Every member of the National Committee should make a point of seeing The Crusade every month.

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THE AUTUMN CAMPAIGN.
By MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

Some of the members of the National Committee may have noticed that the very first thing to which my husband and I directed our energies, on returning from eleven months in the Far East, was the Syndicalist Movement. They may have wondered, in reading last month's Supplement to The Crusade, why we should have set ourselves to study that movement, and to write upon it, instead of instantly gathering up the threads of our former work, and going on with the Minority Report campaign. We were impelled to do so, because we felt, with a shock of surprise, that the England to which we had come back was in many ways a new England, differing, as it seemed to us, in a significant manner from the England that we left behind us in June, 1911. It may be that this difference is in the main superficial, and that undercurrents of thought and feeling that have been for years growing in volume and intensity, have now swept upwards, whilst facts before on the surface, challenging our attention, are for the time submerged beneath more insistent causes. But whether the change is temporary and superficial, or whether it represents a new phase of our National existence, which may last a generation, it alters the conditions of successful propaganda.

A New Type of Destitution.
The character of this change can be seen even within the limited outlook of the National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution. During the last six months there has been destitution in all the mining districts of Great Britain, and latterly, in a terribly aggravated form, in the Port of London—destitution which has been brought about by a cause which is barely mentioned from the beginning to the end of the Majority or Minority Reports of the Poor Law Commission. And this mass of grinding poverty exhibits no one of the characteristics of the morass of chronic destitution which has so often been described by the lecturers of the National Committee. Instead of despairing appeals for doles of food or money from isolated men and women sinking for the first time into the abyss,
we have heard shouts of defiance from marching crowds of strikers. Instead of the dull inertia of those who are always on the brink of destitution, we have watched an almost heroic endurance on the part of women with little children, voluntarily undergoing semi-starvation, in order to encourage their men to hold out against the employers. The babies that have died and the little children who have been starving, the men and women who have lost, for good and all, their foothold in industry, have belonged in many, perhaps in the majority of cases, not to those families who are least fit for the struggle of life, but to the very aristocracy of labour—the class from which we draw most of our able-bodied seamen and upon which we depend not only for our skilled manual-workers, but also for our elementary teachers and minor local officials. This destitution has not been brought about by the normal working of our social and economic system, which presses down the least fit in the struggle for existence. In the case of the general strikes of the railway workers and coal miners it has been the destitution coincident with a state of war between capital and labour—a war which involved hosts of non-combatants. In the more recent struggle between the Port of London Authority and the Transport Workers’ Federation, it has been the destitution of a beaten army in the land of its enemies. Now, I do not want to exaggerate the significance of this all-pervading strife, but to those who have watched the Labour movement for a whole generation and who know its history for the last century, there are certain new features in the struggles of the past year which are either hopeful or disquieting, according to our estimate of the deliberation and wisdom with which this new state of things will be met by the governing class.

**The new Demand for Industrial Self-Government.**

For good or for evil the manual-working wage-earners of Great Britain are demanding, not merely better conditions of employment, but also a larger share in the control of industry and of their own working lives. This is not altogether a new thing. There is, in fact, a curious resemblance between the strikes of the past year and the tumultuous upheaval of Labour under the Owenite and Chartist leaders during the second quarter of the last century. In the attempted general strikes of 1833 and 1842 there was the same combination of large industrial demands—notably, a ten-hours day for factory operatives—with large political demands, typified by the suffrage and payment of Members of Parliament. And it is noteworthy that though these general strikes failed at the time, the demands made by the workers, under both heads, had, in the end, to be granted.

What are we to think of this new demand on the part of the manual-working wage-earners? It is clear that, although it is in no way inconsistent with the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, it is on a different plane. What the Minority Report set forth were the arrangements by which infantile mortality, child neglect, unnecessary ill-health, the multiplication of the mentally deficient, and the ravages of unemployment and under-employment might be actually prevented. Broadly speaking, the Minority Report was a plea for National Efficiency. But the evils which it describes might occur, if not prevented, under any system of Society; and the preventive measures which it advocates might be (and, as we say, would have to be) adopted by any kind of State—from a military dictatorship to a constitutional monarchy, from an industrial community ruled over by autocratic but enlightened capitalists, to the most crudely democratic “Co-operative Commonwealth” based on the Referendum, the Initiative and the Recall! For this reason we have been able to unite, on the platform of the Minority Report, all those who wish Destitution to be prevented, irrespective of the other issue, as to the form of political or industrial organisation under which this work of prevention is to be carried out.

But this new demand of Labour cuts clean across the issue of National Efficiency. It belongs to the same range of issues as the demand for Woman’s Suffrage, or the claim of a subject race to Parliamentary Institutions and local autonomy. Thus, it is not sufficient to demonstrate to the warring hosts of wage-earners that their chances of victory are small, or that their material gains from even a successful strike are not worth the loss in wages brought about by a constant state of war between capital and labour. These new demands, however indistinctly or confusedly they are set forth, express much more than a desire for more food or shorter
hours, for better clothing and more comfortable housing. They are, in the main, a passionate revolt against the status of serfdom; a semi-conscious striving for the rise in personal dignity and public consideration which comes from independence; an insistent demand for participation in the rule which has to be exercised over the common work of production.

But independence and command over industry can, in the modern capitalist State, no longer be exercised by each individual producer. When men and women are massed together in great industries, when millions are crowded into great cities, when hundreds of millions are combined in great empires, the paramount facts of the economic life of each worker are governed, of necessity, by common rules. To these common rules, by whomsoever made, all alike, whatever their class, whatever their colour, and whatever their sex, have, in fact, to render obedience, whether they like it or not. The question therefore is, not whether we must submit to the common rules, but how and by whom the common rules shall be made. What the manual-working wage-earners are now feeling is that failure to participate in the making of these rules amounts to failure to be free.

Self-Government versus National Efficiency.

The difference of plane between the aspirations after National Efficiency and the demand for self-government was brought vividly before us in India. From the standpoint of material well-being and educational progress, what is most needed in that great but poverty-stricken country is a considerable increase in the income at the disposal of the Indian Government, out of which schools and roads and canals and sanitation could be provided. On the other hand, it is imperative not further to impoverish the Indian cultivator by increased taxation of any kind. The only available expedient is an extension of Government enterprise in the industrial field. For instance, the profits from the vast Government forests could be greatly increased—experts say they could be raised from under two to over fifteen millions sterling per annum—by Government enterprise in opening up inaccessible areas and in exploiting various forest products. But when we suggested this increase of Government enterprise as a way of producing the additional income urgently required for the popular proposals of universal and compulsory education, experienced Hindoo Nationalists vehemently objected. “We do not want,” they declared, “to increase the functions of a Government over which we have no control. The material gain of a larger expenditure on education would not be worth the price of extending the power of alien officials uncontrolled by our own people.” In our own country a corresponding hesitation to accept legislation in itself advantageous to women from a Parliament elected exclusively by men is shown by ardent Suffragists. The manual-working wage-earners are often criticised for their indifference to the efficiency of industry, for the light-hearted way in which they cause interruptions of the national business, or the obstinacy with which they obstruct the introduction of improved processes or machinery. Like the Hindoos, they might well ask, by way of reply, why they should be expected to facilitate the increase of power of an industrial organisation over which they have no control.

The Danger of Hasty Legislation.

Will the present Government meet these new demands of Labour with the insight that springs from sympathy and the wisdom that comes from real study of the question? We are told that we may expect next Session legislation for the settlement of labour disputes, and it is hinted that this legislation will be of the nature of Compulsory Arbitration. But Compulsory Arbitration has been over and over again rejected by the Trade Union Congress, and in our judgment wisely rejected. There is no reason to suppose that it would now be accepted by the manual-workers. If such legislation should be forced through Parliament, we may find ourselves in much the same position as we are now with regard to the Insurance Act and the medical profession—that is to say, with an Act of Parliament which those who are primarily concerned resolutely refuse to work. An Act to prevent strikes, if unwisely drafted and inadequately discussed, may easily become an Act to promote a general strike on a national and even an international scale. And a legislative and administrative muddle with regard to the complicated problem of the control of industry would be less easily met, and have more far-reaching political and economic effects, than a legislative and administrative muddle.
with regard to treatment of disease. After all, sickness is an exceptional incident in the lives of the bulk of the population, and the medical men who now refuse to work under the Insurance Act number only 30,000 persons—and their demands, some cynics say, could easily be met by a few millions more on the Estimates. Whether the ultimate control of the medical service is to be vested in the private patients or in the Friendly Societies, in a Government Department at Whitehall or in the Local Health Authorities; or whether it is to be vested in the medical profession itself, is no doubt an important question, but it is altogether insignificant compared with that of the control of industry. A continued state of friction between the present directors of industry and those who do the manual work; a refusal of the wage-earners to accept the decisions of Courts of Arbitration to which they have never agreed; and a denial by the employers of all consultation with the Trade Unions, might easily lead to a state of anarchy which would not only imperil our national wealth but might also result in a radical alteration in the balance of power between different classes of the community—in political reaction or in revolution.

The Old Issues and the New.

Such being the importance of the new issues raised by the labour unrest of the last twelve months, what ought the members of the National Committee to be thinking about? What sort of recommendations ought they to be pressing on public opinion? The particular questions which brought our organisation into being—the problem of involuntary and chronic poverty and destitution is still unsolved. It still remains a canker eating into the vitality of the race. It would even be easy to argue that it is just the continued existence of this great wrong that has embittered all the recent conflicts, and given rise to the manual-workers' suspicions of the good intentions and intelligence of the upper and middle classes, in whom the control of industry is now vested. Hence we ought to go on vigorously with our old propaganda irrespective of party exigencies, or the convenience of any Cabinet, and ally ourselves with any person or party that will push forward measures for the Prevention of Destitution on the lines of the Minority Report. On the other hand, we cannot avoid thinking of these larger issues of industrial self-government of the working class, as to the justice and expediency of the present autocratic constitution of the factory, the railway, and the mine. How can we combine our old propaganda—still urgently needed—with these new issues?

**Continued Propaganda of the Minority Report.**

The first thing that the Executive Committee had to do was to plan out the campaign for the ensuing autumn and winter. This will include all the old features—an insinuating stream of lecturing in all sorts of organisations on all the manifold proposals of the Minority Report; a continuous infiltration of letters and articles into the newspaper press; the persistent "education" of legislators and councillors of all sorts of politics; the widest possible distribution of the forty separate publications that the National Committee has now on sale. We want new helpers in all these activities, as well as in the enormous mass of office work that they entail.

But there will be some new features in this autumn campaign. Hitherto the aim of the National Committee has been almost exclusively educational. We have contented ourselves, for the most part, with changing men's opinions—with converting all sorts and conditions of men to the desirability of abolishing the Poor Law and transferring the whole work to the public authorities charged with the actual Prevention of Destitution. We have, as a rule, left the leaven of truth to work, and not pressed for an immediate decision. Our lecturers, for instance, have hardly ever asked their audiences to pass any resolutions. It is a tribute to the success of this policy of a really educational propaganda, carried on for three years quite irrespective of political affinities or legislative desires, that the Executive Committee should be able to conclude that it has almost reached saturation point: practically everybody in the kingdom who is at all interested in the Poor Law, or at all moved by the existence of destitution, now knows what the Minority Report proposes. And it is even more gratifying to feel that these proposals of "breaking up" the Poor Law and transferring the different sections of paupers to the several public authorities charged to prevent the occurrence of destitution, now "hold the field." The time has come to insist that they shall be carried into law.
For next Session the Cabinet has, as yet, no Parliamentary programme. If, as is expected by all parties, the Bills on Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and Franchise Reform, pass the House of Commons before the end of the present Session, the way will be clear for the less exciting issues of social reform. The moment has therefore come when the National Committee may confidently organise public opinion to demand from the Cabinet immediate legislation on a question admittedly overdue.

**Legislation next Session.**

We need not specify exactly what kind of legislation on the Poor Law we desire. We have the satisfaction of knowing that every step that the Cabinet has taken since 1909 in connection with poverty has been, broadly speaking, on the lines of “breaking up” the Poor Law. Every Bill which the Cabinet has laid before Parliament, from the Old Age Pensions Act down to the Insurance Act, has gone on the lines of taking individuals or classes out of the Poor Law, and away from the Boards of Guardians, in order to place them under the administration of specialised public authorities connected with the County and Borough Councils and the central departments dealing with their work. We may not always have thought that this design was being carried into law in the most efficient or the most economical way; but we need not doubt the bona-fides of the Cabinet when they assure us that the purpose which has inspired all their legislation, including the Insurance Act of 1911, has been the actual Prevention of Destitution, in substitution for the plan of relief. Hence, we have every reason to infer that it needs only a feeling that there is sufficient public opinion behind the movement for the Cabinet to make up its mind this autumn to grapple with the Poor Law itself.

How can we get this pressure of a big popular movement behind our modest call on the thought and time of the Cabinet and Parliament. We can hardly expect members of the Liberal Party to take the lead in holding great demonstrations in favour of forcing upon their own Cabinet a particular programme for the next year’s Session; though we may hope, by energetic lecturing among Liberal Associations, to get them to pass resolutions in favour of our scheme of Prevention. Last autumn the Unionist Social Reform Committee undertook to investigate the question of the Poor Law, and, as a result, have recently adopted a constructive scheme which in its broad lines at least should meet with the approval of all sections of Poor Law reformers; but here again party exigencies stand in the way of any vigorous action on the part of Conservatives to help forward legislation next Session. The more they believe in the feasibility and popularity of the reforms they intend to propose the less anxious are they likely to be to press them on the attention of a rival Government. We have therefore to rely for our motive power on political forces outside the two Front Benches and their loyal adherents. The Labour Movement has a great deal to gain and nothing to lose by joining in our propaganda. The two millions of co-operators in the North of England and Scotland, the two and a quarter millions of Trade Unionists scattered from one end of the Kingdom to the other, are themselves personally interested in the Prevention of Destitution, for those who are destitute are always dragging down with them individual members of the artisan class or exhausting the funds of the organisations to which they belong. The Labour Members in Parliament, who represent this Labour Movement, are not concerned to consider the convenience of the Government in power, and they are still less concerned in reserving popular and feasible reforms to be carried out by an alternative Government. They are in a position to bring considerable pressure to bear as regards the choice of legislation on a Government which depends practically on their goodwill for its retention in office. We are, therefore, glad to find that the various Labour organisations are, on this occasion more than at any previous period, willing to throw themselves into a campaign in favour of the principles of the Minority Report.

We have naturally welcomed such a valuable accession of support. The Autumn Campaign, to be carried on from one end of the Kingdom to the other, will bear the title—

**War against Poverty: a Demand for Legislation next Session to secure a National Minimum Standard of Civilised Life.**

The “Seven Points” which are to be pressed, and on which resolutions will be passed, to be sent to
Members of Parliament and the Cabinet, are: The Abolition of the Poor Law; the Prevention of Unemployment on the lines of the Minority Report; Complete Provision for Sickness by the Public Health Authority; Adequate Housing Accommodation; the Legal Minimum Wage for each Industry; the Reduction of Hours; and the Enforcement of a National Standard of Child Nurture. This Labour Campaign will be opened by a public meeting at the Trade Union Congress at Newport in September, and it will be continued by a demonstration in the Albert Hall, which will take place at the opening of Parliament in October. Up and down the country, in all the great centres of population, from Plymouth to Glasgow, Conferences will be held to which will be invited delegates from all working-class and progressive organisations of the locality. At these Conferences papers will be read on one or other of the Seven Points in this new Charter of the People. Every meeting, big or small, will take the form of a demonstration or discussion, ending in the passing of resolutions for publication in the press, and for communication to those who can see that they are carried out. There will be a vigorous “Press” activity, and a large distribution of new and up-to-date literature. In short, we hope to make this Autumn Campaign, with the new and influential support now assured, a bigger and more effective “engine of influence” on public opinion and on the Legislature than we have ever yet achieved.

It is evident that such a Campaign—it may be our final Campaign for the Abolition of the Poor Law—will tax all the time, energy, and income of the National Committee. I appeal to every member who can lecture, who can write, or who can volunteer for office work, to help in this Campaign.

Work on the Insurance Committees.

But those who cannot take part in these public meetings and Conferences, and who do not care to lecture or write articles for us, can do equally useful work in research and administration. Last year the members of the National Committee performed a most useful service in collecting information about the medical treatment of school children, which led to a vigorous and very successful effort to establish school clinics throughout the country. This autumn we have an unique opportunity, both for collecting information and also for practical administration, in the establishment of the new Insurance Committees, which will probably contain as many as ten thousand members. How many of our members, I wonder, have already been nominated to these Committees? How many more could get appointed during the next six months? To these Committees will fall the task of administering the arrangement that will be come to with the medical profession, and of organising the whole provision to be made for that unfortunate class—the Deposit Contributors. In the day by day work of these Insurance Committees, keen and well-instructed observers will discover the best way of amending the Insurance Act, so as to transform it into a complete national system for the prevention and treatment of disease. Mr. Lloyd George himself, in a recent pronouncement, has indicated the way in which this may be accomplished.

There is one disease which accounts for more disability and mortality, and for a larger number of paupers, than any other, namely, tuberculosis in all its forms. The only thoroughly satisfactory feature of the Insurance scheme is the handsome provision made by a Government subsidy to enable the Public Health Authorities to provide fully for the treatment of tuberculosis patients. The Act, however, only provided for the treatment of insured persons, with a possibility of its extension to their dependants. All persons left outside the scope of the Act, and, what is even more important, the enormous number who will run “out of benefit,” were to be left to the Poor Law. Now, Mr. Lloyd George tells us that the Public Health Authorities are to consider themselves responsible for the treatment of persons whether or not they are insured, and he has promised a large subsidy to this new public service in order to encourage the County and Borough Councils to undertake it. It is fortunate that, with regard to this part of the Insurance Act, there is no quarrel with the medical profession, for the reason that it does not entail contract practice. We may assume that the Health Committees of the County and Borough Councils will employ either whole-time officers at salaries, or the medical practitioners of the district, who will be paid according to the work which they actually do at the dispensaries or in the homes of the patients. This is a most important new departure. Why should not the Insurance Committee press for an extension of this principle of universal treatment, either by whole-timers or by medical practitioners paid per visit or per hour, to all kinds of sickness? The Insurance Committees as now composed are made up largely of the agents of the Approved Societies. They do not seem to be particularly suited either to make arrangements with the medical profession or to appoint a medical staff of their own, and they will probably be quite willing to rid themselves of this work. Those members of the National Com-
committee who find themselves members of these Insurance Committees should press vigorously and persistently for the inclusion, in the work of the County and Municipal Authorities, of the treatment of one disease after another, and for a sufficient grant in aid from the Government to make it possible for these authorities to deal with all diseases on the same lines as those on which they are now required to deal with tuberculosis. This may prove to be the way in which we shall take all the sick out of the Poor Law and transfer them to the Public Health Authority. But this is only one way of dealing with the problem of the uninsured persons, and of meeting the objections of the medical profession to contract practice; and it will be one of the advantages of belonging to the Insurance Committees that our members may discover other and more practicable methods of arriving at the same end.

The New Issue of the Control of Industry.

So much for the Autumn Campaign on behalf of the proposals of the Minority Report. But members will have in their minds those larger issues as to the Control of Industry to which I referred at the beginning of this article. It would not be right to spend any of the funds of the National Committee on investigating the present Labour unrest, or on formulating any remedy, or on distributing literature about such proposals as Co-partnership and Profit-sharing, Wages Boards and Courts of Arbitration. But there seems no reason why the National Committee should forego the profits which we hope may be derived from the course of six lectures on these subjects that my husband and I have consented to give in the King’s Hall, King Street, Covent Garden, during the autumn. These lectures are the result of many years’ study of the problem of the Control of Industry, past, present, and future. In these lectures we shall be returning to an old love. Twenty-five years ago I spent a long time in an inquiry into the Co-operative Movement, from the working-class “Stores” and “Wholesale” Societies to the then existing Self-governing Workshops and schemes of Co-partnership and Profit-sharing; and since that time I have always kept in touch with the Co-operative Movement. Even before our marriage my husband and I began our prolonged investigation into the history and working of Trade Unionism, an investigation which resulted in books on The History of Trade Unionism and Industrial Democracy. After this task was finished we took a year’s holiday in the United States and Australasia, with the express object of learning what these alert and progressive younger democracies had to teach the Old Country in political and industrial institutions. During the ten years between 1899 and 1909 we were absorbed in a lengthy investigation into the history and development of English Local Government from 1689 to the present day—including the transformation of the Town Councils from congeries of exclusive Craft Guilds to Committees elected for the express object of meeting the requirements of open constituencies of citizen consumers. In fact, until we were turned aside by the Poor Law Commission, with its concentration on the grim fact of chronic destitution, our whole working energy has been applied to this particular problem of how to combine, in the Control of Industry, National Efficiency with that full “consciousness of consent” which is Democracy. We venture to hope that members will find these lectures interesting; at any rate, they will serve as an introduction to the study of this important subject. In attending these lectures, and in persuading their friends to do likewise, the members of the National Committee will be adding to the funds for the Autumn Campaign.

A Committee of Inquiry.

To those readers of The Crusade who happen to be members of the Fabian Society there is open a special opportunity of extending our common knowledge of the subjects to be dealt with in the lectures. Part of the work of that Society is “the investigation of economic and political problems,” and the collection “of facts contributing to their elucidation”; and for this purpose committees of inquiry are from time to time appointed. For the ensuing session, one such committee, over which I have undertaken to preside, will investigate the various proposals for the Control of Industry in “The State of To-morrow.” The subject calls for an analysis as elaborate and a scheme as constructive as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. Unfortunately both money for expenses and volunteers for investigation are wanting. We shall at any rate spend many happy hours hearing witnesses, studying documents, investigating experiments at home and abroad, consulting with “captains of industry” and foremen and manual-workers in different trades, hearing the leaders of the Co-operative Movement, the prophets of the new Syndicalist faith, the economists and the collectivists, as to how best to combine the necessary efficiency and control of the industrial machine, with the claim of the manual-worker to become himself an
equal partner in wealth production instead of merely a tool or a "hand." Will any Member or Associate of the Fabian Society, or any of the subscribers to its funds, who happens to be a reader of The Crusade, help to render this important Inquiry adequate and conclusive, either by a gift of money or by personal service?

FORTHCOMING COURSE OF LECTURES
BY MR. AND MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have arranged to give a course of six lectures in the autumn on THE LABOUR UNREST AND THE CONTROL OF INDUSTRY.
The lectures will be held at the King's Hall, King's Street, Covent Garden, at 8.30 p.m., on successive Tuesday evenings, beginning October 29th. The complete syllabus of the lectures is as follows:—

I.—Tuesday, October 29th. Mr. Sidney Webb on
The Industrial Warfare of to-day.
In this introductory lecture an attempt will be made to describe the thoughts and feelings which have caused the present "unrest" of so many of the wage-earning class—the dissatisfaction of the workman with "life on a pound a week"—his advance in economic knowledge; his resentment at lifelong subjection to orders; his hatred of "charity"; the recent rise of prices; the failure of the governing classes even to try to prevent Unemployment.

What is the present situation of the wage-earner in British industry?—The substitution of personal for personal relations between "master and man"—The increasing concentration of capitalist enterprise—The development of joint stock companies, of "multiple shops," of trusts and "cartels," of industries of national and even of international extent.

The steady but slow growth of Trade Unionism—Its best development in the Cotton Industry (selection of Trade Union officials by competitive examination; settlement of wages and workshop disputes by the professional agents of the associated employers and employed)—Its absence or weakness over most of the field (refusal of some employers even to recognise its existence)—The Right to Strike (Taff Vale case)—The Right to seek Legal Enactment (Osborne Judgment).

II.—Tuesday, November 5th, 1912. Mrs. Sidney Webb on
The Legal Minimum Wage.
The intervention of the law in the wage-contract—The century-long elaboration of our Factory legislation (covering now all classes and grades of manual workers in the Great Industry; dealing with sanitation, safety, hours, and other conditions)—The continuance of "Sweating" wherever the Factory Acts do not apply—The Colonial remedy of a Legal Minimum Wage—Its rapid spread in Victoria to nearly all industries—Our adoption of it in the Trade Boards Act (1909) and Coal Mines Act (1912)—The present demand in Great Britain for a Legal Minimum Wage in agriculture and all industries.

On what principle a Legal Minimum Wage is determined (married men versus bachelors; men versus women; "equal pay for equal work")—How the Legal Minimum Wage is, in practice, obtained, and enforced (courts of Arbitration, Wages Boards, registration of Collective Agreements, or simply a clause in a Factory Act).

How far a Legal Minimum Wage, in practice, (a) prevents Strikes, (b) causes the ruin of the industry, and (c) is affected by the competition of other countries.

The nightmare of "the Servile State."

III.—Tuesday, November 12th, 1912. Mr. Sidney Webb on
Can we do without the Wage System?
Production and distribution by individual proprietors of land and capital—The extent to which this prevails—The peasant proprietor—The village handicraftsman—The pedlar and the little shop-keeper—The apotheosis of "la petite industrie"—A vision of rural Japan—The inability of the "Proprietary State" to provide for enterprises of national scope (railways, universities, etc.)—Its failure to stand up against the Great Industry—"Loading the dice" against the peasant agriculturist, the handicraftsman, the little master—The hopelessness of expecting any supersession of existing British industry by individual producers.

The peaceful "Abolition of the Wage System" in the "self-governing workshops" of the early Co-operators, of Louis Blanc and Buchez in 1848, and of the Christian Socialists—The long persistence of this ideal among the British Co-operators, and its eventual abandonment—The practical compromise of "Industrial Co-partnership"—Schemes of profit-sharing—The failure of these proposals to satisfy the "Labour Unrest"—The Trade Union objection.

IV.—Tuesday, November 19th, 1912. Mrs. Sidney Webb on
Syndicalism and the General Strike.
The attractiveness of "Syndicalism" as promising the "Abolition of the Wage System"—Its invention by Robert Owen—The Grand National
Consolidated Trades Union or "General Union of the Productive Classes," and the proposed "universal Strike" of 1834—The revival of the idea of abolishing the Wage System in the teachings of the Marxian Socialists—Its rebirth in the "Syndicalism" of the French Trade Unionists since 1892—"La Confederation Generale du Travail," its objects and methods—The workers in each trade to control all the instruments of production and themselves to be the managers of their own industry—The "Irritation Strike" and "Sabotage"—The "General Strike" as the "Social Revolution"—as the "catastrophic" emergence of a new social order—The Syndicalists' vision of the industrial community of the future—"The mine for the miners," the "railways for the railway workers"—The manual workers' reliance on impulse, and their contempt for the meticulous foresight of the "bourgeoisie"; the attempted justification from Bergson—How far French Syndicalism has captured the imagination of the British workman.

V.—Tuesday, November 26th, 1912. Mrs. Sidney Webb on

The Co-operative Movement, the Municipality, and the State.

The prevalence in the eighteenth century of voluntary associations of local inhabitants for all sorts of purposes (e.g., police, lighting, drainage, road repair, water supply, etc.)—The analogous associations of consumers for self-supply (cornmills, stores, etc.)—The evolution of the latter into the Co-operative Movement, with its two and a half millions of members, its fifty million pounds of capital, its successful "production" to the extent of twenty million pounds a year, and its annual "distribution" to the extent of more than a hundred millions.

The evolution of the eighteenth century voluntary associations into the modern Municipality as the agent of the citizen consumer—in contrast with the old Town Council based on the Associations of Producers (Craft Guilds, etc.)—The theory and practice of Municipal Trading.

The slow growth of Services of national scope under the Central Government—Confusion of idea between "the King's Government" as the maintainer of the "King's Peace," and the Government Department administering an industry in the interests of the Citizen-Consumer (e.g., Post Office, Insurance, etc.).

But this not the "Abolition of the Wage System"—Position of the 120,000 employees of the Co-operative Movement; of the 200,000 Post Office officials—What are the "rights" of a "Government Servant"?

VI.—Tuesday, December 3rd, 1912. Mr. Sidney Webb on

The Approaching Compromise.

The "Instability of the Present"—the twentieth century is likely to see as much change in the Control of Industry as the nineteenth—"To each century, its own revolution" (and the revolution it deserves)—Forces making for change.

The "Control of Industry" includes three distinct assertions of will: the decision as to what shall be produced, and in what quantity, and when; the decision as to the materials to be used and the processes to be employed; and the decision as to the conditions of work—Difficulties in admitting the claim of any party to make all three kinds of decision—The several parties are perhaps "right in what they affirm, and wrong in what they deny"—Vision of a community in which the State, the Municipality, the Co-operative Society, the Self-Governing Workshop, the individual producer, and the Trade Union all have their appropriate spheres of action.

At the close of each lecture, answers will be given by the lecturer to any questions on the subject put from the audience, either handed up in writing or asked orally.

Aids to Study.

To every person attending the course, there will be supplied, if desired, free of charge, a carefully drawn up "Course of Reading" relating to the subject matter of each lecture, so as to facilitate further study of the problems; and also a full list of books and Official Reports dealing with the subject, including all schools of thought.

Admission.

Admission will be by ticket, for the course or for each lecture separately, to be obtained of Miss M. E. Bulkley, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London. As the accommodation is limited, preference will be given to applicants for tickets for the whole course. Applications for single tickets will therefore be reserved until October 22nd, when the remaining seats will be allotted according to priority of application.

Price of Tickets.

Numbered and reserved stalls, one guinea for the course of six, or five shillings for a single lecture. Back and gallery seats (numbered), half a guinea for the course of six, or two shillings and sixpence for a single lecture. There will be a few unnumbered seats, available only on course tickets, price six shillings for the six lectures.

The whole of the receipts, after paying for the hall, printing, and postage, will be devoted to the educational work of the National Committee.
WAR AGAINST POVERTY.

The arrangements to be made by the Standing Committee of the Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party in connection with the "War against Poverty" campaign which they have undertaken are already well under way.

The object of the campaign is to demand legislation next Session to provide and enforce a **National Minimum of Civilised Life**. The demand includes seven main points:—

4. Healthy Houses for All.
5. Complete Provision for Sickness.
6. The Abolition of the Poor Law.

The campaign will be opened by a demonstration to be held (in connection with the forthcoming Trade Union Conference) at the Temperance Hall, Dock Street, Newport (Mon.), on Tuesday, September 3rd, at 7.30 p.m. The speakers at this meeting will include Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

**National Conference.**

The next move in the campaign will take place in London on Friday, October 11th, when a National Conference of delegates from working-class organisations of all sorts will be held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street. The Conference will begin at 10 a.m., when the chair will be taken by Mr. Sidney Webb. At the afternoon session Miss Margaret Bondfield will preside. Short papers will be read on "Wages," "Hours of Labour," "Housing," and "The Children's Minimum." It is expected that a number of Labour Members of Parliament and other well-known persons will attend and take part in the discussion.

**Albert Hall Meeting.**

In the evening of the same day a demonstration will take place at the Royal Albert Hall. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., the Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, will preside, and the speakers will include Mr. W. C. Anderson, Miss Mary Macarthur, Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, and Mrs. Sidney Webb.

**Local Conferences.**

In addition to the National Conference in London a number of local Conferences on similar lines have been organised to take place in various parts of the country. At the moment of writing the following Conferences have been definitely fixed:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>Leicester</td>
<td>Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., and Mr. W.C. Anderson, Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*14th</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Mr. Sidney Webb, Mr. W. C. Anderson, and Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*14th</td>
<td>Portsmouth</td>
<td>Mr. J. Pointer, M.P., Mr. W. S. Sanders, and Mr. C. M. Lloyd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*21st</td>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd</td>
<td>Birmingham</td>
<td>Mr. Sidney Webb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23rd</td>
<td>Chatham</td>
<td>Mr. T. Richardson, M.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th</td>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>Mr. Sidney Webb and Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th</td>
<td>Cardiff</td>
<td>Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. W. S. Sanders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30th</td>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>Mrs. Sidney Webb and Mr. J. J. Mallon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28th</td>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Mr. W. C. Anderson.</td>
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* Date not quite definitely fixed.

It is hoped that conferences will also be arranged at Carlisle, Colchester, Darlington, Derby, Dundee, Lincoln, Plymouth, Norwich, Southampton, and in four metropolitan districts.

**Special Literature.**

A series of special tracts have been prepared dealing with each of the Seven Points, as well as a number of leaflets. These will shortly be published.

**RECENT PUBLICATIONS.**


This volume is the outcome of a Seminar conducted at the London School of Economics in 1910 by Mr. Sidney Webb with the assistance of Mr. Arnold Freeman. It is a very interesting and valuable addition to the somewhat scanty literature of Seasonal Unemployment, presented in the form of a number of separate essays on certain selected trades: Tailoring and Waiters (by Barbara Drake), Millinery (by Charlotte K. Saunders),...
the Skin and Fur Trade (by Marguerite Bourat), the Gas and Cycle Industries (by Frank Popplewell and G. R. Carter respectively), the Boot and Shoe Trade (by Constance Calver), and the Building Trade (by A. D. Webb), with a general introduction by Juliet S. Poyntz and a short preface by Sidney Webb. These studies, as Mr. Webb says, "represent no small amount of patient, original, and independent research, and personal inquiries into the various trades." Their writers have not aimed at any working out of remedies, but at an accurate diagnosis—which, in truth, is a task of no small importance. It is essential that we should have more precise knowledge of the causes and character of seasonal fluctuations, the conditions of employment in the trade, the number and class of workers affected. For just as there is not one simple solution of the problem of unemployment as a whole, so there is no single remedy for seasonal unemployment in whatever industry it may be found. The West End tailoring trade and the gas industry both suffer from a high degree of seasonality, but the causes of that seasonality and the persons affected are different in the two cases. This collection of essays, therefore, is an extremely useful contribution to the stock of information which we must compile if we are to deal scientifically with seasonal unemployment. The two main causes of the evil—Fashion and Weather—are clearly illustrated in the accounts of such typical trades as tailoring, millinery, and furriery on the one hand, and building and the gas industry on the other.

Of these the first group is in one sense easier to deal with, because there the problem is not so much to provide other means of livelihood for the workers during periods when their trade is naturally and inevitably at a standstill, as to even out the work which is artificially heaped up at certain times. In the London tailoring trade, for instance, to quote Mrs. Drake, "in the busy season sixteen or eighteen hours a day, for six or even seven days a week, will be worked for several weeks on end. Overtime is extended until after midnight; buttonholes are given out to the women to be worked at all night; and the presser takes up the process in the small hours of the morning when the others leave off, so that the finished garment may be delivered in the shop by 9.30 a.m. sharp. In fact, in many cases workshops are never closed, and the men drop to sleep on the stools, or lie down in their clothes too exhausted to return home to rest." Similarly in the fur trade during October and November, Mlle. Bourat tells us, "it is a terrible rush. For three or four months workers are absolutely overwhelmed, toiling as long hours as they can in crowded rooms, escaping regulations of the laws, if possible, for it is cheaper for the manager to pay a fine than to miss the work of his people; and the justification of this is that in the first busy month alone the output is as great as it is during the four or five previous months put together." Much of this mad spurt, with its cruel strain upon the worker and its equally cruel slack time between the rushes, can be prevented, we may hope, by the spread of knowledge and intelligence and social sympathy, though, as Miss Poyntz reminds us, we must be careful not to "exaggerate the power and goodwill of the customer." A good deal of pressure will doubtless have to be put, here as elsewhere, on the employers, both by Trade Union organisation (which has achieved some very satisfactory results in the cycle trade) and by legislative interference.

But where the seasonality is due to climatic conditions, the case is obviously different. Here the plan of dovetailing must be adopted. But dovetailing, we shall do well to remember, is not a magic password; it is a metaphorical name for a very difficult and complicated process. It is true, as the Minority Report has shown and as Mr. Webb insists in the preface to this book, that there is apparently no seasonal slackness in the community as a whole; that when one set of trades is dull, another is brisk. But the difficulty is that the workers in these trades are not indefinitely interchangeable. We cannot, e.g., at present at any rate, put plumbers to paper-making in February, simply because we find that plumbing is slack and paper-making busy in that month. Nor can we expect the coal miner to transform himself into a tailor in the spring. It is just this interchangeability that is the most important factor in the problem. What are its natural limits? How far can we extend it by appropriate education and training? And—a bigger question still—how far is it desirable to extend it—how far, in a word, should we aim at versatility as against specialisation in the citizens of our commonwealth? The answers to these questions will depend on our getting the exactest possible information about the various industries concerned, and it is because it supplies a great deal of necessary knowledge that one welcomes this volume. It should be added that the book is not narrowly confined to seasonal fluctuations, but presents incidentally a number of interesting pictures of the processes of different trades, and the lives of the workers in them. The art of gas-making; for instance; the marvellous development of the cycle trade; the globe-trotting of the cosmopolitan waiter; the unhealthy but well-paid work in the fur trade; the specialisation and the speeding-up of the tailors—all this is very vividly put before us. Every student of unemployment should read the book without fail.

C. M. L.
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8. THE PROBLEM OF THE CHILD.
9. THE NATIONAL INSURANCE SCHEME.
10. HEALTH FOR THE SCHOOL CHILD.
11. THE CARE OF MOTHERS AND INFANTS.
12. THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT AND AFTER.
13. THE ORGANISATION OF VOLUNTEERS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE.
14. WHERE THE MINORITY REPORT STANDS TO-DAY.
17. THE NEED FOR A LIVING WAGE.
18. WHAT SYNDICALISM MEANS.

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