

THE COMMONWEAL

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ONE PENNY.

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NOTES ON THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

THE past fortnight has been fertile in surprises. By something as sudden as the stroke of Harlequin's wand, the Gladstone Ministry found itself resigning as the consequence of a defeat which was the result of "accident," say the Liberal leaders, with so much solemnity that it would be uncivil to doubt them. Yet when one considers that they were pledged to bring in a Coercion bill, which the Radical wing were pledged to oppose (though, indeed, they would pretty certainly have broken that pledge), one can't help thinking that if it was not an accident carefully provided for, it was an accident that resulted from a sudden flash of inspiration on the part of the leaders, who saw on the night of the debate what could be made of the turn which things were taking. By such inspirations do great generals win battles, and usually they are not so modest as to call them accidents afterwards.

The trap, though thus laid in the sight of the bird, was entered with apparent willingness. But then comes another surprise. The Tory leaders, who surely might have taken it for granted that they would have to be at least as kind to their enemies as to their friends, seemed to think it worth trying whether they could not have a Session without any enemies at all; or, perhaps, as their heads cleared from the intoxication of their triumph, they began to see that they might, in turn, put their opponents in a more or less awkward position, which would tend to discredit them before the new electorate. Hence has resulted a curious game of some interest to those who are fond of watching the domestic game of "Patience"; of no interest otherwise, except so far as it may discredit both parties before all sensible people.

But where are the "sensible people"? Scattered thinly, I fear, among the general population. Yet, if they would only unite, they would move the world.

Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone, having threatened more than once to retire altogether, has had his hand forced by the offer of the gilded shelf of an earldom, and has declined it, to the great jubilation of the semi-radical Liberals, who, probably with reason, see in his refusal a token of his sticking to his post of leader, even when this "crisis" is over.

Sir Stafford Northcote, on the other hand, has been shoved on to the shelf willy nilly—an incident of little significance even in the insignificant game of politics.

Except that it betokens that, whatever other results the "Political Crisis" may have, it will at any rate have put Lord Randolph Churchill in the place he has been playing for—the virtual leadership of the Tory party. Time will show what

he will do there. It may turn out that his cleverness is only that of the ordinary Parliamentary trickster, and that he will simply kick down the ladder by which he has mounted, according to the rule in such cases; or he may show the higher qualities of the gamester, and be original enough to stick to his text of Tory Democracy, in which case he may lead his party into some queer places, out of which it is possible that the worker may win some advantage.

Nervousness about the consequences of action on the results of the General Election seems to have weighed much on the possible office-holders. For instance—a small instance: Sir M. Hicks Beach, tackled by temperance societies as to his utterance in the Budget debate championing the licensed victuallers by favouring a tax on tea and sugar rather than spirits and beer, is driven to a reply which recalls Mrs. Wilfer to us; for he says, in fact, that when he advocated the said taxes, he did so with the reservation that he didn't mean it in any sense whatever.

Again, as to the coercion for Ireland. At first it was asserted (or assumed) that Lord Salisbury would only take office on the understanding that the Liberal leaders would pledge themselves and their party to help in passing that aid to "the reign of order" in Ireland. But again, the *Standard* indignantly proclaims that there is no foundation for this assertion. Indeed, the Tory Ministry would be in a tight place here; for surely their passing a Coercion Bill would mean their giving up all hope at the general election.

The imaginative man is almost driven to suppose that this surrender and acceptance of office is a sham battle on both sides—a tacit plot of Whig, Tory, Liberal, Radical, in view of the general election, to let coercion slide with a certain amount of dignity. If so, it is a curious illustration of the proverb—When rogues fall out honest men prosper.

Mr. Chamberlain seems inclined to pronounce in favour of Home Rule, and condemns the Castle Government unsparingly, whatever his opinion once was. After all, we are getting on, along some lines at least. Or will there be a fresh reaction after the general election, when it turns out that the new Parliament is composed of much the same elements as the old?

The *Times* calls on Lord Salisbury to make alliance with the moderate Whigs rather than with the Tory democrats. A writer in the *Pall Mall* follows suit, and has a vision of a "patriotic" party of the future. It is clearly quite impossible for Lord Salisbury to follow this advice at present; but perhaps such a coalition will one day take place, and will produce a party not only reactionary, but of such portentous priggishness and stupidity, that it will be of great service to the cause of the people.

And now at last the crisis is over, and Lord Randolph Churchill and his cloak, Lord Salisbury, are "masters" of the parliamentary hubbub. Nor need anybody sleep the worse for it to-night, not even the editor of the *Pall Mall*, although he threatens dreadful things, the Russian ambassador, for instance, leaving London unless he gets an explanation of the language used by Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph. Well, well, he will have the explanations, I suppose, and will stay.

And Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke, longer sighted than some, are going to Ireland to get used to the atmosphere of Nationalism—or to try and outflank Mr. Parnell. Who would have thought it four years ago? Not I, who heard a Radical meeting yelling with joy at the announcement of the

arrest of Mr. Parnell by the Government of which the two allies were members. So the world moves.

If in the foregoing notes the subject of this crisis seems to be treated with levity, I can only say that it is almost impossible to speak seriously about such contemptible trifling, which is unparalleled by anything save the Court changes in the worst periods of the Byzantine Empire. If only people could see how contemptible it is, and so duly estimate the worth of Parliament.

* * *

One thing, of course, it points to—the break-up and confusion of all the old parties. There is hope in that, at any rate. Futile as the new Parliamentary parties will certainly be, they will not be so long-lived as the old, consolidated as these have been by tradition and long habits of attack and defence. Doubt, irresolution, and waiting to see which way the cat jumps will be for a long time the characteristics of the new parties, under which, condemned by all “respectabilities,” the revolution will form, and at last, when it gets strong enough, will drive all parties which are not of it to consolidate into one party of open conscious reaction. May we all live to see the day which will bring that about!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE FACTORY INFERNO.

MR. REDGRAVE, chief inspector of factories, has recently issued his report for 1884. The student of its predecessors will be pained, but not surprised, to find that this latest report is miserably like all its fore-runners. The same callous indifference to human suffering and to human life; the same kinds of diseases affecting the workers but never the masters; the same crowd of preventable accidents; the same prosecutions of employers for breach of the acts, with acquittals or wholly inadequate sentences; the same unholy alliance between masters and magistrates.

The sanitation question in all its aspects is vexing the minds of the inspectors almost as much as in the earlier years of the working of the Acts. The difficulties of so much of the question as refers to ventilation are made greater by the susceptibility, partly real, partly imaginary, of the workers to cold draughts of air. I say “partly imaginary,” because the English working classes are almost as antagonistic to fresh air as a German in a railway carriage. They do not understand its value, and they over-estimate its likelihood of doing harm. If the grinding toil in which they exist left them time to study a little elementary physiology, they would know that a thousand times more injury is likely to result from a close room than from one with a little draught in it. Whilst, however, the prejudice against slightest trace of draught is, I think, absurd, it must not be forgotten that the physical strength of the class as a whole, and of certain individuals, has been undermined, and there is an over-susceptibility to chest affections.

The inspectors who visited the London millinery and dress-making shops, report “that in comparatively few places are any special means taken to secure adequate ventilation.” Some of the details given in regard to the East-end sweaters’ establishments are painfully interesting. Visits were made to 1478 shops. 724 were not under inspection at all, and 387 were not within the control of the inspectors as far as sanitary measures were concerned. In 907 of these 1111, alterations were required. In 132 of the 367 wholly under supervision, alterations were required. Here are one or two cases.

“No trap to sink. Drinking water from cistern not covered over. Filthy heap of refuse: no proper dust-bin. Water supply to W.C. (from same cistern) out of order. Three families in this house.

“Very dirty place. Place strewn with filthy rags and bones. No drain. W.C. the receptacle for refuse.

“Overcrowded. Drinking water and W.C. supply connected. Tap for drawing drinking water is in the W.C.

“W.C. almost inside workroom. No water supply, except in basement not accessible to tenants. No dust-bin. Condition of drinking water complained of. All houses on this side of street supplied from one cistern at No. 18.”

The modern system of production drags in its train diseases that affect the workers only, and not the exploiters. Only three are mentioned in this report: those of the wool-sorters, the millers, the file-cutters. In Bradford the wool-sorters’ disease is so frequent that a code of regulations has been drawn up for the workshops that reads like the directions one sees posted in a hospital for some virulent disease. But the carrying out of these regulations is voluntary, and every worker knows what that means.

Upon the subject of millers’ asthma the report runs thus:

“It is quite exceptional to see a person who has worked any time in a flour mill who is not more or less affected as to the respiratory organs. The average life of millers is stated to be only forty-five years.” Flour-mills are not under the Acts. Here is one out of many piteous cries to the inspectors:

“Sir,—If it comes within your duties under the Factory Act to protect men obliged to work for sixteen to twenty-one hours per day, I shall ask you to look up some of the flour-mills in this town. Health is sacrificed for the sake of holding bad situations.—Yours,
Hoping for help.

January 28, 1884.”

The file-cutters suffer from lead-poisoning. One symptom of this affection is the drooping of the wrists and the weakening of the thumbs. An increase in the number of cases presenting these particular phases of lead-poisoning has been observed of late. This increase is due to the increased strain and jar on the muscles caused by the greater hardness of the steel used in making files.

“A hammer 7lbs. weight is required to do the work at the present time which twenty-five years ago could be done with one 5lbs. weight.”

This is another instance of the way in which advances in manufacturing industry tell against, and not for, the workers.

In 1884 there were 403 fatal accidents that came under the notice of the inspectors; 1,337 cases of amputation of a limb; 830 fractured limbs; 981 injuries to head and face; 5,413 lacerations, contusions and the like; in all, 8,964. If to these reported and recorded cases are added in imagination the large number of accidents that never come under the notice of the officials, it will be seen that England does pretty ill in the way of maiming its workers.

The larger number of these are preventable, and would be prevented if the employers were not blinded with their wild race for wealth. The two chief causes of them are the non-fencing of machinery and the cleaning of machinery in motion. The former is clearly the fault of the masters only. The latter is due to the habitual payment of piece-wages. This habit begets in the workmen, women, and children a feverish anxiety not to lose a moment even if the attendant risk be the loss of a limb. With regard to the fencing difficulty I quote one case only:

“With your consent, I lately prosecuted an important company for having neglected to fence certain mill-gearing. A poor girl had been told to remove dust in brick-works at a spot (as the manager stated) 8 feet from an unfenced shaft and cogged wheels. She was not on that day cautioned not to approach the shaft where most of the dust was to be found. Her clothing was caught by the shaft: she was gradually dragged into the wheels. Both legs were cut off and one arm broken. She died the same day.

“At the hearing of my case, an engine-wright (who stated that he had been in charge of the machinery for seven years) said that he had not thought a guard necessary, and, although a girl had been killed, he was still of the same opinion.

“The chairman of the company prosecuted would, I am convinced, have acted generously to the relations of deceased had he not conscientiously believed that his managers had taken all reasonable precaution, and that a dangerous precedent would have been established by admitting blame.”

On the cleaning of machinery in motion Inspector Coles writes:

“I am sorry to see that the number of accidents, especially in textile factories, has increased very much of late. The truth is, that nearly one half of the accidents which take place arise from women and young persons cleaning the machinery when it is in motion. In some mills, however, I am afraid scarcely sufficient time is allowed for cleaning the machinery when stopped, though in many cases the fault lies with the work-people themselves, who, being on piece-work, are reluctant to lose any time by stopping the machinery.”

Quarries, in which very frequent and very terrible accidents occur, are not under the Acts. As to the ship-building yards the only accidents that need be reported in any are the fatal ones, and wherever only men are employed and no mechanical power is used not even fatal accidents need be reported and the inspectors have actually no jurisdiction at all.

I cannot refrain from quoting, ere I leave the subject of accidents, one case that is tragically interesting in view of the lethargy of masters in this connexion.

“I had twice told him verbally that he must fence an upright shaft, running through the first-floor room from floor to ceiling. Finally I sent him an order to fence at once. He always assured me that there was no danger to be apprehended from it whatever, and that it had been running so for years. He neglected to comply with the order sent, and shortly afterwards was himself killed through the shaft obtaining a hold on his overcoat as he was standing near it.”

From the list of prosecutions of employers for infringing the Acts, one or two old, old truths came out again. The cases of

prosecution are but the merest fraction of the actual cases of infringement. The penalties are always fines and infinitesimal at that. The magistrates are all on the side of the masters. One or two examples in support of these propositions.

"Samuel Whitaker, cotton spinner, Durn, Littleborough. Neglecting to limewash the factory for a period of twenty-four months. Penalty, 2s. 6d.

"Bamber and Co. (Limited), cotton spinners, Mount Pleasant Mill, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire. Failing to fence crank and crank-shaft of engine, whereby one Walter Brooks, was killed on December 7, 1883. Penalty, £5.

"Thomas Turnbull and Son, Whitby. Employing four boys more than seven working days without certificates of fitness. Magistrates were of opinion that penalty in one case was sufficient.

"William Hodgkinson, draper, Bridge Street, Warrington. Employing six females after 4 o'clock on Saturday afternoon. Penalty, 6s. The magistrates remarked that it was "a very arbitrary law" which required them to inflict penalties for such offences.

Of the London magistrates Mr. Paget appears to be the most brutal and tyrannical.

"G. H. Newton, firewood manufacturer, Hertford Street, N. Employing a child for more than seven days without obtaining surgical certificate. Employing two young persons for more than seven days without obtaining surgical certificates. Failing to keep register with prescribed particulars, etc. The defendant pleaded guilty to the charges, and attempted no defence whatever. Mr. Paget, however, pressed him to withdraw the plea of 'Guilty,' and to plead 'Not Guilty.' The first case was proved by Mr. Paterson, when the magistrate asked for the production of the 'prescribed form.' An adjournment was therefore asked for, with a view to the production of this document, whereupon Mr. Paget instantly dismissed the cases. Under these circumstances I withdrew the remaining case. In addition to dismissing the first case in question, Mr. Paget allowed the defendant a guinea costs."

EDWARD AVELING.

EAST-END WORKERS.—III.

I HAVE a few words to say on the conditions of the workers at the East-End. Not far from Whitechapel Church, in one of the back turnings, there stands a warehouse where a number of young girls, men and women are employed. It is used as a warehouse for storing and cleaning corn and cotton. The day's slavery commences at 7.30 in the morning. There are several machines on the premises. One is a blower for blowing the dirt and dust out of corn—a blinding and fearful task, the wind blowing the dust and dirt in all directions, so that the people in the neighbourhood call the place "The Dusthole." All this could be prevented if proper machinery were used. Girls have to work at this all day long, from 7.30 a.m. to 6 p.m., no time being allowed for refreshments from 7.30 till 1 o'clock. This is under the Factory Act, too. The inspector has only visited the place once in five years, and when he came the people were not at work. The wages that the girls earn are seven or eight shillings a week. How can a girl feed, clothe and keep herself decently on such a sum, for work which is surely killing her day by day? It is nothing else but slow murder. There are also bales of cotton weighing from three to five hundredweight, which have to be trucked about by girls. Then there is a crane for loading goods into vans. Sometimes the weights lowered by this amount to nine hundredweight, and they are never less than three hundredweight. This crane is also worked by girls. They can be seen during the week engaged at these different tasks. The girls also sling the bales, etc., at the loopholes. I should like some of the well-kept and pampered ladies, who come to open exhibitions, etc., at the East-End, to see some of the work done by their fellow-countrywomen in a so-called civilised and Christian country.

I think they will have a day of reckoning to settle before long, for Socialism is making rapid progress in the East-End of late. Talk and explain Socialism to the people who have to work in such dens of infamy, and it is accepted gladly by them as being the only means whereby they can lead a happy and pleasant life, instead of living, as now, a life hardly worth living. Can men, who force people to work under such evil conditions, have any human feelings left in them? How long the workers will endure these horrible surroundings I know not, but of one thing I am certain, that when they come to fully understand Socialism it will be an ill day for those that stand in their path, debarring them from the means of existence and happiness. I myself, a worker, would not care to lead such a life of constant and exhausting toil another day if it were not for my hope in Socialism—the good time that is to come for all. But I, and others like me, are not inclined to die without a struggle. Better to die fighting than to go to the grave without a struggle as thousands are dying now, slowly murdered by the capitalistic

system, either by slow starvation or by the injurious work they are employed at. And all this for the sake of the greed and gain of their employers, that these may grow fat upon the flesh and blood of their fellow creatures.

J. SLODDEN.

No. IV.

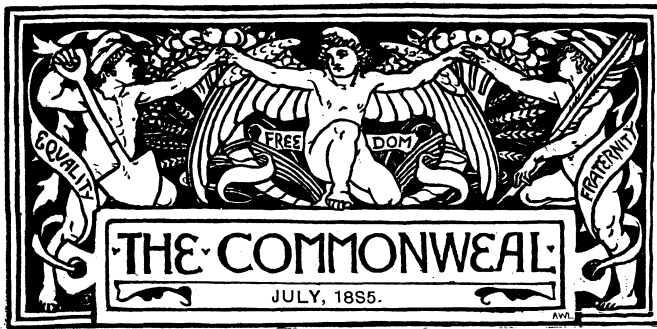
SOME thirty years ago a popular writer foresaw that with an increased population there must ensue a corresponding increase in the demand for cheap clothing, which, in its turn, would result in an increased number of sweaters. But he failed to see another cause altogether beyond the economic principle of demand and supply which slowly but surely was tending to increase the number of wretched tailors and heartless sweaters. The majority of these workmen are foreigners, partly because of the persecution to which they have been subjected on the Continent, but mainly because of the exaggerated accounts regarding the state of the British labour market prevalent abroad. (It must be understood that I am not yet dealing with the manufacturer). The last few years have been signalled by the immigration of an unusually large number of Polish, Russian and other Jews. The majority of these having so far belied the famed shrewdness of their race as to land in England without being able to utter a syllable of the English language, find themselves unable to obtain employment. Then, when reduced to extremities, the sweater puts in an appearance among the helpless immigrants, and speedily strikes a bargain with them. The immediate result is that the foreigners are conveyed to the sweating establishment and taught to make up cloth into a particular part of a garment. For the sweater is too well alive to his own interest to teach the foreigners the whole of the trade. In a few days the embryo tailors are proficient in their work, and, in return for the merest pittance, are kept in bondage, the sweater in the meanwhile pocketing, in addition to his ordinary large profits, the difference between the prices he pays these hapless people and those which he would have paid in the usual way to any of the workmen for whom he might have advertised.

And to this bondage they have to submit, since, being able only to do one part of a garment or one particular portion at the most, they are handicapped in their efforts to obtain other employment. If, however—as they often do—they manage to learn by fair means or by foul the whole of their trade, then, by dint of pinching and starving themselves to the utmost limits, they manage to scrape together sufficient to start a sweating establishment of their own, and thus the ranks of sweater slave-owners are continually increasing. Knowing by experience the amount of work which their employes can be made to do, and the hardships to which they have perforce to submit, their hearts are as callous as those of their late employers. But even when the employé is kept at one particular kind of work throughout his apprenticeship (as the sweater delights to call it), yet he can often manage to become a sweater. By scraping and saving, he may get sufficient capital to start a shop, and when the time comes when he must look for "orders," he can get a sample of a garment from another sweater, which, passed off at the clothing establishment as his own make, may secure him the desired orders.

Yet, whether the ignorant foreigner or the skilled journeyman starts as master, there is still left to suffer from the greed of the others a class the least able to bear the hardships inflicted upon them—girls and women. Receiving money that can scarce be called wages, so miserably small as it is compared with the work they do; working from twelve to fifteen hours a day in rooms devoid of the most simple sanitary arrangements, their daily life is something not far short of martyrdom. From what has been shown, it will be evident, then, that the ranks of the sweaters are continuously swelling. From this there can be but one result, that is, and has for long, been making itself felt. Competition necessarily cheapens labour, but the sweaters are by no means disposed to suffer in their own pockets from lower prices. Instead of contenting themselves with a decrease of profits, which they could very well afford, they make their "hands" work longer and for less pay than formerly.

LEWIS LYONS.

Space has failed us for treating with due seriousness this month Lawrence Grönlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth," but it is proposed to review it next month. Meantime, I call our readers' attention to it as a most useful introduction to Socialism. Besides the English edition (edited by Mr. G. B. Shaw) which is abridged and somewhat altered, Mr. Reeves, of Fleet Street, has on sale some copies of the American edition (price one shilling) which is preferred by the author.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

All business communications to be addressed, the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must NOT be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

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

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

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Two numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Belfort Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Labour v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

MARCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, Hightown, Chesham.

JULIUS BORDELLO writes from the New York Labour Lyceum that Socialism is still in the States a foreign plant. Most of the Socialists are German. He suggests that mutual monthly reports of the proceedings of the different Socialistic bodies be sent from one organisation to another.

ANDERS A. SORENGER, Marvin, Grant Co., Dakota, U.S.A., greets the *Commonweal*, and will write to us from time to time.

A WORKING WOMAN, Desborough, near Market Harboro', asks for a lecturer, if possible William Morris, after his visit to Northampton.

H. W. FARNALL (New Zealand).—The *Watchman* to hand and placed on our exchange list. Kindly send a few extra copies for our country branches, and in return you will receive extra copies of the *Commonweal* and all other literature published by the Socialist League.

O. U. R. PUND (Commissioner of Labour, Michigan, U.S.)—Thanks for two copies of the 1885 Report of the Labour Bureau just to hand.

RECEIVED.—*Ori du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Labour Leaf*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Le National Belge* (daily)—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Bebel's "Woman"* (Modern Press)—*Il Paria*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maitre*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Daylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocate*—*Oldham Chronicle*.

THE following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—"National Evils," from J. Lane; "Co-operative Commonwealth," from Lawrence Grönlund; "Ideal Commonwealths," from W. C. Wade; "Arbeit Unterrichts," by Seidel, from the publishers; "Evolution and Revolution," by Elisée Reclus, from the publishers; "Our Land Laws," "Poor Laws," "Past and Future of Politics," from James M. Cherrie; a batch of the publications of the Scottish Land Restoration League, from James M. Cherrie, Glasgow.

"THE COMMONWEAL."

THE following methods of aiding the circulation of the *Commonweal* should be noted and acted upon, and further suggestions should be sent by its friends and supporters.

What Individuals can do.—Get annual subscribers. For 1s. 6d. the journal is sent post free for twelve months to any address in Britain, America, Germany, France, Canada, etc. Take a few copies of each issue and a contents bill to some of the newsagents in the vicinity of your dwelling or workshop. Get them exposed for sale and the contents bill displayed, and promise to pay for what is left unsold. Take a few copies to meetings and sell them among the audience.

What Branches can do.—Impress upon every member that this journal is the organ of the PARTY, that therefore its success concerns EVERY MEMBER, and that it is the duty of every member to see that it is bought and read by all his friends, companions, and shopmates. Have the paper on sale at all the branch meetings. Organise small selling parties for public meetings. See that every member of the branch supplies the newsagents near his house or factory. Advertise it on all publications issued by the branch.

THE Provisional Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class

SOCIALISTS AT PLAY.*

(Prologue spoken at the Entertainment of the Socialist League at South Place Institute, June 11, 1885).

FRIENDS, we have met amidst our busy life
To rest an hour from turmoil and from strife,
To cast our care aside while song and verse
Touches our hearts, and lulls the ancient curse.
And yet—what's this? To no luxurious mood
By what we hear to-night shall we be wooed.
War, labour, freedom; noble words are these;
But must we hymn them in our hours of ease?—
We must be men. You comrades, you who came
In trust of England's ancient honoured name
Unto this "home of freedom o'er the wave,"
"This loosener of the fetters of the slave,"
E'en here have felt the petty tyrant's will,
Who robs and worries where he may not kill.
We must be men, or we shall find one day
Our boasted safe asylum swept away:
The blue-coat's staff, the spy's report, shall be
Emblems of England's saved society.

Yet more, what's this? The wail shall reach your ears
Wherewith Hood moved the listening town to tears—
But not to deeds: and your familiar friend
Shall hear his rough rhymes with your longings blend,
Ashamed to think how little he may do
To share his lot with labour and with you.
Lastly, we pray you ere we part to raise
Your voices once more in the "Marseillaise,"
The glorious strain that long ago foretold
The hope now multiplied a thousand-fold:
Nay, hope transfigured; since at last we know
The world our country, and the rich our foe.

So through our play, as in our work, we see
The strife that is, the Peace that is to be.
We are as warriors waiting for the word
That breaks the truce and calls upon the sword:
Gay is their life and merry men they are,
But all about them savours of the war.
Their glittering arms are all their childrens' toys,
Amidst their ballad sings the trumpet's voice;
About the sheep-cotes girt for war they go,
Pale gleams the glaive above the seed they sow.

All this is good; let other men forget!
Let others rest while they are living yet!
But we, but we—what time have we for rest,
Who see the worst, who see the coming best?
Long is our task, and soon the day is o'er,
And once departed cometh back no more.
How good the stroke once struck! How good the deed
Done once for all! How good the help at need!

So be we gay; but yet, amidst our mirth,
Remember how the sorrow of the earth
Has called upon us till we hear and know,
And save as dastards never back may go!
Why, then, should we forget? Let the cause cling
About the book we read, the song we sing,
Cleave to our cup and hover o'er our plate,
And by our bed at morn and even wait.
Let the sun shine upon it; let the night
Weave happy tales of our fulfilled delight!
The child we cherish and the love we love,
Let these our hearts to deeper daring move;
Let deedful life be sweet and death no dread,
For us, the last men risen from the dead!

Thus shall we barter what poor ease and rest
Is yet our own amidst a world oppressed
For deeds and hope of deeds: thus shall we see
Clear if far off the better days to be;
And live like men nor lack for helpful friends
Whatever fate the time upon us sends.

There! let the peddling world go staggering by,
Propped up by lies and vain hypocrisy,
While here we stand amidst the scorn and hate,
Crying aloud the certain tale of fate,
Biding the happy day when sword, in hand,
Shall greet the sun and bless the tortured land.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

* The "Pilgrims of Hope" will be continued in the August Number.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

IV.—CAPITAL, SURPLUS-VALUE, LABOUR-POWER.

BEFORE continuing this series, a word or two of explanation, called forth by one or two *vivâ voce* criticisms that I have received. Some bewailing has reached my ears on the subject of the formulæ used. These formulæ are used for simplification's sake. The employment of symbols serves two purposes, at least. It saves time and it puts a more or less complex set of truths into a condensed, rememberable, expandible form. If the formulæ only are learned, no good is effected. But if the facts are mastered and the formulæ merely taken as concise representations of the facts, all is well. I feel that some of my readers to whom signs and symbols are less familiar than they are to others, may have had some little difficulty in using the formulæ at first. But with steady perseverance, as indeed many of them have already found, the difficulties are surmounted, and then the advantages come into play.

A warning also that certain friendly comments convince me is necessary. These definitions that we use for convenience's sake in our study of Socialism and its economics are, like all definitions, only useful conventions. As I have pointed out again and again elsewhere, such a thing as a rigid, hard and fast, incontrovertible, wholly satisfactory definition is, with our knowledge of to-day, impossible. Those that will take the trouble to refer to my articles on Evolution and Definition in *Progress* for May, June, July, 1883, will see that I there insisted upon the fact that with the recognition of the truth that no such thing as special creation exists, and that all is of development, comes the impossibility of rigorously marking off by definition any particular order of phenomena from any other. Now, Socialism is the only logical, perhaps one may say the only, application of the principles of Evolution to economics and to history. By consequence the Socialist, when he defines a term, is fully conscious that the definition is but a convenience and a convention. Just as the vegetable kingdom glides into the animal, so the feudal system glides into the capitalistic; as species are practically indistinguishable in their extreme forms from allied species, so it is difficult to distinguish the product from the commodity. We take for the latter the definition already given—a product in which the embodied human labour is recognised. But we know that as the products of man's labour begin to be exchanged one with another, they are called commodities, even before their inherent and essential property of value-carriers is clearly recognised.

And having said this, let us at once return to our formulæ and definitions. $C—M—C'$. Here is the symbolic representation of the exchange of a commodity against money, and of this money against another commodity or other commodities, C' . Now we have to consider quite another change, quite another relation. This new object of study is the series that starts, not with an ordinary special commodity, but with the general equivalent, money. We have now to investigate the succession of events that follows upon the possession and investment of this mass of the general equivalent.

$M—C—M'$. Money (M) is exchanged against a commodity (C), and this latter against a second quantity of money (M'), as to whose relations of magnitude to M nothing need be said at present. All that is to be done just now is to compare the two sets of facts—an exchange starting with an ordinary commodity, and an exchange starting with the general equivalent. And this comparison will be rendered more easy and more clear if once again we use formulæ.

$C—M—C'$. [Circulation of commodities].

$M—C—M'$. [Capitalistic circulation].

Some five differences are to be noted. (1) Each process is the converse in its successive stages of the other. Notice how the formulæ once more help in the comprehension of this. It is so easy by the first to understand that the former exchange here is of an ordinary commodity against the general equivalent, and the latter exchange is of the general equivalent against an ordinary commodity or ordinary commodities; whilst by the second we see that the order of these two processes is reversed.

(2) Again, the successive actions on the market are in the two cases converse. The first begins with an act of selling ($C—M$), and ends with one of buying ($M—C'$). The second begins with an act of buying ($M—C$), and ends with one of selling ($C—M'$).

(3) The middle terms in the two cases differ. In case 1, that of commodity-circulation, the intermediary is money, the general equivalent. In case 2, that of capitalistic circulation, the intermediary is some commodity *not* money.

(4) The results in the two cases differ: That in the first is C' , a use-value to him that acquires it. The result in the second case is M' , an exchange-value.

(5) Finally, as far as this comparison of the two formulæ and of the facts they represent is concerned, the initial and ultimate terms of the two circulations have their differences of comparison. Thus, in the formula of commodity-circulation, it is seen that C and C' , the extreme terms, do not necessarily differ in quantity, though it is obvious that, if the transaction represented by $C—M—C'$ is to mean anything, C' , as the mark implies, must differ *qualitatively* from C . The bread (C) we obtain by exchange will differ qualitatively from the coats, or the chairs (C') *e. g.*, that we alienate or get rid of. But in the formula of capitalistic circulation it is seen that M and M' , the extreme terms, do not necessarily differ in quantity, though they are alike qualitatively. He that puts out money M will not be content, and his putting-out would have no meaning, if the M' that comes back to him is only the equivalent of M .

To sum up. The five chief differences between the commodity-circulation and capital-circulation are: (1) Their converse order; (2) The one begins with selling and ends with buying, as the other begins with buying and ends with selling; (3) The intermediary in one case is represented by M , in the other by C ; (4) The results are respectively a use-value and an exchange-value; (5) The extremes of the transaction in the one case differ in quality, in the other, differ in quantity.

From this last we derive the expression $M—C—M + \Delta M$. Here M' in the earlier form is replaced by $M + \Delta M$. This means that the original money or capital invested comes back to the investor as something larger than it was at starting; that M is on its return larger by a quantity, ΔM . ΔM is to represent the gain, and Δ expresses the fraction of M that this gain is. An example. Suppose a capital of £100 (M) and the return = £105 (M'). Then $M + \Delta M = 100 + \frac{1}{10}$ of 100 and $\Delta = \frac{1}{10}$. Now this ΔM represents surplus-value.

Around these questions of surplus-value and of capital rages the fight between the orthodox political economists and the advocates of Socialism. The latter declare that the one source of all capital is, and always has been, surplus-value. They declare, further, that the one source of all surplus-value is, and always been, unpaid human labour. These are the central propositions of scientific Socialism, that have, as we believe, never been refuted, never even seriously touched, by any one of its opponents. With them it rests to show any other source of capital than the unpaid labour of wronged and robbed human beings.

Capital is, as will be seen from this, not made up of things, but of the values of things. As the values, *i. e.*, the embodied human labours, become capital, much transformation and concealment of the identity of all values as crystallised human labour occurs. Hence the necessity of a form by which this identity may be recognised. That form is money.

The capitalist is the supporter of the circle $M—C—M'$. His single aim is ΔM , or surplus-value. He never seeks or even thinks of use-values or exchange-values as such. They are only to him the source or the embodiment of surplus-value, *i. e.*, of a value coming back to him in excess of that which he advanced.

Let us address ourselves briefly to the question of the origin of this surplus-value. None of our earlier formulæ helps us. None of the transactions that they represent affords a loop-hole for ΔM . In all of them, from $x A = y B$ to $C—M—C'$, the exchange is in reality of precise equivalents. I wish I had the time and ability, and that my readers had the time and the patience to follow in detail Marx in his exhaustive analysis of these earlier phases of commodity-transactions, in the inexorable way in which he leads his reader, however unwilling, to the conclusion that no where among these is the origin of surplus-value to be found. Not even in the circulation of commodities, therefore not even in commerce. The section in which he does this is the second of the fourth chapter, pp. 131-143. I have no hesitation in calling these twelve pages the most condensed and most irrefragable piece of reasoning I ever read. Until I studied these, Darwin's chapter on "Instinct" in the "Origin of Species" ranked highest within my range of reading. Now it ranks only second, if indeed comparisons are to be made between masterpieces.

The orthodox political economists seek for the source of surplus-value in the ordinary circulation of commodities. They believe that they find it by reason of a confusion between use-value and exchange-value, and by reason of an ignoring of the fact that *as commodities whose values are to be compared with that of a general equivalent, money, no one can take out of circulation more than he puts in. The sum of the values in circulation does not and cannot increase.*

The capitalistic-circulation formula remains. In the transactions that it symbolises must be found the source of surplus-value. This cannot be in M , which only realises the price of the commodity C . Nor can the first part of the transaction, $M—C$, give us surplus-value, as this is an exchange of equiva-

lents. Nor can the second part, C—M', as here the commodity only passes from its natural form, C, to its money-form, M'.

One last possibility remains. Clearly, exchange-value is no source of surplus-value. Can a use-value be the source? Can the consumption of some commodity, *i.e.*, the realisation of its use-value, give rise to ΔM ? Is there a commodity of such a nature that its very consumption begets value, and, therefore, exchange-value? Is there a commodity whose consumption realises labour? The answer to all these questions is, Yes. And the commodity is labour-power.

C—M—C' (1) The two formulæ for the circulation of commodities and capitalistic circulation respectively.

Comparison (a) Inverse order; (b) 1, begins with selling, ends with buying; 2, *vice versa*. (c) Intermediary in 1 is general equivalent; in 2 is commodity. (d) Result in 1 a use-value; in 2 an exchange-value. (e) Extremes in 1 differ in quality; in 2 differ in quantity.

$M' = M + \Delta M$... In capitalistic circulation M' exceeds M by a certain fraction Δ of M.

Surplus-value The excess of returning M' over advanced $M = \Delta M$.

Requisite A commodity whose consumption creates value and exchange-value. This is labour-power.

EDWARD AVELING.

A GLORIOUS LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

How much longer will the people of England rest content to be swindled by the present form of Government? We have had a very good taste of Liberal administration this last five years. When the members of the dead Government stood on the hustings they promised the working classes of this country retrenchment and reform. But what has been their action since they have been in office? They have acted in quite a contrary direction to that which they promised. They have squandered money and wasted valuable lives in Zululand. They have disgraced their country by putting down a just and popular rebellion in Egypt, and banishing Arabi Pasha. They have thrown away millions of money in the Soudan, and slaughtered thousands of brave Arabs, defending their own against a band of thieving pashas. They have used coercion in Ireland until its true representatives have defeated them and forced them to resign. Worse than all, this glorious Liberal Government, which in 1880 promised to enfranchise two millions of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, has linked itself with the thieving House of Landlords for the purpose of defeating the object it so loudly proclaimed. When the House of Lords threw out the Franchise Bill, some of the members of the Government spoke, in what was thought to be strong language, of the step; but, as usual, all ended in smoke. After the whole country had spoken out on the subject, and almost demanded the abolition of the hereditary chamber, this miserable Government gave way to the Lords, and once more sold the people. And what is their action now with regard to this Franchise? They have supported the disqualification of one-fourth of those they promised to enfranchise by assenting to the action of the Lords, who, of course, deny the right of any man to vote who has had perhaps a penny-worth of medicine for his wife or child. This will fall mostly on the agricultural labourer, whom the Government trotted up from all parts of the country to make an exhibition in Hyde Park when the Lords threw out the Franchise Bill. Could anything be more monstrous than this last act? This House of robbers and beggars denies a man his birthright, when they are the vermin who feed upon his body? Is it possible that the last action of the Liberal Government, in assenting to this, will pass without opening the eyes of the people to their jobbery? Even Mr. Chamberlain, the most advanced Radical amongst them, let this pass without protest, and then he had the audacity to come out and tell the people that the Tories got their friends to do in the Lords what they did not dare to do in the Commons!

Surely it is time the working men of England began to think and act for themselves, instead of being duped by so-called Liberal and Radical leaders. We have had enough of the jobbery of the present form of government to prove that political parties are a fraud. It is time that the people of this country began to take the affairs of the nation into their own hands, and to compel all to do their fair share of necessary labour. If once the masses could realise their power, and not fear to use it, they would soon be able to sweep these political humbugs out of their path.

Then, fellow-men, think for yourselves. Satisfy yourselves as to your rights, and tell these swindlers in plain language that you will not be bamboozled by them any longer. Should they deny you those—well, take them; and if fair means fail, on their shoulders will rest the blame should force be used.

H. G. ARNOLD.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.—ANOTHER VIEW.

TO THE EDITORS OF "THE COMMONWEAL."

WE wish to give to everyone the first value of his labour, and therefore to completely overthrow the capitalistic system. How shall we do this? Some friends tell us that if we amend the present state of things we shall prolong its existence. That the Radicals who want an eight-hours' Bill are not striking at the root of the evil, for the shortening of hours would lessen discontent, and thus delay the emancipation of labour. That the condition of the disinherited has not been improved by Parliament, and that the essence of politics being to tax as much as possible, we should hold aloof from them and prepare for revolution. It is disheartening to hear that by lessening an evil we perpetuate it. When Parliament interferes to protect the workers it strengthens our cause. The Mines and Factories Acts have benefited a large section of the producers, and abolished the state of things when women were employed as beasts of burden, children were stunted and diseased, beaten, overworked, oppressed in every way; both women and children made to crawl on all-fours in the passages of the pits, dragging carts by a chain passing from the waist between the legs; and all lived in an atmosphere of filth and profligacy, which could hardly leave a thought or feeling untainted by vice. The Education Act enables the toilers to clearly understand the unrighteousness of capitalism, and to realize the true "idea of the working class" and the duty of the State. We are governed by "politicians," but surely it is wiser for us to choose our governors than to leave the choice to others. If we cannot, in the near future, find trustworthy men to represent us, shall we ever be able to trust our delegates? It is true that wealth has generally won at elections, but the next appeal to the people will be under much less unfavourable conditions. Then the wage-earners will form three-fifths instead of one-third of the electors. Soon election charges will be borne by the rate-payers, and, with expenses limited and bribery discouraged, why should we despair of peaceful methods? Let us resolutely unite to give them a fair trial.

R. F. E. WILLIS.

(Answered on page 61.)

EAST-END WORKERS.—II.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE "COMMONWEAL."

UNDER the above heading I wrote a short article in the March number of the *Commonweal*. I then offered to give the names of some of the sweaters and their employers. The International Tailors and Tailoresses' Union, accordingly invited me to meet them on Monday, June 8, at their club-room at the Spread Eagle, Mortimer Street, W. I am glad to see Trades Unionism becoming international, and I am happy to see the tailors setting such a good example. There are, I believe, seven corresponding secretaries who keep up communication with most of the European states and America. The prices paid in the East-end seemed to startle our friends, and they accordingly sent word to their comrades abroad acquainting them with the state of affairs. This society is open to all members of the tailoring trade, and the contributions are one penny per week. I hope the workers will at last open their eyes and become organised for the great battle which must be fought between capital and labour. Should any branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors wish for a true account of the state of the tailoring trade in the East-End and the prices paid, I shall be most happy to place my services at their command at any time.—I am, yours fraternally,

CHARLES WILFRED MOWBRAY.

INQUIRY COLUMN.

By the direction of the Provisional Council a part of the *Commonweal* is to be henceforward reserved for those who desire to ask questions or to make suggestions bearing upon Socialism, its theory and practice. A letter from a friend at Bradford opens the ball. In the present issue the difficulties he puts forward are not dealt with.

Solutions of the difficulties are asked from any of the readers of the *Commonweal*, and the best of these will be published in the next number. Students and opponents are earnestly entreated to make this column successful and useful by sending inquires and statements of difficulties in connexion with Socialism.

"Bradford, Yorkshire.

"An intelligent inquirer wants to know why Socialists do not begin at once with themselves by uniting to form a little Socialistic community, which, if their principles are right, would demonstrate to the world the feasibility and good of Socialism. He maintains that, if the professed Socialists of England alone—small as their numbers are—could, or would, only trust each other, they might easily raise land and capital sufficient for a start, and the outside world of workers, seeing the advantage of the system, would gradually come and join, until at last the whole country would become Socialistic, and capitalists would be annihilated without confiscation. . . . A very common idea is, that brain-labour is infinitely superior to, and should, and always will, have far greater reward than manual labour."

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

FRANCE.—Everyone who has observed the tactics of the French government—and it matters little whether that government be represented by the infamous Ferry or the virtuous Brisson—has long known that its chief aim and object of late has been to provoke a street riot, in order that advantage might be taken of any such disturbance to shoot down or arrest the men who are “dangerous,” because, like Cassius, “they think too much.” Despite many efforts, some of which have been noted in this “Record,” the precious plan had generally failed. But on May 25 last an enticing opportunity presented itself—an opportunity so excellent, that the austere and virtuous Brisson could not resist.

Since the amnesty was granted the Communards six years ago, it has been their habit to go every year, on the anniversary of that terrible May week of 1871, to Père Lachaise, where lie so many of their comrades, to place flowers and wreaths upon the tombs of the martyrs, and, carrying the red flag of the revolution, remind themselves and their brother-revolutionists that after “Whit-Sunday, 1871, there can be neither peace nor truce possible between the working men of France and the appropriators of their produce.”

This year, as on previous occasions, a meeting of all revolutionary societies and clubs had been organised, and the Socialists of Paris proceeded in large numbers to the cemetery. But here, without rhyme or reason, without the shadow of a pretext, these *absolutely unarmed* and quiet persons are suddenly attacked by armed police and soldiers, who, according even to the reactionary press wildly and indiscriminately charged men, women and children. The accounts of this brutal assault, of the numbers of men and women dangerously wounded by the banditti of “order” given even by the bourgeois penny-a-liners are enough to prove how ferocious and how cowardly the attack was. I need here enter into no details, as these are now well known. I would only again remind our English Socialists that for six years like demonstrations had been held and not interfered with; that there is no law that prohibits the carrying of red flags; and that the persons taking part in the demonstration were unarmed, and had no intention of creating any kind of disturbance.

One asks oneself what the French Republican (!) Government can possibly hope to gain by such an act. They have thereby only again shown the people that a bourgeois government is the worst of all. They have given the French proletariat—aye and the proletariat of the whole world—two Whit Sundays to remember instead of one. And vengeance is not only the Lord’s!

A few days after this massacre two funerals of Communards took place: those of Amouroux and Cournet. A fresh riot was feared, but matters passed off quietly. The funeral of Victor Hugo also was undisturbed.

This massacre is bad enough, but another infamy calls equally for our attention. No doubt all our friends remember the so-called “dynamite attempts” at Monceaux les Mines, and how it was absolutely proved that the whole affair was got up by the police. The action of the police in this matter has never been disputed or denied. And yet the men arrested on the charge of committing the outrage have been condemned to twenty, twelve and ten years’ penal servitude. This, it seems to me, is almost worse than an open attack by soldiers. These condemned men were many of them known as earnest Socialists, and they have in this monstrous fashion been got rid of.

SWEDEN.—The *Sozial Democrat*, of Zurich, publishes a most interesting letter from a Swede, which, for the benefit of English readers, I translate: “As news from our far-off land reaches you so seldom, I believe you and your readers may like to have some information respecting the social movement in our country.

“Two years ago Socialism was known to us only through the calumnies of the reactionary press. This new theory was everywhere passed over with mockery and contempt. But the position has changed. We have already a small Social-Democratic party, and the ‘Red Spectre’ is no longer mocked at, it is beginning to be feared. . . . Two years ago a large working-men’s movement was started in Stockholm. . . . This movement, brought about in the first place by the oppression of the workers, was, however, soon misled into a wrong direction. One of our greatest capitalists, the ‘brandy-king,’ L. O. Smith, made a desperate and energetic effort to place himself at the head of the movement, so that he might exploit the workers for his own ends. A great many were, in fact, taken in by him, and in consequence of Smith’s representations the movement grew so quickly that within a few months 20,000 persons in Stockholm, and many thousands in the country, became his followers. But gradually the real objects of the man became evident; the people would have no more to do with him, and the whole movement has collapsed. But the stirring up of the workers has been of the greatest service. They are learning that they have a common interest to defend against the capitalist class; they have at last learnt that they are a power. At the same time as the movement referred to above, another had begun. . . . A Swedish tailor expelled from Germany, August Palm, began preaching in Stockholm and other large towns a new, to us still unknown Labour Gospel—the Gospel of Socialism. He spoke everywhere in the open air, for no halls were let him, and he started a small paper, the ‘Will of the People.’ In short, with the

smallest means he carried on a most energetic propaganda. This poor, persecuted, despised tailor has among us, the real *people*, sown the first seeds of Socialism. He has already succeeded in forming a small party, and our prospects are not now nearly so dreary as a short time since.”

AUSTRIA.—Of the massacre of workmen by the soldiery at Brünn I have as yet no further details than those given in the bourgeois press. I hope to have a full account of the terrible affair next month.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

THE POLICE OUTRAGE AT THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN’S CLUB.

THIS case, after occupying the court for nearly three weeks, has been brought to an end in its first stage. Three of the policemen who broke into the Club on May 9—amongst them the furious Sergeant Tubman, who felled the members of the Club with a chair—are committed to take their trial at the Old Bailey. Mr. Poland, the Public Prosecutor and champion *par excellence* of the injured and innocent policemen, begged and pressed the magistrate to square matters by letting his poor policemen off, by dealing with the case summarily; and also Mr. Newton, the presiding judge, tried at the last moment to “throw oil on the troubled waters.” But Mr. Abrahams, instructed not only by the injured club members, but also by the recently-formed International Club Defence Committee, pressed the case, and, no choice being left to Mr. Newton, he committed those poor, innocent and fearfully ill-used policemen for trial. Full light will there be thrown on this infamous outrage, and we shall give all details of the proceedings when the time comes.

X. Y.



GENERAL MEETING.

THE first general meeting of members of the Socialist League will be held on July 5, in the new offices of the League, at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. The business before the meeting will be to hear the report of the work of the Provisional Council and elect a new Executive Council in its stead. The items on the agenda at present are reports from the officers of the Provisional Council—viz., Secretary, Treasurer, Editor, and Manager of the *Commonweal*; reports from the branches, including statements of their membership, finances, meetings held by them, special local action, and comments on the working of the League under the Provisional Council, and the performance of its officers’ duties. It is hoped that this business will be finished at the first sitting of the meeting, which will be from 10.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. The meeting will resume work at 3 p.m., and consider a set of constitutional rules drafted by the Council, the election of the Executive, and any other business that may be brought up by members or delegates.

All members of the League are competent to take part in the deliberations, and vote on all proposals submitted to the meeting. Delegates are expected to attend on behalf of the provincial branches and the Scottish Land and Labour League, which is the Scottish section of our organisation. The Labour Emancipation League, which is affiliated will be represented by its members in person.

At 8 p.m. a supper will be served. The tickets (one shilling each) must be applied for not later than June 25.

The Socialist League has taken new and extensive premises at 13 Farringdon Road (near Holborn Viaduct). There will be a large lecture room, reading room, and printing and publishing office. A series of weekly lectures and monthly meetings of London members is projected, and the larger space will be a convenience to members in many ways.—J. L. MAHON, Secretary.

THE following resolution was unanimously passed on Monday June 1: “That this meeting of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League expresses its indignation at the conduct of the French Government in wantonly creating disorder at a peaceful meeting on Sunday May 24.”

REPORTS.

OLDHAM.—The *Oldham Chronicle* reports that on Sunday, June 1, “the Socialists had a great day in Oldham.” Speeches on the principles of Socialism were delivered in the market-place to “large crowds.” Peach, Smart, McCutcheon, Hall, Horrocks and “Equitas” were the speakers; and “the audience listened very attentively to the arguments advanced. . . It was evident from various expressions

heard amongst the crowd that considerable impression was produced by the speeches."

HAMMERSMITH.—On May 24, David Nicoll lectured on the "Coming Revolution." There was a good attendance, and a moderate discussion. On May 31, H. Charles lectured on "Society versus State," to a numerous and attentive audience; there was a brisk fire of questions after the lecture, which was a thoughtful and closely reasoned one, the questioners pressing the lecturer in spite of his disclaimer of putting forward a cut and dried scheme, to meet all kinds of imaginary difficulties. The subject, as often happens, was so thrashed out in the question-time that there was little time afterwards; but the evening was a satisfactory one. Laurence Gronlund, the American Socialist, was present and spoke expressing his pleasure at attending at such a successful Socialist meeting, and the general attention and eagerness of the audience.—June 7, G. B. Shaw lectured on "Driving Capital out of the Country," to a fairly numerous audience. In the debate that followed, the speakers by no means kept close to the economic question treated by the lecturer but dealt with the difficulties concerning Socialism in general as they occurred to their minds. The lecturer answered in his usual brilliantly sarcastic style.—June 14, William Morris lectured on the "Hopes of Civilization." The lecturer gave a sketch of the class-struggle from the close of the Middle Ages till the present day, and protested against the futile attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie to shut their eyes to the struggle and to form a new middle-class as a buffer between them and the proletariat. The questions and debate were eager and spirited. Some reasonable questions were asked as to the attitude of Socialists towards Co-operation; others seemed troubled by the phantom of sham science in considering the future of the human race, and the relative claims to importance of heredity and surroundings. Andreas Scheu made an eloquent speech from the chair in support of the lecturer. The room was crowded and many strangers were present.—At a meeting of the Branch held on June 14, it was decided to inaugurate open-air meetings on Saturdays, at 6 p.m., at the top of Weltje Road; the first to take place on June 27.—June 21, Laurence Gronlund lectured on "Socialism in England and Abroad." There was a large audience, who gave an attentive hearing to the lecturer's lucid explanation of the historical development of the stages of Society leading up to the present Capitalist system, from which, the lecturer argued, Socialism must necessarily evolve. There was an animated discussion, in which several of the Branch members took part.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month a Branch has been formed in the North of London. It will soon commence active propaganda. A short manifesto in leaflet form, with announcement of meetings, etc., will be issued in a few days. A regular series of open-air meetings will be commenced, and arrangements are being made for discussions among members of the Branch. These will be held on Wednesdays at the Branch meeting-place, "The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town, N.—W. Blundell, Sec.

HOXTON (L. E. L.)—June 7, Mainwaring in the chair. G. W. Fox gave a humorous address on "Modern Fallacies," which was much relished. Afterwards a discussion took place on the best means of strengthening the organisation of the Branch. Shackwitz offered to provide accommodation for committee to meet once a week at his shop. This was accepted.—June 14, T. Binning in the chair. Proceedings commenced by singing "Marseillaise." Henry Charles gave an interesting lecture on "Society v. State," which led to a brisk discussion amongst our members as to the respective merits of the Anarchistic and Collectivist ideal, the latter evidently finding most favour. Notwithstanding the sultry weather, there was a very fair attendance.—June 21, David Nicoll gave a short and somewhat fiery address on "The Coming Revolution." The discussion which followed was desultory, and turned mainly on the question of co-operation. Undoubtedly good is being done by stirring the minds of men and women to the need of a change in Society. We hope ere long to see this discontent organised and directed towards the end we have in view. A proof of the success of our propaganda is shown by the attempt to boycott us. We have to leave our present meeting-place owing to pressure put upon the committee from whom we rent the school-room. On and after July 5 our meeting-place will be changed.—*Open Air*...June 7, very successful meeting. Mahon, Wade and Nicoll kept large audience together for an hour and a half. An officious policeman gave zest to the proceedings by interrupting Mahon and calling upon him to "get out of that," which he flatly refused to do, much to the satisfaction of the crowd. The P. C. then took the address of the speaker; one of our comrades presented him with one of the Socialist League pamphlets, and he retired somewhat crestfallen, leaving our speakers with an excellent text to enlarge upon.—June 14, Comrades Nicoll and Halliday kept together a large audience for an hour and a half, great interest being evinced, though no opposition was offered. The meeting on 21st was also very successful, and the members feel satisfied that their steady and sustained action is producing good results.—T. Binning.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.—Since Wm. Morris's visit, the work of the League has been largely that of selling and distributing literature. A series of three lectures were given in the Secular Hall on Sunday evenings during May and June. The first two were by an Edinburgh member of the League, on "Value" and "The Conflict of Classes"; the last by J. Bruce Glasier, Glasgow, "The Elements of Socialism in Our Present Society." The lectures were well received, and elicited some remarks which showed that Secularists should devote further study to the subject of Socialism before giving an opinion either for or against it. The meetings of the League will be held during the summer months at 4 Park Street.

LEEDS.—On Sunday afternoon, 14th, new ground was broken on Hunslet Moor. Circulars and back numbers of the *Commonweal* were distributed to an intelligent and attentive audience. A little opposition was offered at the close of the meeting which was satisfactorily disposed of. In the evening a very successful meeting was held at the Vicar's Croft, when Comrade Sollitt's humorous remarks upon "Pulling the String" were favourably accepted amidst laughter and applause. The members of the Branch have turned up at these meetings in a highly encouraging and gratifying force, which it is trusted they will persist in doing. The *Commonweal* is on sale at all the meetings of the Branch, and it is believed that it will soon have a large circulation in this town.—T. Maguire, Sec.

OXFORD.—The Branch of the Socialist League has met regularly once a week. Members of the Marx Club, which consists of undergraduates of the University, have at several of the meetings in May and June read papers on Socialism, and discussions have followed. On June 9 a private meeting, organised by the Branch and by the Marx Club, was held; William Morris and Laurence Gronlund lectured and answered questions proposed to them.—F. Martin, Sec.

MERTON ABBEY.—The Branch has held several meetings during the past month, at which discussions of an interesting kind have taken place. The business meetings are now held on Friday, before the lecture, instead of on Wednesday, as formerly. The monthly financial report shows a decent balance in favour of the Branch. Arrangements are being made to hold monthly meetings in a large hall instead of the weekly lectures.—T. Simmons, Sec.

MANCHESTER (Socialist Union).—On Sunday, June 14, our Manchester comrades opened a new station for open-air propaganda at the New Cross, and were successful in getting a good audience. There was a running fire of good speakers, each being allowed five minutes. The secretary went among the crowd and succeeded in enrolling several new members. At the same time Oldman was in command of the Market Place, Oldham, and in the evening Peach and Bourne assisted him, and leaflets were distributed, announcing a meeting at Coffee Tavern on following night, to form Branch. In response we had a good muster on Monday evening, Oldman and Bourne being present for the purpose of organisation. The *Oldham Chronicle* devotes nearly a column to the report of a debate on Socialism held in the Market Place on Sunday, June 15. Oldman represented the Socialists, and gave a very fair statement of the Parliamentary and Revolutionist parties. Mr.

Greenwood followed with an attack on the Socialists, quoting lengthily from the Manifesto of the Socialist League. The debate was listened to by a large crowd and the proceedings were very lively. Our comrades in Manchester are working hard and doing some good propagandist work.

SOCIAL ENTERTAINMENT.—On June 11 a Social entertainment was held at South Place, in conclusion of the "Lessons in Socialism." The programme consisted of the prologue by William Morris, which is printed in another column; pianoforte duet by Bax and Liddle, recitations by David Nicoll, Edward Aveling and Eleanor Aveling; songs by Percy Taylor, and performances by the choir of the I. W. M. C. In conclusion the audience sang the Marseillaise. The evening was spent with pleasure to the audience and profit to the funds of the Socialist League.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday June 7, Comrade Minty, lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, on "Liberalism and Toryism: the two great Delusions." He forcibly demonstrated the utter uselessness of mere party politics to the workers of the country, and notwithstanding some opposition, the sympathies of the audience were unmistakably with him. On the 21st, our energetic comrade again lectured at the same place, on "Socialism and Radicalism." Following the lines of his previous lecture he showed that Radicalism was really a greater delusion than Toryism, inasmuch as the latter promised little, whereas the former promised much and did nothing for the benefit of the workers. He maintained that the so-called Radicals of to-day had no right to the name they went under, which meant one who goes to the root or first principles of a thing. This the Radical so-called did not do, and the only real Radical was the Socialist, who did. The Radical capitalist was so much bound up in his own private interest as was the Tory landlord. Radicals belong to the class that grinds out the very lives of the workers in manufactories and mines. And, as soon as, owing to the state of the "market," no "profit" can be made out of the wage-slaves, turn them adrift and then pose as "philanthropists," subscribe liberally to soup kitchens, preside at lectures on "Thrift" "Emigration," "how to live an sixpence a day," etc. He then gave an exposition of the principles of Socialism and appealed to his audience as workers to embrace them, and by spreading them, hasten the day when harmonious co-operation for the production and distribution of the goods of life to all should take the place of the wretched anarchy and injustice of Society of to-day.—F. P. Secretary.

LECTURE DIARY: July, 1885.

Saturday	11.—	Memorial Hall, Albert Square, Manchester, William Morris, "The Hopes of Civilization."
Sunday	12.—	Large Hall of Cucumber Gardens, Royton, William Morris, at 3 p.m.
"	12.—	Hammersmith, Dr. Hoggan, "The Position of Women."
"	19.—	G. Brocher, "The Icarian Communities in America."
"	26.—	A. Beesley, "Primitive Property."

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.
Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.
Bloomsbury.—Stanley Coffee House.
North London.—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Open-air station, Vicar's Croft
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Saturday at 7.30 p.m.
Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.

Manchester Socialist Union.—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.
Oldham.—Coffee Tavern, Yorkshire Street. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the *COMMONWEAL*.)

North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. 7, J. L. Mahon, "Misery and Revolution;" 14, David Nicoll; 21, W. C. Wade; 28, C. W. Mowbray.
Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 9, Nicoll and Wade; 12, Mahon and Halliday; 16, Mahon; 19, Lane and Mowbray; 23, Mowbray; 26, Nicoll and Wade; 30, Nicoll.
Canning Town.—Barking Road. Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 28th June, Mahon and Halliday; 12th July, Lane and Mowbray; 19, Nicoll and Wade; 26, Mahon and Halliday.
Mile End Waste.—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 28th June, Lane and Mowbray; 12th July, Nicoll and Wade; 19, Mahon and Halliday; 26, Lane and Mowbray.
Hammersmith.—Every Saturday evening at 6 o'clock. Speakers from the League and the Branch.
 Open-air speakers will meet at 13 Farringdon Road on Wednesday, July 22, at 8.30 p.m., to arrange lectures for August.

NOTICE.

The Socialist League has taken New Premises at 13 Farringdon Road, near the Holborn Viaduct.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number. The August number (7) will be ready on Saturday, July 25th, and will be issued with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Wednesday, 22nd.

LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

The *Commonweal*, monthly, 1d.; annual subscription, post free, 1s. 6d.
 Art and Socialism, by William Morris, 3d., post free 3½d.
 Chants for Socialists.—1, The Day is Coming; 2, The Voice of Toil; 3, All for the Cause; 4, No Master; 5, The March of the Workers; 6, The Message of the March Wind. The six poems in one pamphlet, 1d., post free 1½d.
 The Socialist Platform.—1, Trades' Unions, by E. Belfort Bax, 1d., post free 1½d. 2, Useful Work v. Useless Toil, by William Morris, 1d., post free 1½d.
 Socialist Leaflets.—1, Why be "Transported"? 2, "Down with the Socialists" also, "The Soudan War" (a Manifesto). Assorted package sent gratis on receipt of stamp for postage.
 SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13 Farringdon Rd., Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.

Supplement to "The Commonwealth."

VOL. I.—No. 6.

JULY, 1885.

SOCIALISM AND POLITICS.

(AN ANSWER TO "ANOTHER VIEW.")

A FRIEND, R. F. E. Willis, whose letter we publish, seems inclined to answer the question, "Shall Socialists enter the Parliamentary struggle?" in the affirmative. The question is such a serious one that I make no excuse for answering our friend at some length.

I must admit that as a matter of policy it might be prudent to affect a belief in the Parliamentary method of revolution, even if we did not really believe in them, and this all the more in the face of the coming election, which has aroused such hopes in the minds of Democrats—hopes likely to be disappointed, even on the mere Democratic side. But I am convinced that all such dishonesty is sure to fall back on the heads of those that practise it, and that it is no use enrolling recruits who do not really agree with us, and will fall away before the first sincere declaration of our principles. Therefore I think that Socialists ought not to hesitate to choose between Parliamentarism and revolutionary agitation, and that it is a mistake to try and sit on the two stools at once; and, for my part, I hope that they will declare against Parliamentarism, as I feel assured that otherwise they will have to retrace their steps at the cost of much waste of time and discouragement.

I now ask our friend—what is the object of Socialism? Do we not hope to see society transformed, to be changed into something quite different from what it now is? On the other hand the object of Parliamentary institutions is the preservation of society in its present form—to get rid of defects in the machine in order to keep the machine going. Liberal legislation (and there is no other, for the Tories are forced to legislate liberally when they are in office) means yielding what is absolutely necessary to popular demands in the assured hope of hushing those demands, so that the fleecing of the people may not come to an end.

Let us take the Factory Acts instanced as an example by our friend, and see how the thing works. It was necessary (as it still is) to our capitalist manufacture that the auxiliary labour of women and children should be employed, so as to keep down the cost of production by lowering the wages of adult males. But in the earlier years of the great machine industry, the monstrous abuses in the employment of women and children, which could no longer be hushed up, threatened the existence of that employment. Necessity therefore compelled the manufacturers to submit to the palliation of these abuses, so that now the burden of this still shameful labour is lightened, and thereby the system is saved—which means that the wives and children of our factory workmen cheapen labour for the manufacturers at the expense of their own husbands and fathers. Meantime there is still left a large mass of "auxiliary labour," untouched by the Factory Acts, which will remain till Socialism has transformed our civilisation.

On the one hand, therefore, the slavery of the better-off workers, though lightened, is confirmed. On the other, the fringe of labour, which is absolutely necessary to our present system of manufacture, is left untouched or even changed for the worse.

This is the regular course of Parliamentary legislation, which acts like a doctor trying to heal his patient by attacking the symptoms and letting the cause of disease alone. In short, for the purpose for which it is intended, the support of the class-state, Parliamentary legislation is valid, otherwise it is a delusion.

I should like our friend to understand whither the whole system of palliation tends—namely, towards the creation of a new middle class to act as a buffer between the proletariat and their direct and obvious masters; the only hope of the bourgeois for retarding the advance of Socialism lies in this device. Let our friend think of a society thus held together. Let him consider how sheepishly the well-to-do workers to-day offer themselves to the shearer; and are we to help our masters to keep on creating fresh and fresh flocks of such sheep? What a society that would be, the main support of which would be capitalists masquerading as working men! Shall the ultimate end of civilisation be the perpetual widening of the middle classes? I think if our friend knew as well as I do the terrible

mental degradation of our middle classes, their hypocrisy, their cowardice, their joylessness, it would scare him from attempting to use their beloved instrument of amelioration—Parliament.

It is a new Society that we are working to realise, not a cleaning up of our present tyrannical muddle into an improved smoothly-working form of that same "order," a mass of dull and useless people organised into classes, amidst which the antagonism should be moderated and veiled so that they should act as checks on each other for the insurance of the stability of the system.

The real business of Socialists is to impress on the workers the fact that they are a class, whereas they ought to be Society; if we mix ourselves up with Parliament we shall confuse and dull this fact in people's minds instead of making it clear and intensifying it. The work that lies before us at present is to make Socialists, to cover the country with a network of associations composed of men who feel their antagonism to the dominant classes, and have no temptation to waste their time in the thousand follies of party politics. If by chance any good is to be got out of the legislation of the ruling classes, the necessary concessions are much more likely to be wrung out of them by their fear of such a body, than they are to be wheedled and coaxed out of them by the continual life of compromise which "Parliamentary Socialists" would be compelled to live, and which is deadly to that feeling of exalted hope and brotherhood that alone can hold a revolutionary party together.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE WORK BEFORE US.

THE writer of this article has come to England—the country which has been a leader of humanity ever since she had the splendid daring to attack the doctrine of "divine" rights, vested rights, by cutting off the head of her king—to join his fellow-Socialists in the battle that now is being waged all over the civilised world. Against what? Some will say: against the selfishness of the well-to-do classes? I prefer to say, against in-grown habits, against the indolence, the sluggishness of human nature, on the one hand, and on the other, against traditional views of the universe and the place we ought to fill in it, against mistaken notions which men have, and most naturally have, of their own true interests. If that be so, then it follows that our work is of a two-fold nature—to arouse and quicken the consciences, feelings, impulses of men, to agitate; to inculcate correct knowledge of society and our relation to it, to teach.

It has made me truly happy to find that the Socialist League, and, indeed, all in Great Britain who deserve the name of Socialists, are devoting all their means and energies to mental, intellectual activity. It particularly gave me satisfaction to read, in the May number of the *Commonweal*, "We must first have a mental revolution, or the physical one would be hopeless, but that just in proportion as the mental revolution is complete *will all danger of a sanguinary one be averted.*" That is, in my opinion, exactly the correct idea, and I think that we ought everywhere and at all times to lay stress upon it, so as to disarm the suspicion born of misapprehension. Rifles may be good enough, when the conditions are ripe, but they are irresistible only when *ideas* take aim at the butt-end. Therefore I apprehend that our first and main business is to put ideas into the minds of the people, full well knowing that if they are once there, actions will follow fast enough.

The fundamental Socialist idea which we then are to impress on the people is, I conceive, this: that as Society hitherto has been based on wealth, in the future Society is to be based on labour. And let it never be forgotten that this means labour *intellectual as well as manual.* Those who work with the head have had pretty nearly as little consideration and as little influence on the conduct of public affairs as those who work with the hand; they are in very many instances just as badly off as the latter, and when they are, they are liable to feel their inferior condition most keenly; and what is perhaps of the greatest importance, it is an absolute necessity to a successful issue of our movement that we draw people of education into it, and they will never be more wanted than just now at the start. Fortunately, our movement is of such a character that it can

appeal with a peculiar force to educated people of our times. Socialism, indeed, may be said to be in the air in educated circles and centres—think of the many magazine articles and books that have appeared of late, bearing on the subject. Why, Socialism is the logical outcome of the highest and deepest modern British thought! As the writer of this the other day told the students at Oxford, the grand doctrine of Evolution which English scientists have installed on the throne of the human mind is the greatest intellectual revolutionary achievement since Copernicus, since it is nothing less than the divine basis on which the splendid edifice of Socialism is to be reared. Therefore the keynote to all my remarks will be this, that Socialism is—not the best, not the wisest system (though that certainly it is as soon as the conditions are ripe)—but the *INEVITABLY next* stage in our development; that Socialism, in other words, will be but the necessary historical product of English life, philosophically, religiously, industrially, politically and socially. Socialists thus are true scientific prophets, the only clear-seeing practical thinkers of the day, capable of drawing right conclusions from England's past to England's future. We have not come to destroy but to fulfil. That is a reasoning that I am sure educated minds will be peculiarly accessible to, and it should afford great encouragement to all. Reformers have always found the great majority indolent; they have seen before them a great mass of almost inert matter, and have asked each other, frequently in tones of despair: "How shall we move this heap of stones?" The new philosophy saves us from such despair, and gives us redoubled energy by revealing to us the true mode of progress: that evolution, or the power behind evolution, pushes mankind, unwillingly and generally unwittingly, onward, at the same time raising up such men as the reformers of the past and us Socialists of the present to cooperate with it, and through whom to act.

This evolution doctrine, again, should guard us against becoming *vindictive* reformers. It is so very difficult for all of us to refrain from letting that *righteous* hate we all feel towards the prevailing system pass into hate of classes and persons. This is bad policy, and must also be bad in principle, since the new philosophy teaches us that Socialism is a growth of the *whole* body politic, and not merely the ascendancy of one class over others.

It seems to me that we ought to make all possible use of the splendid occasion which the next general election to Parliament affords us to make propaganda and spread our ideas. Perhaps no other election in any country ever before gave us such opportunity, since perhaps in many districts—the war scare being over—*democracy* may become the issue. Of course, we do not for a moment think of electing members of Parliament. Supposing even it were necessary to nominate candidates in order to create occasions for the discussion of our principles, it would be absolutely immaterial to us whether these candidates were beaten by one vote or won by one. Indeed, the least available men would be the most useful candidates to us.

It was Victor Hugo who said: "Ideas are the lightning; the revolution is the thunder." The Socialists of Great Britain have inaugurated an intellectual agitation, which will grow in magnitude and intensity till in twenty to twenty-five years hence a revolutionary thunder clears the atmosphere for ever. I verily believe we are, to use Tennyson's phrase, "ringing in the Christ that is to be."
LAURENCE GRONLUND.

SOCIALISM OF THE TEA-TABLE.

AMONG the various kinds of half-hearted Socialism with which comfortable capitalists of different degrees of foolishness love to enter upon an occasional flirtation, Socialism of the Chair has its own importance and its recognised place, while Socialism of the Tea-Table is commonly ignored even by those writers who profess that they have made a careful study of all the phases of the movement. And yet there can be little doubt that the influence of this same despised Socialism of the Tea-Table makes itself felt in far wider circles than that of its more authoritative, but not more dogmatic, rival of the Chair. For the influence of this latter is exercised only by a few metaphysically-minded professors upon an extremely limited company of *dilettanti* students, while that of the former is co-extensive with the aggregated area of the tea-tables of the world, and co-equal with the dark brown beverage which is dispensed thereupon in its power of stimulating the nerves of the languid. And when the vast volume of the daily flow of this liquid, and the enormous extent of the acreage which it periodically floods, are duly considered, an examination of the subject cannot be supposed to be beneath the dignity of the most serious Socialist publication. It is with the view of encouraging such examina-

tion that I wish to touch slightly upon its most familiar tendencies and topics.

Socialism of the Tea-Table is, before all things, benevolent. Its recognised expositors, whether at five or six o'clock in the afternoon, are anxious that all the world should be saved and brought to a practical acquaintance with the comfort to be extracted out of a cup of tea. The grinding toil of a factory shocks their sense of the propriety of things, and the idea that any of the unemployed poor should actually suffer from starvation gives them a feeling of pain which can scarcely be removed even by their third cup. But for these things they are ready with their remedy, and in its efficacy they have complete faith. The remedy is the immediate enrolment of the unemployed or overworked poor in domestic service, in order that they may be profitably and pleasantly employed in the making and handing round of the tea of the unemployed rich. Now, to those who are unacquainted with the logic of the tea-table, this idea may seem impracticable and even slightly absurd, but that does not prevent it from being so securely ensconced in the brain of the tea-drinker as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty to dislodge it. The chain of argument which supports it is this. It is obvious that those who are employed in catering for the caprices of the rich, and supplying them with unnecessary luxuries, are in a more comfortable position than those who are starving for want of employment. It is also obvious that a servant out of place is an actual addition to the sum of human misery, and an extra competitor for wages among the rest of the wage-wanting class. Nothing can be plainer than the fact that domestic servants are withdrawn from the competition for subsistence, except, perhaps, this other fact—that the rich could no longer stand in the relation of a kind providence to them if their riches were to be confiscated by Socialist legislation. The idea of the rich being compelled to perform a share of useful work themselves is quite precluded by the patent fact that the labour market is already over-stocked, and that work, whether useful or useless, is the hardest thing of all for the unemployed to find, even under the present conditions of the supply and demand of labour. Words are inadequate to picture the misery which would consequently be produced if the unemployed rich were obliged to compete for work with the unemployed poor. Thus the true remedy for distress shines clear through the confusing mists of puzzle-headedness, and it is this—*increase the desire of luxuries among the rich, and you will increase the beneficent flow of wealth from their capacious pockets into the innumerable slender purses of the poor, who must be occupied in appeasing them.* Thus the prospect of the Socialist of the Tea-Table is lighted up by a vision of the time when there shall be enough rich people to employ all the poor in satisfying their desires. The prospect is so pretty that it seems almost a pity to say anything that may dim the spectacles through which it is seen. And yet it must be pointed out that the idea that there is any flow of wealth from the purses of the rich to the pockets of the poor is as complete an illusion as the notion that the various springs and sources and tributaries of a river are kept continually full by a steady flow of water from the sea, with which it mixes at its mouth. For we have only to look at the facts to find that the flow is in exactly the opposite direction. The pockets of the rich are filled by the continuous influx of innumerable rills of riches which have their rise in the labour of the poor. The rich are the vast receiving-house where the results of toil are consumed and destroyed, but the stores are perpetually replenished by the unceasing efforts of the poor. The papers and parchments, the bonds and title-deeds, with which their safes and strong boxes are stuffed to the bursting, are merely the talisman by means of which they are enabled to conjure the wealth that is produced out of the hands that produced it. This is the explanation of the mysterious anomaly of production for profit instead of production for use. The producers themselves have no voice in the matter. If they cannot produce a profit for other people, they are not permitted to produce at all. Thus want of clothing is coincident with want of work, since clothes are no longer made for the purpose of protecting from cold the bodies of the persons who make them, but solely for the purpose of making a profit for the capitalist when he throws them upon the market. Gluts of food and clothing exist side by side with shivering and starvation, and the sovereign remedy for the distress is supposed to be a greater demand for luxuries among the rich, in order that the poor may obtain employment in producing useless things. To the Socialist of the Tea-Table the word "employment" is a kind of fetish. He hears that the depression of trade is throwing thousands out of work, that the army of the unemployed is increasing day by day, and that innumerable "hands" are permanently idle; and, like Satan in the nursery hymn, he is

eager to find them something to do, even though it be merely mischief. Since employment for its own sake is the great object, it is obvious that the hands may be as busily employed in sowing tares as in sowing wheat, and that a man may work as hard at the treadmill as at the plough. And, so long as he is paid his regular wages for the work, it seems at first sight that the one employment is as good as the other, so far does the capitalist system blind the eyes of its victims to the real nature of things. But in the long run the difference becomes plain enough, and the tares come up instead of the wheat, or the land lies sterile for want of the plough, while the men are toiling steadily at the treadmill. And then, when it seems that common sense must at last assert itself, and the difference between useful and useless work be made manifest to all, comes the true triumph for the Socialist of the Tea-Table, for he is enabled to point out with pride that an enormous amount of employment is now at last to be had, since the idle hands may be set to the task of pulling up the tares, or of fencing in the tracts of sterile land for the formation of a deer forest. And his satisfaction is complete, for his opponent is compelled to confess that such arguments are indeed unanswerable.

J. L. JOYNES.

A NEW MARSEILLAISE.

Ye sons of Freedom, wake, 'tis morning
'Tis time to deal with liars and lies;
On high the reddened sun gives warning
That day hath dawned, and black night dies.
That day hath dawned, and black night dies.
But will ye lie in sleep for ever?
Shall tyrants always crush you down?
Lo, they have reaped, and ye have sown,
The time hath come your bonds to sever.

Chorus—To arms! to arms! again—
The red flag waves on high.
March on, march on
With sword in hand—
March on to liberty.

Long have ye heard your children weeping—
For bread they cried in vain to you.
Why do ye lie there, dreaming, sleeping?
When there is work and deeds to do.
When there is work and deeds to do.
Your lords and masters pile their plunder;
They feast and prey and do not spare.
But from your weary toil and care
They wring the wealth at which ye wonder.

Chorus—To arms! to arms, etc.

Though Force and Fraud alike oppose you,
Yet in your hand is might and power;
And though your tyrants' hosts enclose you,
And overhead the black clouds lower,
And overhead the black clouds lower.
Yet what are Force and Fraud before ye
But as the leaves of autumn trees
Borne wildly onward by the breeze
When the storm rises in its fury?

Chorus—To arms! to arms, etc.

But when the fight is done and over,
And freedom reigns with us again;
When tyrants the green earth doth cover
And ended is the toil and pain,
And ended is the toil and pain,
Then in the world will be bright weather,
For hope and peace shall fill the earth.
Then life and love will have new birth—
For men shall dwell in joy together.

Chorus—To arms! to arms! again
The red flag waves on high.
March on, march on,
With sword in hand—
March on to liberty!

DAVID NICOLL.

Between truth and falsehood, purity and corruption, justice and usurpation, there is eternal war. Between them there never can be peace.—*Social Democracy.*

REVIEW.

Woman in the Past, Present, and Future. By AUGUST BEBEL. (From the German, by H. B. Adams-Walther).

"THE question as to what position in our social organism will enable woman to become a useful member of the community, will put her in possession of the same rights as its other members enjoy, and ensure the full development of her powers and faculties in every direction, coincides with the question as to the form and organisation which the entire community must receive if oppression, exploitation, want and misery in a hundred shapes are to be replaced by a free humanity, by a society which is physically and organically sound. *The so-called woman's question is therefore only one side of the whole social question, which is at the present hour agitating all minds; only in connexion with each other can the two questions reach their final solution.*" In these words, in the introduction to his book, Bebel has summed up his position with regard to the woman question. For him, as for all earnest Socialists, it is a part of the whole social question, and must therefore be discussed as fully, as freely, as frankly as any other.

That a work dealing so thoroughly and ably as Bebel's with such immense questions as woman's social position, the relations of the sexes, marriage, prostitution, population, must be of the greatest value to all Socialists and to all students of social science, is self-evident. But to English Socialists such a work is doubly valuable, for we have to fight, not only the usual prejudices and opposition of the governing classes, but also the hypocrisy of a Bible-reading nation still imbued with the early Christian fear and hatred of nature and of woman (as the embodiment of all evil and temptation) which would forbid every open reference to either subject. The ordinary English *bourgeois* will tolerate, indeed enjoy, an indecent innuendo or doubtful allusion; but he will turn away in virtuous horror from a frank and serious discussion of serious questions, and feel a thrill of moral indignation at an earnest and scientific examination of them. Hence in England the most determined champions of women's rights rarely deal with the all-important marriage question, and when a woman is brave enough to do so she has to do it anonymously, besides assuring the world that she is "respectable." Socialists in England—especially we *women* Socialists—are, then, deeply indebted to our comrade, August Bebel, for his brave and noble work, and should be grateful to Dr. Adams-Walther for her careful and fairly accurate Englishing of it.

I have already pointed out that the position taken by Bebel, with regard to the woman question, is that this is part of the whole Social question, that with the abolition of class-rule must come also the abolition of sex-rule, that the emancipation of man and that of woman are equal necessities, that we cannot have the one without the other. Man and woman must both, in a word, become "human beings."

The first part of Bebel's book is devoted to an historical survey of woman in the past—and this, I say it with all respect, is of less value than other portions of his work. There are, as it seems to me, certain inaccuracies, and in the light thrown upon the position of woman in primitive conditions of society, by Engels, in his latest work on the "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," it is not possible to accept all Bebel's statements on this head. But this does not affect the real value of his book, nor does it apply in any way to his masterly treatment of the position of woman in the present and in the future.

As a scientific Socialist, Bebel of course holds that we must seek for the real cause of woman's enslaved position in her economic dependence upon man, and that her "emancipation" means nothing but economic freedom. In other words, man and woman become truly emancipated only with the overthrow of the whole modern system of capitalistic production.

Against the idea—not, I fear, uncommon even among Socialists—that woman is at best a very inferior sort of animal, never by any chance capable of such greatness as man, Bebel points out that if woman is an inferior creature to-day, she is only, like the proletariat, a victim of the circumstances in which she is placed, and is no more to be blamed for her ignorance than is the working man who believes that the present *régime* is the best, and must go on world without end. Against the postulate that a different physical constitution justifies in a man what is considered criminal in a woman, and that a very "venial slip" in the one is an unpardonable crime in the other; against the teaching that would impose one code of morals for man and one for woman, Bebel protests very earnestly—and he does more than protest. He proves that his demand for perfect equality of the sexes, that his assertion that the passions of men and women being the same, the moral rules applied to one should apply to the other, are founded on reason and true morality.

Bebel's treatment of the marriage question is admirable. Of course the virtuous Philistine of all classes will be profoundly shocked. He thinks the "necessary evil" of prostitution not unpleasant, and above all, he likes to feel that the "family," as now constituted, is a small kingdom of which he is the despotic sovereign. To be told that under a rational system of society there could be no prostitution, and that our modern idea of marriage is absolutely immoral, is not pleasant, and it is no doubt hideously coarse to say that, while "marriage should only be entered upon by two persons inspired by mutual love, for the purpose of exercising their natural functions," the modern *bourgeois* property-marriage "is regarded by most women as a kind of almshouse . . . and the man, for his part, generally counts up the advantages of marriage with the greatest exactitude. . . Still worse is it to maintain that marriage represents one half of the sexual life of the *bourgeois* world,

and prostitution represents the other. Marriage is the front, and prostitution the back of the medal. When a man finds no satisfaction in marriage he generally resorts to prostitution, and when a man for one reason or another remains unmarried, it is again prostitution to which he has recourse. Provision is thus made for men who are celibates by choice or force, as well as for those whom marriage has disappointed, to gratify their sexual instincts in a manner forbidden to women. . . . These men appear daily in society with the grave and dignified air of guardians of morality, order, marriage, and the family; they are at the head of Christian societies for the suppression of prostitution. Our social organisation resembles a great carnival festival, in which everyone wears his official disguise with decorum, and indulges his inclinations and passions all the more unreservedly in private." All which our Philistines "most powerfully and potently believes, yet holds it not honesty to have it thus set down."

All the hideous evils of our modern society in which the small class of unproductive exploiter fattens upon the unpaid labour of the workers; in which men, women and children are driven to compete against each other for a starvation wage, and in which the women—the wives and daughters and sisters of the wage-slaves—have to sell themselves to the man of family and property, all these monstrous conditions render "Social Reforms," in Bebel's opinion, an impossibility. They can only be cured by a Social revolution. How this is to come about, what are the immediate steps to be taken, Bebel does not pretend to prophecy, but he says: "I maintain that within a given time all the evils described will have reached a point at which their existence will not only be clearly recognised by the vast majority of the population, but will also have become unbearable; that a universal irresistible longing for radical reformation will then take possession of almost the whole community, and make the quickest remedy appear the most opportune. . . . then the whole of this private property (viz., land, machines, implements, means of traffic, as well as the private possession of the sources of food and the articles of food) must be converted into common property, by one great act of expropriation."

Those persons who are so constantly asking us what we intend doing "the next day" would do well to read—but that is exactly what they are incapable of doing—the chapter on the "Socialisation of Labour" in this volume. Bebel, naturally, does not pretend to lay down any hard and fast law as to what is to be done he only shows how we must work along certain lines.

"After society has entered into exclusive possession of all the means of production, the equal duty of all to labour, without distinction of sex, will become the first fundamental law of the Socialistic community, inasmuch as needs cannot be satisfied without a corresponding amount of labour, and no healthy person, capable of work, has a right to expect that others should work for him. The assertion of malicious opponents, that Socialists refuse to work, and, in fact, intend to abolish work altogether, is an absurdity on the face of it. Idlers can only exist as long as others work to support them. This admirable condition of things is the one in which we live, and those who profit by it most are the most declared enemies of Socialism. On the contrary, Socialists maintain that he who will not work has no right to eat. But by work they do not understand mere activity, but useful, i.e., productive work. The new society demands, therefore, that each of its members should execute a certain amount of work in manufacturing, in a handicraft or in agriculture, by which he contributes a given quantity of products for the satisfaction of existing needs. Without work no enjoyment, and no work without enjoyment. . . ."

" . . . As the Socialistic community does not constitute itself in order to lead the life of proletarians, but in order to abolish the proletarianism of the majority, and to bring the largest possible measure of the amenities of life within the reach of all, the question arises, how high will society place its average claims?"

Official posts are only held by delegates for a time:

"The character of an official does not attach to the delegates, inasmuch as the appointment is neither permanent nor affords the possibility of advancement. There is no such thing as an hierarchical system. For the same reason it is an indifferent matter whether any intermediate body shall be established between the central and local executives, for instance, provincial executives. If they appear necessary, when the time comes, they will be established; if they are superfluous, they will not be established. The practical necessity decides. When more advanced development has made old forms of organisation obsolete, they will be abolished, without any flourish of trumpets or violent disputes, as the question touches no personal interests, and a new organization will be introduced with just as little trouble. One sees, this executive is as far removed from our present system as the heavens are from the earth."

Moreover, both the individual and the community being equally interested,

"All will devote their ingenuity to the improvement, simplification and acceleration of the process of production. The ambition of inventors and discoverers will be stimulated to the highest degree. The community of the future will have scholars and artists of every kind, and in very considerable numbers, who will devote a small portion of each day to assiduous physical toil, and spend the remainder of their time according to their tastes, in the pursuit of their studies or arts. The antagonism which exists to-day between hand and head-work, which the ruling classes have done their best to accentuate . . . will thus be abolished."

"As therefore there are no 'wares' in the new community, neither will there be any money. Money is the representative of wares, and yet at the same time a ware itself; it is the social equivalent of all other wares. But the new society possesses no wares, only objects of necessity, of use, whose making requires a certain amount of social working time. The working time which the making of an article requires is therefore the only scale by which its social value can be measured. Ten minutes of social work in one branch, are exchangeable for ten minutes of social work in another, neither more nor less. For society is not intent on earning, its task consists only in effecting this exchange of articles of equal quality and equal use-value among its members. If society finds for instance that three hours work a day is

necessary for the production of the requisite quantity of goods, it will appoint three hours as the length of the working day."

Everyone will therefore receive from society the equivalent of his labour, neither more nor less. Socialists protest, and Bebel most energetically, against the confusion of the present State administration with a really Socialistic administration. In Socialistic administration for all there are no employers, no superiors, as no oppression; all are equals, and enjoy equal rights.

In these "equal rights" all—i.e., women as men—have their share. In the new community woman being entirely independent, she becomes a free being, the equal of man.

"Her education is the same as that of man, except where the difference of sex makes a deviation from this rule and special treatment absolutely unavoidable; she develops all her mental and physical powers and capabilities under natural conditions of existence; she can select such fields for her activity as her wishes, tastes and faculties may direct. She works under exactly the same conditions as a man. Having performed her share of social labour in some branch of industry, the next hour she becomes educator, teacher, or nurse, later on she devotes herself to art or science, and afterwards exercises some executive function. She enjoys amusements and recreation with her own sex or with men, exactly as she pleases and occasion offers.

"In the choice of love she is free just as man is free. She woos and is wooed, and has no other inducement to bind herself than her own free will. The contract between two lovers is of a private nature as in primitive times, without the intervention of any functionary, but it is distinguished from the primitive contract by the fact that the woman no longer becomes the slave of a man who obtained her as a gift or by purchase, and can cast her off at his pleasure."

Under such conditions "her household and children, if she has any, cannot restrict her freedom, but only increase her pleasure in life. Educators, friends, young girls, are all at hand for all cases in which she needs help."

On the vexed question of population, I suppose I need hardly say that Bebel rejects the "theory" which has been called after Parson Malthus (although his book "did not contain a single sentence thought out by himself"). He here, as in all other matters, accepts the teaching of Karl Marx. The relative over-population of to-day, a result of our capitalistic system of to-day, will disappear with the system of which it is the outcome. It is a well-established fact that families "increase in an inverse ratio to the height of wages," and that the poorer a district the more densely it is populated. Happier circumstances would not, then, conduce to increase, but rather to diminish, the number of children. Further, "for two thousand years man has been possessed by the most insane aversion to concern himself frankly, freely and naturally with the laws governing his own origin and development, and to study scientifically the conditions of generation and conception in the human race." With a more healthy and natural condition we shall better understand the natural laws that bear upon this question, and

"We must finally take into account that woman will occupy a totally different position in the society of the future, and will have no inclination to bring a large number of children, as 'gifts of God' into the world; that she will desire to enjoy her freedom and independence, and not to spend half or three-quarters of the best years of her life in a state of pregnancy, or with a child at her breast. Certainly there are few women who do not wish to have a child, but still fewer who wish to have more than a limited number. All these things will work together in regulating the numbers of human beings, without there being any need for our Malthusians to rack their brains at present."

Before concluding this short review, I feel it my duty to call attention to the supremely careless manner in which the English translation of Bebel's book has been printed. Of slight errors as to the meaning of the original, due chiefly to the translator's want of familiarity with the technical terms of economy, and of certain grammatical errors for which the translator may also be accountable, I do not speak. I refer only to simple mistakes in printing and the use of type. Of these, in a volume of 264 pages, there are no less than 176!

I end with a quotation from this fine, thought-compelling work, in which Bebel so eloquently calls upon every man and every woman to help in our great struggle:

"This final victory will be all the more decisive, the greater the zeal and energy with which each individual pursues the path before him. No one has a right to consider whether he himself, after all his trouble and labour, will live to see a fairer epoch of civilisation, and still less has he the right to let such a consideration deter him from the course on which he has entered. Although we cannot predict the duration of the single phases of development, nor the form which they will assume, just as little as we can with any certainty foresee the length of our own lives, in a century such as ours we have no cause to relinquish all hope of witnessing the victory. We struggle and strive onwards, unconcerned as to when or where the boundary posts of new and better times for humanity shall be erected. If we fall in fight, the rearguard will take our place; we shall fall with the consciousness of having done our duty as men, and with the conviction that the goal will be reached, in spite of all opposition from the enemies of humanity and progress."

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

RELIGION is the foundation of government, and those governments which have not this basis are built upon sand and are very easy to overturn.

It is as usual to see a young working man become an old beggar and die in a workhouse, as to see a carriage-horse come to the hackney coach, and at last die in drawing a costermonger's cart.