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## MR. CHAMBERLAIN AT HULL.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN may be said on the whole to stick to the road he has taken; perhaps even his Hull speech shows a slight advance. He may be said to have preached from a text furnished by an agricultural labourer in these words: "Neighbours and friends, you have known me for forty years; I have lived and worked amongst you. I am not a drunkard; I am a steady man; I am an industrious man; I am not a spending man. I have worked and laboured for forty years; it has been a weary task, and I ain't any forwarder now than I was when I began." "What," said Mr. Chamberlain, "is the remedy?"

I think it at least possible that Mr. Chamberlain knows what the remedy is; but he is "a politician," and the exercise of courage and good faith, to say nothing of logic, is forbidden to all "politicians;" therefore Mr. Chamberlain could only show his audience as much of the remedy as he thought they were prepared to receive, which in fact consisted of free education, graduated taxation, and a queer muddle of land reform, in which free trade in land, fair rent for the farmer and allotments for the labourer, were mingled with the restitution of charitable trusts and stolen commons.

Although Mr. Chamberlain admitted that no prescription should limit restitution, he was careful to disclaim "confiscation," which will not reassure those who understand that word as it is understood by the privileged classes; even a writer commenting on this speech in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is able to see this, though otherwise he is a person of quite peculiar stupidity.

He (the specimen of stupidity), though rejoicing in Mr. Chamberlain's adhesion to the "eighth commandment," with charming simplicity quotes Macaulay to show that no property would be safe unless there were a strict limitation to the application of the ancient Hebrew law, "Thou shalt not steal."

Mr. Chamberlain's attack on common-stealing will, however, tend to make him popular with the general public, and it certainly is something that he is willing to apply the "eighth commandment" so far. Will it be possible to educate him to apply it to those who steal people's labour from them generally, and not only by making them pay for the use of land which is their own—certainly a gross form of stealing?

For if Mr. Chamberlain comes to think of it (if politicians ever do think, which is doubtful), he cannot fail to see that all his reforms together will not get his labourer much "forwarder." He will still have no time to accept education, however "free" it may be. No magic, no shuffling of the cards, will get taxation in the long run out of anything save labour; the labourer must pay it. And as for the disgorging of the land-thieves, Mr. Chamberlain will find it little use asking for "restitution" without an army at his back, which army, as it will be composed of workmen, will ask for something more than the restitution

of the commons: it will claim for the labourer the right to a full share in all the wealth to the production of which he is necessary. That is the only way in which he can "get forwarder."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANISE!

### III.

If you wish the social revolution to evolve apace, *organise* the forces which you have raised through agitation and enlightenment, in order to effectually attack and finally overthrow the powers which are the main-stays of our present society.

*Organise!* Find out, bring together, and bind into one consciously-acting mass, all the isolated elements of discontent and indignation, of understanding and of burning human love, which are scattered about in this "best imaginable of worlds." Left to themselves, they will be driven around like chaff in the world's whirlwind, to nobody's good; but banded together for one end, they may work wonders in the way of rousing and firing their neighbours, and influencing their actions for the better.

*Organise!* For what we have to assail is a vast organisation, firmly set and deeply rooted in the notions and habits of an individualistic generation. *Organise!* For however conflicting the personal interests of the privileged may seem, and however fiercely they may compete with and prey upon each other, the common object of their rapacity is *unpaid labour*. And whenever their capital principle, "Make your fortune out of the distress of your neighbour," is called in question and endangered, they invariably sink their minor differences of caste and individuality, and, rallying together on the base of their common purpose, show how their seemingly opposed interests are virtually interlinked into one gigantic social tyranny—the *hierarchy of capitalism*.

*Organise!* The system of acquired rights, of vested interests and of private property, in industry and commerce, in Church and State and Family, is a formidable fortress.

It holds all the positions advantageous in the strife for life, and is surrounded by unsurmountable walls of righteous laws, with equitable ditches and most charitable traps. The onslaughts upon this iniquitous stronghold have been fierce and numerous. But they are mostly made single-hearted and single-handed, and hence fail wretchedly. Thousands of outraged human beings have protested in burning words and desperate deeds against the dominion of monopoly and privilege, but have spent their lives in vain and died in desperation.

*Organise!* For isolated individual action in a struggle so universal, against a foe so formidable, means fruitless waste of precious force and energy. As you have, even for the attainment of trifling personal ends, to combine several of your capacities and bring their concentrated power to bear upon one special point—how can you dream of bringing about so thorough a change in men's minds and habits, and in the position of Social Power, by leaving it to everyone's own pleasure and convenience, to attack the ruling system in his own poor way, with his own poor means, and at his own scanty opportunities?

*Organise!* If we were many as we are few, such personal efforts, by being very numerous and working on many points, might be effective. But behold what a handful we are as compared with the host on the other side! Every capitalist's family is a closely-bound combination against the wage-workers, by whose loss they prosper; a conscious or unconscious conspiracy against the economical freedom of the creators of wealth. A man, who, in consequence of inherited or acquired cunning and of favourable circumstances, has managed to amass out of the unpaid labour of his fellow-creatures a fortune for himself,