

that it is to be "one of the first results" of the establishment of Socialism in this country. As the break-up of nationalities, which Mr. Bax affirms is to be one of the first results of the establishment of Socialism in England, is declared by him to be probably not a peaceful process, it seems to me therefore clear that in this respect, at any rate, whenever it happens, Socialism is not likely to benefit the English people. All violent changes result in great immediate misery to the poorer classes affected by and taking part in such changes. All violent changes have hitherto been followed by periods of reaction, and have often, in consequence of the demoralisation attending armed conflict, temporarily placed the masses under the control of a military dictator.

(12) Mr. Bax says that "assumption, etc.," does mean the taking away from the present owners "of the means of production, etc.," and that this taking away is to be "by any means, constitutional or otherwise, as circumstances may dictate." This is so very large that it includes the violent taking, at the mere discretion of the takers, and Mr. Bax is requested to explain who is to judge what it is that circumstances are likely to dictate in relation to property in the hands of others to those who as yet have it not. I cannot conceive that the encouragement of assumption of property by violence is likely to improve the general happiness of those so taught to acquire. I can conceive that it may totally demoralise the public mind. Mr. Bax does not answer any of the other questions in paragraph 10, and yet a clear understanding on those points is most vital to the issue between us.

(13) Mr. Bax does say that "Socialism only proposes to confiscate wealth used for production on a large scale." Does he really mean by this that Socialism will allow private wealth to be used for production on a small or on a moderate scale? Does he mean that under Socialism there may be small employers paying wage to those they employ? Unless he means this, his limitation of the confiscation proposal is absurd.

(14) Mr. Bax says that the only private enterprise Socialism sees reason for extinguishing is "the private enterprise which has material personal gain for its end." Will he please give me some illustration of personal enterprise in labour upon raw material which does not come within this definition.

(15) Mr. Bax originally said that Christianity was through and through Individualistic. When I in par. 16 showed him that as to property this was not all true, he does not attempt to in any way explain the positive words of Acts ii., 44: "And all that believed were together, and had all things common;" or of Acts iv., 32: "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common;" except by the bold declaration that these words "do not affect in the least." He says that the principles of Christianity were not communistic is proved by the fact stated in chap. v., verse 4, that Ananias might have kept his property if he had not joined the Christian community and had not professed to give up to that community all his possessions. I cannot see the force of this as a reply. Mr. Bax apparently forgets that he introduced into this debate the principles of Christianity as affecting the ownership of goods. My only course was to point out that his statement was inaccurate and misleading. It is no part of my duty in this discussion to express any opinion on the special historical value of any of the Christian books.

Instead of expressing surprise that I challenge his statements as to the increase of the number of small employers and owners of small accumulations, Mr. Bax should remember that the onus is upon him to prove the whole of the statements he makes, and I especially wait for him to do this on the facts and figures alleged by him and challenged by me in paragraph 18. The vague reference to "the boot-making industry" here clearly marks Mr. Bax's absolute unacquaintance with the subject. I ask him to take on this Kettering, Leicester, London, Northampton, including the country villages, Norwich, and Stafford, and compare these with their condition forty years ago.

Mr. Bax admits that there is very possibly less pauperism in proportion to population than there was forty years ago, but he alleges that there is more poverty. I ask him to prove his allegation not by loose statements, but by giving precise and detailed facts relating to the counties, towns, and cities, with names of each, in 1847 and 1887. Mr. Bax asks me what it is that I have "to say about the perennial unemployed question." Unless Mr. Bax can show that Socialism will provide employment in England for the unemployed of this country, the answer would not be relevant to this debate, and in any event should be given by Mr. Bax as part of his case. My general views on the unemployed population are fully stated in the volume containing the verbatim report of the defence of myself and co-defendant in the case of *Reg. v. Bradlaugh and Besant*. I do not see that they make in any way in favour of the proposition which Mr. Bax undertook to affirm.

This paper is already so long that I reserve until my next my rejoinder on surplus-value.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

(For previous papers see *Commonweal* for May 22; May 29; June 12.)

"If every man did his share of labour, and wasted effort were stopped, four hours' labour a-day would give to everybody all the wealth they could use." Thus said Benjamin Franklin over a hundred years ago, and how much truer is it now, with the then inconceivable improvements in the means of production which have been made since he wrote.—E. T.

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 195.)

Now the next thing I claim is education. And you must not say that every English child is educated now; that sort of education will not answer my claim, though I cheerfully admit it is something: something, and yet after all only class education. What I claim is liberal education; opportunity, that is, to have my share of whatever knowledge there is in the world according to my capacity or bent of mind, historical or scientific; and also to have my share of skill of hand which is about in the world, either in the industrial handicrafts, or in the fine arts; picture-painting, sculpture, music, acting, or the like: I claim to be taught, if I can be taught, more than one craft to exercise for the benefit of the community. You may think this a large claim, but I am clear it is not too large a claim if the community is to have any gain out of my special capacities, if we are not all to be beaten down to a dull level of mediocrity as we are now, all but the very strongest and toughest of us.

But also I know that this claim for education involves one for public advantages in the shape of public libraries, schools, and the like, such as no private person, not even the richest, could command: but these I claim very confidently, being sure that no reasonable community could bear to be without such helps to a decent life.

Again, the claim for education involves a claim for abundant leisure, which once more I make with confidence; because when once we have shaken off the slavery of profit, labour would be organised so unwastefully that no heavy burden would be laid on the individual citizens; every one of whom, as a matter of course, would have to pay his toll of some obviously useful work. At present you must note all the amazing machinery which we have invented has served only to increase the amount of profit-bearing wares; in other words to increase the amount of profit pouched by individuals for their own advantage, part of which profit they use as capital for the production of more profit, with ever the same waste attached to it; and part as private riches or means for luxurious living, which again is sheer waste,—is in fact to be looked on as a kind of bonfire on which rich men burn up the product of the labour they have fleeced from the workers beyond what they themselves can use. So I say that in spite of our inventions, no worker works under the present system an hour the less on account of those labour-saving machines, so-called. But under a happier state of things they would be used simply for saving labour, with the result of a vast amount of leisure gained for the community to be added to that gained by the avoidance of the waste of useless luxury, and the abolition of the service of commercial war.

And I may say that as to that leisure, as I should in no case do any harm to any one with it, so I should often do some direct good to the community with it, by practising arts or occupations for my hands or brain which would give pleasure to many of the citizens; in other words, a great deal of the best work done would be done in the leisure time of men relieved from any anxiety as to their livelihood and eager to exercise their special talent, as all men, nay, all animals are.

Now again, this leisure would enable me to please myself and expand my mind by travelling if I had a mind to it: because, say for instance that I were a shoemaker; if due social order were established, it by no means follows that I should always be obliged to make shoes in one place; a due amount of easily conceivable arrangement would enable me to make shoes in Rome, say, for three months, and to come back with new ideas of building amongst other things which would perhaps be of service in London.

But now in order that my leisure might not degenerate into idleness and aimlessness, I must set up a claim for due work to do. Nothing to my mind is more important than this demand, and I must ask your leave to say a good deal about it. I have mentioned that I should probably use my leisure for doing a good deal of what is now called work; but it is clear that if I am a member of a Socialist State I must do my due share of rougher work than this—my due share of what my capacity enables me to do, that is: no fitting of me to a Procrustean bed: but even that share of work necessary to the existence of the simplest social life. In the first place, whatever else it is, it must be reasonable work; that is, it must be such work as a good citizen can see the necessity for; as a member of the community, I must have agreed to do it. To take two strong instances of the contrary, I won't submit to be dressed up in red and marched off to shoot at my French or German or Arab friend in a quarrel that I don't understand: I will rebel sooner than do that. Nor will I submit to waste my time and energies in making some trifling toy which I know only a fool can desire: I will rebel sooner than do that. However, you may be sure that in a state of social order I shall have no need to rebel against any such pieces of unreason; only I am forced to speak for the way we live to the way we might live. Again, if the necessary reasonable work be of a mechanical kind, I must be helped to do it by a machine, not to cheapen my labour, but so that as little time as possible may be spent upon it, and that I may be able to think of other things while I am tending the machine. And if the work be specially rough or exhausting, you will, I am sure, agree with me in saying that I must take turns in doing it with other people: I mean I mustn't, for instance, be expected to spend my working hours always at the bottom of a coal pit. I think such work as that ought to be largely volunteer work, and done as I say in spells. And what I say of very rough work I say also of nasty work. On the other hand, I should think very little of the manhood of a stout and healthy man who did not feel a pleasure in doing rough work; always supposing him to work under the con-

ditions I have been speaking of—namely, feeling that it was useful (and consequently honoured), and that it was not continuous or hopeless, and that he was really doing it of his own free will.

The last claim I make for my work is that the places I worked in, factories or workshops, should be pleasant, just as the fields where our most necessary work is done are pleasant. Believe me there is nothing in the world to prevent this being done, save the necessity of making profits on all wares; in other words, the wares are cheapened at the expense of people being forced to work in crowded, unwholesome, squalid, noisy dens: that is to say they are cheapened at the expense of the workman's life.

Well, so much for my claims as to my necessary work, my tribute to the state. I believe people would find as they advanced in their capacity for carrying on social order, that life so lived was much less expensive than we now can have any idea of, and that after a little people would rather be anxious to seek work than avoid it; that our working hours would rather be merry parties of men and maids, young men and old, enjoying themselves over their work, than the grumpy weariness it mostly is now. Then would come the time for the new birth of art, so much talked of so long deferred; people couldn't help showing their mirth and pleasure in their work, and would be always wishing to express it in a tangible and more or less enduring form, and the workshop would once more be a school of art, whose influence no one could escape from.

And, again, that word art leads me to my last claim, which is that the material surroundings of my life should be pleasant, generous, and beautiful; that I know is a large claim, but this I will say about it, that if it cannot be satisfied, if every civilised community cannot provide such surroundings for all its members, I do not want the world to go on; it is a mere misery that man has ever existed. I don't think it possible under the present circumstances to speak too strongly on this point. I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community, having such command over external nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do.

And once for all, there is nothing in our circumstances save the hunting of profit that drives us into it. It is profit which draws men into enormous unmanageable aggregations called towns for instance; profit which crowds them up when they are there into quarters without gardens or open spaces; profit which won't take the most ordinary precautions against wrapping a whole district in a cloud of sulphurous smoke; which turns beautiful rivers into filthy sewers; which condemns all but the rich to live in houses idiotically cramped and confined at the best, and at the worst in houses for whose wretchedness there is no name. I say it is almost incredible that we should bear such crass stupidity as this; nor should we if we could help it. We shall not bear it when the workers get out of their heads that they are but an appendage to profit-grinding, that the more profits that are made the more employment at high wages there will be for them, and that therefore all the incredible filth, disorder, and degradation of modern civilisation are signs of their prosperity. So far from that, they are signs of their slavery. When they are no longer slaves they will claim as a matter of course that every man and every family should be generously lodged, that every child should be able to play in a garden close to the place his parents lived in; that the houses should by their obvious decency and order be ornaments to nature, not disfigurements of it; for the decency and order when carried to the due pitch would most assuredly lead to beauty in building. All this, of course, would mean the state, which as I have told you should mean all society duly organised, the state having in its hands the means of production, and can only be done on those terms; on any other terms people will be driven to accumulate private wealth for themselves, and thus, as we have seen, to waste the goods of the community and perpetuate the division into classes, which means continual war and waste.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

BRISTOL—ANTI-JUBILEE MEETING.—An extraordinary incident occurred here this morning (21st inst.). An open-air meeting was held in the centre of the city at 9 o'clock in the morning, at which there was a large attendance, consisting chiefly of working men. Several prominent working men spoke to the assembly, and the following resolutions were carried in the most enthusiastic manner: 1. "That, having regard to the immense cost of monarchy, and the fact that it is maintained exclusively in the interest of the privileged classes, of which it is the centre, and seeing that the progress of the last fifty years has been greatly retarded by these classes, this meeting recognises no further cause for rejoicing at this period of the Queen's reign than the grand fact that the working-class organisations of this city decline to participate in the so-called Jubilee, notwithstanding an enforced holiday; and this meeting protests against such enforced holiday, and the use of public money and the national forces, as a despicable attempt to promote sham sentiment on which to bolster up a useless institution." 2. "That in view of the want, misery, and absolutely hopeless lives of the workers of this country (to say nothing of poor Ireland), this meeting earnestly protests against the continuance of this state of things in the face of the immense wealth of the nation, produced by the workers, as not only evidence that the working classes have no cause for joy at this time of so-called Jubilee, but as a disgrace to civilisation and opposed to all true ideas of justice and humanity."

One of the regiments taking part in the procession pro-Jubilee, coming in the vicinity of this meeting and somewhat interrupting the business, as it was thought designedly, was loudly hooted and hissed at. The "city's" procession in celebration of the Jubilee was nearly wholly composed of soldiers, and the proceedings were absolutely wanting in enthusiasm—not a single cheer along the whole route; and the affair only required the Dead March in "Saul" from one of the bands to make its funereal character complete.—R. G.

Society is barbarous until every industrious man can get his living without dishonest customs.—Ralph W. Emerson.

THE CONVICT.

(By L. WITTIG. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WITH iron chains on neck and feet,
And forehead earthward sunken low,
Brown coat and uniform complete—
'Tis thus the convict plies his hoe.
He once, like him who walks beside
With rifle ready in his hand,
Wore coat in brighter colours dyed,
And served his native land.

For times were bad, and corn was dear,
And hope in every heart was dead;
And all around there smote the ear
The poor man's bitter cry for bread.
"O spare a crust, that we may eat;
In vain we've looked for work to-day,
And still must loiter in the street,
And lounge the time away."

But when indeed they knew the worst,
And prayers for bread were wasted
breath,
Beneath the rich men's feet there burst
The mine whose womb was big with
death.
Hark, "Work or Death," is now the
cry
Through all the limits of the land;
Sedition's flames are raging high,
By Famine's fury fanned.

And now the thunder of the drum
Is heard the angry cries between;
The grenadiers in order come,
Their aim is sure, their swords are
keen.
As though for sport on measured
ground,
Where marksmen strive but to excel,
Are rifle-bullets handed round,
Sharp hunger to repel.

And hark, a cry! On either hand
Dense crowds in narrow streets are
pent;
Lo, face to face two armies stand,
The starving and the well-content.

See there! that yet the People's flag
May soar aloft and flaunt the sky,
They hoist a torn and tattered rag,
Defiantly on high.

"Bread," cry they, "brothers, give us
bread!
Nor let your answer be a stone;
That we to-night no more may dread
To hear our starving children wail.
Put by your lead; a single pound
Of bread will still our sharp desire."
Hark! through the serried ranks re-
sounded
The words "Make ready! Fire!"

The volley cracks; the people run;
Five only in their blood remain;
Their hunger with their life is done;
An end is put to all their pain.
The colonel's eye was on his men;
Its glance was keen their aim to see;
And woe betide the culprit then,
If any such there be.

Yes, one there was who would not do
That murder; what though he had
worn
A soldier's uniform, he knew
He too was of the People born.
His heart was beating fast for shame,
And trembling sore his every limb;
The foes on whom his eyes took aim
Were brothers unto him.

Before court-martial is he brought,
Because, despite the soldier's creed,
He fearlessly has felt and thought
As though he were a man indeed.
The doom of death is quickly said;
What sentence else could meet the
case?
To prison packs him off instead
The king's especial grace.

THE SAME OLD BOGIE!

READERS of newspapers have become so sated with the high-spiced Jubilee fare provided for them, and the monotonous imbecility of the "arguments" brought forth against the Irish people, that a new move is necessary. The sea-serpent is played out, and the green gooseberry not marvellous enough. Editors are in despair for "items," and the "Authorities" for something to stiffen the British Lion's courage to coercion pitch.

Here, then, is a difficulty; but the Able Editors and Law-upholding Authorities are much too good stage-managers to allow their drama to drag so pitifully for long. The desperate dynamitard and the conspirator who is "known to the police" are brought out once more from the theatrical property-room; they are carefully dusted, the requisite shade of ferocity imparted to their appearance, and they are "produced with great applause"!

The police refuse information they do not possess; the "leading journals" have a passing fit of scolding and good advice; the public buy the papers and shake their sapient heads over the evil spirit shown by "those horrid rebels"; and law and order, loyalty, and several things else, are greatly strengthened.

Meantime all that can be done is being done to exasperate the oppressed—English and Irish—and to show them the uselessness of legal and constitutional means. Can it be wondered at if mayhap some embittered exile or hunted "felon" should learn the lesson that the press is preaching so loudly? S.

THE TITHE WAR IN WALES.—The utmost excitement prevails throughout the disturbed districts of North Wales, where the military and police are again expected to enforce the sales on the distrained stock for tithes. Immense bonfires are erected on the various mountain ranges, and will be at once set ablaze on the approach of the authorities. Cannon are fixed on the hill slopes, and horns, 6 ft. long, are held in readiness at the farmsteads. The local magistrates have received instructions to hold themselves in readiness to proceed with the military for the purpose of reading the Riot Act. The future movements of the military and constabulary are, however, kept a profound secret. Concerning the proceedings at Colwyn Bay, and the alleged attack by the police on the crowd, a correspondent telegraphs:—The wounds produced were not mere scratches, but were deep cuts, and in some cases serious results may follow. The number of very old men thus wounded was remarkable, though the majority were of course able-bodied labourers. Another feature of the affray was that kicking was freely resorted to, and several complained of severe bruises about the legs.—Daily News, June 18.

Never grow faint-hearted, for there is a larger promise of dawn painted in the skies than ever before, and it needs only *push, push, push*, to swing wide open the gates of the morning.—B. G. Haswell.