

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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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 *Psychical 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, not 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.; 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.

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 Socialist 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 on 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 Tzars.* By STEPNIAK. Ward and Downey.

STEPNIAK 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 Tzars." 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 Troubetzkoï 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 Tzars" 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 companies; 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, Halls 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, Fick, 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, 29th, 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 phalanger 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-

trema 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 *Social Democrat* 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; Hørdum, 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 Nürrefeld (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 Democrat* (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.