



"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.

As 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.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 8.

ENGLAND	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Jus	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Labor Enquirer	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Brotherhood	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	AUSTRIA
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Vienna—Gleichheit
Freedom	men's Advocate	Brunn—Volksfreund
Personal Rights Journal	Hammonton (NJ) Credit Foncier	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
INDIA	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Philadelphia Carpenter	SPAIN
Allahabad—People's Budget	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	El Productor
Bombay Gazette	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Madrid—El Socialista
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
CANADA	Le Socialiste	Voz do Operario
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Revolte	ROMANIA
UNITED STATES	Lille—Le Travailleur	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Freiheit	Guise—Le Devoir	DENMARK
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN
Tax Reformer	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	NORWAY
Leader	HOLLAND	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen	

NOTES ON NEWS.

SPEECHES of Mr. Chamberlain; letter of Mr. Bright; Birmingham meeting, and solemn sermon by the Birmingham organ of Coercion Joe; Glasgow anti-coercion meeting; progress of Mr. Gladstone, once the Liberal King, now a kind of rebel leader, striving rather for a glorious end than for his lost crown. These are the preparations for the Liberal reunion, the hope of which some persons cling to so fondly. It does not directly concern us Socialists much, as after all it only forecasts the formal inauguration of the reactionary party which has been in working order some time already. But indirectly it will, one may hope, add to the confusion and ineffectiveness of Parliament, and so tend to disgust the people, and at the last disgust them so much that they will relegate it to its due place as a mere rowdy debating society, that sensible persons will give a wide berth to, till the happy day comes when one can squelch out its noisome existence.

"Over the whole plain of labour and trade you saw society in conflict. No arms were used, and yet men were struck down; no blood was spilled, and yet men died. Neither giant nor feudal lord was any longer there; a new tyrant reigned in their stead, more omnipresent and pitiless than they, whose name was Capital."

So says Mr. G. J. Holyoake in his prose poem on co-operation; nor is the picture overdrawn. But will not his words serve to describe the present as well as the past? Surely our own Labour Struggle column is enough to answer that question. It is true that the rule of the "tyrant" is now questioned, but no longer by the co-operationists but by the Socialist. The former seem to have a veil cast over their eyes which makes them see their old tyrant in very different colours to what they used to; for they can scarcely deny that he is there still.

✧ The fact is, the very success of co-operation shows how very far it is from being a solution of the labour question. Let us admit that they have exploded the superstition that workmen could not combine in production and distribution, that the autocratic one-man capitalist was a necessity for carrying on a business successfully; but with all their success, what else have they done? They have shown us that co-operation is desirable; but they are not allowed to co-operate: they must borrow money and pay interest, they must hire premises and pay rent to an individual or a company, they must buy the land that is theirs and the factories that they have made; they must pay a profit on every thing they buy outside their own association, either to consume or to transform into other wares. In short, not being allowed to co-operate, they have acted as all people must do under our present

system—pay tribute to the owners of property for being allowed to live. And meantime they have established a form of joint stockery differing slightly (scarcely at all in most cases) from that already established; which to some of us cannot but seem a rather pitiful outcome of those perfectly genuine hopes for the regeneration of society which they began with earlier in the century, and all the energy developed from those hopes. Let them now, without casting aside the individual advantages they have gained, turn their eyes to Socialism, the real movement of labour, which will make the workers the arbiters of their own destinies.

The Engineer says, apropos of the Belgian strikes:

"Capital does not receive the common interest of the country when laid out in the coal mines, the workmen and their families cannot possibly subsist on a pittance of 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. at most a-day for ten hours' work in a deep mine, and the price of coal cannot be raised if it is to be disposed of. If economy in plant and working is no further possible, the look-out is a dreary one indeed."

Just so; and if "economy in plant and working" can be carried further than at present by squeezing the ingenuity of the capitalist and the terrible dull patience of the workman to the utmost, how long will the new improvement in the prospects of the coal capitalist last? Just as long as the increased competition which will immediately spring up will allow it. The look-out is dreary indeed—to the capitalist. But to the Socialist, even when viewed through all the suffering of low wages and strikes, and riots consequent on the tyranny of the last squeeze of despairing capitalism, it is not so dreary—because he can see the end drawing near: the capitalist, finding his profits cut down by competition, while the workman, growing more and more enlightened, claims more and more.

Mr. Haigh, of Barnsley, in speaking to a large number of miners and the officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, complains bitterly of the bad effect on trade of the high mining rents and royalties in Great Britain. He explains the depressed state of the coal trade by the depressed state of the iron trade, and he uses the following remarkable words:

"Whilst as a nation we were almost the sole makers of iron and steel, and had no foreign competitors, we could supply our home trade and other countries without feeling the effect of these royalties and charges quite so much; but the moment we are face to face with a foreigner in the markets of the world, who has very small rents and royalty charges to pay—and even these charges go into the national exchequer to assist in meeting the expenses of the State—we are run out of the foreign markets, and even driven from our own."

The readers of the *Commonweal* are pretty familiar with this view of the state of trade and the prospects of capitalism in Great Britain; but as an utterance from the capitalist side it is worth noting. And what is to be done, pray, Mr. Capitalist?

For why should we take the profit from the poor land-owner, who is already moaning dejectedly in another corner of the field about the pining away of his rents? Some of our non-Socialist working-men friends will say and think that the British working-man will get something out of it. Will he? To do justice to the paper who reports Mr. Haigh's speech, *The Engineer*, it can see through the flimsiness of that hope: "The speaker did not explain how it was that in spite of all this, the Belgian workman works for starvation wages."

Yes, indeed, that is what it must come to in one way or other as long as we work for the profit of a master. At the best, one group of workmen thriving somewhat at the expense of another, that is what has been in this country, and what the "patriots" of all countries put before them as an ideal to be striven for, blind fools as they are! What most certainly will be, and before very long too, if the Social Revolution does not intervene, is that all workmen throughout the world will be reduced to a "dead level," not of "mediocrity," but of starvation for the satisfaction of the tyrant, Capitalistic Competition.

International Capitalism and the workman a hungry machine; International Socialism and the workman a free man and the master of his own destiny—it must be one or other of these two. All the feeble compromises that aim at checking the power of the capitalists, and yet allowed them to keep their position, will be speedily found out, one after another, by the monster which the Age of Commerce has made by dint of such mighty effort and cleverness, and which it must now feed by anything that may be handy. Honour, justice, beauty, pleasure, hope, all must be cast into that insatiable maw to stave off the end awhile; and yet at last the end must come, and the sooner it comes the less of a desert the world will be after the storm which is inevitable.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WHAT THE WORD "HIRE" MEANS.—"The labourer is worthy of his hire. Yes, but the word 'hire' means not what he usually gets for his labour, but what he really should get for his labour. It is the violation of this simple law that has ruined several nations and is now breeding barbarians in our midst. No man should give his labour to any one for one penny less than it is worth. And all working-men should strive to abolish the present system of competition, which makes it impossible for them to demand the real value of their labour. Remember Christ's teaching. Take up the cross of the new crusade, and in a little while you will see that the old monks were right when they taught that 'laborare est orere'—'to labour is to pray.'—Dr. McGlynn.