

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 82.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 6, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES.

MR. WALTER BESANT, as hon. treasurer of the Working Women's Conference, is appealing to people in general to give him information as to the wages and conditions of life of working women. The result of this may be useful, or it may not be. In the first place it will be useless if the information is not thoroughly genuine, if it is allowed to be influenced by the spirit that often creeps into such collections of "information": the spirit that tries to create the impression that things are not very bad, and that even if they are bad they can easily be altered for the better a little, and that—there, that will do.

But supposing a great deal of genuine information gathered and published; what will be the use of it, and to whom will it be useful? It will be absolutely no use unless it is used, so far as it goes, for the purpose of putting both sexes of workpeople into a totally different position from their present one. And under those circumstances it is hard to see how it can be useful to any but those who are striving to change the basis of society, to make all women working-women, and not force either marriage or prostitution on any of them as a profession—in other words, to free labour from the tyranny of monopoly. Those people who are trying to do this are usually called Socialists, and I fear that Mr. Besant can hardly be classed as one of these, in spite of his apparently genuine sympathy with the joys and troubles of working people.

Apart from those middle-class persons who have had the good luck to be convinced of the truths of Socialism and are actually working for it, I have met with two kinds amongst persons of good will to the popular cause: first, persons of very strong and marked advanced opinions who are so far from thinking that the holding of such opinions involves any sort of action on their part, that they rather (or indeed very much) plume themselves on their superiority over those who act on their opinions, whatever they may be;—of course, such persons are desperate pessimists. The other kind are persons whose opinions are not very advanced, but have a sort of idea that they should act upon them, such as they are, and will undertake cheerfully any little job that may turn up, from total abstinence to electioneering, with a cheerful confidence in the usefulness of their work: but all the while they have not even faced the question as to the necessity of changing the basis of society; they suppose that the present system contains in itself everything that is necessary to cure the evils which they are to some extent conscious of; and indeed some of them are very anxious to stave off the radical change which Socialism proposes by exhibiting the said evils in course of being cured by—well, I must say it—rose-water.

I know this latter group of well-disposed middle-class people exists, and I rather think Mr. Walter Besant belongs to it. If I wrong him by so thinking I shall be glad to be convinced to the contrary. And meantime this group of people may yield converts to Socialism when they have found out by practical experience that the evils they are good-temperedly attacking are not accidents of the present system but essential to it. Then they may make up their minds to attack the system itself.

⊂ Till within the last few years St. Alban's Abbey used to be one of the most interesting of the historical monuments of England; not because it was the longest church in the world, nor even altogether because it comprised some of the most beautiful work of the most perfect period of architecture, but also because all kinds of varied historical interest centred in its site and building. Partly built of materials from Verulam, it became in the early part of the Middle Ages the refuge and home of the chroniclers of the time. Some of the most interesting and heart-stirring passages in the Peasants' War, that outburst of Medieval Communism, took place around it. It witnessed two of the battles of the Wars of the Roses, the second of which was the bloodiest of all; and till within the last few years, though it had suffered some indignities, was still the stout and beautiful old building that had seen so many dramas played round about it. It is not too much to say that it stood in the homely Hertfordshire fields one of the wonders of the world.

⊂ Well, to-day it has been deprived of most of its beauty and two-thirds of its historical interest. How and why? Insurrections, battles, changes of religion, had left it pretty much unhurt; but the damage

they couldn't do has been done quite lately by such a thing as a common parliamentary lawyer, a cleverish vulgar man, once called Sir Edmund Becket, now Lord Grimsthorpe, who coveted the glory of "restoring" this ancient monument; and although the ruin he proposed to make of it was disapproved of by most of those who had the guardianship of this piece of public property, all opposition went down before the shaking of his money-bag, and 'tis all done, or on the point of being all done; and the whim of a parliamentary lawyer has proved to be more destructive than miller Grindecobbe's bills and bows, than Henry the Eighth's greedy barons, or Cromwell's lobster-tails! Truly the money-bag has more to answer for than the destruction of works of art and monuments of history; yet the wantonness and irremediable character of this kind of destruction, joined with the preposterous vulgarity of the instrument of it, makes it hard to bear. WM. MORRIS.

## LABOUR FEDERATION.

ONE of the best indications of the progress of the labour movement is the growing feeling amongst trades-unionists for a federation of a.1 workers. This feeling is vague and unsettled just now, but it is very widespread and it is growing stronger. The trades-union leaders who occasionally speak in favour of it do nothing to carry it out; indeed it is plain that with their narrow spirit and inability to move out of the accustomed rut, they are really afraid of it and want to see it smothered. But in spite of this the mass of the workmen feel more and more strongly that a closer bond of union should exist amongst them, and that the interests of the workers in all trades and in all lands are much the same.

This means a good deal to the Socialists. Everything that shows a growing feeling of solidarity amongst the wage-slaves is in the right direction. The labour struggle has always been weakened by petty jealousies, splits, and contradictions amongst the workmen. In the past it has been difficult to get the men of one trade to agree to act together against the capitalist and impossible to get several trades to co-operate. This is passing away. The miners see one district after another go on strike and get beaten. While the miners of Northumberland were being starved into submission, the miners of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire, Durham, Wales, and Scotland, were producing extra coal to supply the market. The capitalists are a helpless lot in themselves, a mere nothing against the workmen; but they generally get the best of it, because they play off one part of the working-men against the other. It was not the mine-owners who beat the miners of Northumberland in the late struggle. It was their fellow-miners elsewhere. The miners see this now and so far as Northumberland is concerned, they will leave no stone unturned in preparing to present a solid and organised front to their employers in the next fight. Coal is essential to every other industry in the country, and were the men thoroughly combined they could compel society to render up their rights or dislocate the whole system by temporarily stopping production.

The great benefit of labour federation must be apparent to every workman who knows anything of the present crisis in the labour organisations. The Socialists have preached it for a long time. The efforts of Karl Marx to weld the working-men of all countries into an international union though unsuccessful (chiefly because the times were not ripe) are full of interesting lessons which no friend of labour can afford to neglect. But as the trades-unionists got their first lesson in labour federation from the Socialists they would do well to learn it thoroughly. A federation of all workers *merely to force a rise of wages* would be useless. If that were its only object it could only appeal to one section of the working-class, it would never raise the universal enthusiasm and fervid devotion that a great popular cause must have behind it, and for these two reasons it would be easily smashed up by the capitalists and their catspaw the Government. Even if it conquered all these difficulties, however, it would still be cheated out of its object. If the capitalists could not resist a rise of wages they could force a rise of prices and get back in one way what they were compelled to yield in another. Let us say that to-day the average wage is 20s. per week and the average cost of living 17s. In three years a Labour Federation well enough organised to stop production in a few industries (say coal, iron and cotton) for one week, might force a general rise of 50 per cent in wages. The average wage would then be 30s. per week. But the traders could immediately raise prices 50 per cent, and then the

cost of living would be 27s. The benefit therefore would be a *bagus* one.

Labour federation to be effective must mean Socialism—that is, the abolition of the capitalist class. The miners, engineers, fishermen, weavers, etc., must train themselves for the purpose of actually seizing upon the mines, factories, shipping, railways, etc., and carrying on production for the common benefit of all the people. This must become the declared object of the labour movement. This means labour emancipation. Everything in the direction of it is in the right. Everything that stops short of it is a delusion and a waste of effort.

By thoroughly educating the workmen on this subject and pushing forward the laggard leaders of trades-unionism, Socialists will be at once forwarding their own cause and winning the gratitude of the workers for the practical help they are rendering in the labour struggle.

J. L. MAHON.

## INHUMAN ARITHMETIC.

(Continued from page 242.)

It must however be allowed that the arrangements of the deity are very faulty, by which society is burdened with three or four useless women and children for every male machine who works. Bungling as his system is, yet society by the use of faculties which cannot have been given by so bad a political economist as he obviously is, has seen how to amend it. If these useless beings can live on 3d. a-day, it is criminal to allow them 6d. a-day. It only enables them to indulge the fancies planted in them by the aforesaid bad political economist, and it is a direct temptation to luxury and waste: it leads indeed to riot and debauchery very unbecoming in well-conducted Monsters and Digestive Bags. If, then, the whole population, man, woman, and child, are thus transformed, and if society allows each of them 6d. a-day, they are being dealt with most generously; they have more than sufficient to support life comfortably. The difference between the 6d. allowance and the truly necessary 3d. will by proper thrift suffice to give them some of the highest pleasures and most ennobling relaxations in life; can they not often view our magnificent commerce from the deck of a penny steamer? or spend a holiday in greeting their most gracious Queen and Empress as she comes to open the Stock Exchange or a new Palace? or if they wish for quiet enjoyment, can they not take a penny dose of Liberal or Tory sentiment on Parliament and the divorce courts, and glow with pleasure at the missionary energy which shows itself as readily in the evangelisation of two or three blacks, as in the sending of three or four thousand of them at one bang to the next world? But it must be allowed that thrift is by no means their strong point, and that, as McCulloch says, they are more given to tobacco than to tea, and are only too apt to turn aside to pleasures of a lower kind. As to their thrift, do they not marry in a reckless way, without first enquiring of the professors whether their calculations show that it is possible to make any more sixpenny, or even threepenny, allowances to wasteful children and porridge-eaters. And the way they haunt the gin-shops, instead of building coffee-palaces for themselves, is dreadful. A careful study leads us to the hope that by reducing the allowance to 3d. a-day, and by closing both museums and gin shops on Sundays, they may be induced to go where bishops and other society prophets may impress upon them the salutary tale, which can never be too often repeated, of the hell-fire which awaits the thriftless, and all mutinous Monsters who show discontent with the allowance thought sufficient by the Professors of Inhuman Arithmetic.

The great majority of people are, I think, naturally benevolent—Socialists in heart, if they only knew it, but with minds cramped by the petty teachings of the cliques into which we are divided. Charity, that is sympathy, is not to be expressed in money. There is no more horrible characteristic of the times than the fetishes, shibboleths and formalities, which keep class penned apart from class, and put the sham of money-subscriptions in the place of that mutual rendering of help which it is as natural for man to give, as it is for man to need. When once a class is started on the path of pretence, they are lost to all sense of shame. It is only in this way that we can excuse the noise and self-glorification of the People of Position over what they call their charity.

This money-charity of theirs comes to very little. Take the Mansion House Fund of the year 1886. It was intended to relieve the dire distress of London in the winter of 1885-86. When the Registrar General reports, as he often does, that 30 or 40 people more than the average have died in London, in some unusually cold and rainy winter week, he says it comes from "diseases of the respiratory organs." True, and that means destitution, half-starvation, wet feet and scanty clothing, endured not for a week, or month, or year, but from childhood to the end. For this distress, after an immense stir and clamour, there was collected by the middle of 1886 the sum of about £80,000. After this, to quote the newspapers, "the money ceased to come in." There was no evidence that the distress had ceased to exist. But the novelty had worn off, and the temporary excitement had vanished like that of a worked-out bazaar.

It is difficult to estimate in London the genuine workers, the place being crammed with the funkies, servants, and hangers-on of every description, who wait upon the Loafers and Wasters of society. But the poor zero Machines and their incumbrances cannot be under a million. Even 3d. a-day for each of these would mount to £12,500. So that the fund would, even at this rate, be exhausted in rather less than a week. What a picture of charity! Here are the orthodox wasters and guzzlers, lolling in idleness, gorged with meat

and wine every day of their lives; and under their eyes are the despair and misery of the millions, whose ceaseless toil provides those luxuries. They mock at the despair, they grumble at the nuisance that the misery of others is to them, and they subscribe enough to give three-penny-worth of starvation relief for about a week to each of "the poor devils."

Again, the classified 'Directory of Metropolitan Charities' puts the income in 1885 of bible societies and missions, of hospitals, orphanages and reformatory institutions of every kind in the metropolitan circle, at four and a half million pounds. The population of the circle is about five and a half millions. It is very doubtful how many of these institutions can be called charitable; a large portion of the total income, moreover, comes from the rent of land and similar sources, and can in no sense be considered as due to the charity of the present generation. Taking the total, however, as it stands, and allowing that the same rate of contributions for similar purposes goes on all over these islands, where we have a population of thirty-five millions, we should arrive at a total of thirty million pounds as the national contribution under the name of charity. This is probably far beyond the actual sum; and whatever that actual sum may be, all evidence goes to show that very large portions of it go towards comfortable stipends to secretaries and other officials.

And what does this money-charity come to? The rich idlers and wasters, and the comfortable shopkeeper class in general, draw a thousand millions a year, and the above most liberal calculation gives thirty millions as the sum total of their charity. Out of every £100 which the poor zero machines grind out for the idlers, these return less than £3—not in charity—no, but in mending their damaged machines, in oiling and greasing them, to the end that they may go on again with their grinding.

It is not the genuine feeling of human sympathy, it is not charity that can be satisfied by that which lies before our eyes, as the result of all this ceaseless toil. The adult male average machine produces each year stuff which can be sold for £150, and has to be *stoked* at 6d. a day, or about £10 a year! Three women and children to each adult monster, mere encumbrances on his usefulness, and continually distracting his attention from his proper work, cannot justly claim more than 3d. a day each. But as they are idle and improvident, this necessary allowance is increased under the name of charity to the same figure, 6d. a-day, as the adult monster gets. These burdens on Society, therefore, raise the total annual allowance to £40, which has to be made out of the £150 produced by each adult machine. Instead, therefore, of the full sum, our professors can only reckon on £110 from one out of four of the whole population of the United Kingdom, i.e., on £110 from each of about 9,000,000 persons.

And what becomes of this vast sum of £1,000,000,000? It belongs to the orthodox wasters, to the professors of inhuman arithmetic, and to their assistants, the bishops, the managers of orthodox starvation-benevolence, and of money-charity in general. It is a reward for their skill in improving the commonplace arithmetic of position, as invented by the poor Hindoos and other ancient peoples, who were content to live with their wealth in common, and who used their art to count bags of wheat or flocks of sheep. A splendid reward is due to professors, who have shown that the art could easily be adapted to conditions however extraordinary, and, indeed, that by it a delightful society of castes and classes might be arranged, wherein a man, though no doubt in one sense a unit, a mere figure 1, may yet be raised by the change of his position, and by the labour of a number of mere zero average machines, to the higher level of a ten, a thousand, or a million. In this improved system a man is born or steps into a high position, by having below him a number of the mere zero class; he is counted as being of a higher position, the more of this worthless class that are under him.

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be concluded).

## POSITIVISM AND SOCIALISM.

(Concluded from p. 248.)

The Socialist would argue that all men come into the world endowed with certain faculties, and that they are all equally useful to society, each in his place. If it is said that many come only capable of mere hand labour, and only a few capable of being good engineers, doctors, or scientific investigators, we may reply that society needs them in that proportion, needs many bricklayers for one architect, many labourers all through to one doctor or scientist, and if we had to do without either class, we should be least able to spare the hand labourer. If society see to the education of these, each for what he seems best fitted, we do not see that there is any just reason why the rarer abilities should get paid more highly; we say that they each fill their place and are each entitled to their share of the general result of the community's labour. If there is any difference it should be in favour of the most unpleasant occupations. Probably these could best be recompensed by letting them work for shorter hours. If any, by reason of their occupation, require greater sustenance or more expensive surroundings in any way, this should be taken into account, in short the ideal towards which the Socialist works is "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs"; let each help the community as he best can, and as there will be enough for all we hope that each will be able to take what he needs. This is the ideal towards which we work, and I maintain that in working towards this we have a much more rational system than the Positivist who leaves it to be settled partly

by each getting what he can and partly by each keeping what his conscience will let him.

We now come to the ground which is common to the Positivists and a large section of outsiders, namely, the general belief that the employers are able and will soon be willing to give better terms to their working people. I have alluded above to the probability of the employers coming to be content with less, I will only here remind people who build up hopes in this direction that apart from direct action of self interest there is the indirect action which makes us see things from our point of view only, and this often in spite of the very best intentions; how many Socialists or others who happen to hold a middle position, having an employer over them and perhaps servants under them, look at things with the same feelings in both relations! The employer refuses a holiday, we will say, and we think what a mean set these employers are, they care nothing for their men; next week the servant asks us for a night out, which is not quite convenient, and we refuse, how unreasonable these servants are, they always want to go out just when it is inconvenient. The employer cannot see the real side of the worker, he exaggerates the worker's carelessness, indolence, and all the rest of it, and thinks he gets what he is worth; and this no good intentions and no love for the common good can quite get over.

But for the sake of argument let us grant that the Positivists and others have persuaded all the employers that they ought to think of their men first, that they ought to receive a small share themselves in order that they would be able to pay higher wages; even if we grant all this Positivism would still be far from having solved the social question. Competition would spoil it all. Here is a capitalist who is only just making ends meet, sometimes he is losing, and there are numbers in that fix now; how is he to raise the wages of his men? But if he does not raise his wages and his more successful rival does, his men will strike and he will have to shut up. Competition will simply rage more keenly, bringing even more confusion than at present. For the smaller the margin left for profit the greater the tendency to cut out the less successful men and add to the success of the most successful. If there is a profit of 20 per cent. for the successful, the less successful can still do if he makes 5. But if the most successful only keeps for himself 1 per cent. how can the less successful pay the same wages and exist? It would result in greater concentration into few hands, and those would be constantly shifting, causing no end of confusion and misery to the workers, who are starving, while things are righting themselves after each upset. Nor can it be urged that there would certainly be a gain in putting more work into the hands of the most successful, for it by no means follows that it is the inferior qualities of goods which pay least, or that the most successful man produces the best article. The difference often merely consists in a greater or less competitive faculty, a greater or less ability to take advantage of every one and be taken advantage of by none.

I maintain that with the best intentions in the world it would be absolutely impossible for the employers to do well for their men while they are engaged in warfare with all their competitors. Nothing but the organisation of industry on a basis of co-operation, and the entire abolition of the competitive system, could enable employers to do fairly by their men, and if any Positivists seek to organise industry and to give to the workers the full share they are entitled to, they are seeking Socialism and not Positivism.

To organise industry on a co-operative basis is not a light task, none know this better than the Socialists; but if it can be shown, as I think it can, that while we keep the present basis of competition no alteration, no reform, and no amount of good intentions can save society from an inevitable break up sooner or later, brought on by the necessary results of the system—if this, I say, can be shown, then surely it is no answer to the only proposition which deals with the root of the question, to say that it is difficult to see how we can put it in practice. It was difficult, in ancient days, to see how society could be made to exist without slaves, so difficult that the wisest of ancients thought it impossible, but it has been done. And so will organisation of industry be done, and if we fail to do it we shall be wiped out from the face of the earth, as many ancient civilisations were which could not solve the social problems of their day. Let us rather face all difficulties bravely, having faith to believe that there is always a way to put justice and truth into practice, if we can only find it. If we face the difficulties manfully many will vanish, and we shall look back and wonder how wise men in the nineteenth century held that it was impossible for a community to live except by internal strife.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

**WHY WE ORGANISE.**—Many men joining labour organisations ask themselves the question: "What good is it to me? Can I make anything out of it?" To all such the answer is "No." If you enter it in that spirit, you will be disappointed, and you had better remain outside. The proper spirit in which to enter a labour organisation is with these questions on the lips: "Of what good can I be to it? Of what good is it to humanity?" If you have a desire of personal advancement, pecuniary benefit, or a vain ambition to achieve, you are not fitted to join in the ranks of the workers who are labouring for the best interests of their fellows. Anyone who expects to receive a financial benefit as soon as they join a labour organisation is ignorant of the purpose for which labour is organised, and needs educating. Labour is organised not to confer direct benefits upon the individual members of the organisations only, but to elevate and benefit the working classes as a body, and this result has been largely attained during the last few years. Organisation is the only power that will lead to the emancipation of the toilers. Concentration of wealth is the power of the capitalists; the organisation of labour the force of the working men.

## LEIPSIC, 1845.

BY FERDINAND FREILIGRATH WHEN AN EXILE IN SWITZERLAND.  
TRANSLATED BY J. L. JOYNS.

SHE came across the lake in widow's weed  
Of folded crape, as is her wont, like death:  
The willow bowed before her, and the reed  
Was shaken at the passing of her breath.  
I saw her come through mist and gathered gloom,  
And at my desk I sat me down to write;  
Her shadowy form was present in the room,  
And darkly loomed upon my awe-struck sight.  
"I am the Night of St. Bartholomew;  
My feet are blood-stained, veiled in cloud my head:  
Again at bidding of a princely crew  
Fresh victims have been added to my dead.

"Ha! how the roofs were rolled in murky cloud  
That night of blood three centuries ago,  
When from his window firing on the crowd  
The famous Charles had leant him forward low!  
Yea thence—most Christian king that e'er was crowned—  
He hounded on the scoundrels in his pay,  
Till foully murdered on the reeking ground  
The noblest Huguenots in their hundreds lay.  
I am the Night, etc.

"Less blood to-day than then the slayer sheds;  
'Yet' screamed the grape-shot hurtling o'er the scene,  
'The victims fall—what matters counting heads?  
All's one if thirteen hundred or thirteen.'  
The triggers snapped when princes gave the word;  
A cry of ruth went up from all mankind;  
The people shrieking fled; the hirelings heard,  
And shot them down like cowards from behind.  
I am the Night, etc.

"Their foes forsooth have said, 'It served them right!  
What reason had the rascals to rebel?  
How dared the knaves resist us in our might,  
And smash the royal chandeliers as well?  
All honest folk to righteous wrath were stirred:  
What! the glass rattled on the ground like rain!  
It may be. But I never yet have heard  
That men must mend with blood a broken pane!  
I am the Night, etc.

"They had already fled! Yet though they fly,  
The grape-shot overtakes them as they go.  
Yes, flying folk and helpless passers-by  
The royal troops with royal lead lay low.  
Face downward there a woman and a child  
Lie dead—O sight to make the heart-strings ache!  
Why clench thy fist in helpless fury wild,  
Thou homeless poet by the fair Swiss lake?  
I am the Night, etc.

"What should I tell thee of the funeral weeds?  
The Dead March sounds; its deep-toned notes complain;  
Slowly from every house of woe proceeds  
A coffined corpse, dark banners in its train.  
Black-robed the mourners follow like a flood;  
In every eye the starting tears are seen;  
No more shall Leipsic lose the stain of blood,  
Nor aught avail to wash her pavement clean!  
I am the Night, etc.

"Man hath a voice: the midnight should be dumb!  
And yet I cry aloud, Shall nought atone?  
Upon man's head the ancient curses come;  
The fault is with the faith of kings alone.  
O German land, wilt always hug thy chain?  
What cruel wrong thy faiths and kings have done!  
And wilt thou still a helpless child remain,  
Nor let one link be loosed from thee— not one?  
I am the Night, etc.

"Yet here no scoff beside the up-turned sod!  
Quench thy soul's thirst at thine own sacred spring.  
Hew out as best thou may'st thy way to God—  
Yet if to God, what wilt thou with a king?  
Nay, wake! Bethink thee of that royal wight  
Who shot his subjects down in ancient time!  
Farewell! I go to haunt the Priests to-night,  
Fit heirs of those who fathered first my crime!  
I am the Night of St. Bartholomew;  
My feet are blood-stained, veiled in cloud my head:  
Again at bidding of a princely crew  
Fresh victims have been added to my dead."

A SOCIALIST PARLIAMENT.—In the Charing Cross Parliamentary Debating Society the Socialists are so numerous that they have had to form a ministry. H. H. Champion is prime minister, Mrs. Annie Besant home secretary, George Bernard Shaw president of the Local Government Board, Sidney Webb chancellor of the exchequer, Hubert Bland secretary for foreign affairs, and Stewart Headlam secretary for Ireland. The other ministers are F. Podmore, Graham Wallas, G. W. Allen, E. Fanning Gye, Sidney Olivier, and Harold Cox. Mrs. Wardle and W. H. Utley are secretaries to the treasury, and from them any further information may be obtained.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

**All articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.**

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

**Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.**

**Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.**

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. K. (Hampstead).—Not in our line.

C. W. B.—"It is the Day," and "Awkward for the Coo," accepted with thanks. "London," d. w. t.

### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 3.

Our Corner	ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	HOLLAND
Justice	Yorboke	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Hague—Recht voet Allen
Jus	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Hammonton (NJ)—Credit Foncier	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	men's Advocate	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	men's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Freedom	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	SWITZERLAND	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
To-Day	FRANCE	El Productor	SPAIN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Barcelona—Acracia	
Adelaide—S. Austral. Register	Le Revolte	AUSTRIA	
Melbourne—Honesty	Lille—Le Travailleur	Brunn—Volksfreund	
INDIA	BELGIUM	HUNGARY	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Liege—L'Avenir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
UNITED STATES	Antwerp—De Werker	ROUMANIA	
New York—Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Jassy—Lupta	
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN	
Truthseeker	Seraing—Le Reveil	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
Leader		NORWAY	
John Swinton's Paper		Kristiania—Social-Democraten	
Volkzeitung			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Liberty			

## BOURGEOIS VERSUS SOCIALIST.

WITHOUT wishing to carry on the debate any further which has been going on in the *Commonweal* between comrade Bax and Mr. Bradlaugh, it is natural that we should print a few words on it, as it is clear that there must have been a good many words said on the subject.

In the last paper, Mr. Bradlaugh complains that there has been no real debate on the question Will Socialism benefit the English people? Perhaps after all this is likely to be the case in all so-called debates where the disputants differ as to principle: clearly they must take some things for granted or they would stick fast from the first. This debate is now the third I have noticed carefully, and in all the three the disputants on either side, though in all cases very able persons, seemed, so to say, to find it hard to get at each other and strike the big stroke. However, one thing they can do and should do, if they are to claim any success; each may at least state what his position is; and though this is specially incumbent on the one who takes the affirmative or positive side, yet even the one who takes the negative side must not be so wholly negative as not to show the basis of his objections: he must not be a mere objector, but must object on principle.

Now it seems to me that in this debate our friend Bax has stated his position quite clearly, and to every one not prepared from the first to pick holes in his statement, quite unmistakably. Mr. Bradlaugh, on the other hand, has done nothing but make objections, some of them merely verbal and frivolous, others rather what I should call debaters' objections—the sort of thing which catches cheers in an oral debate; and some, no doubt, the objections of the kind which naturally occur to a person prejudiced against a change in the basis of society. Bax has been under the disadvantage of having in his second paper to follow Mr. Bradlaugh through the whole string of questions which he thought proper to put, so that his restatement of his position had to be deferred to his last paper, which was somewhat languidly replied to by Mr. Bradlaugh; of whom in truth I fear it must be said that he does not take much interest in the whole subject. In fact throughout he has not really been attacking Socialism, but rather has been desperately defending a statement which he stumbled on in his anxiety to be considered "practical," that there may be or is an essential difference in

<sup>1</sup> By the way, when I was last lecturing in Scotland I got on more than one occasion "a dressing" for using the word English in too inclusive a sense (though I meant no harm by it). Perhaps the same thing would happen in Wales—let alone Ireland.

the economic basis of life between the various countries that make up civilisation; and he has also been fighting against the admission that modern production compels the aggregation of capital. It is hardly worth while arguing seriously against either of these queer pieces of perversity; but it is really strange to find a man of ability who has not been struck by the international character of modern capitalism, and who cannot grasp the argument that if capitalism is international, the foe that threatens it, the system which is put forward to take its place, must be international also. As to the other point, which, though not an essential one for the general argument, Mr. Bradlaugh defends very stoutly and returns to more than once, the denial of the tendency toward the aggregation of capital under our present system, what can one say but that it is one of the commonplaces of the day that competition forces people to produce cheaply, and that you can only produce cheaply by producing on a large scale? Anybody who doubts this and has money to throw away had better try it in practice—as I have done. Mr. Bradlaugh in his last paper taunts Bax with not being able to bring more instances of this generally admitted fact; I may perhaps be allowed to give another, as coming under my own notice. Textile printing used to be done wholly by means of blocks on long tables, and there used to be a great many small businesses of this kind, employing down to as few as ten or a dozen men; but when the cylinder machine was perfected, and a man and two boys at one machine could do the work of 200 blockers and their attendant "tearers," these businesses had to shut up, as they could not find work for even one machine. Again, in my small business I am obliged to refrain from doing certain kinds of weaving I should like to do because my capital can't compass a power-loom. But really there is no need to multiply examples to prove what is patent: one can only stand aghast at Mr. Bradlaugh's hardihood in denial.

In short, Mr. Bradlaugh thinks Socialism an unpractical matter, and therefore cannot bring his mind to bear upon it sufficiently to conceive of it. He has not even tried to understand what Socialists mean by monopoly, and says, though rather guardedly, that he sees no class in the country which has the monopoly of the means of production. Again, one can only say that if he were a manual workman he would soon find out whether he could work for his livelihood without paying the tribute demanded by the monopolist; nor would he be long in doubt as to the fact that his master was not an individual but a class, when he sets to work to try how much more reward he could get for his labour from Peter than he could from Paul.

It is a pity that Mr. Bradlaugh will not try to understand his Socialist opponents, but in this matter he acts pretty much as the ordinary bourgeois does, and shows the usual persistency in reading incidents characteristic of the present condition of things into the future. At the bottom of all this lies, not, it may be, a want of information as to the mere facts of history, but an entire incapacity of understanding their significance and their continuity; in short, a practical denial of the doctrine of evolution. To persons of this turn of mind the class struggle in the past is nothing more than a confused contest, with no steady, though often unconscious, aim in it; to such persons at some arbitrary point determined by the interest, prejudice, or taste of the individual, all that contest comes to an end, and Society, which has been ever changing through so many thousands of years, is at last stable, though it lacks no element of revolution which the last epoch of change had, but holds them all, possibly changed in form but certainly not in essence. To such persons it is a kind of theological proposition that the status of Society consists of a great middle-class with an unnecessary encumbrance above it in the shape of the aristocracy, and a necessary encumbrance below it in the shape of a proletariat. The presence of the workers cannot be wholly denied, because they are there before our eyes, weaving, metal-working, building, and the rest of it; but they are not looked upon as a class with common interests, which force them to act together even against their wills, but as a series of accidents; they are a mere collection of potential middle-class persons, or failures from the middle-class.

And what is to be done with these abnormal persons? That is not a question which presses for solution, think our friends who sustain the orthodox holiness of bourgeoisdom. To reduce the numbers of the successive generations of them, and to raise the wages of those that would be left—that were good if it could be done, but it doesn't much matter, because, whether or no, Society is stable on its present basis (established by the Reform Bill of 1832).

It is true that some glorious but dim vision floats before the eyes of these "practical" persons of a time when the whole of these accidental misfortunes in a human form shall, by the exercise of thrift and Malthusianism, be absorbed into the great middle-class, cleared by that time of its upper encumbrance, and a bourgeois paradise will supervene, in which every one will be free to exploit—but there will be no one to exploit. How the great middle-class will then live, dependents say not; but the setters forth of this doctrine are happy in the fact that their Socialist opponents are not in the habit of asking them many questions as to their Society of the future. On the whole, one must suppose that the type of it would be that town (surely in America and in the neighbourhood of Mark Twain) that I have heard of, whose inhabitants lived by taking in each other's washing.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Let the hiring scribblers and spouters call us what they will. We cannot please them except by being cowardly and treacherous, and it is not wise policy to gratify our enemies. Let us not crave for or expect praise from them. It is our duty to disarm them, and they know it, if we don't.—RADICAL JACK in Chicago *Labour Enquirer*.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM: CONCLUSION.

MARX now goes on to trace the development of the capitalist in the present epoch, indicating the latest phase of the class-struggle; he points out the strife of the workman with the machine, the intensification of labour due to the constant improvement of machinery, etc. He then gives what may be called a history and analysis of the Factory Acts, the legislation to which the employing class found themselves compelled, in order to make it possible for the "free" workman to live under his new conditions of competition; in order, in short, to keep the industrial society founded by the machine revolution from falling to pieces almost as soon as it was established.

The point of the intensification of labour is so important that it demands a word or two in passing; the gist of the matter as put forward by Marx resolves itself into this: As the organisation of production progresses towards perfection, the wear and tear of the workman in a given space of labour-time is increased; and this is true of the organisation of the division of labour period, only it is limited by the fact that the man himself is the machine, and no such limitation exists in the period of fully developed machinery, in which the workman is an adjunct of the machine, which latter dictates to its supplement, the workman, in its constant craving for increasing productivity, the amount of wear and tear of his body in each hour's work. This emphasizes as plainly as possible the subjection of the man to the machine.

Marx also deals with theory of compensation to the workman displaced by machinery; that is, the common view, that by the labour-saving of machinery, which at first sight would seem to tend to the lessening of the number of men employed, more capital is set free for employment.

But, says Marx: "Suppose a capitalist to employ 100 workmen at £30 a-year each in a carpet factory. The variable capital annually laid out amounts therefore to £3,000. Suppose also that he discharges 50 of his workmen, and employs the remaining 50 with machinery that costs him £1,500. To simplify matters we take no account of buildings, coal, etc. Further, suppose that the raw material annually consumed costs £3,000 both before and after the change. Is any capital set free by this metamorphosis? Before the change the total sum of £6,000 consisted half of constant, half of variable, capital. The variable capital, instead of being one-half is only one-quarter of the total capital. Instead of being set free a part of the capital is here locked up in such a way as to cease to be employed in labour-power; variable has been changed into constant capital. Other things remaining unchanged, the capital of £6,000 can in future employ no more than 50 men. With each improvement in machinery, it will employ fewer."<sup>1</sup>

And again: "The labourers when driven out of the workshop by the machinery, are thrown upon the labour-market, and there add to the number of workmen at the disposal of the capitalists. In Part VII. of this book it will be seen that this effect of machinery, which as we have seen, is represented to be a compensation to the working-class, is on the contrary a most frightful scourge. For the present, I will only say this: The labourers that are thrown out of work in any branch of industry, can no doubt seek for employment in some other branch. If they find it, and thus renew the bond between them and the means of subsistence, this takes place only by the intermediary of a new and additional capital that is seeking investment; not at all by the intermediary of the capital that formerly employed them, and was afterwards converted into machinery."

The remainder of this Part V. of Marx deals with various questions connected with the great industry, and the changes produced by it on Society. Part VI. deals with the transformation of the value or price of labour-power into wages; with time wages, price wages, and the national difference of wages. Part VII. deals with the important subject of the accumulation of capital: First, with its simple reproduction, afterwards with the conversion of surplus value itself back into capital, and with the transition of the laws of property, that characterise the production of commodities into the laws of capitalistic appropriation. This part also contains a sarcastic refutation of the now exploded stupidity (scarcely to be called a theory) of "abstinence" as the source of capital; it also deals with the old wages-fund theory and other fallacies of bourgeois economy. This part concludes with a long and elaborate chapter on the general law of capitalistic accumulation in its various aspects. The last Part (XIII.) treats of the so-called primitive accumulation, of which Marx says: "This primitive accumulation plays in political economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell upon the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people, one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal *élite*; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance and more in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man is to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And

from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority, that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. . . . In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly *force*, play the great part. In the tender annals of Political Economy, the idyllic reigns from time immemorial. Right and "labour" were from all time the sole means of enrichment, the present year of course always excepted. As a matter of fact, the methods of primitive accumulation are anything but idyllic."

Marx then proceeds to give an instance of one important form of "Primitive Accumulation," the expropriation of the peasants from the land, taking affairs in England as a type of this idyllic proceeding; as also the legislation at the close of the Middle Ages against vagrants, etc., that is, those who had been expropriated; and, besides, the enactments for the forcing down of wages. He then describes the birth of the capitalist farmer of modern times, and the reaction of the agricultural revolution on the town industry; the creation of the home-market for industrial capital, etc. A chapter follows on the historical tendency of capitalistic accumulation to work out its own contradiction; it becomes necessary to quote a passage here as it bears reference to the future of Society: "The capitalist mode of appropriation, the result of the capitalist mode of production, produces capitalist private property. This is the first negation of individual private property, as founded on the labour of the proprietor. But capitalistic production begets with the inexorability of a law of Nature its own negation. It is the negation of negation. This does not re-establish private property for the producer, but gives him individual property based on the acquisitions of the capitalistic era; i.e., on co-operation, and the possession in common of the land and of the means of production. The transformation of scattered private property, arising from individual labour, into capitalistic private property, is naturally a process comparably more protracted violent, and difficult, than the transformation of capitalistic private property, already practically resting on socialised production, into socialised property. In the former case we had the expropriation of the mass of the people by a few usurpers; in the latter, we have the expropriation of a few usurpers by the mass of the people."

A chapter on the modern theory of colonisation concludes the book, which it must always be remembered is but the first volume (in the original German issue) of a book intended to cover three volumes, but which, nevertheless, as a criticism of capitalistic production may be treated in most respects as an independent whole.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

## Arrest of Fred Henderson at Norwich.

On Wednesday 27th July Lord Salisbury visited Norwich and held a large meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain. As a counter demonstration, a meeting was held in the Market-place to protest against the policy of coercion. At this meeting Michael M'Carten, M.P. for South Down, spoke at some length. Seeing that the resolutions were purely condemnatory of coercion and did not put forward a merely political alternative to the Tory-policy, our comrades resolved to support them, and Fred Henderson spoke. The meeting, a very large one indeed, was intensely Socialistic in feeling, and, except as to the Irish member, gave our comrade by far the heartiest greeting of the evening. Again when another speaker wished the meeting to show "their enemies that Norwich workmen were Radical," he was at once interrupted by cries of "Socialist," and when he asked what it was that Socialists wanted that Radicalism could not give, received a storm of answers.

The meeting concluded with three tremendous cheers for the social revolution, called for by Henderson, who asked the audience to go to the Agricultural Hall Plain, right in front of where Salisbury was indulging in coercion ravings. The crowd went down London Street cheering, and reached the Plain (a recognised open-air station). Henderson took up a stand under the lamp, intending to hold a meeting, when the mounted policemen on duty rode through the crowd at the speaker and ordered him to desist or he would ride him down. Seeing that this unwarrantable interference with the right of public meeting was exciting the anger of the crowd, Henderson called out, "No violence. Give three groans for Salisbury." Right heartily the crowd responded to this appeal, and then the mounted police, driving to and fro amongst the people, created a disturbance, and tried to excite the people to riot. One constable, No. 40, named Mills, excelled in brutality all the others, and seemed to be animated with a desire to show the public what a miserable ruffian he was. He galloped his horse at full speed along the crowded path, knocking several people down, and, with his fellows, tried to separate Henderson from the rest. They succeeded in this at last, and arrested our comrade in most brutal fashion, Mills striking him severely about the head. Having secured him between their horses they galloped to the station, and Henderson had to pass the night in the cells, charged with riotous conduct. Needless to say, the charge utterly fell through, and the magistrates next morning discharged our comrade without hearing a witness on our side, recognising at once the insufficiency of the police evidence. We are glad to hear that the matter is being taken up, and an inquiry into the conduct of the police will be instituted.

"Of all the instruments of the farmer's trade, the labour of man . . . is that on which he is most to rely for the repayment of his capital. The other two—the working stock of the cattle, and the . . . carts, ploughs, spades, and so forth—without a given portion of the first, are nothing at all."<sup>2</sup>—Burke.

<sup>1</sup> Constant capital, raw material, and the instruments of production; variable capital, money paid in wages.

<sup>2</sup> It is important not to misunderstand this phrase as used here. The labour of the Middle Ages, though individual from its mechanical side, was from its moral side quite definitely dominated by the principle of association: as we have seen, the "master" of that period was but a delegate of the Guild.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Humber & Co., Beeston, near Nottingham, discharged fifty workmen last Saturday, slackness of orders being reason given.

The joiners in the Middlesborough shipyards have struck for an advance in wages.

**BOLTON—FORTHCOMING TRADES' DEMONSTRATION.**—The strike committee of the men now on strike in the engineering trades are organising a monster trade demonstration to take place on the 13th August. All trade societies in the district, as well as neighbouring towns, will be invited to join, and the proceedings will be on an elaborate scale.

Considering there has been no strike or lock-out of any magnitude or duration in the Midlands for several years, the position of the workers is such as to call for the gravest consideration. In both the coal and iron trades scarcely a week passes but some works are closed. There are thousands of men who have no employment whatever, and those who have situations are not doing more than half time, the rate being considerably less than that, and with constantly diminishing wages to boot. Such are the conditions under which Midland coal and iron workers are trying to establish strong unions, with a view to remedying some of their grievances.—*Labour Tribune.*

**THE CHAINMAKERS' STRIKE.**—An evening paper thus reports:—"The long strike of the chainmakers at Cradley Heath still drags on, and this week—being the fifty-second week of the strike—it has lasted just one year. The men seem as united and determined as ever, but, unfortunately, also, the masters seem equally determined to withstand the demands of the men. The sad condition under which the work is carried on, and the employment of women and children in this rough trade, surrounds this strike with peculiar circumstances, and makes it all the more pitiable that it should drag on to such a length. At one of the last meetings of the men it was, however, determined to carry on the strike still further." Since the above, news comes to hand that the operatives in the employ of twelve firms have resumed work at the advanced rates.

**IRON AND STEEL WORKERS' CONFERENCE.**—A conference of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers of Great Britain opened its sittings on Monday. Delegates were present from Bilston, Wolverhampton, West Bromwich, Walsall, Wigan, Bolton, Parkgate, and other centres of the iron trade in Staffordshire, South Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the North of England. The organisation is a new one, which aims at uniting the whole of the iron-workers of the country in one union, and it was practically constituted at a conference held at Manchester in April last. Since that conference draft rules have been considered in the various branches, and proposals concerning them will be submitted. The districts which have formed branches represent about 40,000 iron-workers, and already from 7000 to 8000 actual members have been enrolled.

**STRIKE OF WEAVERS.**—A strike of the weavers employed at Messrs. Newsome, West, and Co.'s, Staincliffe, near Dewsbury, has taken place, and over 200 of them are out. It is alleged that the fine imposed upon the workpeople for bad workmanship is the cause of the dispute. No settlement has taken place between Messrs. Bracewell and Sons, Barnoldswick, and their weavers, who are still out on strike from Butts and Wellhouse Sheds, nor does there seem to be any probability of the dispute being settled as yet. The majority of the weavers employed by the other firms in the town have signed the "round robin," and their notices may be served upon the masters at any time if they do not pay the Burnley list. All the masters have received a letter from the secretary of the Northern Counties Weavers' Association, stating that a deputation from the association was quite willing to meet the masters in order to discuss the present state of wages, but no meeting has taken place.

**MIDLAND RAILWAY LOCOMOTIVE SERVANTS.—MEETING IN NOTTINGHAM.—THREATENED STRIKE.**—A circular was recently issued by the directors of the Midland Railway giving notice to the enginemen and firemen of the locomotive department of their intention to change the basis of payment for time off duty. At present the men, whether called on duty or not, are paid their week's wages, but by the proposed new rule the directors do not guarantee a full week's wage unless the man has been on duty the whole of the week, and this notwithstanding that they require him to be in readiness at any moment to go on duty. With the new regulations and conditions the men are extremely dissatisfied, and both in London and the provinces meetings have been held to consider what steps shall be taken. They feel that, as the company require them to be at their call fifteen hours out of the twenty-four daily, their ordinary week's wages should in fairness continue to be guaranteed to them as now, because during those hours they are practically in the company's service, and dare not undertake any other employment. In Nottingham, not less than in other towns, there has been great excitement amongst the men, and a strong determination to resist the new rules. On Sunday, a meeting of the men was held at the Assembly Rooms, Low-pavement, to consider their course of action. There was a very large attendance, upwards of 200 being present. A long discussion took place on the new rules, the speakers being unanimous in their desire that stern resistance should be offered to the company's proposals. Ultimately a resolution was submitted that they stand out against the rules, and that if the notices which had been issued were not withdrawn, to cease work at midnight on the 4th inst. This resolution was unanimously adopted. About three-fourths of the men are unionists, and if they come out on strike will be supported by the funds of their society. The non-unionists, however, are not less hearty in the decisive step which has been taken than the rest of their fellow-servants, and at all costs are determined to withstand their employers. A great deal of sympathy is felt for the men in their struggle, and we are informed that one or two of the directors are strongly opposed to the changes which the directors propose. It is believed, however, among the men that if they stand firm the directors will withdraw the notices. We understand that under the new rules the men will be paid as follows:—Engine-drivers: First six months, 5s. 6d. per day; second six months, 6s. 6d. per day; next four years, 7s.; full pay, 7s. 6d. per day. Firemen: First twelve months, 3s. 6d. per day; afterwards, 4s.; when passed, 4s. 6d. per day.

**BOLTON ENGINEERS' STRIKE.**—On Wednesday 27th ult. great excitement prevailed in Bolton owing to the arrival from Birmingham of nineteen men to take the places of those on strike from Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's Kay Street Machine Works. The new men were conducted to an omnibus in waiting, in the presence of a great crowd, and were escorted by mounted and

foot police to their destination. Many persons followed the party, and on the return of the vehicle some stones were thrown, one of which smashed a bus window. Shortly before midnight on Tuesday, four imported workmen arrived in Bolton, and were conveyed in a cab, guarded by police, to Messrs. Wood's Victoria Foundry. There was no disturbance. On Wednesday one of the men left the works, it is said, and appeared before the strike committee. Four of the imported men appeared before the strike committee on Thursday, and returned home. One man, who had entered the town the previous day only, said he had done very well out of it, having had 1½ lb. of steak, four pints of beer, and some tobacco. It is estimated that over 200 imported hands are at present lodged and fed in the foundries, in addition to nearly an equal number of policemen. A number of fussy individuals are trying to humbug the men into arbitration, which so far they have very properly declined. Some disappointment has been created in the town, owing to the mayor having refused to call, in answer to a requisition signed by over a thousand ratepayers, a town's meeting to consider the advisability of dispensing with the services of the county police and the military at present in the borough. He would not promise that the military and police should be sent away nor would he do anything in this direction till he could see a different state of things in Bolton. In spite of the mayor's refusal, a public meeting of ratepayers will be held. A meeting of magistrates was held on Thursday, when it was resolved by a large majority that the police and military be kept in the town for the present. It is understood that the mayor refused to answer for the peace of the borough if the precautions against disturbances were in any way relaxed. On Thursday five persons were charged at the Town Hall with offences arising from the existing strike. Three women were summoned for creating a breach of the peace on Sunday by hooting at the vicar of Holy Trinity Church (the Rev. C. Lowe) while he was leaving the Soho Ironworks after conducting divine worship for the "rats" and the police there. The reverend gentleman was followed by a crowd of about 800 persons, and had to have police protection. Defendants were called upon to find two sureties for three months or go to jail for one month. Two men were charged with a similar offence during the arrival of imported hands, and were ordered to find sureties for six months, with the alternative of a month in prison. The funds of the strike hands continue to swell, there being a larger balance this week end than at any time since the dispute commenced.

**STRIKE OF DOCK-LABOURERS IN LIMERICK.**—Thursday, 28th ult.—The great excitement which prevailed this evening when it became known that a body of men had come from Waterford to assist in the discharging of the Clyde and Limerick and Liverpool boats has just (10.45 p.m.) resulted in a riot attended with bloodshed. The labourers on strike, accompanied by some three or four thousand persons, and bearing a lighted tar-barrel, the playing of a band drawing contingents from all directions, proceeded down the quays. Passing the Arranmore, one of the Clyde vessels, there was tremendous hissing and groaning at the men engaged in discharging the boat. The police, with loaded rifles, kept the people back. A volley of stones was then thrown, the police being hit with several of the missiles. It was feared that the constabulary would retaliate by firing on the crowd, as they were too few in number to charge the dense mass. District Inspector Jennings, however, kept his men well under control, and after a while the people moved on towards the dock where the Ardnault, belonging to the Limerick and Liverpool Company, on which the strike commenced, was being unloaded. The police followed in their wake, and when the near end of the docks had been reached Mr. Jennings placed a number of armed constables in charge of the entrance. By this time the multitude of people had gone round to the south side of the dock, so as to get as close as possible to the Ardnault. When opposite the vessel excitement rose to fever heat, and stone-throwing commenced immediately. But for the intervening wall the crowd would have burst in on the vessel, but, being unable to do this, they poured stones in large quantities on the boat. The noise of the falling missiles, the smashing of the glass roof of the shed near the vessel, and the general confusion tended to increase the fury of the mob. After the stone-throwing had continued for fully half an hour the police rushed out and charged. Several men were instantly placed *hors de combat*, and blood besmeared the ground. Two labourers had their skulls fractured and were carried off in an insensible condition. Mr. Jennings, head-constable Wall, and sergeant Whelan were struck, and constable White received such injuries that he had to be conveyed to hospital. The main body fled, and for a time there was general consternation. When the police dispersed the people they withdrew, but the crowd reassembled, and further stones were thrown. *Friday evening.*—The mayor and Mr. J. B. Irwin, R.M., were sent for, and arrived about half-past eleven with a strong force of police, and dispersed the people. The Waterford men worked at the ship all through the night, but struck work at ten this morning, alleging that they had been brought from Waterford under misrepresentations. They demand to be sent back at once. The city magistrates, the mayor presiding, held a meeting this afternoon, and agreed, by a majority, to ask for a force of one hundred extra constables to be drafted into the borough until the present strike has been settled. Bands are also to be warned against playing in the city at night, and this prohibition is to be strictly enforced, and notices sent to the different bands that it will apply until revoked by the magistrate. Some labourers brought from Tralee to-day to replace the others on strike refused to work, and the Ardnault steamship is now lying at the quays without any one to discharge her cargo.

If it is a crime to be in earnest, then I am a criminal. If it is villainy to esteem the lives and welfare of human beings at a higher value than lifeless property, then I am a villain. If it is treason to despise, denounce, and oppose the systems by which the workers are subjected to and robbed by the idlers and extortioners, then I am a traitor.—RADICAL JACK in Chicago *Labour Enquirer.*

There are many men who join labour organisations merely to have the name of being members and who have not the remotest notion of fulfilling any duties, who, once initiated, never go near the organisation. Such men are worse than "scabs"; they desire to have the credit of being members and any advantages that may accrue, and yet are unwilling to take their part in securing those advantages. No man is in any proper sense of the word a member of a labour organisation unless he takes some interest in it and some part in the business of it. A man who keeps out altogether is bad enough, yet he can at least claim an honest purpose, but the man who hypocritically joins, that he may secure the benefits, and is yet unwilling to share any of the work is beneath contempt. Such men are traitors to their fellows and traitors to the cause.—*Canadian Workman.*

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "CONCERNING USURY."

Mr. T. S. Barrett fears that "the repeal of all laws guaranteeing the collection of usury" would not "abolish usury so long as there are rich men wishing to lend for profit and poor men desiring to borrow."

Possibly he is right. Theft is penal yet there are thieves. Still the experiment is obviously well worth trying and, should it prove to be inefficient for the reason assigned by Mr. Barrett—viz., that usurers would evade the law by exacting interest in advance and then suing for the principal, the next step to take would be to render loans themselves irrecoverable by legal process.

I have long held that it is contrary to the public interest that a lender should enjoy any other security than the simple good faith of the borrower. If you don't like this, don't lend. J. MORRISON DAVIDSON.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

'English Misrule in Ireland' (Swan Sonnenschein, Is.), by A. J. Dadson is called "a short sketch," and a very short one it is. Indeed, it could not be otherwise in less than 150 8vo pages of large type, and that leaded. It is correctly done, "so far as it goes," but the unfortunate need of covering so much ground in so small a space gives rise to a general impression of scamper and skip. There is really a very great deal of information in it, but (to use an Irish expression) it is rather the *makeings* of a book than one in itself.

'England's Ideal' (Swan Sonnenschein, Is.), by Edward Carpenter, takes its title from the first of the nine papers on social subjects of which it is a collection. Some of them have already been noticed in these columns; all of them deserve notice; it would be hard to speak too well of them. For those, and they are many in these days, who feel ill at ease; their material prosperity failing to satisfy their demand for a fuller life; their vague unsatisfied longings turning in many vain directions; there could scarce be healthier reading than these papers. We that are Socialists already may read them with a great deal of pleasure; everything is put so freshly, soberly, and, not least, *neatly*.

'Jottings from Jail,' by the Rev. J. W. Horsley, late and last chaplain of H.M. prison, Clerkenwell (Fisher Unwin, 2nd ed., 3s. 6d.). This book is a collection of articles that have appeared in many places, upon the manifold experiences of a ten-years prison chaplaincy. Good-hearted always, wrong-headed sometimes, but even then with an earnestness and honesty that are propitiative. So few folk are ever in so favourable a position for examining the human wastes of our delightful system, that even so scrappy and sketchy a book as this is a boon. Were the time or other requisites not wanting to Mr. Horsley for the working out of the subject in due fulness, the book might be one to make its mark. Even now, as is proved by a second edition being necessary, it is being read; but most of the really terrible indictments of modern procedure lose great part of their effect from the way in which they are told. Take for instance the damning fact as to the effects of work-house training upon girls. It is enough, well put, one would think, to blow the present arrangements to the four winds; but as it is, it will be passed by the vast majority of readers without its full significance being seen.

'How the Classes Rule the Masses,' by T. R. Threlfall, the ex-president of Trades Union Congress (Heywood, 1d.), is an excellent and readable addition to the list of Socialist pamphlets. It is a successful endeavour to show that the belief extensively prevailing among the masses is well founded, that the "classes" have monopolised law-making as all things else, and have looked to their own profit exclusively. The various interests are gone through, and in each the same process shown at work. Our comrade is right in calling for a labour party to set the matter right, but opinions differ very much as to the wisdom of encumbering the new party with the antiquated paraphernalia of Parliamentarism.—S.

'WEALTH AND POVERTY.'—Socialists who are familiar with French should look up a series of articles in the *Revolte*, entitled 'La Richesse et la Misère,' of which the article in the current number (continued from recent issues) contains a good description of the situation of the peasantry in the agricultural parts of different countries. Dealing with the South of Europe chiefly, the writer points out the bitter contrast between the luxuriance and fertility of the richest Italian provinces and the degradation and misery of their inhabitants; remarking truly that bad as the condition of the workers on the soil is in the malaria-stricken districts, it is far worse in the healthy regions such as Lombardy. An account of the method of exploiting the rural population of the southern districts is quoted from F. Lenormant, who has penetrated South Italy in every part, in his 'La Grande Grèce.' He describes the districts in which, in the cleaning out of the ditches of the marshy fields, women, girls, and children are employed instead of beasts to carry on their heads the baskets of mud which has thus laboriously to be cleared out of the fosses. These "beasts of burthen" are literally soaked beneath the mud that oozes forth from the ill-joined osiers on to their heads and garments. Looking upon womankind merely as a thing of a certain utility in the economy of nature (which it is the affectation of many "advanced thinkers" to do), what a race of stalwart, deep-chested men we may hope to see reared by these misery-stricken creatures!

AN ERROR CORRECTED.—Our friends of the *Humanitas* office have kindly called our attention to an erroneous statement in the literary notices of the number of the *Commonweal* issued July 23rd. In a note on the publications of *Humanitas* we said that F. S. Merlino was the author of a pamphlet called the 'Alleanza Anarchica Internazionale,' whereas the authorship is attributable to several writers on the staff of *Humanitas* and not to our comrade Merlino.—M.

A hundred years ago the world as we know it was scarcely dreamt of. At that date Marat was a veterinary surgeon at the royal mews in Versailles, Danton and Robespierre were obscure provincial lawyers, Murat was about to enter a religious order, Ney was eking out a scanty existence as a copyist, and Bonaparte himself was only second lieutenant of bombardiers of Autun in Regiment de la Père. France lay basking in security, expecting that to-morrow would be as this day and even more abundant. But that to-morrow brought with it a social thunderstorm, and when the war-clouds rolled away, as they did not until about the time when our Queen Victoria was born, Europe as we know it had begun to think and live.—*Christian Million*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Monthly Meeting of London Members' will be held on Monday next, August 8th, at 9 p.m.

## STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Regent's Park, 5s. 5d.; Hyde Park, 1s. 3d., collected by Nicoll.

G. G. SCHACK, Treasurer.

## THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, July 28th, the monthly business meeting was held, and was adjourned to the following Thursday. Afterwards the deputation from the Council was received.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 27, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured on "The Woman Question." Brisk discussion followed. On Sunday, July 31, a good open-air meeting was held on the Green, addressed by Somerville, Blundell, Dalziel, and Brooks. In our hall, a successful "social" was held by Blundell and friends, after open-air meeting. T. E. Wardle lectured on "The Franchise Fraud," at the "Three Kings," Clerkenwell, on same evening. Altogether very good work is being done in this district by a small knot of active workers; will others come forward and assist? Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—A good meeting on Wednesday, July 27, at the Broadway, London Fields, addressed by H. A. Barker and James Allman. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. On Sunday evening, in our club-room, we had a free concert, which was largely attended by members of the local Radical clubs.—J. F.

HOXTON.—Last Sunday evening, H. A. Barker addressed an outdoor meeting opposite Hoxton church, and was attentively listened to by a good audience, who warmly applauded at the finish. In the morning a large meeting was also held, addressed by H. A. Barker and J. Pope. Literature sold well.—C. J. Y.

MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Bartlett, Brooks, and Mainwaring. The audience seemed well in accord with what our comrades had to say. Good sale of *Commonweal*.

MILE END.—On Sunday, very good meeting in Victoria Park, addressed by Davis and Westwood. *Commonweal* sold well.—W. M.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, July 26, a discussion was held at Ossulton Street, between Wardle and a well-known Conservative, on "Agricultural Depression." As the proceedings were interrupted by a heavy shower of rain, it was decided to resume the discussion on the following Tuesday. The usual meeting took place in Regent's Park last Sunday, addressed by Brookes and Nicoll. Collected 5s. 5d. for the Strike Fund.—H. B.

ISWICH.—On Sunday, two large and interesting meetings were addressed by H. H. Sparling, of London, both of which appeared to make an unusually good impression. At the one in the afternoon some questioning and a lively discussion followed, the principal opposition coming from an editor, who admitted the social evils but despaired of any remedy for them. He had lived long enough to grow thoroughly disgusted with the political tomfoolery of parties, and he thought on the ground of sociology, as expounded by Spencer, we had a hopeless task before us. He was well answered by Sparling, much to the satisfaction of the audience.—J. R.

NORWICH.—Saturday good meeting at Yarmouth, Henderson and another speaking; Sunday large meeting was held in Norwich Market Place, Turner (of London) in chair, Henderson and Cantwell spoke; in evening a much larger meeting than usual was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain, owing to our insisting upon the right of holding our usual meeting, in spite of the arrest of Henderson for the very same thing on Wednesday last, meeting addressed by Cantwell, Henderson, and Turner; at the Gordon Hall, Cantwell lectured to a large audience, subject "No Master," which was well received and frequently applauded; Turner, who was chairman, took part, also Henderson. Literature sold well. Collected for Propaganda Fund, 15s. 3d.—A. S.

WALSALL.—On Monday evening last, H. Sanders opened meeting in the Market Place, Dudley, but was at once requested by the police to desist, as they had orders to prevent any further meetings being held. On enquiry we found that this new regulation had already been visited on the Salvation Army and Church Army, and we therefore moved on to "Porter's Field," where Sanders and Weaver addressed a fair audience, and at the close several new members were enrolled. On Thursday night we had a large gathering in the Market Place, Wednesbury, addressed by A. K. Donald, Weaver, and Sanders. Good progress was made, and a number of questions put at close of the meeting were satisfactorily disposed of by Donald. On Saturday, we had a large audience at Walsall, Sanders spoke.—J. T. D.

CLAY CROSS.—A good meeting was held on Tuesday evening, July 26th, at the Angel Inn, addressed by Haslam, Cree, and Unwin. A motion approving the purpose of forming a local Socialist Society was carried unanimously. Lester was appointed secretary; a treasurer and committee were also elected. A meeting will be held next week to draw up rules and adopt a programme; it is probable that the programme of the Durham miners will be chosen. The miners at Clay Cross have been for some time in a bad way, and have recently been subjected to additional reductions and injustices. They are getting fully alive to the necessity of abolishing private property in the means of production.—R. U.

DUBLIN.—At the weekly meeting of the Labour League, on Thursday, July 28th, Fitzpatrick delivered the first of a series of lectures on the "Rights of Labour" before a very good audience, the bourgeois element being fairly represented. He traced the condition of the labourers from the time of Henry VIII. to the present; sketched the rise and progress of trades' unionism, showing the causes of its comparative success in the past, and of its inability to hold its own at present, and completely demolished the nostrums of the temperance and thrift advocates, and of the political reformers. Keegan and Hall also spoke. This was the most successful indoor meeting that has been held here for a long time.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Sunday, July 24, a meeting was held at Rotherham, sympathising with the men on strike against a reduction of wages. We had a very good and successful meeting. On Monday, a very good meeting in Bramhall Lane, Sheffield. During the summer months we have several times been to this place, where there is no doubt we are making many study the question of Socialism.—M. A. M.

SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).—On Thursday, July 28, Proctor lectured in our club-room, subject "What is Socialism?" A short and interesting discussion followed. These lectures are to continue every Thursday evening, with a view of educating our members and friends, and bringing out new speakers for propaganda. Peacock, who has not been well for some time, is away recruiting his health in Scotland. His return home as a valuable and active worker in the cause is anxiously looked for at the end of this week.—T. P.

WOOLWICH.—At the Arsenal Gates, last Sunday, R. Banner addressed a large gathering of people, and at the close of the meeting collected 6s., which will be handed over to the Metropolitan Radical Federation as a contribution towards the expenses of their Irish delegation. Literature again sold out.—R. B.

