the blessings of civilisation, and to aid the political and ecclesiastical quacks, who rob, rule and bamboozle us, in spreading them to heathen lands.

But what is our civilisation, and in what do its blessings consist? To ninety out of every hundred inhabitants of Great Britain the phrase is a mockery as applied to their present condition and environment. Indeed, it requires some considering to get a glimmering of what can possibly be meant by it. I remember, as an apprentice lad, some twenty-five years ago, feeling the irksomeness of the "mill-horse round," which constitutes so large a part of the existence of the modern wage-slave, and recording in a diary my conviction that civilisation was a fraud, and that the freedom of the so-called savage was much to be preferred. To-day, in the light of that twenty-five years' experience, considering my own position as a worker, and reflecting upon the misery and degradation of my poorer brethren who inhabit the slums, with all the sordid, sickening, noisome sounds, sights and smells (products of our vaunted civilisation), which constantly, more or less, obtrude themselves upon my notice—I emphatically endorse my youthful verdict.

Society may be roughly divided into three classes—Outcasts, Wage-slaves, Monopolists. Let us briefly consider the position of each of them in relation to our so-called civilisation. And first as to the outcasts. There are three well-defined grades—(1) the Slum-dwellers, (2) the Nomads, (3) the Tramps. The first of these are the utterly hopeless, helpless residuum, consisting, to a large extent, of the dregs and siftings of the labour-market. The worn-out slaves of the monster, Capital, whose very life-blood has been sucked out of them, they are cast aside (like refuse on a dung-heap) to linger out a miserable existence.

The Nomads comprise all that miscellaneous host of vagrants, who wander from town to town and from fair to fair, living precariously by begging, pilfering peddling, tinkering, etc.

The third group are the Tramps, by far the most important, from a Socialist point of view. The monstrous progeny engendered by monopoly and competition, they threaten, at no distant date, to destroy the cause of their misery. In the meantime, driven from field and factory by the ever-increasing expansion and development of machine industry, and denied access to the means of life, they are forced to roam over the country, sleeping in barns or sharing the honours of the casual wards, and ready to sell their labour for the price of the barest subsistence. The struggle for existence with them is comparable only with that of a pack of famished wolves, who tear and rend and prey upon the weakest of their fellows.

Who would not prefer the life of the savage to the existence endured by these outcasts? Indeed, the wretchedness of these miseries is admitted even by the most Philistine of the *bourgeoisie*, though they wilfully shut their eyes to the cause and the remedy. Prating idly of teetotalism, thrift, Malthusianism, etc., etc., or else stupidly canting of the divine will, the pseudo-philanthropists and hypocrites mix large and nauseating doses of spiritual consolation with their doles of charity.

Let us now glance at the condition of the wage-slaves. These are the actual producers of nearly the whole wealth of the nation. They constitute in fact the *people*, and it is for their especial benefit the phrase I have chosen for my text was invented. The great bulk of the workers may be comprised under the two headings, Labourer and Artisan. The position of other sections of the proletariat can easily be gauged by comparison. This is the melancholy picture, alas! too true of the life of the day-labourer of Europe drawn by Max Nordau in his remarkable book "The Conventional Lies of our Civilisation":—

"Miserably fed, principally on potatoes and the refuse of the meat-shops in the shape of sausages, poisoned with bad liquors, which give him the deceptive sensation of a satisfied appetite and renewed strength, badly dressed in blouse and overalls which proclaim him from afar as the poor man, the degraded social being condemned to physical uncleanness by his lack of money, he hides his wretchedness in the darkest, filthiest corners of the great cities. He not only has no share in the finer provisions that the earth brings forth, but he is also partially or totally deprived of light and air, which one would suppose were at the disposal of every living being in unlimited quantities. His insufficient nourishment and the excessive demands upon his labouring forces exhaust his vital energies to such an extent that his children are predisposed to rachitis and he himself succumbs to an early death, frequently preceded by some chronic disease. His unhealthy dwelling-places fasten upon him and his offspring the curses of scrofula and consumption. He is a kind of forlorn post which every disease tries in turn to master. He is worse off than the slave of ancient times; oppressed the same, dependent in the same way upon master and overseer, he yet gets nothing in return for the loss of his freedom, not even the food and shelter given to a domestic animal." ("The Economic Lie," p. 232.)

Now let us consider the position of the aristocrat of Labour—the skilled trades' unionist, who receives what are termed good wages. So long as trade is brisk and his health and vigour last he is able, by rigid economy, to obtain the mere necessities of existence—that is, so far as relates to food and clothing. As regards housing no language can fitly characterise the mean, poky, comfortless habitations, including those philanthropical (!) monstrosities miscalled "model" dwellings, in which even the so-called well-to-do artisan or mechanic is compelled to live by the rascals who plunder us in the form of rent and interest. But he is confined day after day in unwholesome workshops, under perpetual surveillance, too often at the mercy of a capricious master or some petty tyrant who "gets on" by crawling, and who mitigates his own condition by making that of his subordinates even less tolerable. The mere slave, in many instances, of the machine produced by the labour and intellect of himself and his class, his occupation consists in an endless repetition of one trivial detail in the process of production. Unlike the savage wandering through the vast forests of America, or camping on the grassy plains of Australia, he is deprived of all pleasure in the pursuit of the means of subsistence, and knows not the keen delight which is produced by the expansion of the physical and mental faculties in the struggle with Nature. He is ever haunted with the fear of failure. He sees his comrades, overtaken by misfortune, by sickness, by loss of employment, become outcasts and paupers. As the elasticity and vigour of youth abate, and middle age creeps upon him, he knows that at any moment the ogre Capital may thrust him aside to make way for a younger and stouter slave. He knows, too, that one in every nine or ten of his class is doomed to end his days in an hospital or a poorhouse, and dreads that such may be his own fate.

What, then, does civilisation profit the worker? Either he is so debased and depressed by his exhausting labour, by his lack of education, by the sordid surroundings of his dwelling, and by the almost inevitable recourse to intoxicants—the effect, not the cause, of poverty and misery—that the beauties of art and

the wonders of science are a sealed book to him. Or else, equally unhappy, possessed with tastes and desires and aspirations for ever-denied satisfaction, life is to him a continual torment. Like the Barber's Brother in the Eastern story, he is bidden to rub his hands and smack his lips at an imaginary banquet, with this important difference, however, that whilst the Barber and the Barmecide afterwards feasted together in reality, the workers of to-day, who provide the feast, have to look on with hungry eyes whilst the idlers consume the produce of their labour, and be content, like Lazarus, with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

A few words now about the monopolists. There are, of course, many grades of these, but I have not space here to dwell upon them. I include in the term all who live by the robbery of the workers by rent, profit and interest, and all their parasites and pandars. In a sentence, all those who, having got possession, by more or less doubtful means, of most of the good things of this life, call us Socialists hard names for daring to question the wisdom and fairness of a system which works so admirably—for them. To the capitalist, the land-owner, the bishop, the lawyer, the sinecurist or extravagantly-paid official, the "blessings of civilisation" mean to live without toil or anxiety; to have at their command the choicest products of Nature and the finest creations of art and science, with leisure for study, opportunities for travel, and abundant and varied amusement. But their lives of leisure and luxury are purchased at the expense of the misery and degradation, the tears, sweat and blood, of thousands of hapless wretches. Yea, at the cost of the lives of the children of the poor and the virtue of their daughters. Think of the dandies, fops and mashers—the scum of our corrupt society—lounging in the parks and in their clubs, frittering away their lives in aimless frivolity, or in riot and debauchery in gambling-hells and dens of infamy, whilst pale, wan, haggard women stand from early morn till late at eve in the stinking, noisy streets, or in some sweaters' den sit sewing wearily, or in foul cellars or miserable garrets, toil unceasingly at their wretched tasks—their paltry wage perhaps the sole support of their families; for they who should be the bread-winners have sought in vain from some "fellow-worm for leave to toil," or have failed in the hideous struggle for employment at the docks.

See yonder sleek, unctuous citizens rolling by in their carriages, on their way to assist at some charity swindle, religious dodge, or bogus reform scheme, got up by the exploiters to delude the toilers. Do no visions haunt them of the poor girls who help to heap up their wealth, forced to sell their embraces to rich rascals to obtain the means of subsistence for which their starvation wages are utterly inadequate? Perhaps no; for the apathy of the degraded outcast finds its counterpart in the callous indifference, the sordid motives, the low ideals everywhere associated with the *bourgeoisie*. So that for them also our modern civilisation is a failure.

And what of the cultured classes, whose wealth has come to them by inheritance? Untainted by the debasing effects of "money-making," their habits refined by education, they probably loathe the ignoble acts by which their fortunes were obtained. An uneasy feeling of the injustice and insecurity of their position mars their enjoyment. The red spectre continually haunts them. They tremble for the judgment that shall surely come upon the spoilers of the poor (upon those who "lay house to house and field to field, who devour the portions of widows and rob the fatherless") when the giant Labour shall awake and rise in his might, and shall make his enemies flee in terror before his wrath.

Truly, O, Civilisation, thou art a horrid monster with the brains of a fox and the heart of a wolf! Turn where we may we see traces of thy bloody work. Ye who read these lines will you not help us to rid the world of this monster? Fellow wage-slaves be up and doing. And ye middle-class men and women who have left in you some milk of human kindness and who still feel some compunctious visitings of conscience, come join our ranks. Above all, you of the cultured classes. I call upon you to enrol in our holy brotherhood and to consecrate your genius and your talents to the cause of Humanity. Only by becoming apostles of the glorious gospel of Socialism can you obtain lasting peace of mind and absolve yourselves from the guilt of upholding the present devilish cut-throat state of society. Come, then, and help to prepare for the new era, for the true golden age foretold by the prophets and seers of old, and to hasten whose coming the noblest spirits of all nations and creeds have toiled. The first faint streaks of the dawning even now pierce the storm-clouds. Help us to lay the foundations of happy and prosperous communes, based on Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which shall outvie "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" by the divine attribute of Love—the recognition of the Universal Brotherhood of Man.

THOMAS BINNING.

FREILIGRATH'S REVOLUTION SONG.

"THE WAY IT'S DONE." Translated by J. L. JOYNES.

THE day may come before ye think ; the men have nothing more to eat ;
The wind goes whistling through their rags : whence can they clothing
find and meat ?

"Let whoso hungers follow me," a hot-head youth is heard to cry ;
"I'll show him food and clothes enough a whole battalion to supply."

And quick as thought he gives the word, and draws them up in ranks
and rows ;

And hark, the measured tramp of feet along the city causeway goes ;
Till "Halt !" he cries before a house with frowning stone entrenched
and walled ;

"See here, my men, my store of clothes ; the Royal Arsenal 'tis called.

The linen ye so sorely need this place in ample wealth provides,
Warm padded jackets just made up, and choice of coloured coats besides,
And cloaks against the rainy nights, and gloves, and cloth, the best
that's made,
And all the things that show so fine when'er they hold a grand parade.

Ye know the whole collection well : ye too, though now in tatters dressed,
Have marched in uniform ere now, when in the service ye were pressed :
Yea, well-trained warriors are ye all, as soon as each man dons his coat
And wears the stripe along his leg and ties his number round his throat.

Who prates of theft ? The coats are yours. Whence was the wool that
wove them torn ?

Did ye not furnish it yourselves, ye silly sheep as e'er were shorn ?
You blockhead ! are not those the threads your poor old mother's hands
have spun ?

Not those the marks of bitter tears that o'er her work are wont to run ?

Then take your own. Well done ! Ye look as trim as there were work
to do

In battle, or as ye were dressed and marshalled in a grand review.
We nothing need but muskets now to be secure from all alarms.
And lo, a room-full here at hand ! Come, try the drill, mates. Shoulder
arms !

Well done again ! Ye know the trick. But now, to cut the matter
short,

Let's take the guns along with us. 'Twill be the royallest of sport.
And just suppose a hue-and-cry set up by some officious dolt
Who might be knave enough to name our little jest a great revolt !

They'll call it robbery as well ; full soon you'll see a sorry sight,
A royal regiment of the line equipped and eager for the fight.
Then show your teeth or lose your coats ; draw up in companies and sets ;
Prepare your pikes and load your guns, and clean and fix your bayonets ;

And cock your shako on your head, and gird your sword against your
side,

That sword that ye the "bread-knife" call—oh, may the omen well
betide !

May no man's brains befoul its blade ; may no man's heart's-blood stain
it red ;

For wife and child may it henceforth cut nothing ghastlier than bread !

On, drummers, to the van ; quick march ! and fifers forward to the
front !

Must eagle-standards always wave to lead you to the battle-brunt ?
Enough of old-world birds of prey ; we need no kite of all the pack :
Ye want a sign with which to win ? Then rally round a beggar's sack.

Tie that to any staff you will—a trooper's pike, a spear, a lance—
Like earlier beggars, wave it high ; with haughtier strides than their's
advance.

Yes, haughty looks are yours of right, and vain pretence ye do not need ;
Ye boast no idle empty name—true beggars all in very deed.

Then march, ye soldiers of the poor, ye beggars of a later day,
For lo where come, with horse and foot, the royal troops in long array :
Hark ! Down the lines of foot and horse the stern command to fire
has fled—

Yet not a man obeys the word ; no guns discharge their load of lead !"

A murmur runs along the rank, "We too are for the People's cause !"
And straight before the beggar's sack the eagle bows its beak and claws !
Then loud hurrahs : "Ye are with us, and we with you in word and
deed !"

"Curs !" cries the general, in rage—a sergeant smites him off his steed !

They storm along the crowded streets ; like avalanche their numbers grow ;
The crown is trampled underfoot ; the kingdom totters 'neath the blow—
Thus, ere ye think, through brands and blood the conquering People
raise their head,

And though by pain the birth be won, the day is born, the night is dead.

Whatever rights each man asks for himself, the same also let him
grant to every other man.—Hobbes.

INQUIRY COLUMN.

CONSIDERING that the basis of your propoganda is education, why do you not publish in a cheap form the famous books of bygone political writers ? For instance, the "Contrat Social," the "Essay on Poland," and that on "Inequality," of Rousseau ; the best works of Lamennais, of Abbé Mably and of those other authors whose works are indicative of Communism ; as, for instance, the "Life of Lycurgus," the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More, the "City of the Sun" by Campanella—all of which predispose the mind to study the social and political condition of mankind, and dispose the mind to accept Socialism as the surest remedy for poverty. Such books could be published at the small price of threepence per volume of 190 pages. I do not suggest a thing which is impracticable, as it is done at the present time in France by the "Bibliothèque Nationale," who publish the best works of French and foreign literature at the low price of 25 centimes per vol.—RUSSELL WALLACE.

What difference will there be in the marriage state as it now exists and as it will become in a Socialistic community ? (a) Will the Social family take the place of the present private family ? (b) What is a Social family ? (c) Are the children in a Socialistic community to be considered as belonging to the State, and the parents absolved from all responsibility anent them ?—W. CABELL.

ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS INQUIRIES.

A friend in the July number asks as to the desirability of establishing "communities," and seems to think that such schemes would lead to the realisation of Socialism. In answer I beg to point out to him that it is not possible to establish a real Socialistic community in the midst of Capitalistic society, a social island amidst an individualist sea ; because all its external dealings would have to be arranged on a basis of capitalistic exchange, and would so far support the system of profits and unpaid labour. But, speaking for myself, I must confess great sympathy for those who look longingly on the scheme of a community. Miserable as the life of the workers now is, they get used to it ; their standard of life is so low that any slight bettering of "living to toil that they may toil to live" quiets them and gives a new lease of life to the present system of oppression. If it were but possible to give them new hopes by showing them, even imperfectly, what the life of a community might be, and how it would develop our energies and create new pleasures for us—if this could be done, and those making the experiment, or rather giving the example, were still to carry on the Revolutionary-Socialistic propoganda with all earnestness, I for one could not look coldly on such an attempt.—W. M.

An inquirer in August asks as to the *mode* of communising the means of production, and whether we will fight for this revolution, or return so many Socialist members of Parliament as to make a majority in its favour. Even supposing we gain a majority, if we are not prepared to fight, the minority which is so prepared will still have their way in despite of the ballot-box. But our friend may comfort himself by reflecting that Socialists will not fight until they can, nor unless they must. Those "who are opposed to our plan" can prevent our using force by themselves *ceasing* to use force for sustaining the system which now robs the workers. As to the Parliamentary matter, let me (once more) state the view of Revolutionary Socialists as I understand it. Parliament is the agent of our present society, which is founded on what it calls "the rights of property"—in other words, class privilege. The evils produced by this system it will (under pressure) strive to palliate ; but it is its business to sustain the system itself, of which it is a part. This system it is the business of Revolutionary Socialists to destroy ; but by entering Parliament, which is pledged by its very nature to go no further than palliation, the Socialists would be, by helping to legislate in the direction of palliatives or stepping-stones, helping Parliament to fulfil its functions, and thus would oppose revolution and not further it. Any "mere administrative changes" that Parliament could possibly make without bringing about an immediate revolution would still leave the worker subject to robbery by means of rent, profit and interest, and thus would be useless. I think I have now answered both the first and second of our friend's questions.—W. M.

Undoubtedly under Socialism every one will be expected to exert himself *duly* for the common good, and will expect in return to have his *due* needs satisfied. Also undoubtedly no one will have the opportunity of satisfying what he may please to consider his special needs *at the expense of the needs of others*. If he thinks, for instance, that he has a right, in virtue of his special capacities, to consume without producing, as so many people do now, he will be speedily enlightened. It is probable that in a community where all worked and where no work was wasted, the amount of necessary work would be so small for each person that people would rather seek for work in which to occupy their energies pleasantly than desire to shirk it.—W. M.

It is quite true that men must be "regenerate" before they can be depended upon to carry out a communal state of things successfully ; but this "regeneration" cannot be accomplished by magic, either Parliamentary or theological, but by the general conditions of life. It is useless to preach a lofty morality which the everyday necessity of men's lives forces them to set aside ; nor can the "individual moral character" of men be "improved" as long as society is divided into two classes, one of which thinks it right to impose slavery on their fellows, and the others tamely to accept it.—W. M.

The last eight words of the Manifesto assert that the Socialist League as a body does not concern itself with theological dogma. This should be sufficient answer to the last section of our friend's question.—W. M.

REVIEW.

The Co-operative Commonwealth. By LAWRENCE [according to the cover] or LAURENCE [according to the title-page] GRÖNLUND. Edited by George Bernard Shaw. (International Library of Social Science, 13 Paternoster Row.)

LAURENCE GRÖNLUND has done most useful work in writing this volume. The Modern Press has done useful work in reproducing it in England, though I cannot, for the life of me, see their reason for having "edited" the book. On this point, more anon. Let me first deal with the work as it now is in the English edition.

And at the outset must be repeated the criticism made upon the opening volume of this series. The carelessness that marked the issue of the translation of Bebel's "Woman" is again visible here, though in hardly so pronounced a form. Printer's or grammatical errors occur on the following pages:—14, 22, 28, 31, 38, 39, 42 (two), 45 (two), 46, 49, 50, 53, 62, 65, 66, 71, 83, 106, 119, 122, 123, 140, 142, 164, 167, 174, 176, 179, 180, 186. This is, as the elderly female said to Artemus Ward, "too much."

I shall be glad to get rid of my adverse criticism on Grönlund's work at once. That adverse criticism takes the form of two friendly indictments. First, the author does not acknowledge sufficiently, as I think, his indebtedness to other thinkers. Anyone knowing nothing of the literature of Socialism would be led from "The Co-operative Commonwealth" to think that Laurence Grönlund was the Christ of the new creed, rather than one of its apostles. So charmingly naïf, indeed, is the style of Grönlund himself, so honest and childlike is his simplicity, that I am not sure he does not half imagine that most of his statements are original. Of originality of idea there is almost nothing; of originality of method there is much. It is excellent work this, of putting the thoughts of other, greater thinkers clearly and easily for the many. There is scarcely any better work. But it ought never to be done without the fullest acknowledgment of the source of the thoughts.

This last is to a large extent wanting in the book under review. Truly, on p. 6, Socialism is spoken of as German Socialism, and on p. 77 we have the phrase "us Socialists of the German school." But never a word is said of the founders of that school in the text. The one reference to them comes in a note *à propos* of Jews on p. 40, long after the discussion of value, profit, interest, capital and the like is over. "To the noble Jew, Karl Marx, we owe the science of Socialism; to one of the same race, Ferdinand Lassalle, its popularisation at its source in Germany." Upon this my comment is exactly the opposite of that made on the printer's errors. This notice of our masters is "not enough." And this is the more noticeable as such authorities as Thornton, Thorold Rogers, Hallam, Hyndman are given, and their works mentioned ten pages before the names of Marx and Lassalle, without any reference to their writings, are given.

That I am not hypercritical will, I think, be seen when I say that all Grönlund's economics are traceable to "Das Kapital." Unhappily, my second adverse criticism comes in here. In taking his economics from the Socialist philosophers, our author has got them a little "mixed." To criticise all the points where I think Grönlund is cloudy, or even inaccurate, would take up too much space. One or two only, therefore. Value, use-value, exchange-value are not, as it seems to me, distinguished with sufficient clearness. The last indeed only appears by name once in the book. It is casually mentioned on p. 42 and never explained.

On pp. 17, 113, 114 "labour" is used as if it were the same thing as "labour-power"; a serious blunder. The definition of "capital" (p. 45) as "that part of wealth which is employed productively, with a view to profit by sale of the produce" is a very dangerous one, I think. Capital will always be necessary. Profit will cease to be under the Socialist régime. Altogether, Grönlund never seems to me quite clear as to profit. Truly, he says (p. 101) "that which is now called profit will disappear." But then he adds, "It will be added to the reward of Labour." Now, as all Profit is due to unpaid labour we get the contradiction, "that which is due to unpaid labour will be added to the reward of labour." Had he stopped at the word "disappear" I could go with him.

Lastly on this. The paragraphs on rent, pp. 101, 102, do not seem economically sound. Rent of "land used by citizens for homes or other private purposes . . . will probably be regulated by competition," and the idea of the Commonwealth deriving revenue from rent are dangerous notions. All revenue could surely be derived from the universal mass of surplus-value that would be produced by the members of the community.

Enough of what appear to me the weaknesses of the book. Its merits are many. It does put many points clearly and forcibly. It will give the careful reader ideas upon many Socialistic generalisations and conclusions. The rough illustrations used are often very ready. The writer is exceedingly apt in his use of simile. Most excellent is the way in which he silences—if the foolish thing can be silenced—the clamour for "details." This he does in two ways. First, he points out that Socialists are not architects. He then sketches in the rough a scheme by which it is conceivable society might be carried on under Socialism. He never professes that what he pictures will happen precisely. But he shows that one man, aided by the thoughts of his predecessors, can plan out a draft of a society that, compared with that of to-day, would be as heaven to hell.

Among a number of useful things in a useful book, let me also note the admirable attack upon Parliamentaryism, and the phrase (something more than an epigram), "Men [of to-day] do not value liberty, but irresponsible power."

Upon one or two practical points I, personally, am at issue with Laurence Grönlund. *E.g.*, I do think that boys and girls should be brought up in schools as they have to live in society—together—and he does not. Nor can I agree with him that (p. 187) "it is folly to waste money and energy in starting special journals for the propagation of new ideas." Indeed, this latter opinion I do not doubt he has himself modified, as he writes at times for a paper known as the *Commonweal*. But all these little divergencies are as nothing by the side of the great oneness of principle. Here is a work by an earnest Socialist, that must do good to Socialists and their opponents also; that gives some insight at least into the ways and means of that coming society where, "beyond these voices" of friend and foe, "there is peace."

I have left to the last a note on the "editing" of the American edition for English readers. I am wholly unable to see the need for this editing. And this I say after comparing the two works, and as a personal friend of both editor and editee. George Bernard Shaw has knocked out the dedication to the wife of the author, altered the title slightly, changed that of four chapters, run together, transposed, omitted some of the paragraphs, changed a note or so of astonishment to one of interrogation, as becomes an inquiring spirit, altered a few phrases, and made an analysis of each chapter for the table of contents.

This last is, as far as I can see, the only gain to the book. Really, nothing serious has been done to the American edition—certainly nothing that can be called, even by the wildest imagination, editing. The only question is: "Ought the inoffensive little that has been done to have been done at all?" For my part it need not, and in one sense "ought" not to have been done. That is, I think the book should have come to us just as it left the hand of its author. We should—at least, I should—have preferred to know exactly what he said, exactly how he said it—especially as all the errors of any real moment are retained in the English edition.

Still, the Modern Press were perfectly justified in doing that which they have done, if they had Grönlund's permission. This, I understand, was given, though it is equally clear that Grönlund did not expect such alterations as have been made. The only thing that the English publishers should have done further is to insert a notice (say on the title-page) that the work of "editing" was done with the author's permission.

Nothing of this, however, affects the value of the book, which is certainly great.

EDWARD AVELING.

"THE COMMONWEAL."

THE following methods of aiding the circulation of the *Commonweal* should be noted and acted upon, and further suggestions should be sent by its friends and supporters.

What Individuals can do.—Get annual subscribers. For 1s. 6d. the journal is sent post free for twelve months to any address in Britain, America, Germany, France, Canada, etc. Take a few copies of each issue and a contents bill to some of the newsagents in the vicinity of your dwelling or workshop. Get them exposed for sale and the contents bill displayed, and promise to pay for what is left unsold. Take a few copies to meetings and sell them among the audience.

What Branches can do.—Impress upon every member that this journal is the organ of the PARTY, that therefore its success concerns EVERY MEMBER, and that it is the duty of every member to see that it is bought and read by all his friends, companions, and shopmates. Have the paper on sale at all the branch meetings. Organise small selling parties for public meetings. See that every member of the branch supplies the newsagents near his house or factory. Advertise it on all publications issued by the branch.

THE Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class.

Patience itself is meanness in a slave.—Cowper.

Men bear wrongs more easily than irritations.—W. S. Landor.

The love of mankind is nothing else but the love of justice.—Rousseau.

Impossibility never prevented anything.—*Considérante*.

The chief authors of revolutions have been, not the chimerical and intemperate friends of progress, but the blind obstructors of progress; those who, in defiance of nature, struggle to avert the inevitable future, to recall the irrevocable past; who chafe to fury by damming up its course, the river, which would otherwise flow calmly between its banks, which has ever flowed, and which, do what they will, must flow for ever.—G. Smith.

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ONE PENNY.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

(BY A TRADES' UNIONIST.)

["The trade unions are good talkers," said a veteran politician last evening. "They can pass an excellent series of resolutions when they feel like it, and when they issue an address to the public it usually makes quite interesting reading. But when something has got to be done that wants united, steady and firm action, the labour unions are not there." The labour unions have now an excellent opportunity to show that such critics are wrong, and that the unions are not mere talking machines.—"San Francisco Daily Report."]

THE eighteenth annual session of the Trades Union Congress, just closed, met in circumstances which gave unusual interest to its deliberations. Never since the beginning of the Trade Union movement has the outlook been so gloomy as at the present moment. Reductions, strikes, demonstrations of unemployed, on every hand. Summer has scarcely gone, and already relief-works are talked of in some of the great manufacturing districts. The middle-class Press is even waking up to the fact that there is "something rotten in the State." In a paragraph in the *Echo* of September 9th, enumerating a number of strikes, occur these significant words: "We do not blame them [the strikers]; they know their duties and feel their wants better than we can tell them; but we do deeply deplore the necessity or the supposed necessity of strikes; and think the resources of civilisation, if wisely used, would prevent them. Cannot the Trades Congress now sitting, assist to solve the problem?"

I cannot help thinking that the answer to the inquiry of the *Echo* would have been more likely to have been in the affirmative had the Congress been composed of men out of work or smarting under the lash of a notice of a 10 per cent reduction of their already insufficient wage. There would then, at least, have been a probability of some of that "warmth" being imported into their resolutions "which," the *Daily News* is good enough to assure Trades Unionists, "will bring to the front for speedy consideration and settlement whatever question they take up." Even the most sympathetic people endure with considerable equanimity the misfortunes of others. It is not, therefore, surprising that the delegates present at the Congress, for the most part men in comparatively comfortable circumstances, with their expenses liberally paid (and rightly so), and with a week's respite from their ordinary humdrum existence, should be able to take a more hopeful view of things than the situation actually warrants.

The Mark Tapley-an disposition to accept the inevitable and to be jolly under depressing conditions is an enviable one. But the situation should be fully realised, and the inevitableness not too easily assumed. No good can result from calling black, white in the manner adopted by Mr. J. Murchie, who opened the proceedings. He utterly fails to perceive the real significance of the figures he quoted with such gusto, and the conclusions he arrives at seem to me ludicrously inadequate. He congratulates himself and us that we have grown out of the necessity of defending our unions against the attacks of a hostile Press, without a suspicion, apparently, that this results much more from the changed attitude of the Unions, than from any change in the disposition of the Capitalist Press. Again, too, he dwells with unction upon what he terms the "better side" of the work of Trade Unions in making people thrifty. I deny that this is the "better side" or any side at all of the work for which Trade Unions were established. I did not join a Trades Union to be taught thrift, but, by combination with my fellows, to try and get the results of our labour, or, at least to minimise the robbery which we workers must endure so long as we allow a class to monopolise the means of production, giving to them the power not only to enslave the workers, but to murder by starvation those whom they term the "surplus population," i.e., such of us as they have no further use for. How far the Unions have accomplished the foregoing object even for their own members, leaving out of account "the promotion of the welfare of the masses," which Mr. Murchie claims for them, let the following extract show:

"Taking the same seven societies referred to by Mr. Howell—viz., the Amalgamated Engineers, Ironfounders, Boiler-makers and Iron Shipbuilders, Steam Engine Makers, Ironmoulders of Scotland, Amalgamated Tailors, and Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners—he found that in the nine years ending 1884 their receipts were £2,818,548, 12s. 5d., and their expenditure £2,963,180, 6s. 4d. Of this amount £1,207,180, 11s. 1d. was spent in unemployed benefit; £592,273, 9s. 7c. in sick benefit; in the compensation for loss of tools, superannuation, funerals, accidents, benevolent grants, and other minor benefits, including cost of management, £975,052, 2s. 7d.; and the remainder, £188,680, 3s. 1d., or about 6½ per cent., was the only amount expended in connection with trade movements."

Could any more damning proof be given of the utter inadequacy of Trades Unionism in its present shape as a means to emancipate the workers? So far from enabling all our members to live in reasonable comfort by moderate hours of labour, the foregoing figures show that

large numbers of our fellows are constantly in poverty and distress, wandering hopelessly and anxiously about, seeking employment and becoming demoralised by loafing about our Society rooms. Truly, thrift is a fine thing to preach to a man who is driven to depend on a few shillings a week from his Union to keep his wife and family from starvation. Note, also, that this enormous relief expenditure is actually credited as so much gain to the workers and helps to make up the "30 per cent, better off" which politico-statistical quacks tell us we are since good John Bright and the Free-Traders abolished the Corn-laws for our especial benefit. It reminds me of the artful father in the story who gave the youngsters a penny each to go supperless to bed, and induced them in the morning to give up their pennies to buy rolls for their breakfast. So we simpletons imagine we are so much better off because the capitalist-classes kindly allow us to administer a portion of out-door relief to the victims of their rapacity.

But I must pass on, for worse remains behind. The Parliamentary Report read by "our old friend Broadhurst," is certainly a remarkable production. It would be comical if it were not for the seriousness of the interests involved. An expressive little word of Turkish origin, rose involuntarily to my lips as I read the paltry details of what has been done and the projected tinkering for the future. In one sentence we are told in magniloquent language that our cause has "progressed by leaps and bounds," etc., etc.; in another that "the social part of the programme of the last congress remains almost intact, and waited the chances of realisation in the new Parliament." The reference to the appointment of Messrs. Slatter, Birtwhistle, Fielding and Pickard, as Justices of the Peace, is offensively ridiculous. As Carlyle tersely puts it, Society is divided into three classes—Workers, Beggars and Thieves. Yet, because four magistrates have been appointed out of the ranks of the workers, the Parliamentary Committee go into ecstasies of delight, and think "too much honour could not be done to the Minister" (the well-paid servant of the people, remember) "who has had the courage" to appoint them. How the aforesaid Minister and the political tricksters of all parties, must laugh in their sleeves at the gullibility of the workers. These four workmen-magistrates are the salt that has purified an hitherto obnoxious system, and converted a thing of loathing and reproach into an object of respect and reverence. What a fine preservative for threatened institutions! Who knows but some day some "courageous" Minister may save the House of Lords by making "our old friend Broadhurst" a peer of the realm. He should really go into training and ask Lady Roseberry to "put him through his paces." But seriously, is it not time to get rid of the childish notion that Society is to be purified and the welfare of the people secured by a few of our so-called leaders being put into Parliament or on the Bench to run the risk of being changed from honest working-men into middle-class rogues? Why, one might as reasonably expect to cleanse the Thames with a sprinkling of rose-water. Before quitting the Report, there is one point, which contains such a strikingly naïf confession of the utter uselessness of political action at the present crisis, that I commend it to the serious consideration of my fellow-unionists. The one question of supreme importance—the frightful trade depression—now agitating the whole of the civilised world, is dismissed in a couple of sentences: "With regard to the continued depression in trade, a remarkable feature of it was that it was not confined to any one country. Between nations it was only a question of the degree of depression, and from all that could be gathered, Great Britain was by no means the most depressed among the industrial nations of the world." Thus the very magnitude, constancy, and universality of the evil, instead of prompting to united and vigorous search for the cause and the remedy, are actually adduced as reasons apparently for doing—nothing. The ship of Labour is drifting rudderless before the storm; a dangerous leak threatens to engulf her. The utmost energies of all are needed to stop the leak, to work the pumps, and bring the vessel safe to port. Is this a time for Messrs. Broadhurst and Co. to talk of swabbing the decks or putting a new coat of political paint on the figurehead? The Report concludes with best wishes for more prosperous times. "If wishes were horses beggars would ride," says the old proverb. I am afraid thousands of our unfortunate brethren will go footsore and hungry a long time for any good they will derive from the Parliamentary Committee's Report.

I now come to an oasis in the desert of commonplace—viz., the address of the President, Mr. Threlfall. It is a manly, outspoken production, and deserves to be carefully studied. Mr. Threlfall tried hard to lift the wheels of the Trade Union chariot out of the deep ruts which check its progress, but the Congress contained far too many of the weak, wishy-washy, shuffling, backbone-less creatures of the Battersby type,

for his efforts to meet with much success. Mr. Threlfall goes very near to the root of the matter, and sees, although somewhat dimly perhaps, that the present basis of Society must be changed: "The noble duke who owned a million acres of land and the Capitalist who made a million pounds, were equally great monopolists." "From first to last Parliament had always taken the standpoint of the Capitalist in all industrial questions." He sees, too, that neither Free Trade, nor Fair Trade, nor the struggle for foreign markets, will solve the labour problem. "Practical steps should be taken to reorganise our home market."

Trade might well be depressed when a million of acres of land had gone out of wheat cultivation in ten years, and the agricultural population had decreased fifteen per cent. Very pertinent, too, is his observation that "the most critical period in the history of English trade unions was at that moment. They must either lead or follow." The sooner the Unions recognise this the better. There are several points I should like to comment on, including the references to the Nine Hours' movement, the Education Acts, etc.; but I must utilise my space to criticise the one great drawback to an otherwise admirable discourse. With all or nearly all of the aims of Mr. Threlfall I agree; but oh, "most lame and impotent conclusion!" we are to organise the masses, not to take our affairs into our own hands, but to ask the politicians to pass certain Acts of Parliament! To use Mr. Threlfall's own words: "If Capitalists had given so much accumulating misery, let them for Humanity's sake leave their future Parliaments with toilers."

Now, no legislation can force production to be carried on unless it pays. If the monopolists of the means of life—the raw material and instruments of labour—cannot make profit, or in other words, rob the worker, their occupation is gone, for the sole reason of their existence as employers ceases. The effect of political action, then, be it ever so Radical, can only be to put off the day of settlement. The workers must ultimately face the same problem which confronts them to-day, and they can only solve that problem by the very means which we Socialists point out—viz., by taking the means of production into their own hands, and working them by all and for all. The monopolists, be they Tory, Whig or Radical, Christian, Jew or Atheist, will strive to defer the inevitable surrender of their unjust class-privilege to "rob and rule" as long as they can; and so they try to delude us with sophisticated clap-trap about gradual reform and the danger of revolution. Dangerous to whom?—the workers? No. To the exploiters? Yea, verily, and that is the real reason of their hypocritical horror. It is surely obvious that this revolution or change being necessary for the welfare of the people, the present generation may as well take the matter in hand as leave it to their children. Are we to go on year after year with this same miserable struggle for existence, pretending to find consolation in some contemptible political sop in the shape of an additional working-man M.P. or J.P., whilst thousands of our fellows are doomed to laborious work for long hours, or to idleness and beggary or starvation?

The resolutions passed by the Congress, when not reactionary, were for the most part of such a feeble, flabby nature, as to be not only useless but mischievous. The illogical bigots led by Messrs. Broadhurst and Battersby were again successful in defeating a resolution in favour of opening the national museums and picture-galleries on the "Sawbath." The latter delegate, in opposing a rider moved by Mr. Trow, cleverly framed to show the absurdity of the amendment, "deprecatd the Congress being made use of for jocularly." To my mind the greatest joke is the posing of Mr. Battersby as a Scottish Solon. The same gentleman who appears to be very proud of being commended for his "moderation" in the columns of the Whig press, (e.g., the *Scotsman*, that friend of labour in general and of unionists in particular), opposed a declaration in favour of Land Nationalisation, urging the Congress to be "practical," and straightway the meeting proceeded to vote that "a reform of our landed system is imperatively necessary."

It is ludicrous yet saddening to see representative working-men advocating a paltry tinkering reform of the land-laws as a solution of the labour question or as even a partial remedy for the evils we are suffering. It puts me in mind of the old trick in the pantomime, where clown having stolen a goose, sends the bamboozled shopman in chase of pantaloon hobbling away with two or three small fishes. For clown read Capitalist; let the goose stand for Labor-power, origin of surplus-value (the true golden eggs of the fable); whilst the Landlord and his share of the plunder of the bamboozled worker are fitly symbolised by pantaloon and the fishes, and, I contend, it is a fair representation of the political game at this minute. It is astonishing how long the Free Trade and Fair Trade swindles have served and still serve to dupe the people. Fellow-workers can you not see that mere cheapening of the cost of production will never benefit us. Whether wages be high or low, 6d. or 6s. per day, the result under the present system is to allow the workers on an average only so much of the wealth they create as will enable them to subsist. Land Nationalisation, even, by itself could not permanently raise the condition of the wage-workers. Its ultimate effect would be to cheapen production, glut the markets, reduce prices all round, and so bring about a crisis similar to that we are now experiencing.

In conclusion, let me urge upon my fellow-unionists that it is not by sending delegates once a year to a congress such as that now closed; nor by voting a few working-men to Parliament to sanction by their presence the very cause of our slavery, i.e., the existing order of Society; neither is it by spending 6 per cent of our union funds to fight the Capitalists and 94 per cent in aid of the poor-rates, to relieve the necessities of their victims, that we can achieve any solid advantage for ourselves, much less champion the cause of the people. There is more pith in the following words spoken by Mr. Bolland the other day at Bir-

mingham to a meeting of the unemployed, than in all the resolutions passed by the Trades Congress: "They had to demand that they should live and must be determined. If they could not get it by love they must by fear." Fellow-unionists our proper place is shoulder to shoulder with those who are educating, agitating and organising, not to obtain some trifling concession from the monopolists, but to utterly destroy the Capitalistic vampire, the sole cause of the poverty, degradation and misery of the workers in every so-called civilized country to-day.

T. BINNING.

IRELAND AND ITALY.

A WARNING.

MR. PARNELL has been celebrating his triumphs in the past Parliament, and it may be said also those that are to come in the future one; he and his supporters also fully believe in the complete organisation of the party, which will be strong enough not only to return 85 members this autumn, but also to compel every accepted candidate to sign a solemn pledge to submit to party discipline. Doubtless Mr. Parnell is strong, and he and his are quite justified in their cries of victory. The English Parties cannot conceal their terror: Tory is calling to Whig, Whig to Liberal, to stand firm at last, since now the enemy is really upon them; but all the time they are, like the troopers in 'Old Mortality,' "looking over their shoulders as if they liked the road behind them better than the road before." In all probability Mr. Parnell will have his way, and, as he says, this coming Parliament will be the last in which the Irish representatives will sit at Westminster.

Well, this is revolutionary, and we revolutionists rejoice in it on those grounds, and in the blow which it will deal at the great Bourgeois Power—the British Empire: also it may well be that Ireland must become national before she can be international. Yet we must ask ourselves what is to come next; will Ireland ruling herself be progressive, revolutionary that is, or reactionary? Will Socialists find their work easier in the Parnellite Ireland than now? Will Michael Davitt be a dangerous rebel then as he is now? There is no doubt as to the answer to those questions if we are to go no further than Mr. Parnell would have us; the fullest realisation of his programme would bring Ireland to pretty much the state of things which Liberal reformers want to realise in England as a bar to the march of Socialism which they have at last heard of, and are beginning to fear. An improved landlordism founded on a wider basis and therefore consolidated; that would lead, it seems to me, to founding a nation fanatically attached to the rights of private property (so called), narrow-minded, retrogressive, contentious, and—unhappy.

I ask Irishmen to consider a somewhat parallel case, that of Italy. Italy as well as Ireland had an unconquerable yearning for national independence, which swallowed up all other aspirations; in the teeth of all difficulty she conquered her independence amidst the best wishes of generous-minded men of all parties. How our hearts burned within us as we heard of the exploits of her patriots; surely revolution for the world was drawing near, thought some of us who did not know what the new revolution was to be, as we followed the heroism of Garibaldi and the lofty morality of Mazzini.

Italy triumphed and became "free" and united; those noble deeds accomplished that at least. What, then, has been the gain? I will not say nothing, but I will say something very small compared with all the energy, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice that brought it about, very small compared with the high-wrought hopes that went before it. For whatever the gain was, it was confined to the bourgeoisie, and the proletariat did not share it, has not shared it.

In the midst of the richest gifts of nature and art, cradled by the history of the world, exists a population of which the following words can be said without contradiction: "According to some the average pay (of the labourers) runs from 3d. to 4d. a day, according to others to 7d., without making any allowance for loss of time either through bad weather or ill-health. For this pittance they have to work like galley-slaves, and out of it such of them as have families must provide food for their children and keep a roof over their heads. The utmost that a labourer can earn with the help of his family, says Signor Arcozzi Manio, a large landowner, is equal to little more than 10d. a day. Their food"—but one need not go into that; it is obvious that their food must be the food of beasts in quality and less than theirs in quantity. "The population engaged in agriculture is estimated at eight and a quarter millions, of whom a million and a half at the most" (one can guess what that qualification means) "are landed proprietors, the remainder being farmers, metayers, and labourers." It is added that the lot of the proprietors and farmers if not brilliant, is at least tolerable; the said proprietors being mostly small ones it must be understood, peasants for the most part.

Such then are the free workmen of Italy while as a nation under her Constitutional King and Liberal Parliament, she ambitiously strives to snatch here and there some rag of stolen territory which may help her to get a share of the world-market from the older European firms, and keeps on foot a goodly army of warlike idlers to that end. Italy is free and united, and is almost a "great power," while the mass of her population is living, to speak bluntly, in abject slavery.

Here then is a warning to Irishmen if they will take it; they can see what the barrenness of the programme of driving out the Teutons has led to in Italy; can they think that a similarly barren programme of driving out the Saxon will lead to anything better in Ireland?

If the sword of Garibaldi could have led the workers of Italy to a

condition of things under which what they produced would have been their own to live upon, the Austrians and their kingly and grand-ducal deputies would have been suppressed as they are now, and no "foreigner" could govern them against their will; but the places of the Austrian tyrants would not have been taken by the great collective tyrant Capital, who prevents poor people from eating, and murders them with "pellagra" or famine-fever as it has been called in Ireland, a tyrant who has no heart to be softened, no soul to be moralised, in spite of Mazzini and the Positivists.

If only the Irish could take this lesson to heart, and make up their minds that even if they have to wait for it, their revolution shall be part of the great international movement; they will then be rid of all the foreigners that they want to be rid of. For my part I do not believe in the race-hatred of the Irish against the English: they hate their English masters, and well they may; and their English masters are now trying hard to stimulate the race-hatred among their English brethren, the workers, by all this loud talk of the integrity of the Empire and so forth. But when once the Irish people have got rid of their masters, Irish and English both, there will, I repeat, be no foreigners to hate in Ireland, and she will look back at the present struggle for mere nationality as a nightmare of the charmed sleep in which Landlordism and Capitalism have held her so long, as they have other nations. To the Irish, therefore, as to all other nations, whatever their name and race, we Socialists say, Your revolutionary struggles will be abortive or lead to mere disappointment unless you accept as your watchword, WAGE-WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCES.

THE American and Canadian emigration season is now over, and, thanks to the outspoken protests of *United Ireland* and of certain semi-Socialistic and independent papers on both sides of the Atlantic—thanks also to the ease with which disappointed adventurers are now able to return—that gigantic bubble of fraud and misrepresentation is likely, in the near future, to collapse entirely. But, as the inflation of the American bladder lessens, that of the Australasian will probably increase. The season is now on—this, remember, is the second spring month at the Antipodes—and during the autumn and winter will be in full blaze. The usual farrago of mischievous advice and lying humbug will be disseminated by interested agents and mistaken philanthropists, and will be recorded by their subservient chroniclers in the capitalistic press. The voice of blessing alone—not that of cursing—will be tolerated, and find public expression, and many deluded creatures, of both sexes, will have in after years to regret that they ever listened to the voice of the emigration siren.

The ignorance that prevails of the true nature of life at the Antipodes, and of the prospects awaiting the latter-day emigrant upon his arrival, is perfectly appalling, and, from the means—or rather want of means—at command of those who know the true state of the case, most difficult to dispel. As from the "Bight of Benin, where few come out though many go in," it is seldom anyone returns from Australasia either willing, or, if willing, qualified, to relate a tale of disastrous failure. Even if one wishes to do so, it is difficult to find a medium for the publication of testimony opposed to the interests of agents, and distasteful to capitalists and philanthropic societies.

I am only aware of one book, out of the mass of matter written upon Australia, that depicts in true colours the shameless frauds practised upon the unwary by the emigration agents, and the fate awaiting their victims. This book related to Queensland, and was published some fifteen years ago, when there was a great "boom" in that direction. I think it was entitled "Colonial Adventures," and written by Mr. St. John; but I only met with it in the Melbourne Library, and have no doubt that its circulation was studiously suppressed, and that it is out of print. I refer to it not only because I believe every word there written to be in accordance with the truth, but as my precedent for obtruding personal, and to some extent private, matters on my readers.

I believe it to be quite impossible in any other way than by recordal of individual sufferings and experiences to convey a true impression of colonial existence—*life* is a misnomer. As a rule, those who write about the colonies are either emigration agents and touts interested in puffing their potentialities and resources; or else your *grands seigneurs*—your Manchesters, Roseberrys, Dilkes and Brasseys, whose visits have been all honey, silk and roses. Such men have been feasted, toasted, shown about, and admitted to a full view of the smooth and shining surface, while the hideous sores of sorrow, want and misery, festering underneath, have been carefully concealed from their notice. I, on the contrary, am what in colonial parlance would be termed a "broken down swell"—in that of my quondam aristocratic and middle-class associates, a "black sheep" or "ne'er-do-weel."

In one sense I am a *phenomenon*, for I am here; whereas transportation for life to the Antipodes, whether by the family, the philanthropist, or the emigration agent, has generally proved as effective as that of the law ever was. Others of my class in Australia calmly die, or commit suicide, go to gaol or a lunatic asylum; but, as I have before hinted, I do not think anyone has hitherto been known to get back to England and write to a newspaper. After a subjection off and on, for three years, to such trouble, hardship, and misery, as I should think no human being, accustomed to better things, has hitherto endured and lived to tell the tale, I have barely escaped from that place of torment with my life and reason.

I now propose to use both, if I may be permitted to do so, in giving some facts relating to the inner life, or social prospects, of the labouring emigrant in Australia, and in criticising some of the utterances and articles on the subject which are certain to appear in the public prints during the autumn and winter. Personal narrative, interspersed with comments upon men and things is, as I have before stated, the only form consistent with brevity, in which I feel myself competent to deal with the facts I wish to place before my readers. I must leave it to them to judge whether I am a likely person to know anything about the matters upon which I propose to treat, or qualified to criticise the tenets and theories of those whom I must now, I suppose, describe as, and admit to be, my "betters."

From certain causes, I found myself, in the summer of 1880, *stone broke*. I was powerless to recover a large value in land and money, out of which I had been swindled, unless—such is the nature of the law in this country—I

had a hundred or so to commence an action. The Melbourne Exhibition was on the *tapis*, and, having a good knowledge of the jewellery and diamond trade, I thought I saw an opening to realise the specified sum, or a greater amount, in a short space of time, and that I might return to commence my legal assault after the long vacation. Those to whom my presence in this country was most obnoxious, readily agreed to provide me with the necessary means for procuring my passage and outfit, and to place a sum sufficient for my business needs at my disposal upon arrival.

One stipulation was, that I took my wife, a delicate young woman then 23 years of age, with me. I was delighted. I knew the voyage would do her good. I was to embark at Gravesend, and my lawyer was to get money matters settled up, and to bring her down to Plymouth—in order to avoid fatigue—as well as the draft for the sum payable to me in Melbourne. She arrived at Plymouth alone, her escort having excused himself from accompanying her on the ground of illness, and with an intimation that he had written to me on board the vessel. It was a rough, stormy day. We had been delayed on the voyage from Gravesend, and there was not a moment to be lost, as the vessel was going to start almost immediately. I hurried on board to get the letter and expected enclosure, and, to my horror, found the steward to whom it had been entrusted drunk and speechless, and quite unable to remember what he had done with it!

My wife had never been on the sea before. The brandy I kept administering to her in hopes, in this desperate emergency, of keeping off the sickness, was fast reducing her to the level of the steward, and she declined to move from her berth. The anchor was up and we were off, and it was not until we were outside the breakwater that I fully realised that I was "trapped." Of course, on getting the letter the following day there was no draft enclosed, and from its tenour I judged, as turned out to be the fact, that my own lawyer had been "squared" to "sell" me. I still hoped that I should find a remittance at Melbourne, but I hoped in vain. We arrived there almost penniless, and had to part with our clothes and valuables.

It was now out of the question to think of procuring a situation in the exhibition, and I was compelled to disclose my poverty and antecedents by applying to a charitable society for a loan on the strength of the promised remittance, and the assurance that those to whom I directed the secretary to write would repay all. The money thus borrowed, and a clerkship which the society procured me, enabled us to get on pretty well for three months until the answer arrived. Its purport was, coupled with a refusal to repay the loan, that the "hulking pauper," meaning me, "might work or starve!"

I at once saw, and so did the secretary of the society—a lawyer whose want of "acumen" in being duped by me was sneered at in the same letter, and who was proportionately irate at being dubbed a fool—the cogency of the alternative suggested by the writer. From that moment we became absolute outcasts. The only question was, could I work? I knew size and a comparatively youthful appearance went a long way towards securing a trial at manual labour in the colonies. I stand six feet two inches in height, and at twenty-one years of age, before I went into training for the Oxford University Boat, weighed over sixteen stone. Neither was I altogether unaccustomed to manual labour, as I had some years previously worked as a digger on the South African diamond fields. Clean shaved and close-cropped, I passed very well for thirty-five, though in reality nearly fifty years of age. An old, or even middle-aged man, has little "show" for work in Australia if placed alongside of younger men. I knew my constitution was all right, as apart from bodily suffering brought on by my own indiscretion, I can hardly tell what illness means. I therefore determined to try and work and not to starve, to tackle the pick and shovel, the axe and the spade, the bow-saw and the lumper's hook. A preliminary course of training at very low wages—only 2s. 6d. a day and my "tucker"—at digging, trenching and levelling ground, fitted me to present myself among the other applicants for employment, to the contractors, gangers and stevedores; and, whether it was at "navvying" on the roads and streets, or "lumping" on the wharves or in the railway sheds, I generally got a "show." Before the required number of hands was selected, "You long chap there, let's see how you shape," usually greeted my ear, and when selected I seldom failed in performing the work required of me.

In fact in manual labour, as in all other vocations in life, the difficulty of obtaining employment is far greater than the difficulty of being fit for it, and if you surmount the greater difficulty there is no reason why you should not surmount the smaller. Still, work was by no means constant, and on two occasions I was injured, and had to knock off for a time. As I had no club, and a helpless wife to support, semi-starvation then faced us. Eventually, I enlisted the sympathy of a well-known Melbourne physician and philanthropist, who got my wife, quite broken down in body and mind by the hardships we had undergone, into an institution, where she was well cared for, and where I could visit her at pleasure; and myself into State employ. But government work and the State Socialism of Victoria—for there it reaches its highest possible development—must form the subject of my next article.

LUCIFER.

(To be continued.)

REVIEW.

Le Socialiste. A new French Socialist journal has just appeared. Four numbers (it is a weekly) will be out before this issue of the *Commonweal* appears. I am writing of the first and second numbers. The editors are Deville, Fréjac, Guesde, Lafargue, Taillieur. Its first issue tells the aim and the method of its work. Its aim is: "Expropriation of the capitalist class and the socialisation of the means of production. It is to the hastening on of this collectivist or communist revolution that the *Socialiste* will devote all its efforts. A theoretical organ, the *Socialiste* will prepare the minds of workers for the social transformation that is incumbent upon them, by the study of the economic phenomena which, out of the dismemberment of the present order will bring forth the new. An organ of action, it will urge on to the struggle in all its forms, and on all grounds, the struggle into which it will enter thoroughly, not in order to divide, but to unite the proletarian forces still divided, unfortunately, by misunderstandings which the common combat will suffice to do away with. An organ of international combination, it will suppress frontiers by giving a prominent place in its pages to the Socialist parties of both worlds, who themselves will tell us their work, their progress, and their hopes—which can thus be shared by their French brethren." One paragraph *re* England needs some modification. There is no likelihood of many Socialist candidates running for Parliament at the next Election. The second number prints the resolution of the Socialist League in the matter of Olivier Pain, Rochefort and the English generals.—E. A.

REVOLUTIONS are terrible affairs, but they are as necessary as amputations when mortification sets in.—*Heinrich Heine*.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NEWSAGENTS, etc., who supply the *Commonweal*, are asked to send in their names and addresses to the Manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for publication.

The following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1. "Why be Transported?" No. 2. "Down with the Socialists!" No. 3. "To the Radicals"; No. 4. "The Cause of Prostitution"; No. 5. "The Worker's Claims and 'Public Opinion'"; No. 6. "Tram-car Slavery: an Address to Tram-car Men and the Working Class in general." Copies sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage, and will be supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1,000.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Three numbers are now ready. 1. "Address to Trades Unions." By E. Belfort Bax. 16 pages. 2. "Useful Work v. Useless Toil." By William Morris. 24 pages. 3. "The Factory Hell." By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling. 16 pages. The above are issued at one penny each. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

LECTURES will be given throughout the winter at Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m. Subjects will be announced in *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Echo* on current evening.

DUBLIN.—All sympathisers with our movement are urgently requested to write to the Secretary at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

MANCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, W. Addison, 22, Carnarvon Street, Newtown.

CORRESPONDENTS wanted in Newcastle, Halifax, Bristol, and Colchester.

LIVERPOOL.—Anyone willing to form a Labour Emancipation League here is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street.

A. W. C., J. M'D.—See answer in Inquiry Column. We note your reference to Mr. Kaufmann's articles. He is as a historian of Socialism not to be trusted.

GEORGE GILBERTSON.—We have much of it in hand. Yours is put aside for further consideration.

CHARLES WALKDEN.—Utilised. See p. 90.

WILLIAM VOLCKMAN.—Your letter, though interesting, is too lengthy for insertion. To us what you think intermediate steps, education and the like, seem for the mass of the people impossible as long as the present system lasts. We do not overlook the fact that individuals are the result, not the cause of our social system (see the debate on the *P. M. G.* business, p. 78). You seem to overlook the fact that in pointing this out, you are pleading for Socialism. The system must be changed, then the individuals will be changed. Is the search hopeless for an economy more scientific than at present obtains? Have you read Ricardo and Marx?

A CORRESPONDENT from Whitchurch, Dorset, calls for "a series of articles in plain language showing the details of the construction of Society under the Socialist plan." It is natural to ask for such information, but impossible to give more than mere guesses at detailed reconstruction; and to give these would surely be a mistake, as it would lead to grievous disappointment. Do you ask a doctor when he removes an ulcer, what he is going to put in its place? The healthy flesh will grow when the disease is removed. Socialists are surely explicit enough in their claim of complete freedom, economical, political and moral; we do not want to establish a new slavery under any pretences whatsoever, but to abolish the old.

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor beginnt am 1. October einen Cours für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär. 13 Farringdon Road. E. C.

RECEIVED—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurge*—*Worker's Friend*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*Wage-Worker*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Tollcross Advertiser*—*Il Paria*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labor Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Daylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Detroit Labor Leaf*—*Boston Liberty*—*Union Socialiste*—*Christian Socialist*—*Justice*—*Church Reformer*—*National Review*—*The Word*—*Boston Woman's Journal*—*San Francisco Chronicle*—*Watchman* (N.Z.)—*Index*—*Republican*—*Cleveland* (O.)—*Carpenter*—*Journal Vigilance Association*—*Progress* (N.Y.)—*Southwark Recorder*—*Boston* (U.S.)—*Herald*—*Boston* (U.S.)—*Globe*—*Boston* (U.S.)—*Beacon*—*John Swinton's Paper* (N.Y.)—*Kapunda* (Queensland)—*Herald*—*Chicago Herald*—*Recht voor Allen*—*Sydney* (N.S.W.)—*Morning Herald*—*National Bulletin*—*Brattleboro* (Vt.)—*Woman's Magazine*—*El Angel del Hogar*—*La Réveil du Forçat*—*Le Socialiste de Lyon*—*La Defense des Ouvriers*—*La Defense des Travailleurs*—*Tchass* (Belgrade)—*O Campino* (Portugal)—*Voz do Operario* (Portugal)—*Le Socialiste* (Paris)—*L'Agiotage de 1715 à 1870*. B. Malon—*Poor Laws and Our Land Laws* (1883). By the Rev. W. A. O'Connor, B.A.

SINCE last acknowledgment parcels of books for the library have been received from English, Morris, Sparling, and Wardle.

Notice to Members.

Library and Reading Room.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members. The librarians, Nicoll and Benson, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. for the purpose of exchanging books.

Choir.—The choir meet for practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Standing Committees.—Meet on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

TO OUR READERS.

This month's *Commonweal* is printed from new type of a reduced size. The supplement is discontinued, but nearly as much matter is contained in the present number as in the previous one. The change will considerably lighten the expense of production, and we hopefully anticipate that by energetic action on the part of all interested in the journal, we may at no distant date be able to issue it weekly. Next month William Morris will continue "The Pilgrims of Hope," and Frederick Engels will contribute an article on the Second Part of Karl Marx' "Das Kapital."

FREILIGRATH'S REVOLUTION SONG.

"A VOICE FROM BELOW."

(Translated by J. L. JOYNES).

A SHIP came sailing down the Rhine—a noble company on board;
Her panting engines mocked the calm; her funnel steamed and smoked and roared;
She's brightly decked from stem to stern with coloured flags and streamers gay;
The king and court are visiting their castle on the Rhine to-day.

The sun is bright as burning gold; the landscape glistens as they pass
'Mong haunts and homes of happy men; the gleaming Rhine is smooth as glass;
The polished planks are newly waxed, and up and down, and to and fro,
About the deck in high content the king and queen together go.

The royal pair survey the scene, and show by gracious smile and sign
August approval of the hills and vineyards on the banks of Rhine;
And as they promenade about, the planks are all so clean and neat,
That still they almost think they feel their palace floor beneath their feet.

But underneath the dainty decks, and under all that floating pride,
Snorts the fierce prisoned element that drives them swiftly down the tide;
And smirched with smoke, and scorched with heat, there toils and moils in gloom and glow
The soul of all the pride and pomp, the workman-engineer below.

Outside the world shows green and fair; cool flakes of foam fly round their way;
But on his furnace he must stare throughout the lovely live-long day;
And shovelling, raking, stirring still, half-naked he must sweat and stand,
The while the king enjoys the breeze that gently floats o'er stream and land.

And now the fires are fed with coal, and all the works are bright with oil;
And e'en the stoker tastes at last a moment's respite from his toil;
He heaves the hatches half-way up, thrusts out his head and naked neck,
And leaning on his elbow there, he glances round the dainty deck.

His fist is clenched, his brow is hot, and half-emerging o'er the planks
From out the nether gloom appear his shaggy breast and sturdy flanks.
He lets his gaze go wandering round, and gruffly thus begins to talk:
"How much alike are ship and State! Above my head you gaily walk!"

"While down in labour's den below, where all the air is reeking hot,
Within the sultry forge of Need I hammer out my heavy lot;
Nor mine alone—thine also, king; for who could make the wheels go round,
Unless the stokers' sturdy fist had plied the poker underground?"

"What though you sit like Jove above, a Titan I 'mid steam and heat:
My kingdom this volcano is that boils and bubbles at your feet.
It lies with me to shake the ground, and lo! there topples headlong down
The whole vast edifice at once whose roof is your bejewelled crown.

"Earth heaves; the central fires break through, and hoist you howling to the skies;
While we, unscorched of any flame, from darkness up to daylight rise;
And though we've long been crushed to earth beneath the heavy hand of fate,
The force is our's to forge afresh that poor old rotten thing the State.

"I'll march in triumph through the world! Upon my shoulders, broad and strong,
A second stout Saint Christopher, I'll bear the new-born Christ along!
The giant I, who totter ne'er! whom yet to his triumphal feast
The Saviour o'er the stream of time shall choose for bearer and for priest!"

This much the rugged Cyclops there has growled between his tight-set teeth
Then plunges down to work again, and plies his poker underneath.
The rods go crashing to and fro; the flames around him chafe and fret;
The pent steam snorts; he only says, "Nay, wrathful element, not yet!"

At last the steamer lands her load beneath the vine-clad village walls;
In coach and six the king drives off to view his new-built castle halls.
The stoker mutters in his den, "All thanks to those that rear the towers!
'Tis their's to pile the palace high—to burn it down shall yet be our's!"

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be received at the office of the *Commonweal* for the under-mentioned papers, or intending subscribers may remit direct:—*The Altruist*, a monthly paper, devoted to common property, united labour, mutual assistance, and equal rights to all. 50 cents a year. A Longley, editor, 712 Chestnut Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.—*The Carpenter*, published monthly by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, of America. Fifty cents a year post paid. P. J. McGuire, Lock Box 180, Cleveland, Ohio.—*John Swinton's Paper*. One dollar a year; three cents a copy. 21 Park Row, New York.—*The Labor Enquirer*, Official Organ of the Trades Assembly. Two dollars per year. J. R. Buchanan, editor. 368 Larimer Street, Denver, Colo., U.S.A.—*The Alarm*, a Socialistic weekly, published by the Working People's International Association. One dol. fifty cents per year; five cents per copy. Theodore Fricke, 107 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.—*The Labor Leaf*, published weekly by J. R. Burton, 50 Larned Street, West, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A. 50 cents a year.—*The Monthly Review*. Devoted to discussion of political, social, and general subjects. S. Hayes, 15 George's Place, North, Dublin. 1s. 6d. per year.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

VI.—HOW CAPITAL IS MADE.

LET us now begin to inquire a little more closely as to the source of surplus-value. $M' = M + \Delta M$, *i.e.*, the capital advanced, (M) comes back to the capitalist as something (M') more than M. £100 *e.g.*, have come back as £105, and the £5 are surplus-value.

We have seen that the only possible source of this is unpaid human labour. Now we want to see *how* unpaid human labour creates capital, not for the labourer but for his employer. We want to see how the trick is done, how the huge fortunes are made, how the favoured few can live without ever getting a living.

Think of a product of man's labour. Taking the classical example of Marx, think of some yarn. This product has a use-value. It can be made into this, that or the other. But its *use-value* is nothing of moment to the capitalist possessor of it. He does not want to make shirts out of it. What is of moment to every capitalist who has some product that he does not intend to use himself, but that he does intend to sell to another, is the fact that his product has embodied within it human labour, that it has value and that it has therefore an exchange-value quite other than its use-value.

There is something more of importance to the capitalist. Not only must his product have value (or human labour could not have been expended on it); not only must it have use-value (or he could not sell it); not only must it have exchange-value (or he would not sell it); it must have surplus-value, *i.e.*, there must be embodied in it a value greater than that of the raw material used + that of the means of labour used. "Of course," some one interrupts. "You mean the value of the labour that has worked through those means of labour on that raw material." Not exactly. Part of this labour does not enter into the surplus value of the product. The part that is really paid for, that for which a true equivalent in wage is given, does not enter into surplus-value. But the part for which no equivalent is given, does.

And now in considering this, let us be very careful to think of the labour that is under discussion as abstract human labour. We must take a concrete example, but whether our illustrative man is a cotton operative, a labourer, or a stone-mason, matters not. It is not because the man is one or other of these that he adds value to the product. It is because he is a man and has put forth effort.

What we have to discuss is, in short, the quantity, not the quality of human labour. Upon the former depends the value (always using that word in the technical sense) of the product. Upon the latter depends the use-value of the product. The quantity of human labour determines the general value; the quality of it determines the particular use-value.

And here a word or two on "skilled labour." Many seem to think that this, as distinct from an equally mysterious something called unskilled labour, is the source of surplus-value and therefore of capital. From all that has just been said, the fallacy of this should be evident. It is, as I am constantly repeating, the quantity, not the quality of the labour that adds value to the product. And further, note that the part of the skilled labour which produces surplus-value and the part of it that produces the equivalent of the wages, do not differ in quality at all. Let us assume that the skilled labourer works 8 hours a day; that in 6 of these he has put into the product value equivalent to the wage he receives for that day; that in the other 2 he is putting into the product value that is never to be his, but is to be his employer's. The labour of those 2 hours differs in no wise in quality from the labour of the other 6. Clearly that the labour is "skilled" gives no explanation of the origin of surplus-value. That it is "labour" does give an explanation.

Now let us turn to the numerical, concrete example that will illustrate this social, abstract proposition. The numbers are of course, as arbitrary as the selection of the particular industry.

Let each hour of average social labour be represented as worth 6d.

Let each lb. of cotton be worth 1s. Cotton is the raw material. In it is human labour embodied. But with this past human labour we are not at present concerned. For the 10 lbs. of cotton the capitalist gives say, 10s. The value of this will be transmitted by the labour of the labourer to the product, the yarn.

Let the value of the machinery actually worn out, not the total value of the machinery employed, be 2s. The value of this will be transmitted by the labour of the labourer to the product, *i.e.*, to the yarn.

Let the turning of 10 lbs. of cotton into 10 lbs. of yarn take 6 hours.

Finally, let each lb. of yarn be worth 1s. 6d.

Expenses: 10s., raw material; 2s., means of labour; 3s., labour-power for 6 hours. Total, 15s.

Receipts: 10 lbs. of yarn at 1s. 6d. Total, 15s.

The capitalist is exactly where he was when he began. Now, mark what actually *does* occur. When the labourer comes into the factory he finds ready for him enough objects of labour for a day of 12 hours instead of one of 6; enough means of labour also to enable him to work for 12 hours, not 6.

Now let us make the calculation. Expenses: 20s., raw material; 4s., means of labour; 3s., labour-power for 12 hours. Total, 27s.

Receipts: 20 lbs. of yarn at 1s. 6d. Total, 30s.

30s. - 27s. = 3s. (surplus-value or margin for profit).

This term "margin for profit" is of great moment. For out of all that this 3s in our particular example represents, everything in the

whole of civilised society is paid except the wages of labour-power. All profit, all dividends, all taxes, all rent, all pensions, all stipends of officials, everything but just the equivalent of the means of subsistence of the labourers comes out of this margin for profit.

Two objections are of such frequent occurrence that I take them here, although the urging of them only serves to show that the urger has not followed the reasoning thus far.

The first usually takes this form: "Well, but is not the capitalist who provides all the raw material and the means of labour, such as machinery and the like, to be rewarded for this?" First, note that the raw material and the means of production are the result of labour in the past. "That labour has been paid for already," says the defender of capitalism. Exactly; it has been paid for in part. The same surplus-labour, the same surplus-value, the same exploitation have played their ill part there as in the 30s. - 27s. = 3s. episode.

But even suppose it has been paid for in full; yet the product of that past labour, raw material or machinery, *e.g.*, has not belonged to the labourer or his class. It has wholly passed into the hands of those that have not laboured at all towards its production.

And yet further. The whole of the value of raw material and means of labour passes on to the product—is by labour transferred to the product. All of the value of the raw material, cotton, *e.g.*, reappears undiminished in the product, yarn *e.g.* All of the value of machinery and every other means of labour reappears ultimately undiminished in the product. The value of the former reappears at once in the 10 lbs. of yarn; that of the latter reappears gradually in successive quantities of yarn as the machinery and so forth that makes these, wears away.

The more therefore, of either raw material or labour-means the capitalist collects and works, the more ultimate value he has. There is no virtue in the process—nothing for which he deserves any special reward.

The second difficulty that some minds have is generally put in this form: "If the labourer receives 3s. for 6 hours, he will receive 6s. for 12." To this the answer is that if he does this, the expenses and the receipts will be equal and all capital becomes impossible.

$$20s. + 4s. + 6s. = 30s.; \text{ and } 20 \text{ lbs. at } 1s. 6d. = 30s.$$

In all this we see no sign of that "abstinence" of which there is so much talk. If the capitalist "abstains" from using his cotton himself he is at the finish without the yarn that he wants to sell. Now, at all events he has yarn instead of nothing. There is no abstinence here.

Let us look finally at the labour-power once more. This is a commodity. The use-value of this depends upon its expenditure. But its exchange-value depends upon its cost, *i.e.*, upon the cost of the necessary means of subsistence of the man. The value that labour-power can create is therefore greater than its own exchange-value. Yet further, the labourer, like any other possessor of a commodity, realises the exchange-value of his labour-power (wage) and alienates, gives to another, its use-value (its power of creating value and surplus-value).

The production of surplus-value, therefore, occurs when production is prolonged beyond the time necessary for the production of the equivalent of the means of subsistence necessary for the restoration of that labour-power. This prolongation becomes possible when a class owning all the raw materials and the means of labour, in a word all the means of production, can bring into the factory every morning an excess of those means of production beyond that upon which labour-power working for that day would produce the equivalent of its own means of subsistence. And this prolongation is the source of all capital.

The Capitalist want.....	Not use-value, nor exchange-value <i>per se</i> , but surplus-value.
Abstract labour	To be considered quantitatively, not qualitatively.
Skilled labour	That part of this which produces surplus-value does not differ from that part which produces the wage-equivalent. The nature of the labour is not the source of surplus-value.
Example I. (no capital).....	10s. (r. m.) + 2s. (m. of l.) + 3s. (wage) = 10 x 1s. 6d. (e. v. of product).
Example II. (capital).....	20s. (r. m.) + 4s. (m. of l.) + 3s. (wage) = 27s. 20 x 1s. 6d. = 30s. 30s. - 27s. = 3s. surplus-value.
Margin for profit	The sum of all that is represented by this 3s. throughout society. The source of every payment except that of the subsistence-wages of the labour-class.
Capitalist has supplied raw-material and means of labour }	(1) But these are products of past labour, some of which has never been paid. (2) They are the property not of the labourer who has produced them, but of the capitalist. (3) All their value is sooner or later transmitted to the products that the capitalist seizes. None of it is lost.
Abstinence	If the capitalist in place of realising the use-value of his raw material himself, invests it, he has at the end a product instead of nothing. No abstinence here.
Use-value of labour-power ...	Depends upon expenditure of latter. It is alienated.

Exchange-value of labour- } Depends upon cost of means of subsistence. It is realised and is less than the former.
power }
Production of surplus-value... Begins the moment the labourer has produced the equivalent of his own means of subsistence.

EDWARD AVELING.

THE OUTLOOK.

THE gullibility of the English is great and their credulity almost bounded. After centuries of misrule and generations of cruel deception, they are again becoming the victims of designing politicians. Ignoring the past, they have learnt nothing by experience. They are as thoughtless to-day as though the facts of history had no lessons for them. It is strange that the working classes should be so easily gulled, so easily deceived for the thousandth time.

The third great Reform Bill with its two million of new voters, will soon be in operation. This Reform Bill, we are told, will give to the working-classes a preponderance of political power. It will do nothing of the kind. The possession of the vote does not give political power. Above the voter are the Crown, the Aristocracy, the Church, the Army, the whole Executive Government. Political power exists high above the voter, in regions far beyond the control of the new electorate. The Reform Bill of 1832 was to purify the House of Commons, to free the country from political tyranny and political corruption. But it left political tyranny as rampant and political corruption as prevalent as before. The Reform Bill of 1867-68 was to accomplish not only peace and retrenchment, but every other reform that was desirable. Household suffrage in our cities and boroughs was to give the working-classes political power, the controlling power in the nation, a power dangerous to the interests of all the other classes of society. It did nothing of the sort. It left them as politically powerless as ever. The same class of men were returned, the same interests were represented, the same spirit was predominant. We have had numerous wars of aggression, including the ever-infamous wars in Egypt and the Soudan; the same shameless corruption, the same extravagant expenditure. And all this with household suffrage in our cities and boroughs, where we are told the people are more intelligent, more wise, more practical, and where by their compact numbers their controlling power is greater.

As a sample of how easily the people are gulled, take the recent agitation on the question of medical relief. Had the people been wise they would have demanded the removal of all the disqualifications arising from the receipt of parochial relief. But the so-called Radical politicians did not want that. All they wished for was a storm in a teacup as a cheap party cry to delude the thoughtless. And the trick succeeded. Yet, where is the difference between a bottle of medicine, a pound of beef, or a two pound loaf? The principle is the same, and each has to be paid for out of the rates. And surely if the vote gives political power, if it gives even political importance, if it secures any kind of protection against social oppression, who needs it so much as the so-called pauper, the man who has been plundered during his long years of toil, and in his old age sent, deprived of the rights of citizenship and degraded to the rank of a social outcast, to end his days in a prison?

And what will the people do under the operation of the third great Reform Bill? Nothing. The same men will be returned, the same interests will be represented, the same extravagant expenditure will continue, and the same corruption in high quarters will prevail. Parliament will still legislate without regard to the wants or wishes of the workers, and the upper circles will rule in spite of the new voters.

And why is it so necessary to deceive the people, and why are the latter so easily gulled? Because the whole political life of England is based upon a falsehood. Because it rests on expediency and not on principle. Because the political life of an English statesman is a living lie. England to-day has not a single statesman who is prepared to take his stand on the principle of equal justice to each and all, equal liberty to every people. The greatest propositions yet before the public are but base compromises. Some may admire their boldness; many will be deceived by them, while all will be dissatisfied with their results.

Take the case of Ireland. We are told that the independence of Ireland must be ever resisted; that the destiny of that country must never be in the hands of its own people, in order that the unity of the empire may be preserved. Yet what has the empire done for Ireland? It has destroyed the liberty of the people, and their independence as a nation. It has ruined her resources, and handed over her population bound hand and foot, to the vampires and landlords, whose titles rest on confiscation. The unity of the empire to Ireland means nothing more than the supremacy of England maintained at the point of the bayonet.

But this doctrine of the unity of the empire applies to Poland as well as to Ireland. It applied to Hungary in 1849-50; to the States of Italy when groaning beneath the blood-stained throne of Austria; to Alsace and Lorraine; to the States of the East. It applies to India to-day; it applied to Afghanistan in 1880; to each of our colonies and to our American colonies in 1782.

This plea of the unity of the empire has been the curse of the world. It has ever been the cry of the most heartless conquerors,—the foul pretext under which millions have been swept into slavery, flourishing States destroyed, and tens of thousands of Nature's truest nobles doomed to perish on the scaffold. The wise man of to-day will demand justice for every human being, liberty and independence for every people. Let us be just and fear not. Let us accept the principle of justice for each

and all and for every people, without regard to country, creed or colour, and cast to the winds of heaven every base compromise.

I have said that the whole political life of England is based on expediency and not on principle, and that the third Reform Bill will accomplish nothing for the toiling masses. But it will do one thing. It will undeceive them to a great extent. It will show them that the vote will not give them political power; that it will not give them the control of their own destiny. It will teach them that the power of the Crown is not dead, and that priest and peer are still a power in the State; that the standing army is ever a menace to freedom, and that the tyranny and insolence of the police will continue and increase. And, above all, they will discover that the struggle between capital and labour will still go on; that the war of classes will become more fierce, and class hatreds more intense. It will show them the absolute necessity of the solidarity of nations based on the supremacy of labour, and that the only hope of the workers throughout the world lies in a thorough social revolution and in the reconstruction of Society on a true Socialistic basis.

J. SKETCHLEY.

Correspondence.

HOW TO HELP.

Marylebone, W., 25th August 1885.

GENTLEMEN,—I take a dozen of the *Commonweal* monthly and send them to different parts of England, the Colonies, and America. This is as much as I can do, as I am only a poor, hard-working clerk with very limited means. If other friends would do the same (according to their means) methinks a great impetus would be given to the spread of Social ideas, which only can elevate and rescue the proletariat from the grasp of the scoundrel middle-class and the cannibal capitalist. . . . Hoping the paper is growing in circulation,—Yours faithfully,

G. E. H.

A LETTER FROM A WORKING-WOMAN.

I heard a gentleman in Victoria Park on August 30th, say the working men and women were in a better position than they were 30 or 40 years ago. If they are, what with the masses of people out of work now and the dens we live in, what must it have been then? What good would all the money of the better classes be to them if it were not for the workers? It does seem hard when you have worked hard all your life for one master and can work no more, you are no better off than when you started and have only the workhouse before you. Working men and women can and should help the Socialist movement, the only one of any good to them or any one. They can help in giving bills away at least and coming to our meetings.

ANOTHER "CONFESSION" OF A CAPITALIST.

Ashwell, near Baldock, Herts, 31st August 1885.

I have sent you last Saturday's *Hertfordshire Express* as I think the letter signed E. K. Fordham is quite the "confession" of a capitalist as much as the writings of Samuel Smith, M.P., reviewed in your last issue. . . . I send it to you because the situation it discloses troubles me. . . . The agricultural men want educating in even the cultivation of a garden. We seem to be losing the art of tilling the soil to advantage. Working men all round me are breaking down in body and mind at quite early age because of the hard conditions of their lot, which are certainly not caused by the low price of produce as alleged.

If Mr. Fordham's theory is right, the result will be to clear the country of men and women and leave it a great game preserve with a few "land owners" in their solitude! A sad condition for even those survivors.—Yours truly,

CHARLES WALKDEN.

[We take the following passages from the letter referred to by our correspondent. It is headed, "Why is rural England becoming depopulated?"]

"SIR,—How completely the real reasons for this depopulation have been overlooked in a desire to saddle large owners and occupiers with the responsibility.

"The real cause is to be found in improved agricultural and other machinery—labour saving. . . . Labour is attracted to the large towns because it is there much better paid.

"As for peasant proprietors and small occupiers, artificial manufacture will prove an idle dream. . . .

" . . . As for the extreme nonsense of compulsory cultivation, it is too foolish to require an answer; no land lies idle offering a reasonable prospect of profitable application of capital and skill.—Yours obediently,—E. KING FORDHAM.

"Ashwell Bury, August, 1885."

[That labour-saving machinery depopulates the agricultural districts is certainly an interesting confession from a capitalist. On the second point, note that labour is not attracted to the large towns because it is better paid. It is driven thither by the want of work in the country. The surplus population or reserve army of labour always makes for the towns. Probably there is a vague belief, certainly unfounded, that there is a better chance there. It is like the child's fancy that the streets of London are paved with gold. Another interesting confession is the impossibility of competition with the large farmers on the part of the small proprietors. The last sentence is amusing in the light of the deer-stalking forests and Mr. Wynan's combat with the labourer's lamb.—EDWARD AVELING.]

WE do not hesitate to say that the low wages and long hours paid and exacted by men like Mr. Samuel Morley, are among the main causes of prostitution.—*Church Reformer*.

At the forthcoming General Election a good test question for working men to ask any candidate that may come forward with fair promises to ameliorate their condition would be the following: "Why is it that we working earnestly, early and late, every day, as long as we are able to work, have nothing; while thousands who do no work at all, but spend their time in frivolous amusements, have everything—that everything being the produce of our labour?"—R.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

THE great Whig champion, Lord Hartington, has spoken; his speech was eagerly expected by the gamblers in the political game. But when it came it was a matter of many words and nothing said; and the Liberal Party is still without a cry for the coming elections. Inane as it was, however, it has been taken as a manifesto against the Radicalism budding into demi-semi-Socialist Democracy which Mr. Chamberlain represents.

Mr. Chamberlain's Radicalism resents this and "pronounces" in its turn. Mr. Chamberlain's Radicalism, I say; for Lord Hartington's program of "nothing to be done but unite to defeat Irish Nationalism," will content ordinary Radicals well enough.

The "advanced Radicals," therefore, must prepare themselves to be left out in the cold. What can they do? Though drifting in the direction of Socialism, they are in the habit of using rather hard words against us, so I abstain from advising them to turn Socialists at once, especially as they will have to do so sooner or later, unless they are sucked into the great Moderate Party which is clearly beginning to form. Perhaps the best education for them would be for them to go in heartily for supporting the Irish Nationalists; that would at any rate cut them off from the worship of the Great Jingo, which the Moderate Party will certainly cultivate—moderately.

Curious to see, meanwhile, how anxious Liberal-Whig politicians are to assure us that they and the Tories are implacably opposed to each other; as witness Lord Cowper in the *Nineteenth Century*. A worthy parson has been trying to get the leading men on each side to tell him what is the difference between them. How glad they would have been to tell him in this electioneering season! But they could not; who can? The *Pall Mall* might offer a prize.

Mr. Chamberlain at Warrington pronounced against Mr. Parnell, and so probably sealed the doom of the Radical party for the present; all the more as he also pronounced against the "Moderate Liberals," whoever they may comprise. In spite of the conventional party twaddle of the beginning of his speech, his challenge to the Moderates towards its close was unmistakable to any one except a party optimist.

It was noteworthy that the social part of his speech was specially well received, and that the name of Socialism warmed the audience somewhat, however little they might know about its principles in detail. It is clear that everywhere the word means hope, whereas the names of the old parties, including Radicalism, mean—nothing.

W. M.

As we are going to press we find that the whole of the London Press (with the dubious exception of the *Standard*) has declared against the Police and Mr. Saunders and for fair and equal treatment of all open-air speakers. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Daily News*, and *Echo* have spoken out clearly. The *Chronicle* has also written, rather with bated breath, protesting but not "too much." The *Telegraph*, after a shrewd delay, gave an admirable leader anti-Saundersesque. The *St. James's Gazette*, and even the *Morning Advertiser* felt that "some one had blundered." What the Sunday journals will say, we cannot tell; but it seems possible that in view of the tremendous blundering of the police, the wicked imbecility of Mr. Saunders, the outcry in the press, and the determined attitude of the open-air speakers, matters will be arranged so that *al fresco* speaking at the East End is not interfered with. In any case, Socialism has received an impetus and an advertisement of incalculable value.

A BOURGEOIS CONFESSION.—"What a strange spectacle this country (America) presents at this very hour! Money is plenty—50 or 60 millions on deposit in the banks of New York City alone! Food is plenty; the granaries at the West are full of old wheat, and though the wheat crop of the present year does not promise well, the corn crop is likely to be larger than ever before; there is no fear of scarcity. Manufactured goods are plenty; the storehouses of the manufacturer and the shelves of the merchants are crowded with them. Labour is plenty; five hundred thousand idle men are asking for work. Yet in the midst of this abundance a great industrial and commercial depression has overtaken us. At the time of writing this, workmen are selling their labour at the lowest prices, and many are unable to sell at any price: merchants and manufacturers find a dull market for their wares; the railroads report losses instead of gains; failures multiply. The situation is not only pitiful, it is absurd."—*The Century Magazine*, September 1885.

"The question of the land lies behind half the social problems of the time."—*Daily News*, Sept. 8. If the organ of philosophical Radicalism had added "and that of capital behind the other half," it would have been more philosophical if less radical, though the proportions would have been inaccurate.

E. A.

Those who fight the reduction of the hours of labour to eight hours per day, because workingmen would spend the two hours in whisky-shops, etc., should come right to the front now, and tell us all about those who are compelled to be idle twenty-four hours in the day, and about those working half time. Where do they spend their time?—*Iron-Moulder's Journal*.

The Police and Mr. Saunders.

It is evident that the methods we have been wont to associate with the Continental police, or at least not to believe as coming nearer home than Ireland are in practice in our midst. It is evident that the police are willing in certain cases to use violence as brutal as unnecessary and to perjure themselves deliberately in order to make good their bad case. Further it is evident that in Mr. Saunders of the Police Court, they have at least one magistrate who is willing and even anxious to be their accomplice in this sorry work. The following account in brief of what took place at Limehouse on September 20th, and at the Thames Police-Court on Monday September 21st, is that of an eye-witness.

On Sunday, a very large and very orderly crowd of not less than 10,000 persons met at Dod Street, Burdett Road. This street, used for years past by all sorts of bodies for the open-air promulgation of their views, has been of late the debateable ground between the police and the public. Several arrests of speakers had been made on the Sundays preceding the 20th. On this latter day the crowd surrounding the speaker was so dense and kept so steady, that all the efforts of an inspector and fifteen policemen could not force a way through the crowd to its centre. The policemen up to this point had done their unpleasant slave-work as little unpleasantly as was possible. Once the inspector, irritated by the immovable nature of the crowd, told his men to draw their truncheons. Fortunately for all concerned, the order was withdrawn before the truncheons were. Then after the police had been separated and pushed against the walls of the street two or three times, and the inspector had been down in the mud at least once, they gave up the attempt to get down Dod Street.

The speaking continued. Presently, besides H. M. Hyndman and J. Matthias speaking successively on the drag looking up the street, Mahon and Kitz were speaking successively on the other, looking towards Burdett Road. This division of forces gave the police a chance. They suddenly reappeared at the other end of Dod Street, and the crowd not closing up, Kitz, Mahon, and Mowbray were seized in a very short time.

The speaking continued. Radicals, such as Mr. F. A. Ford of the Finsbury Radical Association and Mr. Ellis of Peckham Rye, and Socialists joined in denouncing the action of the authorities, and a resolution expressive of the protest of the meeting against what had taken place, was passed with the uplifting of thousands of hands.

Just before one, as had been arranged, the meeting was brought to an end that the solitary inhabited house, the public-house at the corner, might not have its trade interfered with. The vast crowd dispersed in perfect order and peacefulness. Presently as it was melting quietly away the police came marching back. Way was made for them, as the meeting was over. Suddenly they rushed with great ferocity at two innocent banner-bearers, and with brutal violence thrust them head first, head downwards to the station. Even then after this unprovoked, unnecessary ruffianism, the crowd kept quiet. Those that followed the arrested men to the station and asked calmly and dispassionately as to bail were treated by the police with great rudeness and roughness. The bail at once forthcoming was not accepted for some hours.

On Monday before the case came on, the police did all they could to incite the crowd to riot. They paraded up and down pushing people to right and left and telling them to go and do respectable work. This from the prostitute class of police! A podgy, red-bearded, pudding-faced sergeant, 17 H, was the most disreputable in these disreputable proceedings. He complained quite plaintively that the working and middle-class men there (the men who earn the wages for, and the men who pay the wages to, this chartered ruffian) did not treat him with proper respect.

In the Court the police lied more or less steadily. Encouraged by Mr. Saunders, they contradicted themselves, prevaricated, did everything but speak the truth. The evidence on which Lyons was convicted, was of the most unsatisfactory order. Now a statement was made that he was taken where the speakers were; now that he was taken where the banner-bearers were. He was supposed to have kicked a constable. That constable stated first that he was watching Lyons' legs, and then that he was watching Lyons' eyes when the kick was given. It was admitted that the policeman and Lyons at the time were in the midst of a surging crowd, any of whom might by accident or design have kicked the man. No marks of the kick were to be seen within less than twenty-four hours of its theoretical delivery. Mud on his trousers was the proof assigned by K 463 of the kick. My own trousers were covered with mud on Sunday morning, but no one kicked me. Yet on such evidence as this Mr. Saunders sent a young man to prison for two months with hard labour.

The honest truth is, if anything in connection with Mr. Saunders can be honest truth, that he sent Lyons to prison for his manner of cross-examination. The manner was not well-chosen with a magistrate so susceptible to everything but a sense of fairness as Mr. Saunders. Lewis Lyons examined the policeman after the fashion of an Old Bailey solicitor, confusing them and irritating the magistrate. Of course this only makes the sentence the more outrageous.

If further proof of the dunderheadedness of this magistrate is needed, it is forthcoming in the fact that the one man against whom the evidence was not contradictory, was let off, and that the evidence against two different persons was confused together and applied by Mr. Saunders to one of them.

When the case was over, a rush of police was made at those in court. It is said that some cried out "Shame." I can only answer for myself and my wife who, certainly with difficulty, kept silent. Nevertheless the jailor of the court and other constables, among whom the perjured K 463 was prominent, commenced an assault upon all and sundry. One of them who had stated in his own vernacular that he meant to "make a mark of the female," tore the "female's" cloak and thumped her at large. William Morris, remonstrating at the hustling and the thumping, became at once the chief thumpee. There has rarely been seen anything more brutal than the way in which two or three able-bodied young men fell upon the author of what one of the newspapers called the "Paradise League." A threat to summon the police for assault, was the cue for these ready gentlemen to arrest Morris for disturbance in Court. This was an afterthought and would not have been a thought at all but for his protests against ill-usage. That Mr. Saunders dismissed the charge against Morris is no fault of the police. It was the fault of the prisoner being in a "respectable position" of Society. This, possibly assisted by the better humour of Mr. Saunders after lunch, led after an interesting passage of arms, to an exit from the dock. But everyone knows, and the *Daily News* and *Daily Chronicle* openly admitted that had the charge been made against a working man, he would have, in the eloquent language of Mr. Saunders, been "locked up."

EDWARD AVELING

INQUIRY COLUMN.

ANSWERS.

W. CABELL.—Part of W. Cabell's inquiries will be answered in the Notes to the Manifesto of the Socialist League by Bax and Morris, which are going through the press. "Will the social family," says W. Cabell, "take the place of the present private family? I ask in turn, 'What is the present private family?' It is surely not always entirely composed of people akin to one another; only the present distinction of classes has crept into it. It is surely clear that Socialism could never assent that a family should be confined to blood-relations; for the rest there would be no hard and fast line as to what a family should be; it would be what people might choose, what they might find convenient according to the circumstances.—W. M.

RUSSELL WALLACE.—The Socialist League would be very glad to publish the works of political and social writers of the past if it had the means.—E. A.

The major part of this column stands over this month on account of the press of matter due to the Limehouse agitation.

REPORTS.

Reports and lecture lists to insure insertion must reach the office not later than the 22nd of the month. Reports should be brief and contain some point of general interest.

FARRINGTON HALL.—*Free Concerts.*—The second of these was given on Saturday, Aug. 22, and was attended by a numerous audience. A most enjoyable evening was spent, which was concluded by those present upstanding and singing the Marseillaise. *Lectures.*—On Wednesday Sept. 9, Edward Aveling lectured on "Mr. Chamberlain and Socialism"; on the 16th, Andreas Sheu took for his text, "Our Bounden Duty"; and on the 23rd Sept. C. W. Mowbray discoursed on "Co-operation for Production." Each lecture has been listened to attentively and earnestly discussed.

BLOOMSBURY.—The discussions on Thursday evenings continue to draw good audiences and the open-air addresses are also listened to by large crowds. The Branch has been greatly increased this month.—T. E. WARDLE, sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—Our Sunday evening lectures have been well attended, and the discussions generally good. On August 23rd, William Morris considered the problem, "What's to become of the Middle Classes?" showing that the pressure of competition made increasingly difficult the task of obtaining a livelihood, and daily forced large numbers of the middle class into the ranks of the workers. On August 30th, Andreas Sheu lectured upon Owen, Marx, and Blanqui, giving an interesting and eloquent sketch of each of these three types of the Revolutionist. On Sept. 6th, A. K. Donald gave an address on "The Conflict of Classes." He showed that the depression in trade was the result of permanent causes, and ridiculed Mr. Gladstone's statement that every man has a chance of rising to be a master. On the 13th Sept. J. L. Mahon lectured on "The 'Science' of Political Economy." Some of his criticisms of Professor Jevons and others of the orthodox school, were rather severely handled by G. B. Shaw, Beasley, Robertson, and others, and a very interesting discussion took place. The Branch has held three successful meetings on Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park, near the Reservoir.

HOXTON (L. E. L.)—Socialistic ideas are spreading widely in this district. The people listen gladly to the "good tidings," and our speakers are sure of an attentive and sympathetic audience. There is a marked improvement in the tone of the discussions which take place after the lectures. The increase of members is slow but steady; the sale of literature, however, considering the poorness of the neighbourhood, is surprisingly large.—T. B.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month the Branch has been very active. Open-air meetings, well attended, have been held at the Cobden Statue and at Amphill Square in the evenings, and three very successful meetings have also been held in Regent's Park on Sunday mornings at 11.30. These will be continued. At our first meeting at Amphill Square we were interrupted by the police, but held our ground, being well supported by the crowd. The Branch has arranged for a series of lectures in the Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, every Wednesday evening at 8.30. The first was given by W. Morris on Sept. 9th, on "The Depression in Trade." On Sept. 16th, Edward Aveling lectured on "Wages and Capital." Both lecturers were well received, and the prospects of the movement here are decidedly hopeful.—G. T. FULLER, sec.

LEEDS.—Meetings have been regularly held at the Vicar's Croft every Sunday afternoon and evening, addressed by Sugden, Sollett, and Maguire. Socialism is making slow but sure headway among the intelligent here, and the only opposition we receive is that of ignorance. This is bound to be overcome before long, when we may expect a considerable accession of conscientious recruits. Interest in our movement is becoming general, and our taking rooms will no doubt be the medium of drawing many outside sympathisers into active propagandist work.—T. M.

LEICESTER.—Socialistic ideas are progressing here. On August 9th Mr. Barclay read a paper at the Secular Hall, "An Impeachment of Capital." The essayist argued that the source of the enormous incomes of the Jay Goulds, Vanderbilts, Mackays, Rothschilds, Brasseys, Goschens, etc., was the labour of the people, the result of which was appropriated. The admissions of capitalists themselves were quoted as to the immorality of the present system. The proposed remedies—Teetotalism, Neo-Malthusianism, Profit-sharing, Co-operation, etc.—were criticised by the lecturer, who concluded by attributing the evils of Society, in the main, to our competitive system, and appealed to his audience to join the Socialist League. On the 23rd August Messrs. Barclay and Bunton called a meeting at which the Manifesto and Rules of the Socialist League were read, and a Branch formed. On Sept. 13th Dr. Aveling visited us and delivered a stirring address on "Socialism and Freethought." The Hall was crammed. The speaker gave us weighty reasons for attacking Capitalism in preference to Christianity, and concluded with a defence of Socialists from the gross misrepresentations of opponents on the question of the Revolution. Applause greeted the lecturer throughout. A quire of *Commonweal* was sold.—T. BARCLAY.

MANCHESTER.—This Branch of the League is getting firmly established. A strong committee has been formed to take in hand the business; they meet every Monday at the County Forum at 7.30. At our general meeting, also weekly, a lecture is usually given, which is followed by discussion. At these meetings we are encouraged by seeing many of our friends who have heard our out-door speakers and wish to know more about us; ten new members have joined this month. We had an extra lecture at the Forum on the 16th Sept., by Edward Carpenter. He took as his subject, "Justice before Charity; a plea for Socialism," and dealt ably with it. Some good discussion was raised by opponents and Land Nationalisers. Our open-air speakers continue to get crowds at both our regular stations on the Sunday, and there are a good number who are getting educated in the outlines of Socialism whom we hope to make members of in time.—R. U., sec.

OXFORD.—The members of this branch have met weekly, and have had good discussions on social questions. On Sept. 9, Comrade Ogden resumed his discourse upon a leading article in a daily paper, entitled "Free Land." A debate ensued in which several members took part. The progress of the Branch is slow at present, but we hope that its numbers will be greatly increased through the continued and wide spreading of socialist literature among the working classes.—F. M.

GLASGOW (Scottish Section).—The first of our winter course of Sunday evening meetings will be held on Sunday, Oct 11th, at 7 o'clock, in the Albion Hall. Addresses on the "Need of Socialism" will be delivered by members of the

League and friends. At this meeting programmes of a three months' course of lectures will be distributed and final arrangements made for opening a Reading-room and Library for the use of members. We trust that all our friends will rally round us and that our campaign may be begun with spirit and success.—J. MAJOR.

HAMILTON.—At the invitation of W. Small, secretary of the Miners' Union, J. Bruce Glasier, of the Socialist League, Glasgow, addressed a meeting of from 2,000 to 3,000 miners at the Low Quarries, on Sunday 30th August, his subject being the "Robbery of Labour." His address, which a local newspaper described as an "open advocacy of revolution," was received by the miners with marked approval, many of them testifying personally to the lecturer their entire acceptance of his doctrine.

THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S CLUB AND THE POLICE.

On Wednesday Sept. 2, at Farringdon Hall, Farringdon Road, a public meeting was held to consider the case of the International Club against the police. The following resolutions were unanimously passed:—1. "That this meeting expresses its indignation at the miscarriage of justice in the case of the disgraceful outrage committed by the police on the International Working-men's Club, and protests against so clear a case having been hushed up in the interests of police tyranny." 2. "That the Committee of Delegates formed for the defence of the members of the club be now dissolved and that the treasurer be instructed to hand over the balance in hand to the delegate of the International Working-men's Club, to be used for the benefit of those injured by the police."

FREE SPEECH AGITATION AT LIMEHOUSE.—THE CASE OF LEWIS LYONS.

At a meeting of delegates from various bodies held at Farringdon Hall on Monday 21st Sept. it was unanimously voted: "That this meeting of the Socialist League and delegates of various associations indignantly protests against the sentence passed on Lewis Lyons for an alleged assault on the police, the charge having been deliberately trumped up and supported by wilful and corrupt perjury on the part of the constables concerned as witnesses, K 463 and 90." The Vigilance Committee were also urged to pay special attention to Lyons' case and to start a fund for the defence and support of all who may become victims in the struggle. E. Truelove has forwarded £1 for the aid of those dependent on Lyons. Other subscriptions can be forwarded to T. Humphries, Secretary, Vigilance Committee, 29 Stepney Green.

At a public meeting convened by the members of the International Working Men's Club in the East end of London, the following resolution was unanimously carried: "This meeting of working men protests against the outrage and brutality of the police committed at the meeting in Dodd Street, Limehouse, E., on Sunday morning, and pledges itself to help the English comrades in the struggle for defending the right of free speech and meeting in open-air."

LECTURE DIARY: October, 1885.

FARRINGTON HALL (Offices of the League), 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Lectures every Wednesday, 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited. Oct. 7th, Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "The Factory Acts." 14th, Laurence Grönlund, "C. J. Danton, the Genius of the French Revolution." 21st, G. Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Scoundrelism." 28th, H. H. Sparling, "The Latter-day Devil."

OLDHAM BRANCH N.S.S.—Oct. 18th at 6.30 p.m., at Hall of Science, Horsedegate Street, E. H. Parkinson (Manchester Branch S. L.) will lecture on Socialism.

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—"Eagle and Child" Coffee Tavern, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. Oct. 4th.—H. H. Sparling, "The Latter-day Devil." Oct. 11th.—Andreas Scheu, "St. Simon." Oct. 18th.—William Morris, "Depression of Trade." Oct. 25th.—G. Bernard Shaw (Fabian), a lecture.

Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.

Mile End.—"Swaby's Coffee House," 103, Mile End Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

North London.—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

PROVINCIAL.

Bradford.—3 Crab Street, Hall Lane. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30.

Leeds.—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Oct. 6th, M. Sollitt; 13th, E. Hunter; 20th, T. Maguire; 27th, A. Sugden.

Manchester.—City Café, Swan Street. Meets each Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. Oct. 6th.—W. Addison, "The Dream of a Socialist." Oct. 13th.—J. Oldman, "A vindication of Revolution." Oct. 20th.—J. Shaw, "A real Socialist. What is he?" Oct. 27th.—J. T. W. Ball, "Some facts of the Land Question."

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

Bloomsbury.—Broad Street, Soho, near Brewery. Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Thursdays, 8 p.m.; Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

Hyde Park.—Sundays, 3.30 p.m.

Mile End Waste.—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Tuesdays, 7.30 p.m.

Stratford.—"Argument Lamp," end of churchyard. Saturdays, 6 p.m.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m. 4th, Parkinson, Addison;

11th, Snowdon, Ewing; 18th, Morley, Unwin; 25th, M'Donald, Prince.

Leeds.—Vicar's Croft. Every Sunday afternoon and evening.

Manchester.—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 3 p.m. 4th, Ewing, Ball; 11th, Prince, M'Donald; 18th, Addison, Unwin; 25th, Parkinson, Grundy.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

MEETINGS OF THE FABIAN SOCIETY.

Oct. 2.—"Christian Socialism." Paper by Rev. C. L. Marson. Oct. 16.—Special. "Art." Address by Mr. Walter Crane. Nov. 6.—"Socialism and Political Liberty." Paper by Miss Edith Simcox. Nov. 20.—Special. "Positivism and Socialism." Address by Dr. L. H. Bridges. Dec. 18.—Special. "How can we nationalise accumulated wealth?" Address by Mrs. Annie Besant.

Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.—The Lecturers for the Socialist League will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces. Early application should be made to the Lecture Secretary, at the offices of the League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

THE COMMONWEAL

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NOVEMBER, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

MOVES IN THE GAME POLITICAL.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN in making his declaration of independence at Lambeth, took a step which was both more important to the Liberal Party than its organs chose to admit, and also very important, it would seem, to his own career. The curious person who occasionally writes—what shall I call it?—Gladstonian Toryism—in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, was indeed much perturbed by what he at least perceived to be something like revolt on Mr. Chamberlain's part; but all the other Liberal and Radical papers assumed, naturally enough, that he only intended to stick to his declaration if he found it convenient to do so; according to the custom of politicians of this epoch.

There will, however, probably be no occasion for Mr. Chamberlain to withdraw from his position. Mr. Gladstone, who was called upon to find a cry and a programme for the Liberal Party which should differentiate it from the Tories, found the task too much for him, and put forth a manifesto which was enough to make the boldest (Liberal) tremble. Verbosity is a mild word to apply to its style, evasion feebly characterises its matter. The result is that if the great moderate or reasonably reactionary party is formed soon enough for Mr. Gladstone to take a part in it, he may be its figure-head; otherwise he is at present the leader's cloak of the Liberal Party, Mr. Chamberlain being the leader, though under perilous conditions.

It is clear that is so, for in all the speeches of the great men of the Liberal Party which have followed the Lambeth declaration, when we get away from the nightmare of apologies for filibustering, thinly-veiled admissions of failure, and somewhat ignominious party attacks on the enemy, we find one thing clear, that they dare not face Mr. Chamberlain with a repudiation of his three "advanced" propositions; the Liberal Party is practically committed to them—such as they are.

The stout Gladstonian, Lord Roseberry, indeed, turned round on Mr. Chamberlain in a way not quite new with our territorial rulers, and showed that he thought the manufacturing interest also might be made to tremble at the word "ransom," by declaring for a legal limitation of the working day. I will not insult his lordship's intelligence by supposing that he thinks it possible to carry out this bold threat so long as Capitalism exists; so that his threat was a safe one to make; yet that he made it, is another straw which shows which way the wind is blowing.

The fact is, I suppose, that after the first surprise at Mr. Chamberlain's declarations, the Liberal leaders set to work to look at his propositions, and found them after all not so desperately Socialistic; the taxation business might be made to mean anything or nothing; the land-allotment scheme would not work, would be a dead letter if carried; and as to Free Education, why it is not a great strain on the intellect to admit the uselessness of trying to skin a cat twice over.

Mr. Chamberlain has surely won his terrible Socialist reputation rather cheaply. He enunciated certain maxims that caught the ear of the people, who were almost touchingly moved by them, so anxious are they now getting to hear of something more hopeful than the worn-out Liberal catch-words. Compelled to suggest something immediate and practical, he has been able to set nothing before the public but schemes which are insignificant or likely to be hampered into impracticability by the very party for whose benefit he has concocted them.

There remains this residuum of significance in the reception of Mr. Chamberlain's plans of "reform." They are *thought* to be progressive or even Socialistic, and it is because they are so thought of that Mr. Chamberlain is so heartily cheered by the rank and file of the Radical Party, and so heartily cursed by the Tories and Moderates—when these latter dare. This certainly is a hopeful sign.

Lord Salisbury has also had his say, and he also has had little success in his attempt at a Tory platform. He won a cheap victory, indeed, in criticising Mr. Chamberlain's feeble outburst towards peasant proprietorship; and finally put his foot down on Disestablishment. Doubtless he is sincere in this, as he like Mr. Gladstone, belongs to the unsavoury type of ecclesiastical layman hard to find out of England. Doubtless, also, he believes that the Liberal party will be divided over this small matter; which is certain, and one might hope points to the

waning power of the Protestant Nonconformists, the great bulwark of the bourgeoisie in England.

If one may judge of Lord R. Churchill from his recent election manifesto, it would seem that his Tory Democracy had run off him like water off a duck's back, and left him a clean-washed Tory. I should feel inclined to praise him for this if I could think it would last longer than the next convenient opportunity for getting on his Tory-Democratic skin again. Anyhow he is more likely to be a success if he sticks to his Toryism till the great Moderate Party is formed.

It is significant of the necessity felt for the formation of the said Moderate Party, that Mr. Goschen's carefully measured and clever clap-trap at Edinburgh was received with such applause by the Liberal Press. Mr. Goschen is the very type of that moderatism, and I should think would be its founder, though not its leader.

Mr. John Bright has actually chanted one more song of triumph over the abolition of the Corn-laws. Surely this must be "positively the last time," as the theatres have it.

There—it sickens one to have to wade through this grimy sea of opportunism. What a spectacle of shuffling, lies, vacillation and imbecility does this Game Political offer to us? I cannot conclude without an earnest appeal to those Socialists, of whatever section, who may be drawn towards the vortex of Parliamentarism, to think better of it while there is yet time. If we ally ourselves to any of the present parties they will only use us as a cat's-paw; and on the other hand, if by any chance a Socialist candidate slips through into Parliament, he will only do so at the expense of leaving his principles behind him; he will certainly not be returned as a Socialist, but as something else: what else it is hard to say. As I have written before in these columns, Parliament is going just the way we would have it go. Our masters are feeling very uncomfortable under the awkward burden of GOVERNMENT, and do not know what to do, since their sole aim is to govern from above. Do not let us help them by taking part in their game. Whatever concessions may be necessary to the progress of Revolution can be wrung out of them at least as easily by extra-Parliamentary pressure, which can be exercised without losing one particle of those principles which are the treasure and the hope of Revolutionary Socialists.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CONSCIENCE AND COMMERCE.

WE often come across a species of virtuous indignation which is apt to be aroused by some tale of the woes of a railway company whom the wicked passenger "defrauds" by travelling without having previously paid his fare. "Strange," it is said (and we find the sentiment commonly repeated whenever the subject comes up, in the Press) "that a man who would scorn to rob his neighbour in his individual capacity, yet will not hesitate to 'defraud' a company;" for it is acknowledged to be by such persons that the bulk of these "frauds" (so-called) are perpetrated. The inconsistency of such a proceeding is then enlarged upon with all due emphasis.

This, in itself, comparatively unimportant incident of modern life, opens up a curious ethico-economical problem. Two things are quite clear. One is that a considerable section of persons instinctively feel a difference between their moral relations to individual men and women and their relations to a joint-stock company. The other is that the ordinary bourgeois intellect cannot see any reason for this distinction, and having possibly a sense of the instability to commercial relations which would ensue from its recognition, adopts the high moral tone. Yet it is doubtful if even the most hardened Bourgeois does not really feel that there is a difference between stealing a neighbour's coat and "defrauding" a joint-stock company, unwilling as he may be to acknowledge it.

Now the question is on what is this feeling of distinction based. It must have some explanation. We may as well state at once our conviction that it is based on the fact that in the one case there is a *real* moral relation involved while in the other there is only a *fictitious* one—a fact which inherited moral instinct recognises, but the reason sophisticated by the economic forms of modern society and the artificial morality necessary to them, refuses to admit.

We do not intend entering upon any elaborate discussion on the basis of Ethics. But we suppose that every one will concede that the

essence of moral relation is that it is between concretes—between one concrete individual and another, or else between that individual and the concrete social organism of which he forms a part. It is plain we cannot owe a duty either to an inanimate object or to an abstraction, as such. We speak, it is true, of "duty to the cause," but this is only a metaphor; we really mean duty to the oppressed Humanity of to-day, and to the free Society of the future, of which we are the pioneers, and which the "cause" represents. Furthermore, all ethical relations between individuals involve reciprocity—they imply a mutual obligation, a personal responsibility on either side. In the middle ages all relations in life were directly or indirectly personal in their character. The feudal relation was eminently a personal one. The mercantile relation in so far as it existed, was a personal one. Now the sense of honour, honesty, etc., both logically and historically, has meaning alone in connexion with a personal relation. Peter as an individual has certain definite moral relations to Paul, amongst others that of respecting his belongings, in so far as appropriation for personal use is concerned.¹ This is a relation as between man and man. He owes the obligation to Paul as a concrete individual, not to Paul's coat or his money. Paul on the other hand has identical obligations towards Peter. There is personal responsibility on either side. Again the individual has plain duties towards the community, in so far as property designed for its use is concerned. (Of course, I am all along dealing with our present society). He as an individual is bound to respect the belongings of the public, for instance, not to appropriate prints or books from the British Museum, not to destroy pictures in the National Gallery, not to steal commons or to "restore" ancient monuments (in which last two particulars, since they do not threaten the stability of Capitalism, the bourgeois conscience is more elastic than in the matter of "defrauding" companies). Here, also, the relation is between concretes—between a definite personality and a definite community. The pictures, books, commons, monuments are (or are supposed to be) there for the use and enjoyment of the community, and the community suffers a wrong in their destruction or alienation.

But to return to our Peter and Paul. We have said that the moral relation of Peter and Paul rests on a basis of reciprocal personal responsibility and on this alone. It was on such a basis that the feeling of honour in the dealings of life had its rise and in this alone it has any meaning. There was a relation of mutual personal obligation between the feudal lord and the vassal or serf. That the lord often neglected his obligation does not alter the fact of its existence. There was a personal relation between buyer and seller, master and workman, and indeed in every sphere of life in the old time and in simpler conditions of society. But with the rise of Capitalism the personal relation has fallen into the background, personal responsibility has been allowed to lapse to an ever-increasing extent before the exigencies of modern competitive conditions of industry. The responsible proprietor of a business detaches himself more and more as a personality from his business. The name over the door may or may not be his own name, but anyway he obliterates his personality as far as may be by the addition of the words "and Co." You plead with such a man for some act of grace to a creditor or employé; "business is business" will be his reply, a reply which surely enough indicates the impersonal, anti-social methods of Commercialism. In pursuit of its object, individual gain, Commercialism abstracts the individual from his personality. The modern capitalist lives a dual life; as capitalist he ceases more and more to be man. Private relations and business relations tend to become more and more abstracted from one another. Yet our capitalist forgets that it is only as man, as a concrete personality, that he can justly claim moral obligations from his fellow-men. If as the "head of a firm," he stands in any moral relation to other personalities, it is only by virtue of the fact that the divorce between his manhood and his "headship of the firm" is incomplete, that the personal relation is not altogether abolished. His belongings as "head of the firm" are to be respected, because even under this disguise he is recognised as a thing of flesh and blood.

But there is one form under which modern capitalism functions—its most advanced form—in which the last shred of personal responsibility is torn from its operations. We refer to what the French aptly call the *société anonyme*—that thing without a name the joint-stock company. Here at last is naked capital, the last shred of its human covering gone—capital without a capitalist—the thing of which the proverb says, it has "neither soul to save, nor heart to feel, nor body to kick." The abstraction is now complete, but at the same moment transformed into a hyper-physical, hyper-ethical entity. With the "head of the firm" there is always the chance (though possibly a faint one) that the man may get the better of the capitalist; human feelings may even hold back the demon "business"—the possibility of conscience is there to which to make your appeal. But here there is nothing but surplus-value. Fancy has imagined beings composed of water or of fire merely—Undines and Salamanders. Here is a being composed of the "circulating process of capital." By dint of the power of money the widow and orphan are ruined by litigation—are driven from court to court in search of their just and obvious claims. Employés of long-standing service are turned off at a week's notice when not wanted. You appeal to the conscience of the secretary, the manager, the director, against these enormities. The reply is simple; "We are here merely to look after the interests of the shareholders," which being interpreted, means, having duly appropriated the customary "pickings," to see that as much profit as

possible is wrung out of "servants" and "public" regardless of all other considerations. But how about these shareholders? Peter let us say, is a shareholder. He is one of those who has deliberately merged a certain amount of his property (his belongings) in an impersonal abstraction, over the working of which he has practically no control. He has severed this portion of his belongings from his concrete individuality. It is a quantum of circulating capital abstracted from the man. The "company" consists entirely in a sum-total of such *quanta* of capital. The holder is merely an accident, both qualitatively and quantitatively. The sum-total of these *quanta* of capital, may be "held" indifferently by twenty men or twenty thousand. They may be clever or stupid, humane or criminal. As personalities they are utterly indifferent. Peter, though a shareholder, is in his relation to the working of the "company" but as one of the "ordinary public." The member of a trade-firm, is personally responsible (more or less) for the working of that firm. Not so here. The man—the capitalist, if you will—has altogether abstracted his "belongings" from that to which they belong—from himself. It matters not what action may be taken in the name of the "company," he, the private shareholder, is powerless to prevent it. Once in it, the ghastly Frankenstein may dance on his conscience, and beyond an impotent protest, he can do nothing. "But he can sell out," you will say. Of what avails it? The action goes on; he has only shifted the nominal responsibility from his own shoulders to his neighbour's. The "company" remains. Holders come and holders go, but shares flow on for ever. The company is constituted essentially of the shares, and only accidentally of the men that hold them.

In what relation then does the individual—concrete man or woman—the thing of flesh and blood, stand to this abstraction? We have taken for granted as indisputable, that we cannot stand in a moral relation to an abstraction or an inanimate object or indeed to anything but a concrete sentient being. We cannot owe a duty to Peter's coat or his money but only to Peter. We cannot therefore stand in any *real* moral relation to the joint-stock company. But the interests of Commercialism require that the wholly impersonal joint-stock company like the semi-personal business "firm" should be treated to all practical intents and purposes as though it were a full living human personality. In law, of course, it has the full rights of personality. In morality it has stolen them or tried to steal them. It claims (tacitly if not explicitly) in the name not only of law but of honour forsooth, a claim to make the gods laugh, respect for its "property" and the fulfilment of a bargain which it tacitly assumes the individual to be bound by when he takes advantage of the social function it casually performs (more or less badly) in pursuit of its sole end, the extraction of the greatest possible amount of *profit* from producer and consumer. The sacred name of "honour" and "honesty," originating in far other conditions of society, and implying reciprocal obligations, is prostituted by the modern bourgeois mind to facilitate the "trickstering" and "profit-grinding" of modern competitive commerce for which on its own side moral obligations do not exist or exist at best on sufferance. But a suspicion of the instability of the title of the joint-stock company to be treated as a moral personality pierces the legal and conventional fiction. A waft of healthy moral instinct whispers to a man that it is not the same thing to "defraud" a "company" as to rob his neighbour. But he does not know how to justify his instinctive impression. Hence when brought to book he cries a *mea culpa*. It is only the student of social evolution to whom the bogus nature of the title, to which the "joint-stock" company, and to a lesser extent of that to which other forms of "commercial" individuality, impudently lay claim to recognition as object of moral obligation, is revealed in all its clearness.

The "Stocum-Mudford railway company" let us suppose, appeals to the honour of the individual passenger not to prejudice its interests by "fraud" or otherwise. "But," says the individual, "who are you? I as a moral man, recognise my duty to all other persons individually as well as to the community as a whole. But you are neither an individual nor the community, and I decline to admit that I have any duties in your case at all. 'Peter I know and Paul I know, but who are you?' My conscience does not respond to your appeal. It strikes me, on the contrary, that you and your congeners, are fitting subjects for the exercise of those free individualist tendencies about which the salaried defenders of the state of society which gives you birth, wax so eloquent. 'Business is business;' let us have no sentimentality. We are on a footing of competition, only that it is not 'free,' seeing that you have the law on your side. However let that bide. Your 'game' is to get as much money-value as possible out of me the passenger on your line ('conveyance,' being the specific form of social utility your capital works in, in order to realise itself as surplus-value) and to give as little as possible in return, only in fact so much as will make your line pay. My 'game,' as an individual passenger, on the contrary, is to get as much *use*-value, to derive as much advantage from the social function which you casually perform in pursuance of your profit, as I possibly can, and to give you as little as possible in return. You seek under the protection of the law to guard yourself from "fraud," as you term it. Good. If I can evade the law passed in your interest and elude your vigilance, I have a perfect right to do so, and my success in doing so will be the reward of my ingenuity. If I fail I am only an unfortunate man. To talk of 'dishonesty' or 'dishonour' where no moral obligation or 'duty' can possibly exist, is absurd. You choose to make certain arbitrary rules to regulate the commercial game. I decline to pledge myself to be bound by them, and in so doing I am clearly within my moral right. We each try to get as much out of the other as we can, you in your way, I in mine. Only, I repeat, you are backed by the law, I am not. That is all the difference."

¹ It is necessary to make this last caveat, as of course every Socialist will admit the justifiability of the community's confiscating individual wealth to public purposes, and of course any one individual might be the agent of this confiscation in any particular case.

The question with which we set out has now been answered. We took an extreme instance to start with, but our explanation covers the whole range of similar phenomena; for instance the distinction felt between a "debt of honour" and a tradesman's bill. In the commercial relation as such the moral relation is abolished. In proportion as the personality, with its human responsibility, retreats into the background, leaving us confronted with the lifeless, bloodless vampire, Trade, by so much do the words "duty," "honour," "morality," lose meaning. "Conscience," which has its ground in social union, can have no part nor lot with "Commerce," which has its ground in anti-social greed. But the transition from the personal or conscientious to the purely commercial relation is so gradual and is complicated by so many other factors, that it is quite easy for the bourgeois mind to keep up the fiction that honour or dishonour can be involved even in dealing with that commercial abstraction, the "joint-stock company." A general recognition of the sham claim of commercial abstractions to moral consideration, could not but prove embarrassing to the modern commercial system, which would then have to rely on its legal defences alone.

E. BELFORD BAX.

BASTILLE, BOURGEOISE, AND BUMBLE.

AMONGST the many indignities and miseries endured by the poor, none is so keenly felt or bitterly resented as those inflicted under the Poor Law. The poor rightly consider this as a heartless measure for the punishment and not the relief of their poverty and that this view is shared by the Poor Law officials themselves is shown by their brutal methods of administration. Scarcely a week passes but some poor wretch is done to death by the callous brutality of these minions of the brutal bourgeoisie, or some worn out worker commits suicide to avoid receiving the attention of the "Guardians of the Poor."

We Socialists are engaged in a movement which regards both pauper and criminal as the products of an iniquitous system of robbery of which both aristocrat and hateful bourgeois stand guilty. Those who oppose us in this view often tell us that the present system is the result of Societary Evolution, for which no particular class is to blame. It is impossible within the limits of an article to give a history of the working class or the Poor Law, but as a student of both and as a worker I assert that the wrong and suffering endured by us to-day are the result of deliberate, well-planned robberies on the part of the idle classes of society, and it will be an ill day for them if the workers in a moment of power should treat these parasites to a tittle of the torture to which by their laws they have subjected the poor.

Only glancing at the robbery of millions of acres of common and public lands from the peasantry, and hindrances to locomotion and knowledge in the past—all contributory causes of poverty—let us fix our attention on a period which is regarded with affectionate interest by the middle class, that of the Reform Bill of 1832, and its pendant the Municipal Reform Act, 1834. The working class had aided the bourgeoisie to break the power of the ruling families and installed the middle class in office. "Help us," said they, "and your enfranchisement is assured." "The Bill, the whole Bill," they cried, and in truth the gulled workers got nothing but the Bill. Their reward was a most infamous cold-blooded Poor Law. They punished them for poverty created by their despoilers. Those whom O'Connell before his apostasy from the people's cause, fittingly described as "the base brutal and bloody Whigs," gave Malthus's inhuman denial of the right of the poor to live, concrete expression in the Poor Law Amendment Act of the day. Coleridge in his "Table Talk," speaks of the practical father of this measure as follows: "I solemnly declare that I do not believe that all the heresies, sects, and factions, which the ignorance, or wickedness of men has given birth to, were altogether so disgraceful to man as a Christian philosopher, or statesman or citizen as this abominable tenet . . . but it is so vicious a tenet, so flattering to the cruelty, the avarice and sordid selfishness of most men that I hardly know what to think of the result."

The immediate result was that the working class were stirred to the heart. The perfidy of the authors was the theme and incentive of the noble band who founded first the Working Men's Association and afterwards the Chartist Movement.

The working class were ground down with taxation to pay the enormous debt incurred by their rulers in the liberticidal struggle with the French Republicans; they were the victims of a fiscal policy framed to fill the rapacious maws of place-hunters. Starvation stared them in the face, and whilst the country was being covered with railways, canals and mills, the results of the inventive brains of the Arkwrights, Stephensons and Fultons of Labour, there arose on every hand grim bastilles intended for their incarceration when broken down in the unequal struggle for life.

Protests were not wanting against this cruelty; the power and eloquence of the working-class leaders were directed against its authors, and fierce and threatening demonstrations were the consequence. The poetry of Elliott, the fiery eloquence of Harney and O'Connor were allied with the patient work of Lovett and the politic utterances of Sir Richard Phillips, to break down this Law, but to no avail. And how do we stand to day in relation to this stupendous crime committed against the most helpless, and at the same time most worthy, section of the community, the struggling poor? They are crowded in thousands within the hideous cheerless walls of the modern bastilles. Man and wife separated, imprisoned, deprived of liberty, fed upon food that is always coarse and frequently rotten. Let us peer into these wards crowded with aged and infirm men and women, and ask who are they who are condemned to pass the remnants of their lives in these infernos? They

are the mothers and fathers of the working-class, who have by their toil contributed to make England's commercial greatness.

There is no system of torture but has its defenders, and it is fitting that the peregrinating penny-a-liner of the *D. T.* who, as Ruskin has it, "pawns the dirty linen of his soul in order that he may dine," should strive to whitewash the workhouse system and prove its advantage to the poor; but their employers know better. At a Conference of Poor Law Guardians held in 1874, Reed declared publicly, "That the Poor Law was not intended to be either humane or just, but simply to give enough to preserve the life of the pauper"; and they literally interpret this, for in a workhouse not a hundred miles from the City Road, the inmates greedily devour the offal intended for the pig-tub. The ordinary food is unfit for human consumption. In some workhouses the inmates are deprived of the visits of friends and liberty out for three and four months together, and for the slightest infringement of the arbitrary rules are put in the Black Hole or Oakum Sheds. In the latter they are frequently compelled to pick more oakum than is allotted to felons within jails. In one the corpses of persons who die in the infirmary, or the "stiff un's," as the officers elegantly term them, are brought past the aged inmates as they sit in the "recreation" (*sic*) ground, I suppose "*pour encourager les autres*." All inmates dread the infirmary, and with good reasons, and will sooner hide their ailments than go into what is with horror alluded to as "over there." For over there in the general sense means a quick passage to the grave; indeed a doctor told a patient, in a West End workhouse, "You come here to die and not to live." In another, a woman in child-labour was forced to scrub out a ward until too ill to rise.

The cruel economy which has embittered and shortened their declining years, does not leave them in death. In Nottingham the coffins were so rotten that the bodies forced out the bottoms. Again, quite recently, in Clerkenwell, an undertaker spilt a load of dead paupers in the road, thus literally rattling their bones over the stones. A writer has spoken of the pauper's "tomb," but any cemetery gravedigger will tell you from what quarter of our public graveyards there comes into the public sewer the most noxious effluent; it is from the pauper ditch where they are hurled together in a common grave. So much for Christian burial. A chalk mark, easily obliterated, has been thought sufficient name-plate, and hence it is a common occurrence for friends to mourn over the wrong coffins. Often a person dies in the infirmary and no notice is taken of the dying appeal to send for relatives and friends, and the body lies unclaimed in the dead house, and if not claimed is given over to the surgeon's knife. Of pauper lunatics I may have a word to say in the future.

The streets in the vicinity of a metropolitan workhouse on a paupers outing, present a sad spectacle in illustration of our civilisation. Crowds of tottering men and women stream in different directions. Many, without friends or relatives or places to go to, wander aimlessly about, without food or pence, till it is time to re-enter their prisons. Woe to them, if late, for the sure punishment of the Oakum Shed and deprivation of future liberty awaits them. Striving to hide their detested uniform, others revisit the scenes of their poverty and struggles and beg a few pence and a meal from friends, whose lot will be soon as bad as their own. Aged couples, whose best years have been spent together, parted at the workhouse gate, re-unite outside and totter through the grim streets on a weary pilgrimage. Those who taunt us with seeking to dissolve family ties, should amend their hypocritical marriage service where it says, "Until death do us part:" and add, "Or the Relieving Officer."

Let others talk of evolution and development, but I shall see with pleasure the dawn of a day of reckoning with these cowardly, cruel ill-treaters of the poor. Remember, that the class who have been most conspicuous for their brutality towards the unfortunate of our class are those who style themselves Liberals, philanthropists, and the friends of labour, who have erected the callous inhuman doctrines of Malthus into a science, and allude to your horror of receiving their cold charity as "wholesome dread of the 'House,'" and "an aid to thrift and industry."

Those who are attracted to us from a sheer love of notoriety, and who in their previous careers never felt or sympathised with the poor, may from policy deprecate a cry for revenge. But the Socialist who looks forward to and works for the time when the worker's evening of life shall be passed in the enjoyment of what he has earned and produced with his fellows, cannot forego the desire and opportunity to reckon with those who bring the workers grey hairs in sorrow to the grave.

FRANCIS KITZ.

AN APPEAL.

THE Editors are glad to give publicity to the following appeal:

"As it is the wish of many friends that comrade Sketchley, the veteran Chartist, Republican and Socialist, should resume more active work, where his well-known abilities and great experience will be of the greatest service, and where he can devote his future years to the furtherance of the Socialist movement, we ask every one to assist us in making the testimonial a success. All who have received subscription lists, etc., might kindly remit to the treasurer, William Morris, by Nov. 5th.

"Signed on behalf of committee

EMILE COPELANE.
W. TAYLOR."

IN all the revolutions there have been but two parties confronting each other; that of the people who wished to live by their own labour, and that of those who would live by the labour of others.—*Blanqui*.

NOTHING in nature is so wonderful as the amount of injustice human beings will stand and still be "contented," unless it be the ease with which they swallow flattery and cheap glory, while their rights, comforts, necessities, are being stolen from them.—*May Huntley*.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1. "Why be Transported?" No. 2. "Down with the Socialists!" No. 3. "To the Radicals"; No. 4. "The Cause of Prostitution"; No. 5. "The Worker's Claims and 'Public Opinion'"; No. 6. "Tram-car Slavery: an Address to Tram-car Men and the Working Class in general." Copies sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage, and supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1,000.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Three numbers are now ready. 1. "Address to Trades Unions." By E. Belfort Bax. 16 pages. 2. "Useful Work v. Useless Toil." By William Morris. 24 pages. 3. "The Factory Hell." By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 16 pages. The above are issued at one penny each. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

WANTED.—Names of comrades willing occasionally to translate from Spanish, Serb, Greek, and Roumanian.

LIVERPOOL.—Anyone willing to form a Labour Emancipation League here is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street. Our comrade writes: "If there were several of us united here, we might soon begin the work by issuing Labour Emancipation leaves, on which we could name persons in the various divisions who would receive help, and thus form groups of workers who would make ready for a duly constituted league. Liverpool is so large, that I hope you may know some one in the other districts who will allow his address to be published also."

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Coursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

RECEIVED—Cri du Peuple (daily)—Neu Yorker Volkszeitung (weekly)—Sozial Demokrat (weekly)—Anarchist—L'Insurgé—Worker's Friend—Der Sozialist (weekly)—La Revue Socialiste—Neue Zeit—La Question Sociale—Freiheit (weekly)—Il Paria—Ni Dieu ni Maître—The Altruist—Denver Labor Inquirer—Chicago Alarm—Norwich Daylight—Detroit Labor Leaf—Boston Liberty—Union Socialiste—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—The Word—Boston Woman's Journal—San Francisco Chronicle—Watchman (N. Z.)—Index—Republican—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Journal Vigilance Association—Progress (N. Y.)—Boston (U. S.) Herald—Boston (U. S.) Globe—Boston (U. S.) Beacon—John Swinton's Paper (N. Y.)—Chicago Herald—Recht voor Allen—Sydney (N. S. W.) Morning Herald—National Bulletin—Brambleboro (Vt.) Woman's Magazine—El Angel del Hogar—La Réveil du Forçat—Le Socialiste de Lyon—La Defense des Ouvriers—La Defense des Travailleurs—Tchas (Belgrade)—O Campino (Portugal)—Voz do Operario (Portugal)—Le Socialiste (Paris)—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Spread the Light (N. Y.)—Al-moghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers)—Bandera Social (Madrid)—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—Drepturile Omului (Bucharest)—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon)—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—Harden (Athens)—Die Parole (St. Louis)

SINCE last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from English, Morris, Sparling, Wardle, and E. Marx-Aveling.

Notice to Members.

Library and Reading Room.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members. The librarians, Nicoll and Benson, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. for the purpose of exchanging books.

Choir.—The choir meet for practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Standing Committees.—Meet on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

General Meeting.—On first Monday in each month at 8.30 p.m.

Discussion Class.—This class, for members only, will meet at Farringdon Hall every Sunday morning at 11, beginning November 1st. See Lecture-Diary.

Note.—The October Issue being entirely exhausted, we have been compelled to go to press with the present number somewhat earlier than usual; this, together with the extreme pressure upon our space, necessitates the omission of many notes and letters. As many of these as are of more than passing interest will be noticed in next number.

The German Socialists are issuing at Zurich a new series of pamphlets to form a "Socialist library," which promises to be very interesting. In addition to new pamphlets, many of the most important contributions to the old *New Rhenish Gazette*, as well as to the later party organ, will be reprinted. The first pamphlet deals with "Society and Private Property," and is an exposition of the "programme" of the Party. This is almost identical with the excellent one issued by the French Socialists in the "Programme du Parti Ouvrier." The second pamphlet is "Karl Marx before the Cologne jury," and besides an introduction by Engels, contains the remarkable "speeches" of the three men accused of "exciting to armed rebellion" at Cologne in 1849.

A most important contribution to the history of the Revolution and of Humanity has been published at Paris. It is the "History of Gracchus Babeuf and of Babouvisme," written from numerous hitherto unpublished documents by M. Victor Advielle. The work forms two fine volumes of 200 octavo pages, printed on hand-made paper. Only 300 of the first edition have been issued, copies of which may be obtained by sending post-office order for 30 francs to the author at 3 rue Gerénégaud, Paris.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

VII.—IN PRISON—AND AT HOME.

THE first of the nights is this, and I cannot go to bed ;
I long for the dawning sorely, although when the night shall be dead,
Scarce to me shall the day be alive. Twice twenty-eight nights more,
Twice twenty-eight long days till the evil dream be o'er !
And he, does he count the hours as he lies in his prison-cell ?
Does he nurse and cherish his pain ? Nay, I know his strong heart well,
Swift shall his soul fare forth ; he is here, and bears me away,
Till hand in hand we depart toward the hope of the earlier day.
Yea, here or there he sees it : in the street, in the cell, he sees
The vision he bade me behold 'mid the stems of the blossoming trees,
When spring lay light on the earth, and first, and at last I knew
How sweet was his clinging hand, how fair were the deeds he would do.

Nay, how wilt thou weep and be soft and cherish a pleasure in pain,
When the days and their task are before thee and awhile thou must work
for twain ?

O face, thou shalt lose yet more of thy fairness, be thinner no doubt,
And be waxen white and worn by the day that he cometh out !
Hand, how pale thou shalt be ! how changed from the sunburnt hand
That he kissed as it handled the rake in the noon of the summer land !

Let me think then it is but a trifle : the neighbours have told me so ;
"Two months ! why that is nothing and the time will speedily go."
'Tis nothing—O empty bed, let me work then for his sake !
I will copy out the paper which he thought the News might take,
If my eyes may see the letters ; 'tis a picture of our life
And the little deeds of our days ere we thought of prison and strife.

Yes, neighbour, yes I am early—and I was late last night ;
Bedless I wore through the hours and made a shift to write.
It was kind of you to come, nor will it grieve me at all
To tell you why he's in prison and how the thing did befall ;
For I know you are with us at heart, and belike will join us soon.
It was thus : we went to a meeting on Saturday afternoon,
At a new place down in the West, a wretched quarter enough,
Where the rich men's houses are elbowed by ragged streets and rough,
Which are worse than they seem to be. (Poor thing ! you know too well
How pass the days and the nights within that bricken hell !)
There, then, on a bit of waste we stood 'twixt the rich and the poor ;
And Jack was the first to speak ; that was he that you met at the door
Last week. It was quiet at first ; and dull they most of them stood
As though they heeded nothing, nor thought of bad or of good,
Not even that they were poor, and haggard and dirty and dull :
Nay, some were so rich indeed that they with liquor were full,
And dull wrath rose in their souls as the hot words went by their ears,
For they deemed they were mocked and rated by men that were more than
their peers.

But for some, they seemed to think that a prelude was all this
To the preachment of saving of souls, and hell, and endless bliss ;
While some (O the hearts of slaves !) although they might understand,
When they heard their masters and feeders called thieves of wealth and of
land,

Were as angry as though *they* were cursed. Withal there were some that
heard,

And stood and pondered it all, and garnered a hope and a word.
Ah ! heavy my heart was grown as I gazed on the terrible throng.
Lo ! these that should have been the glad and the deft and the strong,
How were they dull and abased as the very filth of the road !
And who should waken their souls or clear their hearts of the load ?

The crowd was growing and growing, and therewith the jeering grew ;
And now that the time was come for an ugly brawl I knew,
When I saw how midst of the workmen some well-dressed men there came,
Of the scum of the well-to-do, brutes void of pity or shame ;
The thief is a saint beside them. These raised a jeering noise,
And our speaker quailed before it, and the hubbub drowned his voice.
Then Richard put him aside and rose at once in his place,
And over the rags and the squalor beamed out his beautiful face,
And his sweet voice rang through the tumult, and I think the crowd would
have hushed

And hearkened his manly words ; but a well-dressed reptile pushed
Right into the ring about us and screeched out infamies
That sickened the soul to hearken ; till he caught my angry eyes
And my voice that cried out at him, and straight on me he turned,
A foul word smote my heart and his came on my shoulders burned.
But e'en as a kestril stoops down Richard leapt from his stool
And drove his strong right hand amidst the mouth of the fool.
Then all was mingled together, and away from him was I torn,
And, hustled hither and thither, on the surging crowd was borne ;
But at last I felt my feet, for the crowd began to thin,
And I looked about for Richard that away from thence we might win ;
When lo, the police amidst us, and Richard hustled along
Betwixt a pair of blue-coats as the doer of all the wrong !

Little longer, friend, is the story ; I scarce have seen him again ;
I could not get him bail despite my trouble and pain ;
And this morning he stood in the dock : for all that that might avail,
They might just as well have dragged him at once to the destined jail.
The police had got their man and they meant to keep him there,
And whatever tale was needful they had no trouble to swear.

Well the white-haired fool on the bench was busy it seems that day,
And so with the words "Two months," he swept the case away ;
Yet he lectured my man ere he went, but not for the riot indeed
For which he was sent to prison, but for holding a dangerous creed.
"What have you got to do to preach such perilous stuff ?
To take some care of yourself should find you work enough.
If you needs must preach or lecture, then hire a chapel or hall ;
Though indeed if you take my advice you'll just preach nothing at all,
But stick to your work : you seem clever, who knows but you might rise,
And become a little builder should you condescend to be wise ?
For in spite of your silly sedition, the land that we live in is free,
And opens a pathway to merit for you as well as for me."

Ah friend, am I grown light-headed with the lonely grief of the night,
That I babble of this babble? Woe's me, how little and light
Is this beginning of trouble to all that yet shall be borne—
At worst but as the shower that lays but a yard of the corn
Before the hailstorm cometh and flattens the field to the earth.

O, for a word from my love of the hope of the second birth!
Could he clear my vision to see the sword creeping out of the sheath
Inch by inch as we writhe in the toils of our living death!
Could he but strengthen my heart to know that we cannot fail;
For alas, I am lonely here; helpless and feeble and frail;
I am e'en as the poor of the earth, e'en they that are now alive;
And where is their might and their cunning with the mighty of men to
strive?

Though they that come after be strong to win the day and the crown,
Ah, ever must we the deedless to the deedless dark go down,
Still crying, "To-morrow, to-morrow, to-morrow yet shall be
The new-born sun's arising o'er happy earth and sea"—
And we not there to greet it—for to-day and its life we yearn,
And where is the end of toiling and whitherward now shall we turn
But to patience, ever patience, and yet and yet to bear;
And yet, forlorn, unanswered as oft before to hear,
Through the tales of the ancient fathers and the dreams that mock our
wrong,
That cry to the naked heavens, "How long, O Lord! how long?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

HOW NOT TO TRANSLATE MARX.

THE first volume of "Das Kapital" is public property, as far as translation into foreign languages are concerned. Therefore, although it is pretty well known in English Socialist circles that a translation is being prepared and will be published under the responsibility of Marx's literary executors, nobody would have a right to grumble if that translation were anticipated by another, so long as the text was faithfully and equally well rendered.

The first few pages of such a translation by John Broadhouse, are published in the October number of *To-Day*. I say distinctly that it is very far from being a faithful rendering of the text, and that because Mr. Broadhouse is deficient in every quality required in a translator of Marx.

To translate such a book, a fair knowledge of literary German is not enough. Marx uses freely expressions of everyday life and idioms of provincial dialects; he coins new words, he takes his illustrations from every branch of science, his allusions from the literatures of a dozen languages; to understand him, a man must be a master of German indeed, spoken as well as written, and must know something of German life too.

To use an illustration. When some Oxford Undergraduates rowed in a four-oar boat across the straits of Dover, it was stated in the Press reports that one of them "caught a crab." The London correspondent of the *Cologne Gazette* took this literally, and faithfully reported to his paper, that "a crab had got entangled in the oar of one of the rowers." If a man who has been living for years in the midst of London is capable of such a ludicrous blunder as soon as he comes across the technical terms of an art unknown to him, what must we expect from a man who with a passable knowledge of mere book-German, undertakes to translate the most untranslatable of German prose writers? And indeed we shall see that Mr. Broadhouse is an excellent hand at "catching crabs."

But there is something more required. Marx is one of the most vigorous and concise writers of the age. To render him adequately, a man must be a master, not only of German, but of English too. Mr. Broadhouse, however, though evidently a man of respectable journalistic accomplishments, commands but that limited range of English used by and for conventional literary respectability. Here he moves with ease; but this sort of English is not a language into which "Das Kapital" can ever be translated. Powerful German requires powerful English to render it; the best resources of the language have to be drawn upon; new-coined German terms require the coining of corresponding new terms in English. But as soon as Mr. Broadhouse is faced by such a difficulty, not only his resources fail him, but also his courage. The slightest extension of his limited stock-in-trade, the slightest innovation upon the conventional English of everyday literature frightens him, and rather than risk such a heresy, he renders the difficult German word by a more or less indefinite term which does not grate upon his ear but obscures the meaning of the author; or, worse still, he translates it, as it recurs, by a whole series of different terms, forgetting that a technical term has to be rendered always by one and the same equivalent. Thus, in the very heading of the first section, he translates *Werthgrösse* by "extent of value," ignoring that *grösse* is a definite mathematical term, equivalent to magnitude, or determined quantity, while extent may mean many things besides. Thus even the simple innovation of "labour-time" for *Arbeitszeit*, is too much for him; he renders it by (1) "time-labour," which means, if anything, labour paid by time or labour done by a man "serving" time at hard labour; (2) "time of labour," (3) "labour-time," and (4) "period of labour," by which term (*Arbeitsperiode*) Marx, in the second volume, means something quite different. Now as is well known, the "category" of labour-time is one of the most fundamental of the whole book, and to translate it by four different terms in less than ten pages is more than unparadonable.

Marx begins with the analysis of what a commodity is. The first aspect under which a commodity presents itself, is that of an object of utility; as such it may be considered with regard either to its quality

or its quantity. "Any such thing is a whole in itself, the sum of many qualities or properties, and may therefore be useful in different ways. To discover these different ways and therefore the various uses to which a thing may be put, is the act of history. So, too, is the finding and fixing of socially recognised standards of measure for the quantity of useful things. The diversity of the modes of measuring commodities arises partly from the diversity of the nature of the objects to be measured, partly from convention."

This is rendered by Mr. Broadhouse as follows: "To discover these various ways, and consequently the multifarious modes in which an object may be of use, is a work of time. So, consequently, is the finding of the social measure for the quantity of useful things. The diversity in the bulk of commodities arises partly from the different nature," etc.

With Marx, the finding out of the various utilities of things constitutes an essential part of historic progress; with Mr. Broadhouse, it is merely a work of time. With Marx the same qualification applies to the establishment of recognised common standards of measure. With Mr. B., another "work of time" consists in the "finding of the social measure for the quantity of useful things," about which sort of measure Marx certainly never troubled himself. And then he winds up by mistaking *Masse* (measures) for *Masse* (bulk), and thereby saddling Marx with one of the finest crabs that was ever caught.

Further on, Marx says: "Use-values form the material out of which wealth is made up, whatever may be the social form of that wealth" (the specific form of appropriation by which it is held and distributed). Mr. Broadhouse has: "Use values constitute the actual basis of wealth which is always their social form"—which is either a pretentious platitude or sheer nonsense.

The second aspect under which a commodity presents itself, is its exchange-value. That all commodities are exchangeable, in certain varying proportions, one against the other, that they have exchange-values, this fact implies that they contain something which is common to all of them. I pass over the slovenly way in which Mr. Broadhouse here reproduces one of the most delicate analyses in Marx's book, and at once proceed to the passage where Marx says: "This something common to all commodities cannot be a geometrical, physical, chemical or other natural property. In fact their material properties come into consideration only in so far as they make them useful, that is, in so far as they turn them into use-values." And he continues: "But it is the very act of making abstraction from their use-values which evidently is the characteristic point of the exchange-relation of commodities. Within this relation, one use-value is equivalent to any other, so long as it is provided in sufficient proportion."

Now Mr. Broadhouse: "But on the other hand, it is precisely these Use-values in the abstract which apparently characterise the exchange-ratio of the commodities. In itself, one Use-value is worth just as much as another if it exists in the same proportion."

Thus, leaving minor mistakes aside, Mr. Broadhouse makes Marx say the very reverse of what he does say. With Marx, the characteristic of the exchange-relation of commodities is the fact, that total abstraction is made of their use-values, that they are considered as having no use-values at all. His interpreter makes him say, that the characteristic of the exchange ratio (of which there is no question here) is precisely their use-value, only taken "in the abstract"! And then, a few lines further on, he gives the sentence of Marx: "As Use-values, commodities can only be of different quality, as exchange-values they can only be of different quantity, containing not an atom of Use-value," neither abstract nor concrete. We may well ask: "Understandest thou what thou readest?"

To this question it becomes impossible to answer in the affirmative, when we find Mr. Broadhouse repeating the same misconception over and over again. After the sentence just quoted, Marx continues: "Now, if we leave out of consideration" (that is, make abstraction from) "the use-values of the commodities, there remains to them but one property: that of being the products of labour. But even this product of labour has already undergone a change in our hands. If we make abstraction from its use-value, we also make abstraction from the bodily components and forms which make it into a use-value."

This is Englished by Mr. Broadhouse as follows: "If we separate Use-values from the actual material of the commodities, there remains" (where? with the use-values or with the actual material?) "one property only, that of the product of labour. But the product of labour is already transmuted in our hands. If we abstract from it its use-value, we abstract also the stamina and form which constitute its use-value."

Again, Marx: "In the exchange-relation of commodities, their exchange-value presented itself to us as something perfectly independent of their use-values. Now, if we actually make abstraction from the use-value of the products of labour, we arrive at their value, as previously determined by us." This is made by Mr. Broadhouse to sound as follows: "In the exchange-ratio of commodities their exchange-value appears to us as something altogether independent of their use-value. If we now in effect abstract the use-value from the labour-products, we have their value as it is then determined." There is no doubt of it. Mr. Broadhouse has never heard of any other acts and modes of abstraction but bodily ones, such as the abstraction of money from a till or a safe. To identify abstraction and subtraction, will, however, never do for a translator of Marx.

Another specimen of the turning of German sense into English nonsense. One of the finest researches of Marx is that revealing the duplex character of labour. Labour, considered as a producer of use-value, is of a different character, has different qualifications from the same labour, when considered as a producer of value. The one is

labour of a specified kind, spinning, weaving, ploughing, etc.; the other is the general character of human productive activity, common to spinning, weaving, ploughing, etc., which comprises them all under the one common term, labour. The one is labour in the concrete, the other is labour in the abstract. The one is technical labour, the other is economical labour. In short—for the English language has terms for both—the one is *work*, as distinct from labour; the other is *labour*, as distinct from work. After this analysis, Marx continues: "Originally a commodity presented itself to us as something duplex: Use-value and Exchange-value. Further on we saw that labour, too, as far as it is expressed in value, does no longer possess the same characteristics which belong to it in its capacity as a creator of use-value." Mr. Broadhouse insists on proving that he has not understood a word of Marx's analysis, and translates the above passage as follows: "We saw the commodity at first as a compound of Use-value and Exchange-value. Then we saw that labour, so far as it is expressed in value, only possesses that character so far as it is a generator of use-value." When Marx says: White, Mr. Broadhouse sees no reason why he should not translate: Black.

But enough of this. Let us turn to something more amusing. Marx says: "In civil society, the *factio juris* prevails that everybody, in his capacity as a buyer of commodities, possesses an encyclopaedical knowledge of all such commodities." Now, although the expression, Civil Society, is thoroughly English, and Ferguson's "History of Civil Society" is more than a hundred years old, this term is too much for Mr. Broadhouse. He renders it "amongst ordinary people," and thus turns the sentence into nonsense. For it is exactly "ordinary people" who are constantly grumbling at being cheated by retailers, etc., in consequence of their ignorance of the nature and values of the commodities they have to buy.

The production (*Herstellung*) of a Use-value is rendered by "the establishing of a Use-value." When Marx says "If we succeed in transforming, with little labor, coal into diamonds, their value may fall below that of bricks," Mr. Broadhouse, apparently not aware that diamond is an allotropic form of carbon, turns coal into coke. Similarly he transmutes the "total yield of the Brazilian diamond mines" into "the entire profits of the whole yield." "The primitive communities of India" in his hands become "venerable communities." Marx says: "In the use-value of a commodity is contained" (*steckt*, which had better be translated: For the production of the use-value of a commodity there has been spent) "a certain productive activity, adapted to the peculiar purpose, or a certain useful labour." Mr. Broadhouse must say: "In the use-value of a commodity is contained a certain quantity of productive power or useful labour," thus turning not only quality into quantity, but productive activity which has been spent, into productive power which is to be spent.

But enough. I could give tenfold this number of instances, to show that Mr. Broadhouse is in every respect not a fit and proper man to translate Marx, and especially so because he seems perfectly ignorant of what is really conscientious scientific work.¹

FREDERICK ENGELS.

The Yorkshire Miners and Their Masters.

"We cannot continue to pay the present extravagant rate of wages since many of us are working our pits at an absolute loss. It is therefore necessary for the men to submit to a 10 per cent. reduction." Thus spoke the capitalist owners and managers of the Yorkshire collieries, and small was the use of gainsaying them. True, the worm turned, but it was crushed for all that. The great lock-out, however, is now a thing of the past. The miners have put on harness once more to drag on a weariful brute existence. The fear that the price of coal would rise has happily been averted, and the public conscience is again at rest to be only temporarily, though ever and anon, disquieted, by a five-minutes-wonder explosion. And here it may be interesting to remark that during the few weeks which have elapsed since the colliers went back to their slavery, not less than 200 lives in the north of England alone, have been profidentially sacrificed by explosions. I am gravely in earnest when I say that death is indeed a happy release from the daily round of misery and anxiety which attends every breath of the miner, as what follows will undoubtedly show.

Desirous, during the dispute, of knowing and seeing somewhat of the facts of the situation, I, in company with a few comrades paid a visit to Middleton, a neighbouring mining district some three miles away from Leeds, where the men were holding out against the exactions of their masters. Although partly a suburban village, the air thereabouts is sadly deteriorated by reason of the sulphurous ejections from the pits and smelting works. These in combination with the various odours given off by the surrounding chemical and leather factories, play such havoc with the atmosphere as to reduce it to the level of the mixture we breathe in the town, that is a composition of smoke, filth and air, in about equal proportions.

Imagine us in the back parlour of a wayside inn, surrounded by a score of committee men—the executive of the strikers—who are met to dole out the scanty supply of bread and pennies collected during the day from the sympathising public. These are men painfully careful

lest we should receive erroneous impressions, and corrections on the smallest matters of detail are seriously submitted. Indeed they seem more inclined to understate than overstate their grievances "because," said they, "it is best to be on the safe side and to let the public know the plain truth." A careful comparison of their statements led me to the conclusion that deducting for periodic short time, the miner who averaged, year in and year out, the weekly wage of 18s. was, in this district, a lucky and exceptionally steady man. And from this modest sum the growth of productive capabilities necessitates that, for the future there shall be a 10 per cent. reduction.

One miner writing to a local paper and giving his name and address, stated that himself and five fellow-workmen engaged on the same shift, only averaged 8s. 4d. per week each for the three months preceding the lock-out. He described himself as a married man with a family of four, numbering together with his wife, six hungry mouths. Leaving aside house-rent, clothing, etc., the family at the above rate would just be able to procure for itself two meals per day. Talk, Professors Bryce and Marshall, about reducing men down to the level of the Indian coolie—why here is an actual example. No matter. Civilisation is peremptory. Ten per cent. must come off this starving family's back or we have dead-lock in the capitalist world and civilisation cannot go on. "Ay," said to me, an old man whose eye had been injured in a blasting operation, "they've (the mine-owners) risen the parson's salary £50 this year, and we shall have to pay for't."

The seams of coal wherein the miners labour vary in thickness and therefore in height, because it is impossible, under present conditions, for the miners to spend the requisite time in making their surroundings physically agreeable, since they are only paid according to the amount of coal they produce. Hence if a miner dislodges a ton of a particular seam, which in all cases has a considerable amount of useless matter, he only receives payment for the amount of coal produced. The dirt, stone and useless matter necessarily dislodged, count for nothing, and the miner has to bear the loss. In one seam called the "thin seam," varying from two to three feet in height, the men produce pure coal at 1s. 8d. per ton. They have, however, to crawl into this oppressive hole on their hands and knees, and work prostrate, leaning on their sides or as best they may. Furthermore, as they advance into the seam they have increased difficulty in regaining the trucks, which are too high in structure to admit of them accompanying the men along the excavated path; so that when the desired amount of coal is obtained, the miners have to remove it the best way they can until they reach the entrance of the seam where the trucks are arrayed. At the time of the lock-out it took four successive "lifts" or removals, to reach the trucks. Consequently the miner had first to dislodge his coal, then to remove it four times, crouched under a roof 24 inches high, at the munificent rate of 20 pennies per ton. From this the progress of civilisation demands that a 10 per cent. reduction shall henceforward be made in consideration of "the lilies of the field."

In another seam wherein it appears the men are able to stand upright, they only receive 9d. per ton of the coal produced. Here, however, there are other hardships to be encountered. The miner is frequently troubled by downpouring water which wets him to the skin (when he happens to be dressed) and which also tends to loosen stones that fall whither they may, as many a sore head testifies—a matter that seems to be but lightly recked of, while the mere mention of a 10 per cent. reduction raises a fury.

Surely, then, the miners have ample cause to protest against the wholesale robbery which is being perpetrated on them. They receive upon the average about 1s. 4d. per ton for the coal they produce. It averages at the pit-head 10s. per ton. It is transported to London and sold at from 17s. to 25s. per ton. Small is the wonder, then, that managers receive their thousands and tens of thousands per annum. Small is the wonder that shareholders, merchants and the like, wax fat and kick, while the producers and consumers—the people in short—wax lamentably meek and lean. But is this progress? Answer, Professors Marshall and Bryce. To reduce some 40,000 Yorkshiremen to the condition of the Egyptian fellaheen that the few may have the wherewithal to waste in degrading extravagance—may in open competition with each other as to who can afford to waste in the most reckless, ridiculous degree—is this the progress you esteem? Verily, so it seems. Then away with your Economy and your capitalistic manner of working! The progress which the Socialist seeks is the lifting up of all men. Not the deprivation of the many for the surfeit of the few. Let us strike off these managers and shareholders, these capitalistic all-devourers. Let us unite and see that the community shall for the future provide what little these monopolists have done in the past. By this means we shall bring the producers and consumers into more immediate contact, and there will be no more middle meddlers to despoil us at their leisure.

One cheering token there is even in so feeble a protest as the Yorkshire miners' strike, and it is the unmistakable evidence forthcoming of the fact that the spirit of resisting wrong to the uttermost is not yet dead and broken in men. And it may serve to sustain us in the manifold trials of our struggle when we remember that if as much universal resistance to wrong were only intelligently exerted, Socialism in as short a space, would be the successful issue.

Since the foregoing was written, matters with the miners have again assumed ominous guise. A general strike seems now inevitable. One "conference" counsels the men to strike for a 10 per cent. advance. Another would have them strike for 15 per cent. Their plea is that trade is bettering. But this, like most of our latter-day union pleas, is weak and invertebrate. The fact is that they have now a better chance of winning, what is at best a losing game, than they had when the

¹ From the above it will be evident that "Das Kapital" is not a book the translation of which can be done by contract. The work of translating it is in excellent hands, but the translators cannot devote all their time to it. This is the reason of the delay. But while the precise time of publication cannot as yet be stated, we may safely say that the English edition will be in the hands of the public in the course of next year.

masters declared against them early in the year. Winter is at hand, the demand for coal will be urgent, and the miners trust that the masters, rather than shut up their pits, will concede the per cent. demanded, even if the consuming public are made to pay the piper in the shape of costlier fuel. After the winter has been weathered, the masters may again lock out their hands, or compel them to submit to another wholesale reduction. Thus will the miserable struggle go on whilst Competition obtains—a miserable struggle for two shillings in the pound. If the deluded workers would but learn to *strike for the pound!*

T. MAGUIRE.

LITERARY NOTES.

"Discovery of the Missing Link: An Attack upon the enemy of Labour." By F. P. Williams, 733 Greene Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.—The dedication of this pamphlet to Henry George gave me warning of the line of thought along which it would work. The enemy of labour is landlordism, according to F. P. Williams. Of course, to us landlordism is only an enemy and a very little one at that compared with the enemy of labour—capitalism. The little work is written in an earnest, energetic style and drops into poetry at the end more than once.

"The Horrible Sweating System." By Lewis Lyons, 1 Tenter Street East, Whitechapel.—Four short articles on the tailoring misarrangements of East London. Three of them appeared in these columns. All four are intrinsically interesting, and possess this extrinsic interest that they are written by the workingman whom Mr. Saunders sent to prison on the unsupported, contradicted, self-contradictory evidence of the perjured policeman Brind, 463 K.

"England's Ideal: a Tract," (reprinted from *To-Day*, May 1884); and "Modern Science: a Criticism," by Edward Carpenter, are shortly to be issued by John Heywood, Deansgate, Manchester. E. A.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

GERMANY.—The celebrated Chemnitz trial has at last come off—and the nine accused have had to be acquitted! And that after the Prussian Government had spent eighteen months in preparing "evidence," and the indictment alone formed an imposing volume of over a hundred folio pages. Poor Bismarck! It is quite appalling to think of the amount of brandy he will consume to comfort himself for all the labour lost. The nine prosecuted Socialists were, it may be remembered, accused of taking part a year and a half ago in the Congress held by the German Socialists at Copenhagen, and of belonging to a secret society whose aim is the overthrow of existing laws, and of circulating by millions Socialistic pamphlets, fly-sheets and the prohibited *Social Democrat*. Of course, the statement as to the "secret society" is absurd, and despite all efforts of the police, the verdict could be no other—even in Germany—than it was. Meantime, however, the police is "taking it out" of the Socialists. Heine has just been sentenced to six months' imprisonment; Kröcker's printing press has been seized and confiscated; Liebknecht has a month for insulting two police-agents (how policeman H 17, who thought we were disrespectful to him, must regret he isn't in Germany!) There are some eight or nine other trials pending.

I know that in England there is an idea that German prisons are not at all unpleasant places—and certainly persons condemned for "press offences" are better off than they would be here. But that political prisoners may be as cruelly tortured in Germany as Fenian prisoners were in England, the following facts prove. My readers probably remember that at the so-called "Niedervald trial," the shoemaker Holzhauser was condemned to ten years' hard labour. On the 19th of September, Holzhauser committed suicide by hanging himself in his cell at Halle. I quote from the *Social Democrat*:—"Holzhauser was driven to this deed of despair through continual tortures. . . . Thus—as we are informed on reliable authority—he was not occupied as shoemaker, but was set to do work of which, owing to his excessive shortsightedness, he could not do the given amount. The consequence was one "disciplinary" punishment after the other. His request for spectacles was refused. That he was also made to suffer from cold is evident from his last letter to his wife. . . . His family, living in Barmen, only learnt his death from the local papers; the prison authorities did not think proper till five days after Holzhauser's death to communicate with his relations." . . . May this poor shoemaker's name be added to the long list of the martyrs of our cause. Let all of us that are Socialists remember Holzhauser."

The English bourgeois press always has long telegrams and gushing articles about the German military manoeuvres. I do not think any one of them has found space to record these "details." I take only a very few facts from many given:—"On the 14th of September, near Durlach, the manoeuvres of the 14th Army corps—attended, of course, by the German Emperor and many foreign officers—took place. . . . On the morning of the 15th September the troops set forth from their quarters merrily and in good health—between four and five in the evening they returned—but how? The condition of the soldiers is hardly describable; they no longer walked, they dragged themselves despairingly along. . . . Over 400 fainted. 9 men were picked up dead. . . . On the 16th of September the number of 'fallen' was 800. . . . At Karlsruhe over 50 men were left lying on the field, of whom 5 died." . . . There can be no comment on such facts. But the soldiers in Germany are beginning to understand that they, like the workers, are victims of the hideous bourgeois society of to-day—and they are coming over to us.

FRANCE.—The elections have come, and by the time I am writing gone—though I do not know the results of the final "ballotages." To me it seems that the most important points in regard to these elections are the joining of hands of various Socialist parties, and the clean knocking over of the Opportunists. With the single exception of the followers of M. Brousse—whose Socialism is a very doubtful quantity—all other parties worked together. The number, more or less, of votes recorded, it seems to me matters very little (I confess I don't know what the numbers are)—but I think that the good propagandist work done all over France matters much. And that the Radicals *a la Clémenceau*—who temper their Radicalism with Socialism, and their Socialism with Opportunism—should be left practically face to face with the reactionists, is to our advantage alone. If Clémenceau kills Opportunism, or Opportunism Clémenceau, "each way makes our gain."

In the *Socialiste* of 10th October, Paul Lafargue gives a short account of a visit to Louise Michel. I regret that I have not space to translate it. Our heroic Louise is what she has ever been—the gentlest, tenderest, most womanly of women, while at once the strongest, most uncompromising, and determined of revolutionists. She is spending much of her time in preparing good school books for little children—surely admirable work—and suffering is as ever incapable of weakening this strong woman's heart. Lafargue tried to prove to her that she could without hesitation accept an amnesty—since she does not admit the right of the Government to condemn her, and since on coming out from prison she would carry on her good work of propaganda for the revolution. But till all her fellow-prisoners—Krapotkin and the rest—are amnestied, Louise will not hear of any "mercy" for herself. Let me just add that Lafargue could only see her behind her horrible prison-bars, and could not even touch her hand.

AMERICA.—There is much interesting news to be given from various countries, but our American news is so specially interesting this month that I am tempted

to leave out many notes—space being limited—to make way for it. First, I must say that the struggle with the police at Dod Street has caused the utmost excitement and interest, all the papers—bourgeois as well as our own—giving long accounts of what occurred. As to Morris's arrest our friends all rejoice at it as the best thing that could have happened. I don't know that Morris will quite agree with them, but I certainly do. The *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (a daily Socialist paper with a very large circulation) gives in its issue of the 1st October, a report of a crowded meeting held in New York on the "Gagging Affair in London." A resolution—too long, unfortunately, for insertion here—was passed, stating that the "shameful events in London" only go to prove that there must be solidarity among all people of the earth; that all workers can learn a lesson from this; and that they (*i.e.*, the Socialists at this meeting) greet with all their hearts the advance made on the heretofore unpropitious soil of England, of the eternal Socialist Idea, and that they wish their English comrades good luck in their energetic conduct." The resolution ends with the words, "May the day of our emancipation soon dawn."

A new English Socialist paper is about to be started in New York. This is good news. There are already two German Socialist papers, but since the *Voice of the People* ceased to appear two years ago there has been no English one.

The recent report of the Bureau of Statistics is of the utmost importance for us Socialists. But a letter has just come from San Francisco containing such interesting news that I cannot resist giving at least a few extracts from it, and leaving over, for the present, my notes on the "report." For the many interesting facts concerning organisation in the "small scattered towns" I have not room, and I can only get in a few general ones. "The International have extended their operations. . . have two lecturers afield, and are doing all they can in distributing literature. . . . No comrades are working harder than those at Topeka, Kansas. . . . In Stockton, California, one of our largest towns, we have got quite a footing; have captured the leading paper, and are holding extremely good weekly meetings. . . . We have sent a man specially to Seattle (Washington Territory), another to Victoria, etc., etc. From all these we have had numerous letters. We have letters from Oregon, from Canada, where there is much discontent. . . . but the best work is being done in Central California, the most thickly peopled portion of the State. . . . A large mass meeting was held some three weeks ago to advocate Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs. Some 3000 had a lot of Socialism talked to them. . . . Two of our most energetic comrades are now organising a free employment agency for the unemployed—of whom there will be in this city (San Francisco) alone some 15,000 this winter." Our correspondent goes on to say how the Chinese question is one of their greatest difficulties. We understand the difficulty in some respects, but surely that will be lessened when our American Socialists explain that not the unhappy Chinese but the exploiters who import them are to blame—that the latter not the former should be attacked. In conclusion, our comrade writes that the *Commonweal* "is eagerly read here, and largely quoted from in our labour papers," and he, too, says "the news of Morris's arrest has reached us, and we take that to be the best thing that has happened for a long time. That very day an attempt to suppress free speech was made here, and a League for its Defence promptly formed. We expect an enormous crowd in consequence this afternoon." All good be with our comrades in the West! ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

[Notes from Holland, Spain, and Italy must stand over for want of space.]

FREE SPEECH AND THE POLICE.

On Sunday, September 27, the Socialists and Radicals gained a complete victory over the police. Rejecting all offers of compromise they carried out literally that which they had said they would do, and that which the authorities had said they should not do. A procession of some thirty thousand marched from the East London United Radical Club to Stepney Green, and thence to Dod Street. There and thereabouts some fifty thousand others were assembled. A few policemen were present helping to keep a way for the procession. But the immense crowd was its own police. The procession marched into Dod Street. There John Mathias (E.L.U.R.C.) as chairman, Edward Aveling (S.L.) as having pledged himself to speak in Dod Street that day, despite the threats of Mr. Saunders, the police magistrate, and Benjamin Ellis (Peckham Radical Club) spoke. Then, as the victory had been won, as many thousands could not get into the historic street, as the traffic in Burdett Road was obstructed, and as Socialists and Radicals alike wished to avoid such obstruction, an adjournment was made to the open space in front of the West India Dock-gates, a place also interdicted by the police. There speeches were delivered by the Rev. Stewart Headlam, a Christian Socialist (English Land Restoration League), Vanderhout (Tower Hamlets Radical Club), Rose (E.L.U.R.C.), John Burns (S.D.F.), G. B. Shaw (Fabian Society), and H. M. Hyndman (S.D.F.). The resolution passed apparently unanimously by the vast crowd was—

"That this meeting of the Workers of London protests against the arbitrary action of the police in endeavouring to suppress the right of open-air speaking in public places, where no actual obstruction is caused; that this meeting is of opinion that the power of deciding the legality or illegality of such meetings should not be vested in the hands of irresponsible police constables; and further, this meeting demands that the same right should be accorded to speakers of all shades of opinions, no distinction whatever being made; also that steps be taken to prosecute the police as soon as possible for their gross perjury in the cases of Samuel King, Waters, Hunter Watts, Morris, and Lyons, and that the attention of the Home Secretary be called to the misconduct of Mr. Saunders, the magistrate at the Thames Police court."

The thousands of people dispersed perfectly quietly and in order.

At a subsequent meeting of the Vigilance Committee, it was decided that as the Social Democratic Federation had initiated this struggle, and as by the combined aid of that organisation and other bodies the victory was won, to the S.D.F. should now be left all further conduct of affairs in Dod Street. The societies that had fought with the S.D.F. pledged themselves, in the event of any further attack, to renew the contest.

On the Sunday following, 10,000 people welcomed in Victoria Park, John Williams, who had been sent to prison for one month by Mr. Saunders. The proceedings were most enthusiastic, and the following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting of the workers of London proclaims its strong sympathy with John Williams in his unjust and cruel imprisonment for no offence, congratulates him upon the universal admiration which his courageous self-sacrifice for the right of free speech has called forth, and pledges itself to support the right for which he has suffered against any future attack by the governing classes of this country."

After such a battle and such a result that any personal questions should have arisen is pitiable. This journal is, however, compelled by the conduct of Mr. H. M. Hyndman, to publish the following extracts and documents, on which no comment is necessary:—

"Social Democrats have proved that they are on excellent terms with the members of other Socialist bodies, and particularly with those of the Socialist League. It is necessary, however, to state here, for the information of our comrades in London and the country, that the breach of faith committed on Sunday last by Edward Aveling will render it impossible for those who are cognisant of the facts ever again to have confidence in any arrangement entered into by him."—*Justice*, October 3.

Resolution of the Council of Socialist League, Oct. 5.—"That Wade, Lane, and Aveling be sent to the Vigilance Committee with instructions to report their opinion of affairs, and to assure them of our confidence in our delegate's integrity."

Resolution of the Vigilance Committee.—"That this meeting of delegates considers paragraph 5, col. 2, page 1, in *Justice*, Oct. 3, 1885, contains a false and cowardly attack upon Dr. Aveling, and it calls upon the editor of *Justice* to publicly withdraw and apologise for it." The German *Communistische Verein* have passed the same resolution.

Resolution of the Council of Socialist League, Oct. 12.—"That an official letter be written to the Council of the S.D.F., calling their attention to the paragraph in *Justice*, enclosing resolution passed by Vigilance Committee, and offering them opportunity to repudiate the accusation made against our delegate."

Letter from the Secretary of the Social-Democratic Federation, Oct. 16.—"To the Council of the Socialist League.—Comrades, I am instructed by the Executive Council of the Social-Democratic Federation to acknowledge the receipt of your letter with regard to the charges made against your delegate, Dr. Aveling, in *Justice*, and to state, that after having discussed and considered the matter, they beg to refer you to the editor of *Justice*.—Yours fraternally, H. H. CHAMPION."

Mr. H. M. Hyndman, after the receipt of communications from Dr. Aveling for insertion in *Justice*, burked the whole of those communications. When, under compulsion, he inserted in his journal of Oct. 17 the resolution of the Vigilance Committee, he appended to it the following:—

"We the undersigned delegates of the Social-Democratic Federation distinctly remember that an agreement was entered into by all the Socialist speakers at the meeting of the Free Speech Vigilance Committee at the East London United Radical Club on the Friday evening preceding the Demonstration of Sunday 27th September in Dod Street not to speak at Dod Street or elsewhere until after the Radical speakers appointed by the Committee had addressed the people. This arrangement was never altered by the Committee.—Signed by G. Bateman, Herbert Burrows, H. H. Champion, J. Fielding, C. L. Fitzgerald, H. M. Hyndman, J. Oliver."

To this statement of seven members of one organisation, the Social-Democratic Federation, the following statement from 31 members of 10 organisations is the reply:—

"We the undersigned delegates of various Radical Clubs and other organisations to the Vigilance Committee in connexion with the Dod Street difficulties, having had our attention called to a statement in *Justice* of Oct. 17, signed by seven members of the Social-Democratic Federation, feel bound to declare that no agreement whatever was entered into by the Socialists or by any other speakers that the Socialists should not speak in Dod Street or elsewhere until after the Radical speakers appointed by the Committee had addressed the people. This 'arrangement' was never altered by the Committee because it was never made. Dr. Aveling for the same reason could not have changed an 'arrangement' never entered into. No breach of faith whatever was committed by Dr. Aveling on Sunday, September 27."—Signed by John M. Mathias, Chairman of the meeting in Dod Street; Thos. Humphrey, secretary of the East London U.R.C., and secretary of the Vigilance Committee; Percy C. Wilkin, Minutes' secretary of the Vigilance Committee; Stewart D. Headlam, E.L.R.L.; Annie Besant and George Bernard Shaw, Fabian Society; A. D. Holliday, Rad. Assoc.; Benjamin Ellis, Sydney Robeson, and John W. Samwell, Peckham and Dulwich R.C.; W. Charles Wade and Joseph Lane, Socialist League; William March, Progressive Club; J. Vanderhout, Tower Hamlets R.C.; J. D. Nieass, Eleusis Club; Lewis Lyons (sentenced to imprisonment for two months by Mr. Saunders); Thos. Grady, Daniel Paterson, Joseph Gardner, Wm. Pearce, J. Abrahams, D. Abrahams, J. Middleton, H. Rosenblatt, joint treasurer, J. Rosenblatt, Saml. W. Alderton, W. A. Rose, T. Ivatts, and J. Cain, members of the East London U.R.C.; G. Kahan and H. Bachaukamp, International Working Men's Club.

Resolution of the Council of Socialist League, Oct. 19.—"That in the opinion of this meeting of the Socialist League Council, Mr. Hyndman, by continuing to attack the League delegate to the Vigilance Committee in connexion with the Dod Street Demonstration, after his accusation has been proved to be false, has shown himself a discredit to his party; and further, that this Council expresses its sincere pity for those who by their action have proved themselves to be Mr. Hyndman's tools."

The right of open-air meeting has for the present been vindicated by the energetic efforts of those who had most to lose by its suppression—the Socialists and the Radicals. It is to be hoped that all friends of freedom of speech will note that we should have been suppressed if the authorities had not been made to feel that they could not do otherwise than yield. It is not likely that this will be the last attempt at suppression of "dangerous doctrines," and we must be prepared to do as well in the future as we have in the past.

The imprisonment of our Comrade J. E. Williams has a lesson of its own quite apart from the fact that he was punished for nothing at all. There is even something more to be said than the expression of disgust and indignation that a person convicted of a technical crime should receive just the same treatment as a felon. It is clear that the idea of our English Prisons is to inflict torture on the prisoners: a man in for a month is treated worse than one in for two, and he again worse than if his sentence were six months: the meaning of which is that the shorter-termed prisoners can bear more torture than the longer, and therefore shall have it. Thus does Society revenge itself on the degraded whom it has degraded, on the criminals whom it has made criminal.

W. M.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

REPORTS.

Reports and lecture lists to insure insertion must reach the office not later than the 22nd of the month.

Farringdon Hall.—The lectures here have been fairly well attended and discussed. On 7th Oct., E. Marx-Aveling lectured on "Individual Responsibility"; 14th, Laurence Grönlund on "C. J. Danton"; and on 21st, G. Bernard Shaw (Fabian) on "The Division of Society into Classes." The 5th concert of the series was given on Saturday 11th. Arrangements have been made to produce a Dramatic Entertainment or a Concert every second Saturday throughout the season. The Discussion class for members, to commence on Nov. 1, it is hoped will furnish good opportunities for mutual improvement and friendly criticism. A general meeting of members took place on Monday 19th.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Lectures have been given during past month by comrades Wade, Blundell, Donald and Mowbray, and have been well attended. As the season for out-door propaganda now draws to a close arrangements have been made for indoor meetings at 11.30 am. The first was held on Oct. 18th, when readings from W. Morris, Kingsley, C. Mackay and others, were given by Binning, A. Pope, C. Wade and C. Westwood, sec.

Bloomsbury.—Indoor and outdoor meetings have been well attended, and several members have been added.

Marylebone.—This Branch commenced a series of lectures at St. John's Temperance Hall, Bell Street, on Oct. 11th, when W. Morris addressed a large and enthusiastic audience. On the 18th there was again a good muster to hear A. K. Donald. Fourteen persons gave in their names as members and six shillings were taken for literature. Open-air meetings, well attended have been held at the corner of Bell Street on Sunday mornings at 11.30, and will be continued, weather permitting.—H. G. A.

Merton.—Four successful lectures have been given by Mowbray, Sparling, Lane and Kitz. About 30 members have joined during the month, and large amount of literature has been sold.

Mile End.—Lectures have been well attended and earnestly discussed. The Branch is without a home at present, but is negotiating for a hall and hopes to be again in full working order shortly.

Bradford.—Several good debates have taken place, which have attracted considerable attention and some new members.

Leeds.—The cause progressing hopefully. "Struck oil" among the miners. Secretary of a lodge of 700 has joined our ranks and says he will "spread the light."—T. MAGUIRE.

Manchester.—The month's work has been very useful. Morris's speech at the indignation meeting held in Albert Square about the London police was well reported in all the papers, as also was the successful meeting held in the County Forum on Saturday evening. On Sunday the New Islington Hall was crowded. Our numbers continue to grow. The workers, large numbers of whom are unemployed, are coming to see that we have to offer them the only hope of a better condition. The future for our cause looks hopeful in this district.

Oxford.—The Branch has met regularly every week for debates and business, is carrying on a good propaganda, is steadily increasing its membership, and is in a sound financial condition.

LECTURE DIARY: October, 1885.

FARRINGTON HALL (Offices of the League), 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.:—

Oct. 28. Public Meeting on the proposed British intervention in Burmah. Lectures.—Wednesdays, 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited. Nov. 4. Lane; 11.—; 18. H. Charles; 25. H. Sparling, will lecture. Concerts, etc.—Saturdays, at 8 p.m. Admission free. Oct. 24. Dramatic Entertainment, Edward Aveling and others; Nov. 7. Concert; Nov. 21. Dramatic Entertainment.

Members' Discussion.—Sundays, 11 a.m. Nov. 1. Mowbray; 8. Sparling; 15. Wade, 22. Donald; 29. Mahon.

EAST LONDON UNITED RADICAL CLUB (29 Stepney Green, E.)—Nov. 8th, 11.30 a.m., J. L. Mahon, "The Meaning of the Revolution."

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—"Eagle and Child" Coffee Tavern, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m. Nov 5. A. Scheu; 12. A. K. Donald; 19. H. H. Sparling; 26. William Morris.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, 11.30 a.m., Readings, etc.; 8 p.m., Lectures. Nov. 1. D. Nicoll; 8. A. Scheu; 15. F. Kitz; 22. L. Grönlund; 29. W. C. Wade.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. Nov. 1.—; 6. Theodor, "Development of Socialism"; 15. Morris, "Socialism"; 22. Scheu, "Socialism and Evolution"; 29. Brocher, "The Phalanstère."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m.

Marylebone.—St. John's Temperance Hall, 52 Bell Street, Edgware Road, N.W., Sundays at 8 p.m. Nov. 1. Laurence Grönlund, "England's Future in the Light of Evolution"; 8. H. H. Sparling, "The Latter-Day Devil"; 15. C. W. Mowbray, "Thrift versus Plunder"; 22. George Bernard Shaw, "The Division of Society in Classes"; 29. J. L. Mahon, "The Science of Political Economy."

North London.—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

South London.—Camberwell Radical Club, Gloucester Road, Peckham. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. Oct. 29. W. Morris; Nov. 5. C. W. Mowbray; 12. E. Marx-Aveling; 17. E. B. Eax; 24. J. Lane.

PROVINCIAL.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30.

Leeds.—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.

Manchester.—City Café, Swan Street. Meets each Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. Nov. 3. Heinrich Studt, "Socialists and their Enemies"; 10. Henderson, "Labour"; 17. Ewing, "The Upper Ten Thousand"; 24. Unwin, "Some Relations of Socialism." On Monday, Nov. 2nd., General monthly business meeting at the County Forum, at 8 o'clock.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from bona fide inquirers.

Oxford.—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

Hyle Park.—Sundays, 3.30 p.m. **Regent's Park.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m. **Paddington.**—Corner of Bell Street, Edgware Road, Sundays at 11.30 a.m.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

Leeds.—Vicar's Croft. Every Sunday afternoon and evening.

Manchester.—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 3 p.m. Nov. 1. Morley, Snowdon; 8. Ewing, Addison; 15. Prince, Unwin; 22. Parkinson, Oldman; 29. Partington, Ewing.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

Particulars of additions to this list will oblige.

London.

Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.
Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.
Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84
New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent;
Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.
Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.
Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.
Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.
Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.
Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendrill, 26 Brushfield St.
Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

Provinces.

BIRMINGHAM.—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.
BRADFORD.—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Half Lane.
DUBLIN.—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.
LIVERPOOL.—Overbury, Landing Stage; Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.
GLASGOW.—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.
LEEDS.—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.
Fleet Street.—Freethought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.
Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.
Clerkenwell.—Berg, 32 Arlington St.; Bartlett, 10 Garnault Pl.; Lill, 13 Tysoe St.; Lovell, 8 Upper Gloucester St.; T. Jakes, 14 Benjamin St.; Red Lion St.; Edwards, 119 Rosoman St.
Islington.—Gee, 56 Upper Street.
Bloomsbury.—Manly, 113 Cleveland St.; Fitzroy Square; Bard, 20 Cleveland St., Middlesex Hospital; Mrs. H. Hanstan, 51 Charlotte St.; Good St., Tottenham Court Road.
Marylebone.—W. Roberts, 18 Bell St., Edgware Road.

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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ONE PENNY.

ON THE EVE OF THE ELECTIONS.

By the time this paper is published, the country will be in the thick of the elections; indeed it may be possible to get some idea by that time as to their possible result, but it must be admitted that before the first few come off, any prophesy on this can be little more than mere guessing.

It seems to me, however, that one may set aside the chance of an actual Tory majority, and that the chances lie between a Liberal majority large enough to swamp the united (?) Tories and Parnellites and a majority too small to carry the Liberal party through in the teeth of such a combination.

We Socialists, I think, need not be over anxious as to which of these events will take place. In the first case of an overwhelming Liberal majority, the Parliament will certainly be one of inaction; although the Parnellites will not have it all their own way, yet they will be strong enough to hamper the Government terribly if they do not give way to their demands. Apart from the Irish Question, it will be the aim of the Government not to stir anything which might divide the Party; some slight and "safe" concessions will probably be made to the demand for Social Reform, and for the rest as near nothing as may be. A Great Whig Liberal majority will exhibit to the eyes of those that can see, more clearly than ever heretofore, "the Representatives of the People" engaged in their natural function of holding together with as little change as possible, the mass of suffering, injustice and chicanery which is dignified with the name of Orderly Society.

Whether the Radicals revolt and break up the party or not in this case, this spectacle of the incompetency of Parliament for anything except repression, will be advantageous to the cause of Revolution; but in the other case of the Tories and Parnellites together outnumbering the Liberals, though the consequences may not be more disruptive of Parliamentary government, they will probably be more dramatic. For not only will some attempt at the solution of the Irish Question be forced on Parliament, but also the Radicals will most likely be driven into forming a separate party, and the Great Moderate Party, upon whose advent I have speculated before, and which I believe will be the final enemy of Revolution, will be definitely formed. Perhaps some of our Radical friends will be surprised when they see who will adhere to it amongst those whom they have considered their own special champions.

Meantime something may be learnt from all the late speech-making and maundering, besides what has been already noted in these columns. And first it must surely strike a Socialist (or indeed anybody else) how strong the tendency is, in our representative system, towards personal government.

What hopes, for example, were hung on Mr. Gladstone's appearance! How he was not only to undo the harm done by Mr. Chamberlain's impatience (save the mark) but also to give spirit and meaning to the whole Liberal attack. There was the man; we were all to wait for him: then we should see!

Well, now the oracle has spoken what has it said? Commonplace and twaddle enough; that we expect as a matter of necessity, just as the ancients expected the verse of the Delphic oracle. What else? An indefinite and indeed oracular bid for the Irish support, received by Mr. Parnell with solemn, one would almost think ironical courtesy and an awkward request to state more definitely what concessions to Home Rulers Mr. Gladstone would be prepared to make.

And next? A declaration against the disestablishment of the churches, English and Scotch; a declaration made necessary in a sense by the obvious dissatisfaction of the Moderate Party, but which taking into consideration the tone of the speech in which it was made, must show clearly to all not blinded by party tactics that Mr. Gladstone has rattled to the Conservatives. Nevertheless, if one is to believe the Liberal and Radical papers, Mr. Gladstone is still the trusted leader of the Party of Progress. Little as a Socialist can sympathise with the hopes of the so-called Radicals, one cannot help hoping, however, for the sake of manliness, that there is some muttered protest in the Radical ranks; but if there is it is inarticulate.

And to think that persons apparently reasonable, should accept as

a proposition having any reason in it that the matter of disestablishment has not yet been long enough before the nation to be made a matter of Parliamentary discussion. Surely when the great Liberal leader said that, a twitch, that might have grown into a sardonic smile but for special self-command, must have come into the solemn mask which has so long been shown to the public.

Worthy people of England, that are so proud of your Representative Government, take note once more how the Parliamentary Machine has been once again used, as it always will be, to sweep aside inconvenient questions. To check all aspirations towards progress; never to pass any law, however much desired by everybody, till the whole country has grown sick and tired of the subject; and then only to pass half of it, so that it becomes worse than useless—this is, it seems, the business of your Representative Parliament that governs you. When will you learn to do your own business yourselves?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE LESSON OF THE FRENCH ELECTIONS.

As our English elections are so close at hand, a few notes on the past French ones may be useful. The elections of France have been a puzzle to many English Liberals, and a cause of much alarm to many others. English Liberals cannot understand this triumph of the reactionary parties. This we are not surprised at, since they cannot understand even the fall of the Gladstone Cabinet. We are told that the people of France are not fit for liberty, and that ere long there will be the restoration of the Monarchy or the Empire.

The fall of the Opportunists is a blow to Liberal policy, which the Liberals of England did not expect. But when the Liberals of France or of any other country pursue a course of expediency instead of principle; when they equal if they do not excel in deeds of blood those of the most blood-thirsty tyrants, what is there in a name that should save them from the natural consequences of their own rascality? The petty filibustering expeditions of the Ferry Government could not fail to disgust every thinking person; petty wars in which there was neither honour nor glory nor advantage of any kind, and which meant only ruin and disgrace to France. M. Ferry fell as Gladstone fell, but the Brisson Cabinet did not repudiate the Ferry policy. It is still the spirit and the policy of Opportunism which is the curse of French political parties. After the fall of M. Ferry the break-up of the Opportunist party was only a question of time.

The people of France cannot to-day be dazzled and fooled with military glory. Of that they have had more than enough. With a national expenditure of £140,000,000 a-year and an enormous and ever-increasing local expenditure, no wonder the people are tired of piratical expeditions to distant regions. But when English Conservatives predict the early restoration of Imperialism, they forget that the people are still living who suffered and bled under the accursed rule of the arch-traitor Napoleon the Third. That scoundrel found in 1851 the public revenue £50,000,000, and in 1869 he had raised it to £85,000,000. He found at the former period the debt at £221,000,000, and by 1869 had raised it to £573,000,000. The war of 1870 added to that debt another £560,000,000. The people have not forgotten these things, and the country is still suffering from the terrible effects of an enormous debt and a heavy taxation. It is true we are often told that the days of the Third Napoleon were the golden days of France. But let us just look at the composition of the population of Paris in 1869, which numbered about 1,820,000. The gentry numbered 168,980; the professional classes 75,238; the commercial classes 214,341; banking, etc. classes 124,649; military and police 40,557; public functionaries 59,678; and thieves and prostitutes 95,218; making a total of 778,754, living on the vitals of the working classes. Dark for France and dark for the civilised world would be the day when the blood-stained Empire should be restored in France.

But we admit there are dangers and great dangers that threaten the Republic of France. France is essentially a military nation, and the military element has ever to be reckoned with in every crisis. It is a great and a most serious danger. But the greatest of all dangers is the fact that the bulk of the rural population, if not hostile, are at least indifferent to the existence of the Republic. They find themselves crushed to the earth by the weight of taxation, both local and national, and they find as a natural result their interests suffering; and as is the case with the Fair Traders of England, when promised relief by the

agents of the Royalist parties, absurd and impossible as the promise may be, they are eagerly embraced by the thoughtless.

And we are surprised at this state of things. The Republics of 1793 and of 1871 (we do not include the Commune), have been nothing more than what are termed "Conservative" Republics. That of 1848 was known to the peasantry of France far more by the burdens it imposed than by any advantages it conferred. Under the present Republic all the weight of the Imperialist burdens has had to be borne, and added to them have been those of the shameless wars of the Opportunist faction. No wonder the rural population is thrown to a great extent into the arms of the royalist and priestly parties.

As for the town population, the Republic has done but little for them. The same burdens that have crushed the rural population have also crushed the people of the towns. Those burdens have very largely destroyed the purchasing power of the people, and as a consequence the home trade suffers. Distant wars to extend the export trade have crippled still further the home trade. To-day the cry of distress rings through the whole of France. Hundreds of thousands are out of work, and tens of thousands know not how to live from day to day. Nor can those burdens be swept away except by revolution. The situation is grave and the danger great, but the restoration of the Empire would but aggravate existing evils, would but increase the national burdens, and would be sure to be followed by a bloody revolution.

As Opportunism is dead and Imperialism (or Monarchy in any shape) is impossible, there remain only the Radicals and Revolutionary parties. The second ballotages gave the Radicals a good majority, and they may be able to control the Government. But even the Radicals can retain power only by being revolutionary. The great burdens must be greatly diminished, if not swept away, or the trade of the country cannot revive. If existing institutions are to continue, if the country is still to bear the present enormous weight of taxation, a mere change of Government will accomplish but little for the people. But the accession to power of the Radical party will pave the way for the triumph of the revolutionary parties. And then, and then only, will the great burdens—the monster evils that crush alike the town and the rural population, be swept away. But the mistakes of the past must be carefully avoided. A thorough Social Republic will be thoroughly revolutionary both in its home and its foreign policy. It will act from principle and not from expediency. It will free government from tyranny and corruption, society from oppression, and make labour supreme through all the ramifications of society. It will hold out the hand of friendship—of brotherhood—to the oppressed of every land, and will neither seek nor recognise any compromise with existing despotisms. It will raise on high the glorious standard of equal liberty, of equal justice to every human being, and will proclaim a holy war for freedom and the fraternity of nations. And while freeing the people at home from the curse of tyranny and the scourge of usury, it will grasp hands with the oppressed of every country in the name of eternal right, of eternal justice. Hail, then, ye down-trodden of every class, the approaching triumph of the Social Revolution!

J. SKETCHLEY.

OUR EXCHANGES.

I.—AMERICAN.

Few even of those interested in our movement, have any conception of its magnitude, and of the goodly number of journals published in the various languages of the "civilised" world which are industriously carrying on the war against capitalistic tyranny. The general Press carefully excludes all mention of our papers, and consequently it is well-nigh impossible for any save those who are exceptionally situated to become acquainted with them.

These articles have been projected in order that readers may have some idea of the journalistic abilities arrayed upon our side, as exemplified in the various periodicals with which the *Commonweal* is exchanged, although these do not by any means exhaust the untiring and intrepid men and women who spread the light of Socialism through the medium of the printing press.

In this first article it is intended to hastily sketch a few of the American pioneers of progress, and succeeding articles will deal with those of other countries.

The only order of classification attempted is wholly geographical. The journals are treated of in the order in which their birthplaces stand from east to west.

Boston is the most easterly, and from Boston comes the *Woman's Journal*, a bright, brave, eight-page weekly devoted to the woman-question. It is owned, edited, written, and managed by women, and is certainly in itself a most cogent argument for the cause it represents. Although not a "Socialist" paper, perhaps, in the restricted sense of the term, it occupies an advanced standpoint. Striving for the amelioration of the degrading lot imposed upon woman by modern laws and usages, it is distinctly in the line of progress, and is rendering noble service to the cause of humanity, for, surely as fate itself, so soon as woman wakes to a sense of her true position will the present system totter to its doom.

Boston also is the home of *Liberty*—the journal thus named, an able expositor of Anarchy, edited by B. R. Tucker, best known by his translations of Bakounine, Tchernyehewsky, etc. Consisting of eight pages, somewhat less in size than those of the *Commonweal*, neatly printed on good paper, it is published weekly at five cents.

Another Massachusetts town, Princeton, produces the *Word*. This includes in its comprehensive platform Socialism, Spiritualism, Free Love, and Spelling Reform; and gives in every issue this editorial admonition—

"Pay no Interest, Rent, Profit, Taxes, or other unjust demand; Produce, Exchange without negotiation, and without robbery. Marry not at all; but serve, recreate, finding in Reason Religion, in Love Law."

Its Editor, E. H. Heywood, has been many times imprisoned for his opinions, and may without exaggeration be said to have lived the larger portion of his life under chronic persecution. Stephen Pearl Andrews, the veteran reformer whose views it was founded to promulgate, is too well known to need more than mention.

New York numbers among the many journals it produces, *John Swinton's Paper*, a four-page weekly, somewhat less in size than the London *Echo*. Edited and published by the man whose name it bears, who was for many years Managing Editor of the New York *Times*, afterwards of the *Sun*, it is characterised by advanced aims and great literary merit. Its attitude may be seen from the following—

"THREE PLAIN DEMANDS—We are preparing the way for the establishment of the natural rights of man: 1. His right to a footing on the earth; 2. His right to labour; 3. His right to the fruits of his work";

and its tone and temper from this editorial view of the functions of the press cut from a recent issue—

"It is a pitiful view of the press that reduces it to a mere echo of public opinion. It should stand up unflinchingly for truth, right, and freedom, regardless of current clamour, selfish interest, or menacing power. It should be an enlightener; it should be a propagandist of righteousness; it should be a champion of new ideas which are true ideas; it should be a shield for the wronged, and an avenger for the oppressed. It should do its readers the greatest of all possible services, not by being their echo, but by being their informant, counsellor, and corrector. Of what use to any man is a paper that is merely the echo of his own mind?"

Spread the Light is a small eight-page monthly working on Henry George's lines—Land Nationalisation and Tax Reform.

Progress, the organ of the Cigar-makers Progressive Union of America, is an eight-page monthly about the same size as the *Commonweal*, is well-printed in English, German, and Bohemian, and is doing good work for the cause among the special class it represents.

From New York also come the *Freiheit*, *Der Sozialist*, and *Volkszeitung*, which will be spoken of, rather out of their place, perhaps, with the other papers printed in German.

The Cleveland (Ohio) *Carpenter* is an eight-page monthly, got up in good style and printed in English and German, published by the "Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America." While not professedly Socialistic, its principles are those of advanced and progressive Trades-Unionism, and it fully recognizes that Labour to secure its just rights must go beyond mere unionism.

The *Labor Leaf*, of Detroit, an enterprising weekly of four pages represents the "Knights of Labour," that mighty federation of trades, which is leading up to, and preparing for the realisation of Socialism in America. Avowedly a Socialist paper, it seeks to enrol all who labour into unions, and once there to educate them to the higher development we seek.

Organ of the "Working People's International Association," advocate of physical force and dynamite when other means fail, the Chicago *Alarm* is the most pronounced exponent of militant Socialism in America. To read the accounts of it and its utterances, given from time to time in the ordinary Press, an uninitiated observer would imagine that it was possessed of an insane desire for "gore," and persistently called for that of all and sundry, in an uninterrupted, incoherent screech! Really it is trenchantly, not violently, written; and it would be well for the pharisaical hirelings who abuse it if their sheets contained occasionally such thoughtful articles as "even this *Alarm*!"

The *Voice of Labor*, from Petersburg (Ill.) is a four-page weekly, an admirable specimen of a local labour-organ.

From St. Louis (Mo.) comes the *Altruist*, a small, smart, four-page monthly, "devoted to Progress and Reform, Mutual Assistance and Support, and Equal Rights to All." Edited and mainly written by the veteran Communist, Alexander Longley, it exerts an unobtrusive but powerful influence for good.

In Denver, that wonderful Colorado city which has in so few years progressed from the proverbial "two small huts and a yellow dog" to the position proudly claimed for it as "the Emporium of the West," is published the *Labor Enquirer*, organ of the "Trades Assembly." Something larger than the London *Echo*, it is published weekly, has four well and closely-printed pages of live, readable matter, and attains a wide circulation. Its columns are open to the expression of the most widely divergent views, but its own "line" is educational Socialism, and its watchword "Organise!"

The "Associated Labour Press," is a co-operative union of twenty-one labour weeklies, only two of which are named above. They almost uniformly reach a high level of excellence, and have a total circulation of about 125,000.

Space forbids further detailed criticism, but enough has been said to shew that the Labour-party in America has cause for considerable pride in the pen-warriors who so faithfully serve it. To Englishmen the reflection that not like these are their "organs" can bring but sadness. Too often has it been found that these manufactories of enlightened (!) opinion are either lukewarm in their friendship to the worker, or are mercenary braves in the pay of his exploiters.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

Payment of Labour in the Socialistic State.

"WHEN you are in possession, do you Socialists propose to establish a system of equal pay for all, whatever a man's occupation may be, and regardless, not only of his natural capacities, but also of his willingness or unwillingness to exert those capacities to the utmost for the common good? You will admit that some men do more and better work than other men, at the same jobs and in the same time."

This inquiry, answered briefly last month, seems to call for more attention. The first point to be considered is whether the average man in a certain occupation ought to be paid for his work at the same rate per hour as the average man in any other occupation, that is to say, whether the average physician, clerk, shoemaker or agricultural labourer, ought to be remunerated at the same rate. I think the same rate ought, in all justice, to be paid, provided the occupations are equally healthy. Should one occupation be more unhealthy than another, competent medical men will find out how much shorter a time a man must work at it than at the other in order to maintain himself in the same bodily and mental health under both conditions. This problem is for medical experts to solve. Suppose it is found that a man, in order to remain as healthy as another working at a certain trade six hours a day, must work only three hours a day at his; then the former ought to be paid at double the rate the latter is, so that he may be enabled to earn the same daily wages if he wishes.

But there are not many occupations which in themselves are detrimental to health; most of them are dangerous owing to the long working day and to the unsanitary condition of the environment of the worker. These two evils will disappear, of course; for people will be so free as to be able to refuse to do any disagreeable, unhealthy or dangerous work, except such as is absolutely necessary for the community, and such work must be done by those most capable for it, voluntarily or not. In the society of the future too, when labour will get its due reward, all waste in production and distribution being avoided and idlers swept away, most people will be content with a very short working-day—at any rate they will not work so long at any one occupation as to hurt their health.

Speaking of the working-day, I do not think there will be any necessity for a compulsory universal working day then, as arrangements can be made very easily to allow each one to work as long or as short a time per day as he pleases, without injuring any one's prospects of getting work to do. Normal working-days such as we have now, will be unknown. These are simply poor devices in our present enslaved condition, to try and prevent the workers from being too heavily oppressed. In the new state of things another peculiarity will be that people will probably choose to have, besides an indoor occupation, a regular out-door one; and this will do much to maintain them in good health.

Before going further, I must state that the grand principle we have to guide ourselves by in all these questions—the principle of justice—is that it is our duty to bear one another's burdens. We must consider then in fixing what relation the rate of remuneration in one occupation ought to bear to the rate in another, whether the burdens of a worker in the one occupation are, owing to the nature of the employment, heavier than those of a worker in the other. Now, if people are left perfectly free (as they are not, but as they will be) to choose their own profession, every reason will disappear for paying different rates of remuneration in the various trades or professions, because each one will choose the employment which he likes best, and for which, therefore, he is probably best fitted—that is, he will choose that work which will lay upon him lighter burdens than any other kind of work will.

To any given man the inconveniences and difficulties of employments vary, owing to his possessing limited faculties and powers; and he is therefore entitled to say that such-and-such a work is difficult or disagreeable to him. But he has not the right to assert that such work is difficult or disagreeable to every other man, because, since men have been born with very different capabilities and inclinations, others may find this the easiest and most delightful work. For this reason then, brainworkers ought to be paid at the same rate as manual labourers. The brainworker finds it as easy to do his work, as the labourer to do his. A managing partner of one of the largest commercial firms in this country admitted to me that it was as easy for him to manage the affairs of his firm as for the scavenger to sweep the streets. Why, then, should this mental worker be paid at a higher rate than the scavenger? Certainly not because he has a heavier burden laid upon him by his work than is laid upon this day-labourer by his. He has been born with special gifts for his post.

It is said, sometimes, however, that brainworkers are of more importance to the community than mere manual labourers. It is quite true that, if the brainworkers are available also for manual labour, in case of emergency they may be more useful than stupid labourers. But I think that manual labourers are no more unable to use their brains than brainworkers are incapable of doing physical labour. In any case, in a highly developed and differentiated order of society, we can find work for the weak in intellect yet strong in body, as well as for those who have active and able minds, but maimed or feeble bodies; and there is no reason why the one should not be paid at as high a rate as the other, and each at as high a rate as the man who is fit for both mental and physical labour.

The second point to be considered is whether those "men who do more and better work than other men at the same jobs and in the same time" ought not to be paid at a higher rate than the others, if all are equally diligent. It is evident that they can work faster and better

simply because they have been born with better parts than others, and in strict justice they ought not to be paid higher for their talents. The Socialist view of the duties of those who are specially gifted by nature is that they owe a larger return to the community than those who are less naturally gifted. I contend therefore that they ought to be paid at the same rate per hour as their less fortunate fellows—that by this means they are only helping to bear the burdens of their fellow-workers who find it difficult to turn out the same quantity and quality of work which they produce so easily.

Of course, if a man be notoriously unfit for the work which he prefers, he must in the interest of the society either turn himself to some work which he is better fitted for or be content to receive lower remuneration than his fellow-workers in proportion to his incapacity. But it is not probable that in a free community a man would persist in doing work he was unqualified for—he would not care to turn out inferior work and would therefore devote himself to the occupation wherein he would have a chance of success. He would be taught too, that it is not dishonourable for any man to be unqualified for a work which seems important, but that it is one's duty to find out and do what one is fitted for, however humble it may be, drawing courage from the knowledge that in many other ways than by the work he does for his daily bread a man may make himself of value to humanity.

Some hold that certain workers ought to be paid at a higher rate because they have served a longer apprenticeship—because the education necessary to fit them for their work was extraordinarily expensive. I am of opinion that, in this case, should the worker be obliged to pay the expense of training, he ought to be paid at the ordinary rate and receive in addition as soon as possible the sum which he has laid out. But in a just society the consumer of any article will pay the expense of training the producer of it as well as provide the capital, that is, the tools, machinery, etc., necessary for its manufacture.

The last point to be considered is, in plain words, whether the lazy will be paid as highly as the diligent. I say most emphatically they ought not to be. Some way must be devised to detect their laziness and pay them only for the time they could have done the work in had they been diligent. It is an easy matter to detect lazy workers; their mates can point them out in any workshop or office without much difficulty.

In this short paper it is impossible to do more than give the faintest idea of the method of determining the just remuneration of labour in this complex state of society. Probably many questions will arise in the minds of the readers and many objections present themselves. In any case, let them try to solve the problem by the light of the command given us by justice, "Bear ye one another's burdens."

J. H. SMITH.

The Swell "Cracksmen."

It is difficult to draw distinctions in infamy; but for bare-faced unblushing brigandage, probably the present Burmese war exceeds the previous exploits and excesses of that accomplished gang of ruffians—the British Amalgamated Company of Office-and-Market Hunters. The present little plot was ingeniously arranged. For some two or three years past the press has been persistently serving up accounts of alleged atrocities committed by King Theebaw on his cousins, or his uncles, or his aunts. An ingenuous outsider might have wondered why such a fuss was made about King Theebaw, knowing that few barbaric and semi-barbaric potentates treat their relations as kindly as they should. The said outsider might also have remarked on the comparative silence of the same press on the hideous barbarities, affecting not a petty kingdom, but a considerable portion of two continents, of which the Russian Czar is the responsible author. But to the observer practised in the ways of latter-day nineteenth century civilisation, the meaning was plain. Burmah was the next morsel which the "amalgamated company" had marked for their own. If we may believe a statement of Lord Dunraven's, the Anglo-Indian authorities were in such a hurry to "leave their damnable faces and begin," that they actually "egged on" the unfortunate king to insult the British embassy on the pretext that such insults would be favourably received. At all events, the band of thieves calling themselves the British Burmah Trading Company at the same time took to violating the contract for timber-cutting they had entered into with the king, and on being remonstrated with, raised the cry of "trade in danger." The response, of course, was prompt. An insolent ultimatum was despatched (just in order that forms might be complied with as far as possible) practically demanding the surrender of the country. Meanwhile troops were hurried up and the reply to this document was pronounced unsatisfactory even, on the admission of the Indian authorities themselves, before it had been translated. The Burmese reply, as it has since transpired, was as "dignified" and "conciliatory" a production as any European diplomatist could have concocted. But what did that matter? War, ruthless commercial war for annexation, had already been decided upon.

And what will the Burmese do now? Defend their territory doubtless. If they string up every representative of the British Burmah Trading Company at Mandalay, it will be no more than bare justice—indeed that they have not done this already, shows a magnanimity worthy of more deserving objects. But after all, what does it all come to? Be it Zululand, be it Afghanistan, be it the Soudan, be it Burmah, it all points one way, that these crimes will and must continue, as we have always said, until that huge structure of villainy and rottenness called the British Empire, is shivered to atoms.

E. BELFORT BAX.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1. "Why be Transported?" No. 2. "Down with the Socialists!" No. 3. "To the Radicals"; No. 4. "The Cause of Prostitution"; No. 5. "The Worker's Claims and 'Public Opinion'"; No. 6. "Tram-car Slavery: an Address to Tram-car Men and the Working Class in general." Copies sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage, and supplied for distribution at 2s. per 1,000.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

J. BROADHOUSE.—Most unfortunately your letter has only just reached our hands as we go to press. Its consideration must be deferred until next number.

LIVERPOOL.—Anyone willing to form a Labour Emancipation League here is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street.

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Coursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day. Belgium: Ni Dieu ni Maître—L'Insurgé. France: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—La Question Sociale (Paris)—Le Socialiste (Paris). Greece: Harden (Athens). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Italy: La Question Social (Turin)—Il Paria (Ancona). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tchas (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat. U. S. A.: (New York): N. Y. Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.) Carpenter—Brattleboro (Vt.) Woman's Magazine; National Bulletin—San Francisco (Cal.) Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.) Die Parole—Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.) Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer.

SINCE last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from Lawie (Carlisle) and Lane.

Notice to Members.

Library and Reading Room.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members. The librarians, Nicoll and May Morris, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. for the purpose of exchanging books.

Choir.—The choir meet for practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Standing Committees.—Meet on Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m.

General Meeting.—On fourth Monday of the month at 8.30 p.m. Council meets an hour earlier.

Discussion Class.—This class, for members only, meets at Farringdon Hall every Sunday morning at 11.

SUBSCRIPTIONS will be received at the office of the *Commonweal* for the under-mentioned papers, or intending subscribers may remit direct:—The *Altruist*, a monthly paper, devoted to common property, united labour, mutual assistance and equal rights to all. 50 cents a year. A Longley, editor, 712 Chestnut Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.—The *Carpenter*, published monthly by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, of America. Fifty cents a year post paid. P. J. McGuire, Lock Box 180, Cleveland, Ohio.—*John Swinton's Paper*. One dollar a year; three cents a copy. 21 Park Row, New York.—The *Labor Enquirer*, Official Organ of the Trades Assembly. Two dollars per year. J. R. Buchanan, editor. 368 Larimer Street, Denver, Colo., U.S.A.—The *Alarm*, a Socialistic weekly, published by the Working People's International Association. One dol. fifty cents per year; five cents per copy. Theodore Fricke, 107 Fifth Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.—The *Labor Leaf*, published weekly by J. R. Burton, 50 Larned Street, West, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A. 50 cents a year.—*The Monthly Review*. Devoted to discussion of political, social, and general subjects. S. Hayes, 15 George's Place, North, Dublin. 1s. 6d. per year.—*Le Socialiste*. 17 Rue de Croissant, Paris. 5 francs per year.

AN APPEAL FOR THE CHILDREN.

It has been decided by the Council of the Socialist League that the beautiful old Pagan Festival that celebrated the death of darkness and new birth of light, is a very fit one for little Socialists to keep. We, too, want "little children to come unto us," and so we are going to give them a "Tree," a good romp, tea and cake, on Saturday, December 26th (Boxing Day), at our Hall, 13 Farringdon Road. Will friends help in the way of simple presents for the tree, and money to get the tree and the food? Any who are willing to help either with subscriptions, or work (or both) may write to Mrs. Wardle, 9 Charlotte Street, Bedford Square; May Morris, Kelmocott House, Hammersmith; Mrs. Lane, 38 Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green Junction, E.; or to myself, 55 Great Russell Street, W.C.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

TO OUR READERS.

THE *Commonweal* has now been in existence for eleven months and the editors think that at the end of this first volume they have some reason to congratulate the Socialist League on the support which its organ has received, and on the progress which it has made in the teeth of more difficulties than usually beset a young paper.

The editors with, they believe, the general assent of the League, have done their best to keep up the literary and educational quality of the journal, but within those lines have always been anxious to get as much variety as possible. They are glad to think that it is attracting young writers, and hope that this will go on growing, especially as all available talent will be needed when the paper takes its weekly form.

The editors appeal to those outside the Socialist party to subscribe to and read a paper which is the recognised organ of a school of thought and politics which they have no right to be indifferent to if they have any claim to be interested in the progress of humanity or the expression of free opinion; however small our beginning may be, they may be assured that it is the cloud no bigger than a man's hand which is destined to spread over the whole sky.

This number concludes Vol. I. of the *Commonweal*. It is thought best to make our first volume of 11 numbers, that subsequent volumes may run with the year. An Index for 1885 will be given away with each number of the January 1886 issue. Covers for binding the 1885 *Commonweal* can be obtained at the office, price 2s.

WILLIAM MORRIS.
EDWARD AVELING.

FREILIGRATH'S "FREE PRESS."

(Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

FIRMLY to his fellow-workers, "Mates," the master-printer said,
"Lo, to meet to-morrow's signal, nothing need we now but lead—
What, while here the type is handy! March to-morrow in your sets,
But to-night for ammunition melt your metal alphabets!"

"Melting-pots are here in plenty, stoves replenished, coals renewed;
Locked are all the doors that no one may be able to intrude.
Come and set to work at once; let each man do his best to-night,
That our freedom's manifesto may be brought at last to light."

Straight he throws a case of letters in the furnace at his feet;
Bubble "diamond" and "long primer," melted in the fervent heat;
Bubble "Romans" in the brazier, here "italics," there "brevier,"
Sturdy type that needs no more the Censor of the Press to fear.

Poured into the moulds for bullets hisses high the metal then—
Through the livelong autumn night are working twenty honest men;
Deep they breathe among the cinders, melt, and rake, and stir about,
Till to smooth and heavy bullets all the type is melted out.

Packed away in bags and baskets lies the stock upon the ground,
Ready to be used at dawn, and hot and scalding handed round:
Sooth, a stirring morning journal! Ne'er have critics seen before
Such a stern and bold defiance pass the poor old office door.

Lo, the master folds his hands, and knits his brow, and speaks again:
"That it must be force and warfare causes all true workers pain.
Yet, since nothing else is left—no other means—no other way,
Only in the shape of bullets can our type be free to-day."

"True it is that Force shall fail, that Truth shall crowned and conquering
smile;

But they trod her underfoot, and flung her into durance vile.
Well, so be it! Down the musket let the ramrod drive ye in,
E'en with that composing-ruler ready still to fight and win!

"Fiercely fly against their forces; pierce their frowning castle walls;
Sing a stinging song of freedom, hurtling through their high-built halls;
Smite the slaves, and slay the hirelings; give an honest ounce of lead
To the fool who drew the wrath of *this* free press upon his head!"

"Homeward to the true free press returning after strife and strain,
Soon from corpse and wreck and ruin we will dig ye out again;
Shape ye into sharp-cut letters, be ye ne'er so smooth and round—
Ha! a knock upon the door! and hark! I hear the trumpet sound!"

"There a shot!—And there another!—'Tis the signal!—Tramp of feet,
Shock and sound of hoofs and horses wake and shake the sleeping street!
Here the bullets! there the muskets! Quick we go! The noise is near!—
Hark! the rattle of the volley! Revolution's self is here."

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

VII.—CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL. RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE.

THUS far, in our analysis of Marx' "Das Kapital," we have tried to make clear the meaning of the following fundamental terms: commodity—a product of human labour not to be consumed by the actual producer; use-value—that property of a body that satisfies a human want; exchange-value—the proportion in which a use-value exchanges with other use-values; value—the human labour embodied in any commodity. We have further studied the various formula for exchange of equivalents, and the important formula $M-C-M'$, for capitalistic circulation. We have seen that $M' = M + \Delta M$, and that ΔM , or the excess of returning M' over advanced M , is surplus-value. Labour-power has been defined as the sum of human faculties that put into action can produce use-values; labour, as the realisation of labour-

power. The equivalent of the means of subsistence of the labourer and of those absolutely dependent on him is produced by him before he begins to produce surplus-value. The essentials for production have been shown to be labour, means of labour (tools, machinery, etc.), and objects on which to work. Finally, a concrete example was taken by which the general method of surplus-value making was shown. The source of capital is unpaid labour.

Let us again concentrate attention on the process of production, and its three essentials. Labour working through certain means of labour on certain objects, a product results, and if this is not consumed by the labourer himself, this product is a commodity. Now, in this process, labour plays a double part, and from the confusion of its two functions many mistakes and much deception of oneself and of others arise. First, labour transmits value (we always use this word in its technical sense); second, it creates value. It transmits to the product the value of such means of labour as are actually consumed, and also the value of such raw material as may be used as object of labour.

But labour also adds a new value, not in existence before. This new value is general, not special. It is due to the labour having lasted a definite time—not to any specially useful character of the labour. The special character of the labour only determines the nature of the values that are transmitted of the means and of the objects. Or we may put the same very important fact in this way. Labour has a twofold nature. By one of its properties (quality) it transmits, by the other (quantity) it creates value. It is only by this latter, that any creation of surplus-value can be effected.

Surplus-value, which to the orthodox political economist is a re-appearance of a value previously advanced, is to the Socialist school the excess of the value (not of use or exchange-value) of the product over the value of the three factors of that product—viz., labour, artificial means of production (machinery and the like), objects that are raw material. Or again, it is the excess of capital received over capital advanced.

We are now in a position to understand the two phrases, constant capital and variable capital. These must not, on any account, be confounded with the two phrases of the orthodox economists—fixed capital and circulating capital.

Constant capital is capital that is transformed into raw material (object) and artificial means of labour. Variable capital is capital that is transformed into labour. The former cannot vary. All the value, as we are ceaselessly repeating, of raw material and means, is passed on by labour, in its qualitative aspect, to the product. The latter can vary because the commodity in which it is invested, labour-power, can produce surplus-value.

Fixed capital and circulating capital are phrases of the orthodox. Fixed capital may continue to perform its functions for a long period and through a series of repeated actions. Machinery, buildings, railroads are the stock examples. Circulating capital is consumed by a single use. The food of the labourer and raw materials are examples. It will be noticed that these are not capital in our sense of the word. Machinery, buildings, railroads, are means of labour. Capital may be transformed into them. But they are not capital. Food for the labourer, again, is a means of subsistence. Capital may be transformed into this. But the food is not capital.

The capital employed in the making of what is called "fixed capital" is our constant capital. There is no source of surplus-value here. The capital employed in the purchase of the means of subsistence of the labourer, *i.e.*, of certain "circulating capital," is a case of variable capital. Here surplus-value becomes possible.

But the second example of "circulating capital" shows how the phrase is not even indirectly parallel to our variable capital. That example was raw material. This comes under the orthodox definition of circulating capital, for it is consumed as raw material by a single use. But it comes under our category of constant capital. For as all its value is transmitted to the product, from it no surplus-value can arise.

It must be clearly understood that variable capital is a definite quantity; it represents a definite amount of former pre-expended human labour. It is definite to begin with. But in the process of production, functioning labour-power takes its place and surplus-value may result.

Two new formulæ may now be used to simplify and to make memorable the points just reached. Let C stand for the capital used in a process of production. Let C' represent the value of the product. Let c. c. represent constant capital, and v. c. variable capital. Let s. v. finally stand for surplus value (ΔM). Then $C = c. c. + v. c.$; *i.e.*, the constant capital used in a process of production + a certain quantity of variable capital (in labour).

But $C' = c. c. + v. c. + s. v.$; *i.e.*, the value of the product = the constant and variable capital advanced + the surplus value produced by the labour into which the variable capital, v. c., has been turned. Of these, v. c. and s. v. only are created in this particular transaction. C. c. existed before, and its value is only transmitted to the product by labour.

The labourer, then, produces first his own means of subsistence or their equivalent. A certain part of the working day is necessary for this. That part is necessary working-time (n. w. t.). Necessary labour is the labour given out in that time, *i.e.*, in the production of the means of subsistence for the labourer.

All the time in the working day beyond this necessary working-time is surplus working-time. All the labour given out in that time is surplus labour. This is the labour that creates surplus-value.

The rate of surplus value is found by dividing the surplus-value by the variable capital. Constant capital has nothing to do with surplus-

value. Hence, the rate of surplus-value is represented thus: $\frac{s. v.}{v. c.}$ Or it may be represented thus: $\frac{s. w. t.}{n. w. t.}$; *i.e.*, surplus-working time divided by necessary working-time. Or again, thus: $\frac{s. l.}{n. l.}$; *i.e.*, surplus labour divided by necessary labour. These fractions, all of which express the rate of surplus-value, give the key to the degree of exploitation of labour-power that is going on. Not to the amount of that exploitation; only to the degree.

For example. Suppose 5 hours are necessary to reproduce the value of the means of subsistence of the labourer, and that he works also 5 hours of surplus-working time. Then $\frac{s. w. t.}{n. w. t.}$ or the rate of surplus-value or the degree of exploitation of labour-power = $\frac{5}{5} = 1$. Again, if n. w. t. and s. w. t. are each = 6 hours, the rate = $\frac{6}{6} = 1$. But in the second case the amount of exploitation is greater by $\frac{1}{5}$ than in the former.

Now the ordinary calculation of rate of interest and profit generally is based, not on the variable capital (v. c.) but on the total capital advanced C. $\frac{s. v.}{C.}$ or $\frac{s. v.}{c. c. + v. c.}$ is the expression for this, and this is clearly less than the true calculation $\frac{s. v.}{v. c.}$.

Twofold nature of labour	...	Transmits value of raw material and means of labour. Creates value.
Surplus value	Excess of value of product over value of its three factors.
Constant capital	Capital that is transformed into raw material and means of labour.
Variable capital	Capital that is transformed into labour.
$C = c. c. + v. c.$	Capital advanced = constant capital + variable capital.
$C' = c. c. + v. c. + s. v.$	Capital received = constant capital + variable value + surplus value.
Necessary working-time	...	Time necessary for production of labourer's means of subsistence.
Surplus working-time	Time in working day beyond necessary working time.
Rate of surplus-value	$\frac{s. v.}{v. c.}$ or $\frac{s. w. t.}{n. w. t.}$ or $\frac{s. l.}{n. l.}$
Ordinary calculation	$\frac{s. v.}{C.}$ <i>i.e.</i> , surplus value divided by capital advanced. Too low a calculation.

EDWARD AVELING.

WHO ARE THE POOR?

TALKING the other day to an agricultural labourer who had seen his best days, and who, notwithstanding that he had worked all his life, had nothing to show for it except crooked limbs and distorted body, I asked him what the Squire gave him in return for the services that he was continually rendering.

"I get twelve shillings a week," he answered.

I said, "What do you do with that twelve shillings?"

"I get my clothes and my food, and my tobacco and my beer."

"Well now," I said, "who made your clothes and your food, and your tobacco and your beer? Did the Squire have anything to do with the making of them?"

"No, I suppose not," he answered, "I suppose it was other working men like myself."

"Exactly," I said. "True, they were paid their wages for making these things, but their wages were used in buying the very things that they themselves had made. The Squire doesn't give you anything at all *really*. What *can* he give you? What does he make? Does he make anything that you want? Does he make anything that *anybody* wants?"

"I don't know, I'm sure," replied the labourer; "I suppose we working chaps could do without him altogether and the likes o' him, and just exchange things amongst ourselves."

"Of course you could do without him and without every person that doesn't work; for what would be missing if they were away? Why, nothing except idlers and frivolars. Could he do without you, though? Who is it that built his mansion, and laid out his park, his gardens; who provides him with food, with coal, with clothes, with gold watches and chains and studs? What does he have that you and such as you have not made? He doesn't give you anything for working for him, he can't give you anything; for he has got nothing. He is as poor as a man can be, and when you and such as you realise that this is so, the reign of violence and anarchy and fraud will have ended."

There's another large class of people just as poor as the squires. A little conjuring, however, has deluded people into the belief that they are very rich; and that delusion, backed by a good deal of physical or police force, seems to serve almost as well as if they were really rich.

Here is a large factory—suppose we take John Bright's, for example. It is full of ingenious machines and all sorts of wonderful contrivances for making labour more and more efficient. Well, now, all this belongs to John Bright and all the stuff that is made by these machines and by the people in the factory belongs to John Bright. Why should they not belong to him? He has bought all these machines, he pays all these people their wages—*keeps them*, many people would say—and he paid the men that built the factory or rather factories.

To begin with the factory, which you say belongs to him because he paid the men that built it. How could he pay the men that built it? He saved money, you say, and was thus enabled to keep them in food

and clothing while they were building for him. He might have saved money—indeed he might have accumulated a pile of gold as big as the factory itself; yet he might have been perfectly powerless to keep these men while they were building. These men were not kept by John Bright at all while they were making his factory; they were kept by their fellow-workmen, the produce of whose labour they consumed. That factory could have been built easily enough without John Bright's or anybody else's money; it could certainly not have been built without the bricks (produce of labour), the timber (hewn and carried by labour), the tools that the builders used (made by labour), their food and clothing (also the result of labour). Even the gold and silver that John Bright may have given these builders were obtained by labour.

As to paying his workpeople their wages, or *keeping them*, as people say, how can John Bright or any other man keep a thousand or more people? Can he make enough food and clothing and provide shelter for so many people? It is absurd to suppose such a thing for a moment.

We are told that the produce of the labour of his workpeople belongs to John Bright because the machines that they use and the buildings that they work in are his. They are not his; they were all made by workpeople, and the implements that they were made with and the buildings that they were made in were made by workpeople. True, he enjoys the possession of them; but how is that possession maintained? By force. If any one doubt this, he or she has only to imagine the effect of withdrawing the police. Let the police force be withdrawn, let it disappear from this country or any other civilised country to-day, and to-morrow there would be no such possessions as those we have been considering.

R.

AUSTRALIAN EXPERIENCES.

II.

(Continued from page 87.)

STATE-ASSISTED immigration to Victoria has practically ceased since the year 1873. There have been no arrivals at all under this heading since 1880, and only some 300—a moiety being domestic servants—between the dates mentioned. The reason that rendered superfluous any measures for increasing the working population of the colony by fomenting emigration from the old country, was the fact that the system of free emigration being in full swing in South Australia, New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, a large proportion of the immigrants—discontented with the conditions of their existence in the particular colony to which they had been accredited, and hearing on every side of the superior attractions of Victoria—of their own accord, and without any expense to the Government, continued to make their way thither.

There is no question but that, if Boston is the "hub" of the United States, and London of the United Kingdom, Melbourne occupies that proud position amongst the capitals and towns of Australasia. It is a fact pretty generally admitted by all, save New South Welshmen, that Victoria and Melbourne are as far ahead of all the other Antipodean colonies and cities in regard to wealth and intelligence, civilisation and culture, art, learning, and the humanities generally, as England and London are ahead of them.

Goodness knows that this accredited pre-eminence is not of a very exalted nature! Of the superiority of the climate of Victoria to that of the neighbouring colonies on the Australian Continent, there never was, or could be, any question, and if it was not for the plague of flies and mosquitoes in the summer months, and occasional hot winds and sand storms, the physical conditions of existence would be unrivalled in any part of the world. In fact, it is the only colony at the Antipodes barring New Zealand, in which an Englishman can engage in outdoor labour with comfort and safety.

Of course, little Tasmania, which is now bidding for immigrants, is always considered and treated as Victoria over the water, and is, in many ways, one of its most delightful provinces for touring, but not for money-making. The native male population go to the mainland to work in the summer time; hence there will always be a dearth of labour there at the most critical periods, unless those who are ignorant of the real nature of the case can be enticed from Europe. I think the Government is now wisely trying to attract Germans.

The smallest of the Australian colonies, containing some fifty-seven million acres—rather smaller than Great Britain—the attractiveness of Victoria has been so great that it is, to-day, the most populous of them all, claiming about 40 per cent. of the whole of the inhabitants of the continent, some 950,000 all told, a third of whom reside within a 10 mile radius of Melbourne. Here, then, is the "fountain and origin of the evil";—centralisation in its most acute and dangerous form, and every day increasing in intensity, while it is attributable to exactly the same causes that are ruining England. I refer to the utter impossibility for those destitute of capital to make a living out of the land, or for existing farmers to employ labour, other than that of their own families, to any extent.

Fancy London and its environs with a population of ten millions, three-fourths of them having to depend on daily labour for the means of subsistence, and no foreign trade for any of their manufactured goods! Still, if things here are allowed to drift much further, we shall, without doubt, be, ere long, in a position analogous to what is really that of Melbourne to-day. No; whatever the influx of labour to London, we should be better off, for have we not a poor law and workhouses, and is it not ordained in England that no man, woman, or child need starve? There is no poor law at present in any of the Australasian colonies, and you have no alternative but starvation, as I hinted in my last article, if you cannot make wages or stimulate and enlist philanthropy on your behalf. Wisdom proverbially comes from the East, and, did a workhouse exist in Victoria affording the comforts and luxuries of the metropolitan institutions, for six months in the year every cadger and "sundowner" would desert the "Wallaby Track"—or abandon "tramping"—to avail himself of the proffered shelter.

Let me here, once for all, insist on the fact that life in a London workhouse is luxury compared with the lot of the agricultural labourer in Australia. Space forbids me to depict his existence, but, as this class of immigrant is now being extensively advertised for, I think I ought to make this bald statement, and sound a note of warning before I proceed further.

I will now treat of the means devised by the Victorian legislature, from time to time, to cope with a plethora of labour, and the exigencies of a population entirely devoid of capital, and so unable to start in business on

their own account. There were, in the first instance, two classes only to be dealt with. The one, a somewhat dilapidated and incongruous assemblage, composed principally of unsuccessful gold diggers, or those who had dissipated their "piles" in debauchery or speculation. These had, in many instances, in former years been associated with the upper crust now luxuriating in governmental or mercantile circles, and, cognisant of the antecedents of their more fortunate mates, oftentimes might, if slighted, stir up dirty water. At any rate they were electors, and in a country where manhood suffrage and payment of members is decreed, and all place and patronage emanate from members of Parliament, voters have to be kept sweet.

The other was the crowd of artisans and labourers in their prime, who had come to some other colony from the old country, and emigrated thence to Melbourne. The "Gordian Knot" of the Victorian labour question of to-day—the town-born progeny of the working man, the redoubtable "Larrikin," corresponding in great measure with the "Hoodlum" of America—was not, at the time of which I am speaking, as yet to the fore. It is his appearance on the scene—I will not say his competition in the labour-market, for, though he likes to eat and drink, he does not like work—that has done more to dislocate the nicely-adjusted balance of Victorian State Socialism than any inherent flaw in the system, or extraneous agency. In a word he won't go into the country, or bush, to work, and as there is no army or navy to recruit, he is superfluous in town.

Perhaps I ought to explain the derivation of the word. "What are they?" said the magistrate to an Irish policeman who had three or four young roughs in custody. "Shure, sor, they was jist larrikin [larking] about there," was his reply; and his description of the individuals has ever since been used to designate the class.

Victoria had by this time fairly earned the *soubriquet* of the working man's paradise, and, to keep up the credit of the name, it was necessary that a gigantic system of public works should be inaugurated, so as to provide employment for all who required it. The real "hard graft"—principally railroads and waterworks in country districts and splendid public buildings in the town—was let to contractors at a price which left an ample profit to all concerned, and they employed the able-bodied and immigrant population, and got as much work out of them in return for their wages as they could. The "Government stroke" proper, the somewhat optimistic division of time comprised in the couplet—

"Eight hours' work, eight hours' play,
Eight hours' sleep, and eight bob a-day,"

by rights only applies to public works of a simple and easy character, such as levelling and preparing land for building purposes, road making, drainage and dredging operations, in the vicinity of the metropolis, where the Treasury is paymaster, and there is no subletting to contractors. Here the only intermediaries between employer and employed are the Government engineers and superintendents, with gangers and overseers under them.

On these works it is only worn-out labourers who are electors, and, as a rule, supporters of the party in power, that are engaged. It is the determined persistence of their sons—the "Larrikins"—who, having attained the age of 21 years, are, equally with their sires, citizens and voters, to share their easy tasks rather than tackle the "hard graft," provided by the contractors, that has, within the last year or two, so rudely disturbed the traditional régime of the "Government stroke." In reality all Government works initiated in and around Melbourne are intended for the sole benefit and relief of the broken-down electorate, and to supply the place of a poor-law, without incurring the stigma attaching to such a disgraceful necessity. They are generally gross political jobs, designed at the same time that they relieve those in want, to subserve the interests of some ring, or private individual of position and influence. They are sometimes as purposeless in their character as the proverbial "digging a hole to fill it up again."

For instance, I was employed for more than six months in spreading "silt"—or mud dredged from the bottom of the river in order to deepen the channel—over a sandy waste, with the very remote prospect of the land being ultimately sold for building purposes. Owing to the engineer having commenced operations in the wrong quarter, the drifting sand covered the made ground up again almost as fast as we spread the stuff. Nevertheless, in the face of this palpable mistake which, from the very first, was apparent, the work was still gaily proceeding when I left Australia. My mate—we worked in pairs, two men to a truck of silt—told me that he was once engaged for months in filling up certain hollows and uneven ground, on the same common, by trucking sand from some dunes two miles distant. I remarked that, when they had finished the job, I presumed they had to cart it back again, as there was no trace of any filling in with sand then apparent. "No," he replied, "we did not have to take it back; the wind did that!"

Another most important feature connected with the favourite Government work in Victoria, is that, as a rule, none but Irish need apply for it. When I first joined my gang, I thought they received my assertion that I was to be made a "boss" or ganger—he gets a third more wages and has only to look on and keep the time and not work—on the first vacancy that occurred, with incredulity. The remark was made that I was the "wrong colour" for such eligible promotion. They were right, for, as far as I could judge, Irishmen, either crippled or averse from work, were invariably selected for the easy and well-paid billets. The Australian colonies, but more especially Victoria, are "run" in the interest of Irish settlers, just as surely as parts of New Zealand are in those of Scotchmen.

I think this is a significant fact at the present moment, when we reflect how the home Government is, from political considerations, every day more and more influenced by the Parnellites. The "squattocracy" and principal contractors and plutocrats of the colony are, in great measure, of Hibernian extraction. This makes the conduct of the Victorian Legislature in bowing down to Irishmen, more excusable than that of the home Government.

Such a system of State employment as I have briefly sketched is, of course, only possible when foreign loans can be negotiated to "pay the piper," the colonists being far too "fly" to subscribe the needful for such a purpose. Melbourne floated into existence and splendour on a tide of gold, and, when it began to ebb, the British investor readily responded to the calls made upon him for "further developing the magnificent potentialities of the colony;" in simpler words "for keeping the labouring population employed."

The willing milch-cow freely gave the milk, whenever called upon, until the spring of 1883, when, a debt of some 28 millions having been incurred, the London Stock Exchange decided that a line must be drawn, and no fresh loans granted to Victoria to supply broken-down political supporters with employment. Only such amounts were countenanced as were absolutely necessary to meet existing liabilities as they fell due.

The result of this appalling decision is well typified by a cartoon which appeared, about that time, in the *Melbourne Punch*. A sign-post at the

bridge over the Murray river, which separates Victoria from New South Wales, points one arm towards Melbourne and the "workingman's paradise," the other towards New South Wales and Sydney. A stream of artisans and labourers, with their wallets and baskets on their backs, and their tools on their shoulders, have all got their faces set in the direction of the latter.

The New South Welshmen now took up the loan business with a will, and not having yet eaten their cake or disposed of their lands available for settlement, after the fashion of the improvident younger colony, have been able to pile up some additional 15 millions—of course for "railway construction to open out the magnificent resources of the country"—within the last two years. But wool and wheat and copper have been steadily falling in price, and the sheep have been, and still are, dying in millions owing to the drought that has now lasted for some three years, and a great deal of "flogging," by means of "taradiddles" in the capitalistic press—emanating principally from the Agent-General—was required to float the recently-placed loan of five and a half millions. Meantime poor Victoria can only pitifully whine for "Australasian federation," and for throwing their "magnificent resources," loans, loaning power and all, into hotch-potch, but New South Wales doesn't see it.

Space warns me that I must conclude and reserve further comments on the land question and Antipodean borrowings, for my next article. I will therein state my grounds for believing that the final breakdown of Capitalism will be attributable to the 300 millions British investors are reported to have placed in Australasian securities, and that the social revolution which we all so ardently pray for, will come from the East, its signal gun being the first shot fired by England in a war with some European Power.

I cannot refrain from appending a quotation from Sala's letter to the *Daily Telegraph* (Oct. 14th), and asking why the distressed South Australians—acclimatised as they are and used to colonial work—do not emigrate to New South Wales or Queensland or New Zealand, or some of the colonies, where our philanthropists are always saying labour is so much wanted. These most desirable hands are already, practically speaking, on the spot, and I feel sure the South Australian Government would provide passages for any number that would emigrate. It is as follows: "On landing [at Port Adelaide] I was told that terrible depression was prevalent throughout South Australia in general and Adelaide in particular. Frantic land speculations had ended in a financial collapse. Wheat and copper were drugs in the market, and on her cereals and her copper the prosperity of South Australia chiefly depended. Distress too of the acutest type was rife, I was told, at Adelaide. Soup kitchens had been established for the sustenance of the hungry; hundreds of able-bodied men were out of work, and great meetings of the unemployed had been held to enforce on the Government the necessity of at once starting relief works. Of course the dissatisfaction of the unemployed had been accompanied by a fierce outcry against bringing any more labour into the colony, etc., etc."

How obliged the borrowing colonies must be to G. A. S. for thus inadvertently letting the "cat out of the bag"! LUCIFER.

Correspondence.

COMPETITIVE DISHONESTY.

It is easy for any one in the upper middle-class to see the encouragement capitalism gives to wrong-doing. An intimate acquaintance of mine having a lucrative agency in the midland counties, says it is impossible to do without bribery, and shows me how the system works. He obtained an order from the master of a large factory, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the manager. Next time, he was answered that his wares did not suit; but the manager, whose salary was £600 yearly, secretly said he bought only when he received commission. At another place, on failing to get a second order from the master, this traveller bribed the manager at the rate of forty shillings a ton, and raised the price accordingly. He knows enough of capitalists to assert that their complaints about small profits are in a great measure false. Fifteen shillings are the full cost of making what he sells at £5. Oil for machinery he buys at 11d. and sells to manufacturers at 2s. 4d. £30 "worth" of belting this middle-man obtains for £20, whereas "favoured" customers pay £29 5s. A clergyman strengthens our opinion that, under capitalism, wares are often badly made, and machinery, instead of serving the workers, places them at the mercy of the monopolists. One of his congregation received an order for several hundred boxes for export. On expressing his inability to make them at the price stated, he was told that they need not be well made, that, indeed, they would be satisfactory if they held together until delivered to the natives, even if they then dropped to pieces. A nail-manufacturer states that profits and business are as good as formerly, a dull appearance being caused by the improvement in machinery, which yields a larger turn-out with fewer "hands," depriving the workers of employment. A chain-maker tells me of a manufacturer who pays only 2s. 10d. for drawing the silver and entirely making a dozen bracelets. The men cannot get more than 9s. a week. Men of his calling are forced to sell their labour so cheaply because there has been little demand for it during several years, as they suffer first from trade-depression.

R. F. E. WILLIS.

"PETER PAYS FOR PAUL."

A correspondent who writes asking for further information as to the League, etc., says in his letter:

"I am utterly disgusted with present social arrangements, and think hardly any change could be for the worse. I am a small capitalist myself and cannot help loathing the means by which I secure my "living," as our existence is called. My customers are good and bad. The good I have to take advantage of to make up for the bad, who often take advantage of me. My profits from good-hearted men are larger than from low mean scrubs whose only aim in life is to hoard up the dollars. Miserable wretches! What does it profit a man if he gain all the wealth in the universe, if he mislive his life?"

JUSTICE.

57 Lansdown Road, Oldham, Oct. 17th, 1885.

Will the editors of the *Commonweal* notify to the Oldham and Manchester comrades that I never asked for any assistance from the Social Democratic Federation for paying £1 10s. 9d. fine and costs imposed by the Oldham bench of magistrates on me for attempting to hold a Socialist meeting in that town?

The notice in *Justice* of the 22nd of August in Answers to Correspondents, bearing the name of John Oldman, is misleading, and I have asked the editor of *Justice* to make the correction, which he has not done, up till to-day's date.—Yours fraternally,

JOHN OLDMAN.

[Omitted from our last issue inadvertently.]

AN INQUIRY.

I see in a recent number of the *Commonweal* that the "Socialist League as a body does not concern itself with theological dogma." How is it, then, that we find the subject of Atheism cropping up so often in the speeches and writings of persons who profess interest in the progress of Socialism? Is not any honest opinion entitled to respect, unless, indeed, it leads to interference with the equal rights of others? I have been told that the speeches of Socialists consist mainly in denunciations of everybody and everything. Now is it not the system which is at fault and not individuals necessarily, and are not all classes more or less victims?

LITERARY NOTICES.

"Revolutionary Rhymes and Songs for Socialists." This is a valuable addition to popular revolutionary literature. It is a collection of 15 poems not otherwise readily accessible and is published by T. Binning at 13 Farringdon Road. It should certainly command a very large sale, as it supplies a long and much felt want.

H. H. S.

"Socialism at St. Stephens, 1869-1885." A Speech by the Earl of Wemyss. Liberty and Property Defence League, 4 Westminster Chambers.—We are not a comic paper, as that comic body the Liberty and Property Defence League seem to think. But as that collection of humourists evidently believes that its latest Merry Andrew, the Earl of Wemyss, knows something of Socialism, we can forgive it any small blunder in the face of this gigantic one. For those of our readers who enjoy a laugh we can conscientiously recommend this production. Its definitions of Socialism are alone worth the trouble of borrowing the book from some obliging Liberty and Property Defence Leaguer. We should not give 4d. for it. *Punch* can be had for 1d. less and *Judy* for half the price of the Wemyssian joke.

E. A.

EXIT MR. SAUNDERS.

THE appeal of Lewis Lyons against the sentence of two months' hard labour imposed by Mr. Saunders at the Thames police court for an alleged assault upon constable Brind at one of the Dod Street free-speech meetings, ended in accordance with everyone's expectation. Lyon's conviction was quashed without the Middlesex magistrates deeming it necessary to hear the defence. Mr. Edlin, the Assistant-Judge of the Middlesex Sessions, presided. There were about half-a-dozen magistrates present, and the trial took place at the Guildhall, Westminster. The counsel were: Mr. William Thompson for Lyons, Mr. Mead for the Treasury, by whom Mr. Saunders's conviction was upheld.

Only three witnesses were called for the prosecution. Inspector Young was judiciously withheld, as his evidence would have entirely upset that of the other police witnesses. After Brind's examination and cross-examination, it was at once apparent that the conviction would be quashed. The man wriggled and twisted, but he was unable to tell a consistent story; his evidence completely broke down.

Mr. Edlin said the Bench had no hesitation in quashing the conviction, and Lyons was at once freed from the jealous attention of the jailer who was hovering like a bird of prey in his vicinity. Great were the congratulations which he received from the host of witnesses who were waiting in the corridor without to give evidence in his favour, many of whom incurred pecuniary loss by attending.

Mr. Thompson made an application for costs. The Assistant Judge stated that it was not usual to grant costs in these cases. This is a delightful illustration of our social arrangements. Without friends, Lyons at this moment would be working out his two months. With friends his conviction was proved publicly to be most unjust. Nevertheless his reputation suffered temporary injury; he was associated in penal labour with felons; he lost his situation; his comrades, poor men all, were put to enormous and unnecessary inconvenience; and this is the price at which by the law of England, a man was enabled to prove his innocence of a most reckless and unfounded charge!

Sincere thanks are due to the Free Speech Vigilance Committee by whom the costs of the prosecution were borne.

LEX.

THE PALL MALL GAZETTE CASE.

THE present termination of what is called the *Pall Mall Gazette* case calls for a word or two of comment. The important points thus far are that by the publication of the horrible facts in relation to child-prostitution, a certain distinct shock has been given to society; that this shock is not merely a moral but a social one; that the attention of thousands has again been called to the rotten state of our civilisation under which men are forced to prostitute their labour-power and women and children at once their labour-power and their sexual natures.

The comments of the press on the matter are of the to-be-expected character. Because certain men and women are sent to prison, therefore nothing exists of the evils that have been described. This is, of course, false, and probably every newspaper writer who has made the statement, knew it to be false. The Reports of the Lords' Commission bear witness to the fact that child-prostitution is in full swing in our midst.

E. A.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

WITHIN the last few days two murders—murders the more foul and hideous in that they were committed in cold blood and after the sanguinary farce of "legal" trials and "legal" sentences—have been perpetrated by the Governments of England and of Germany. Louis Riel and Julius Lieske have been murdered—the one by the "free English," the other by the despotic German Government—to satisfy the insensate cry for revenge of a cowardly and frightened ruling class. One hardly knows which feeling is uppermost—shame and horror that such things can be, or absolute bewilderment at the idiocy of the Governments that thus help to dig their own graves. Germany will not easily forget Julius Lieske. And it requires no prophetic vision to foresee "Canadian difficulties" ahead.

To the details of Riel's case I need only refer here. All my readers remember the rising of the "half-breeds"—driven to this revolt, be it borne in mind, by the terrible wrongs under which they suffer. These wrongs no one has denied. Indeed, a pretence at redressing some of the more crying ones has been made. And yet the man who helped to tell the world what these wrongs were, whose only crime was that he took the only means in his power to help his people—this man has been done to death. At his trial he never faltered. It was not he who set up a plea of "insanity"—he declared that if to love his people, if to wish to redress their wrongs were insanity, then he was insane, but not otherwise. His death was brave and calm. His memory will live in the hearts of his people—and French Canadians will be ready to hold out a hand to the United States whenever the States may feel disposed to include Canada in the Union.

But monstrous as is the murder of Riel, that of Julius Lieske outdoes it in infamy—for here we have a man murdered for a "crime" he has not committed, and simply as a "warning example." In the August number of the *Commonweal* I gave an account of his trial, and I refer my readers to that. In addition to the facts given there I have only these to add. Firstly, it has now been indubitably proved that the chief "witness" against Lieske, one Mrs. Camphausen, was not only an altogether unreliable witness, but that she was in the pay of the police. I have not space here to give details, but German-reading friends will find them

the *Sozial Democrat* of November 19th. At his trial Lieske declared he was innocent. In a letter—which I regret I cannot reproduce here in full—to his brother he says: "I swear to you, dear brother, I have not done it (*i.e.*, assassinated Rumpff). I did not even take part in it; they have condemned an innocent man. . . . You, dearest brother, must know I have not done this deed. There is no blood upon my hands." His last words on the scaffold were "I AM INNOCENT." And let it not be forgotten that here was no case of mistaken identity, of a juridical error. Lieske is the victim of a foul police plot. His innocent blood be upon the heads of his dastardly murderers. For ourselves, let us remember Louis Riel and Julius Lieske.

DENMARK, NORWAY, AND SWEDEN.—Nowhere, probably, is our movement making greater strides than in Scandinavia. With the "increased wealth of the country" (*i.e.*, of the exploiting class), and the "development of trade and commerce" (*i.e.*, of the Capitalistic System with all its attendant train of horrors), the people are growing poorer and more wretched, and are beginning to understand—the sturdy Norwegian peasant as well as the town workers—that "things are not what they seem," and that the Capitalistic is not the best world possible. The fact that has peculiar interest and significance with regard to Scandinavia is that the peasants are beginning to work with us. For example, the great Copenhagen strike that has gone on now for over three months, has been kept up to a great extent by the country folk. They have not only contributed money to help their brethren of the town, but have received into their own homes the families of the strikers. The importance of such facts cannot be over-rated. And Scandinavia affords another proof of that which we Socialists always maintain—that thoughtful and honest men of all classes must come to us. Not only Scandinavia, but we Socialists of all lands have reason to be proud that such a man as Björnson sympathises with us. Above all, we may be proud that the greatest dramatist of modern times, one of the great dramatists of all time, Henrick Ibsen, has declared himself a Socialist. For years Ibsen has dealt in his great plays with matters of deepest social import as no other living dramatist has dared to do. So boldly and bravely did he speak, that his country became too hot for him, and for many years he has lived abroad. A few months ago he returned to his native land. Time had brought his revenge, and Ibsen was *fêté* everywhere—but at Drontheim, Ibsen was received by the working-man's club, and there he declared himself a Socialist. "Mere democracy," he said, "cannot solve the question (*i.e.*, the social question). . . . An element of aristocracy must be introduced into our life. . . . of course, I do not mean the aristocracy of birth or of the purse, or even the aristocracy of intellect. I mean the aristocracy of character, of will, of mind. That only can free us. From two groups will this aristocracy I hope for come to our people—from our women and our workmen. The revolution, now preparing in Europe, in the social condition, is chiefly concerned with the future of the workers and the women. In this I place all my hopes and expectations; for this I will work all my life and with all my strength"

FRANCE.—On the motion of our friend Vaillant, the Paris Municipal Council has passed a resolution (though the good bourgeois Radicals would not vote the resolution "urgent"!) demanding an amnesty for all political offenders, whether condemned for *delits de droits commun* (*i.e.*, as ordinary criminals) or not. The same resolution will be brought forward by Clovis Hugues next Monday in the Chamber. His proposition has already received 110 signatures, but naturally the Government will move heaven and earth to keep Louise Michel, Bernard, Kropotkin, and their companions in their clutches. Of course, Clémenceau and his followers are pledged to support Clovis Hugues.

Some friends have asked whether there is any truth in the statement that the "reactionary vote" at the late election was intended as a censure on the anti-Catholic policy of the Government. Any one who knows anything of France or French political and social life would hardly ask such a question. France was simply disgusted with the "foreign policy" of the "Tonkinois" Ferry; the vote was meant as an unqualified protest against the "little wars" in which Bourgeois speculators have embarked, and had nothing whatever to do with the "religious question."

The present crisis in Lyons is as terrible as the one of 1831-32, and the unhappy weavers after a long struggle have, "vanquished by famine," been forced to accept the 20 per cent. reduction of their wages imposed by their exploiters. But even after this concession the employers have, for the most part, not re-opened their factories. This, of course, means absolute starvation for thousands. And now the manufacturers of Rheims are following the good example of their dear colleagues of Lyons, and are reducing the starvation wages paid from 10 to 20 per cent.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

SUMMARY OF MONTHLY REPORTS.

ALTHOUGH the election-fever has drawn away attention from more serious things, and disposed many rather to engage in the excitement of party warfare than in the calm discussion of social questions, our Branches in all parts of the country have been carrying on the work steadily, and without exception report attentive and alert audiences at their lectures and discussions.

Farringdon Hall.—The lectures and entertainments here are fairly successful in attracting good audiences. The Sunday morning discussions are bringing some of the younger members forward, and are always enjoyable. A general meeting of London members on Nov. 2, discussed the question of political action of the League, and adjourned further debate to December 7.

London Branches.—*Bloomsbury* has made several new members, and is looking out for larger room. *Hammersmith* reports increasing interest taken in discussions, and good sale of literature. *Marylebone* has, through the landlord letting their hall "over their head," been compelled to confine itself to open-air meetings every Sunday morning and evening; these have uniformly been large and enthusiastic. *Hoxton* finds the Sunday morning readings a helpful and attractive feature in their work; is gaining strength, and is deliberating as to the formation of a club. *Merton* has experienced great benefit from working as a club; it now numbers over forty members, is carrying on two lectures per week, and a concert at intervals. *Mile-end* has now secured a home, and is re-organising for a renewed and active campaign. *North London.*—A good months' work, several new members, and good sale of literature. *South London* possesses a nucleus of indomitable workers, has more than doubled its membership during the month, and secured a firm foothold for vigorous propaganda. *Stratford* is still in rather a disintegrated condition, not having yet obtained a meeting-place.

Provincial.—*Bradford* is working steadily, financial position good. *Dublin* branch will be formed soon, most likely before this is read; several first-rate workers have foregathered, and look to plant the red flag firmly on Irish soil, so that it may soon gather a goodly army behind it. *Edinburgh* confesses to having been a little bit sleepy for awhile, but is now broad awake and labouring strenuously, with encouraging results. *Glasgow* is working away, but lacks opposition to enliven the proceedings. This is a very common complaint, and seems to show that the bourgeois are conscious of their untenable position, and shirk defending it. *Leeds* has not secured a room yet, but carries on most successful open-air meetings, attended by enthusiastic crowds. *Leicester* constituted itself on Nov. 1, and is gradually progressing, making converts, and selling considerable literature. *Manchester* is still growing, and certainly deserves success for the immense amount of work it is doing. *Oldham* shares in what is said of Manchester. *Oxford* has been having a "lively time"; to its other methods it has added the missioning of outlying villages with most encouraging results.

H. H. S.

LECTURE DIARY: December, 1885.

FARRINGTON HALL (Offices of the League), 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.—Lectures.—Wednesdays, 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited. Dec. 2. R. A. Beckett; 9. C. Mowbray; 16. W. C. Wade; 23. E. J. Baxter; 30. E. B. Baxter. Concert.—The tenth free concert is fixed for Saturday Dec. 5, at 8 p.m.

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—"Eagle and Child" Coffee Tavern, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pittfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, 11.30 a.m., Readings, etc.; 8 p.m., Lectures. Dec. 6. Rev. S. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." 23. H. Charles. 20. F. Verinder, "Landlords and Thieves." 27. E. J. Baxter, "The Coming Revolution."
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. Dec. 6. H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." 13. T. Binning, "Citizen v. Subject." 20. W. Chambers, "The Gospel of Discontent." 27. Rocke, "Three Acres and a Cow."
Marylebone.—Corner of Bell Street, Edgware Road. Sundays at 8 p.m. Dec. 6. C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism." 13. Frank Kitz, "Lives of Working-men." 20. A. Donald, "Solidarity." 27. D. Nicoll, "The Charms of Civilisation."
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m. Dec. 6. J. L. Mahon, "The Emancipation of Labour." Dec. 13. R. A. Beckett, a lecture. 20. H. Charles, "Socialism and Anarchism." 27. F. Kitz.
Mile-end.—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. Dec. 1. C. W. Mowbray, "Thrift v. Plunder." 8. Joseph Lane, "The National Loaf." 15. J. L. Mahon, "The Enslavement of Labour." 22. W. C. Wade, "Free Trade and Socialism." 29. D. Nicoll, "The Coming Revolution." Readings every Friday evening.
North London.—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town, N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m. Dec. 2. Laurence Grönlund, "Are the Rich getting richer and the Poor poorer?" 9. Miss Edith Simcox, "A Socialistic Revolution; what it costs, and who can make it." 16. Andreas Schen, "Some Objections to Socialism." 23. No lecture. Special members' meeting. 30. David Nicoll, "The Charms of Civilisation."
South London.—Camberwell Radical Club, Gloucester Road, Peckham. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. Dec. 3. H. Charles, "Socialism and Anarchism." 10. F. Kitz, "Socialistic Experiments." 17. D. Nicoll, "The Charms of Civilisation." 24. J. Lane, "The National Loaf."

PROVINCIAL.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30.
Glasgow.—Albion Halls, College Street. Sundays at 7 p.m. Nov. 29. J. P. Gilmour, "Socialism, a Vision of Sin (a Criticism)." Dec. 6. James Brown, "Rousseau." 13. W. Craibe Angus. 20. John Adams, "The French Revolution of 1848." 27. William Brown, "The Fine Arts."
Leeds.—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.
Leicester.—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate. Sundays at 3 p.m.
Manchester.—City Café, Swan Street. Meets each Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. Dec. 1. Addison, "The Curse of Capitalism." 8. W. Utley, "An Ideal State." 15. Peach, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." 22. Snowdon, "Female Labour." 29. Ramsey, "A Romance of Revolution." Committee meetings every Monday at the County Forum, Market Street, at 7.30. General business meeting on Monday Dec. 7, County Forum at 8.
Royston.—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 8. Nov. 29. Peach.
Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bona fide* inquirers.
Oxford.—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

Hyde Park.—Sundays, 3.30 p.m. *Regent's Park.*—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.
Paddington.—Corner of Bell Street, Edgware Road, Sundays at 11.30 a.m.
Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.
Leeds.—Vicar's Croft. Every Sunday afternoon and evening.
Manchester.—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m. Dec. 6. Henderson, Addison; 13. Peach, Snowdon; 20. Prince, Unwin; 27. Addison, Ewing.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY.—Friday, Dec. 18. Special. "How can we nationalise accumulated wealth?" Address by Mrs. Annie Besant at South Place Chapel.
 STANLEY HALL, Cairns Road, Battersea Rise, near Clapham Junction.—Readings on social subjects. Sunday mornings at 11 o'clock. W. N. Armfield asks help.
 OLDHAM SECULAR CLUB.—Dec. 29, Parkinson, on "Socialism."
 CIGAR MAKERS' MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, Hutchison Street, Aldgate.—Dec. 20. A. Scheu will lecture on the Continental labour-movement.

WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

LONDON.

Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.
 Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.
 Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84
 New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.
 Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.
 Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.
 Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 103; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.
 Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.
 Bishopsgate—E. T. Penderill, 26 Brushfield St.
 Fleet Street—Freetthought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.
 Strand—Pitt, 30 Newcastle St.
 Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

PROVINCES.

BIRMINGHAM—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.
 BRADFORD—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.
 BRISTOL—Morrish, Narrow Wine St.
 DUBLIN—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.
 EDINBURGH—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.
 GALASHIELLS—The News Stall, Princess St.
 GLASGOW—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.
 HAWICK—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.
 HULL—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolmele.
 LEEDS—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.
 LIVERPOOL—Lunding Stage; Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.
 MANCHESTER—W. Addison (Wholesale) 22 Carnarvon St., Dickens St., Queen's Road.
 NORTHAMPTON—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.
 OLDHAM—J. Salway, 64 Falcon St. off Ashton Road.
 OXFORD—English, 38 St. Ebbe's St.