

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE police have been playing the usual game, and in all probability with the usual impunity to them and the usual punishment to the "rioters," so called. We shall not be suspected of agreement with the doctrines of the Salvation Army; but on this occasion the processionists must be looked on as citizens going about on their lawful errands and suddenly attacked by a band of organised and armed ruffians without any cause whatever.

Here is again an opportunity for testing the genuineness of the protestations of both parties in the State. Even the Tories might be expected to take up the matter on behalf of persons with no taint of revolutionism in them; and as for the Liberals!—Well, I must say that they are fast qualifying themselves for the name which they used to bestow on their Tory opponents—the Stupid Party. In fact their stupidity is a deep well—to fathom. They haven't even the wits to pick up a safe opportunity like this, but are determined to play into the hands of the "advanced" party, which is advancing in no doubtful way towards Socialism.

Our friend Mr. Cunninghame Graham was probably not particularly disappointed at the adverse vote against him about the instructions to the British delegate to the Berne Conference. To be invited to a Conference and to understand perfectly well what would be the only important subject discussed there, and then to say Yes, we will send delegates, but those delegates shall not take part in the discussion of the real subject which the Conference has been called together to discuss—this would undoubtedly seem to the dispassionate observer from another planet a piece of absurdity impossible to men claiming to hold a dignified and responsible position; but to us living on the Earth under a bureaucratic government, it is a quite familiar incident.

In short, it is *the* position of the Whig-Tory or Tory-Whig governments that we are such fools as to put up with. How could it be otherwise? What would happen if they were to allow the discussion of subjects affecting the welfare of the mass of the population? Clearly the preliminary to the useful discussion of these subjects would be that such governments should take themselves off; and, as it is the business of their lives *not* to go off, from his point of view Mr. Morley was right in declaring the question unpractical, although, as he knows well enough, all thinking workmen throughout civilisation are (rightly or wrongly) crying out for *practical* discussion of this subject of the limitation of the hours of labour.

Yet the position of Lord Salisbury's Government is more logical than Mr. Morley's, who blames them for refusing to discuss the question and then points out that it cannot be discussed; and his arguments against the limitation of labour are of the stale kind which would be quite as effective against the limitation of the working day of women and children as of adult males. In fact in this matter Mr. Morley is not really considering the position of the workers in their factories and workshops, but his own position as a politician in the House of Commons: that is why he is so anxious to ticket himself as a Whig. If the Whigs should be driven at any time to legislate about the working day, we shall find him naively assuming that all liberal-minded men were always in favour of the eight-hour day: just as he assumes that they were always in favour of Home Rule.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham must be thanked for giving the House of Commons and the Liberal party, including their organ the *Daily News*, another opportunity for showing the people how little they have to hope from them; and moreover the question is one that must be discussed, and I repeat will be, in spite of the attempt of the so-called leaders of the trades unions to burk the discussion. For my part I think that "unpractical" as the question is, legislation limiting the working hours of adult males will be forced on the Government, and that before very long.

If that legislation were effective, it would certainly give more leisure to the workers, which of itself would be a great gain whatever came with it, and lower wages for the mass of the workers, the unskilled, could not accompany it, because they are already working for mere subsistence wages. Also the struggle between the masters and the men would be embittered by it, because the masters would try to force down the wages of the skilled or half-skilled workmen, and to give less wages for the eight hours than they now give for the nine, ten, or twelve hours. Competition for profits would force them to do this, and the men of course would be obliged to resist this, so that there would be fresh strikes and fresh discontent throughout the world of labour, which would further our Cause.

On the other hand, the masters would be driven to meet the comparative scarcity of labour by carrying still further and faster the development of machinery and the organisation of labour, which is such a great feature of these days, of the last ten years especially; so that if less labour hours were available, less would be needed. And the improvement in machinery would increase the intensity of labour, so that the amount done in each hour and the consequent wear and tear to the workman would be greater than under the longer working-day. All these would disappoint the hope of those who think that the eight hours day would give more employment to the mass of workers. The system of wage-slavery and the profit-market necessitates "a reserve army of labour," *i.e.*, of a starvation army waiting for the short crisis when it suits the capitalist slave-holders to take on all the hands whom they can sweep up from the workhouse and the street corners; and no shortening of the hours of labour will do away with this wretched state of things that does not bring with it obvious revolution, that is to say a change in the basis of society.

The workers must settle for themselves whether the gain of leisure, which it may be assumed would be the result of a limitation of the day's labour, would so far outweigh these drawbacks as to make it worth their while to carry on the agitation for it vigorously. But they must certainly *settle it for themselves*; if they allow the gentlemen of the House of Commons to settle it for them, they will find as usual that they will have something given them with the right hand to be taken back with the left.

In any case I beg them not to expect too much from the success of such an agitation, and above all not to think that it would relieve them of one scruple's-weight of their duty to struggle for the destruction of our present class-society. Mr. Graham, unconsciously perhaps, gave us a warning on this matter in his speech the other night. He reminded the House that for 24 years the eight hours' day had obtained in Victoria, and said that no harm had come of it. We know from the definite information of our comrades in the antipodes that a revolution is just as necessary there as here; and so it is, and will be all over the world as long as there are privileged classes living on the disinherited classes.

Tennyson's northern farmer heard his cantering horses' hoofs play the tune of "Proputty, Proputty, Proputty!" No wonder; it is the one thought in the mind of all respectable people. Some luckless persons the other day at St. Bees ate a poisoned joint of beef, and one (a lady) died of it, and the others were made very ill. Says the daily press anent this luckless business: "The occurrence is a most unfortunate one, as St. Bees is so popular and Mr. Scott is a new tenant of the hotel." The poor lady's epitaph then must be a moan over the lost "Proputty, proputty, proputty!"
W. M.

We are surprised that the editor of *Daylight*, who has often done such good service to the cause of the people, should put on his front page that sentimental lie of some inventive and not too scrupulous journalist, concerning a Russian lady who shot herself in preference to shooting his most gracious Majesty the Czar of Russia. At any rate, if he had put it in, he might have edited it a little. It is funny surely to find the removal of a cruel, bloody, and merciless despot

termed by a democratic paper "a foul deed," while in the next sentence the same paper affirms that she committed suicide to escape "her odious destiny." The notice then winds up by stating that she has been "interred at the cost of the Russian Government." Let the dead bury their dead, Mr. Editor, but let us preach the gospel of the Social Revolution, and not waste time and tears over the persons who never existed, save in the brains of an inventive journalist subsidised by the agents of Russian despotism. D. N.

A CHAT WITH A BURGLAR.

By PERPETUAL MOTION.

If I were a man like every other, it would be altogether useless to write these lines. I am a crank, a crotchet-monger, an iconoclast—anything you like; but in my own estimation I am an inventor and a philosopher. I am so much of a philosopher that it needs great restraint to prevent my developing, in point blank discharge of accumulated philosophical deductions, a whole system of, not one, but several universes. To tell a story in a concise, business-like manner, stringing one little fact to another little fact, is with me one of the hardest of tasks. I see philosophy in every thing—as undoubtedly there is, and everything whatever existing has its causes, its relations to something else. If, for instance— But there I am again!

That I am an inventor is the natural sequel to my being a philosopher. A man who, like me, sees to the bottom of things, must of necessity be an inventor. As I know how Nature works, I can imitate her—that is, invent machines. I am in this respect tolerably well known to most firms who have anything to do with new inventions, and I have already spent a little fortune on models, patterns for the moulders, etc., while my library is well stocked with all those costly works of the natural philosophers which everybody reads nowadays and very few fully understand. It is a sign of the degeneracy of our days that philosophers of my stamp are getting rich, while it has been an axiom from the oldest days of ancient Greece to within a decade of our own time that a philosopher must have the appearance of a tramp and be as poor as Job in his days of adversity. Yes, things have mended in this respect, and as I am going to invent perpetual motion, I am as good as a millionaire already. The only thing that troubles me is, what shall I do with all that money? I am getting rich in spite of myself. I am a philosopher first and a rich man afterwards; and as I have found in the ancient philosophies of Hindostan the true truth—namely, the deception of matter—I am not going to be ruled by matter, but quite the reverse. But here I am again!

So far my inventions are not of great import, but they pay handsomely. That automatic jam-distributor of mine has taken hugely with those large working-men restaurateurs who sell their slices of buttered or "jam'd" bread by the thousands every day. Mr. Pearce sends me word that my automatic jam-distributor is doing wonders. By merely turning a crank 4,000 slices of bread are evenly "jam'd" in ten minutes, which almost equals in speed the capacity of our great printing presses. But somehow or other I am not proud of this invention. It is commonplace, and, I am sorry to say, not original enough.

The fact is, the main idea was suggested to me by the large inking rollers I have seen used in printing-presses. Even my second invention, the philosophical fly-catcher, smacks a little of the inking-roller and the automatic jam-distributor; and I might excuse these mere vagaries of a great mind by a reference to Mill's "association of ideas," but as I am cut out by nature for greater things, I can at least use the money gained for those profound investigations which will lead to perpetual motion. That the life of an inventor is not altogether an easy one, can be shown by a letter I have received this morning about my philosophical fly-catcher. Writes this ruffian:

"Sir,—Your philosophical fly-catcher is a sham and a — nuisance. I have made a calculation and have found out that it costs just three-ha'pence to kill one fly. At this rate it would be much cheaper to hire a boy to catch flies. Yesterday the hair of my mother-in-law got entangled in your — machine, and I could only release her by cutting off the few remaining locks which the vicissitudes of married life had left her. Take my advice, and turn your talents to shoeblicking or tract-distribution."

I may mention here that my philosophical fly-catcher is based upon the pernicious habit of the common house-fly to crawl over the sweet innocent faces of sleeping babies. Taking advantage of this habit, I constructed a machine representing on its upper side a sleeping baby. From this reason I called it a philosophical fly-catcher. The feet of the fly are caught in the filaments of the sham face, and are brushed off by a revolving apparatus inside the well-expanded cheek of this terrible infant. The fly then drops off, legless and helpless, and while it reflects over the question What the deuce shall I do without legs? is swept into a watery grave by an automatically-produced flow of water. I think that the mother-in-law of that ghoulish letter-writer must have kissed the sleeping baby—which is not so silly as might be supposed, as I have employed the best artistic talent in London for the production of a truly angelic baby face. Her hair must have encountered the same action of the revolving brushes which I designed to carry off the legs of the flies; but I intend to give warning to all purchasers of the sleeping baby and fly-catcher that it must not be kissed. But fancy this philistine utterly disregarding the beauty of killing off flies in such a scientific, truly philosophico-mechanical way, and preferring the humdrum style of a daub of jam and a wet dish-rag instead!

I am living alone with a lazy tom-cat, in a detached villa in the neighbourhood of Regent's Park. I keep no company, going to no

places of amusement, and doing nothing but thinking and now and then a little amateur tinkering or experiments. In a spacious shed specially built against a high garden wall I arranged a workshop for the multifarious necessities of "first experiments." I employ a worn-out engineer to assist me in the construction of new apparatuses; and an old teacher of mathematics also belongs to my staff, whose duty it is to attend to the geometrical and arithmetical business of my inventions, having found out that without curves and parallelograms and square and cube roots, no inventor can hope to be listened to. It is true I know very little of these things, and old Jones knows it all, while at the same time he could not invent a nut-cracker. Being an old toper, he and the worn-out engineer—as thirsty a soul as ever pulled a throttle-valve—spend most of their time in the "Yellow Lion" not far off; and I allow this sort of thing only on the strength of the axiom that genius must be judged separately. I have noticed that old Jones is never more keenly alive to the mathematical relations of curves as when he can't walk straight; while the shaky engineer—Potts is his name—has more than once been visited by flashes of genius which would never have been attracted to these quarters if the fumes of alcohol had not penetrated to the inmost recesses of his being.

As I am total abstainer, disdaining to accept anything from the mysterious forces surrounding men by the attraction of deceptive spirit-matter (I may say here that I hold matter to be non-existent, spirit being the only true reality), it is really a sacrifice I am offering to the interests of science to have these two old toppers about me. They are as unimaginative as mathematics and applied geometry can well be, but they are faithful, and as their very existence depends on my liberality, they would be willing to risk their necks for me. Especially the old mathematician possesses a courage altogether out of the common, for which he has given me ample proofs during experiments in which unknown factors might have cut us both off without a moment's warning.

At nights and on Sundays I am quite alone. I cook my own meals, like a true philosopher, trying vegetarianism for a certain period, to observe the effects upon my brain and my capacity for hard study. Then I try flesh diet to see the alterations in mental and moral arrangement of the psychical forces. When I am labouring under a great idea I starve myself involuntarily. The invention of the philosophical fly-catcher was only possible by four weeks rigid fasting. In order to invent perpetual motion I know I shall have to reduce myself to a skeleton. But what are the sufferings of my flesh—at best only deceptions of fancy—compared to the gain for humanity! No more horse-torturing, no more man-torturing, no more snorting and puffing and exploding of the steam-engine, no more soot and black smoke, hellish noise, and colliery disaster. And the beauty of it is that it is so easy! Only the finishing off of those primeval inventions of the hammer, the axe, the lever, the screw! The reason that perpetual motion was left for me to invent is that men assumed its complexity, and laboured with self-created difficulties, instead of going to the cause of all mechanical action, which is simply—

There I am again! Hang philosophy, and come to business! I have already said that I am getting rich. But I do not hoard my money. What I do not need for myself I give away. Money, as matter, shall not get the best of me. I send my spare money to hospitals, special schools, or any other public institution working for the advancement of mankind. I do not like popularity. All I wish to do is to put before the world the example of a self-sufficient philosopher and to realise in my own conduct those great truths which I shall represent some of these days.

It was on a fine evening last autumn, when I was, as usual, sitting in my library and deeply meditating on the problem of producing circular motion by mere pressure, a pressure with hardly any velocity, when I was startled by the sound of stealthily approaching feet through the broad hall dividing the south and north set of rooms in the first story. I always left the front door of my villa unlocked while I was up, and anyone wishing to enter unawares could do so by a little precaution. Generally there was nothing left in the house which any thief or burglar would greatly care to take off, and I never troubled myself about such fears, but just that day I had received a heavy payment from a manufacturing firm for the use of one of my patents, and the money—about a thousand pounds in brand-new bank-notes—lay snugly between the books in my bookcase. It had been too late to dispose of it in the usual way. I intended to send £900 to the Home for Incurables in —, £50 to Professor L—, whose masterly exposition of physical laws had assisted me more than anything else, £25 to a poor working-man about whom I had read in a morning paper, reserving only £25 for my private uses. The presence of that money flashed at once through my mind on hearing those ominous footsteps. I am a very nervous man, but not a coward. I feared nothing for myself, not even for the money, but there is always in the unexpected an element of terror which the severest mental discipline cannot eliminate.

(To be concluded.)

THE 'INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.'—The Socialist monthly magazine *To-Day* changed its title with the July number, and will henceforth be known as the *International Review*. It will be edited by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, and be issued at sixpence. Among those who have already promised to contribute to the *International Review* are E. Belfort Bax, Annie Besant, Hubert Bland, Herbert Burrows, Edward Carpenter, William Clarke, Walter Crane, Stewart Headlam, J. L. Joynes, Pierre Kropotkin, "John Law," H. S. Salt, H. Halliday Sparling, Adolphe Smith, Sidney Webb. The July number contains articles by Annie Besant, Dr. Paul Brousse, Adolphe Smith, and the Editor.

AGAINST VAIN PLEASURE.

THE world takes from us more than she can give ;
 In vain we trim our deeds to her command ;
 In vain, seduced by many a promise bland,
 We bow before her idols negative.
 Let the world go ; each his own life must live ;
 But the poor coward that has laid his hand
 On Custom's altar, spins a rope of sand,
 And bales the boundless ocean with a sieve.

A wayfarer's "Good night" when day is done,
 A mother with her babe, the merry noise
 Of rosy children playing in the sun,
 A walk across the fields with prattling boys,—
 These sights and sounds such wealth for me have won,
 I know that we are born for simple joys.

C. W. BECKETT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 13, 1889.

7	Sun.	1797. Trial of David MacLane at Quebec for high treason in conspiring "with persons unknown" to overthrow English rule in Canada and annex it to the United States. 1831. W. Cobbett tried for sedition. 1856. Tipperary military mutiny at Nenagh.
8	Mon.	1790. Adam Smith died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at the "Crown and Anchor" Strand. 1796. D. I. Eaton found "guilty of libels on Kingly Government." 1848. Arrest of Martin, Duffy, Williams, and O'Doherty.
9	Tues.	1886. Battle of Sempach. 1797. Edmund Burke died. 1809. W. Cobbett convicted of libelling the German Legion. 1831. First number of Hetherington's <i>Poor Man's Guardian</i> .
10	Wed.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing a seditious libel. 1795. Henry Yorke tried for high treason. 1848. Ernest Jones imprisoned. 1887. Father McGlynn excommunicated.
11	Thur.	1789. Mirabeau died. 1836. Alibaud hung for attempt on Louis Philippe. 1822. Weavers' riot at Norwich against reduction of wages. 1848. Speech of Kossuth to Hungarian Diet. 1871. General Council of International Working-men's Association denounce Mr. Washburne for his conduct to the Commune.
12	Fri.	1450. Jack Cade killed. 1536. Erasmus died. 1691. Battle of Aughrim. 1789. Neckar dismissed ; panic in Paris—ends in besieging the Bastille. 1819. Reform demonstration on Newhall Hill, near Birmingham ; 50,000 present ; Sir Charles Wolseley appointed "Legislatorial Attorney." 1839. Sentence on the rebels of May 12: Armand Barbes, death (commuted to imprisonment for life ; Martin Bernard, transportation ; Mialou, hard labour for life ; Del-sade, Austen, and Philippet, 15 years ; Nongues and Martin, 6 years ; Guilbert, Randel, and Lemeire, 5 years ; Longuet and Marescal, 3 years ; Walsch and Pierne, 2 years. 1841. W. J. McNevin died. 1849. Battle of Dolly's Brae. 1858. Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill passed. 1881. Riots at Rome when Pio Nono's body was being removed from St. Peter's to San Lorenzo.
13	Sat.	1683. Earl of Essex murdered in the Tower. 1683. William, Lord Russell, tried for high treason. 1788. Destructive hailstorm in Paris ; remembered as an omen next year. 1789. Taking of the Invalides and seizure of arms. 1790. General "Federation," or Mutual Oath of all Frenchmen, otherwise called "Feast of Pikes." 1794. Marat murdered. 1799. Brothers Sheares hung. 1820. Andrew Hardie tried at Stirling for his part in the rising near Glasgow on April 4. 1839. <i>New Moral World</i> removed from Birmingham to Leeds. 1857. Number 1 of the <i>Kolokol</i> , published by Herzen, appeared in London. 1871. Trial of Rechaeff and others in St. Petersburg for organising a Jacobin secret society. Sentences: mines, 4 ; Siberia, 2 ; prison, 27 ; rest banished all over Russia. 1876. Peter Kropotkin escaped from prison-hospital in St. Petersburg.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.
 14TH to 21ST JULY, 1889.

I beg to remind delegates that they must send me notice of their nominations at the earliest possible date, in order that the Executive Committee may make the final arrangements for their board and lodging.

The approximate expenses for board (two meals) and lodging will be from 5s. to 6s. per day, but a sum of from 8s. to 10s. must be counted on inclusive of extras.

Delegates should do their best to arrive on the 13th. The Congress will hold its first meeting in the afternoon of the 14th, so as to enable the delegates to witness the national festival.

The Congress meets at the Salle Petrelle, Rue Petrelle.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

60 Avenue de Champs Elysees, Le Perreux, Paris (banlieue).

ANARCHY AND COMMUNISM.

COMRADES,—Whilst I am glad to see that my letter of April 13 has led to an interesting discussion, I regret that William Morris has been the only Socialist who has criticised the Anarchist position. It is so important to my mind that we should get a perfectly clear conception of the state of society we desire to bring about, and how we ought to act now and during the revolutionary period, that I very much desire to see more interest taken in the politics of Socialism. When the critical time comes, those who know

what they want and how to act to get it will take the masses of the people with them. If State Socialism has the most numerous and most active adherents, State Socialism will be established ; if Anarchism is most popular, an Anarchist condition of society will result from the social revolution. But the Communists who are neither decidedly against nor decidedly in favour of government will have no real influence in the reorganisation of society. They will go with the crowd, and are just as likely to support the despotism of a revolutionary government as they are to oppose it.

We Socialists ought to make up our minds on two things. 1. What sort of society we are trying to realise. 2. How we should act in order to bring it about.

As regards the first point I think the members of the Socialist League and many of the Social Democrats are agreed with the Anarchist-Communists. In the words of William Morris, the society of the future is to be "a society which does not know the meaning of the words rich and poor or the rights of property, or law or legality or nationality : a society which has no consciousness of being governed ; in which equality of condition is a matter of course." Another definition is that of the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, of America, a State Socialist, who looks upon Anarchy, as many English Social Democrats do, as a future development. He describes the ideal as "co-operation without force or authority except that which inheres in natural law." This he says is "the highest possible conception of human society."

Now our position is that anything like compromise tends to prevent the realisation of this ideal society and does not even result in temporary good. Let us go for the whole thing, and let us rule our actions now, immediately, as far as we can in accordance with our ideals. We may not triumph in the universal revolution which is close upon us, but our chances of success will be increased exactly in proportion to the number of Socialists who declare themselves against all compromise with property and authority. Besides there is a vast amount of unconscious Anarchism here in England as elsewhere. People are rebels in spirit if not in act ; they grumble against and resist whenever possible the tyranny of the existing government ; and surely it is our business to encourage this spirit of revolt against dictation and coercion, to help develop individual initiative, and to persuade people to rely upon themselves and not to expect that the government which keeps them down will help to raise them up. To destroy the faith and respect which still exists in and for government and laws is in our view as important as to point out the evils of private property in land and capital.

Comrade Morris says Anarchist-Communists are "vague." In all good fellowship may I say that I think, not only that the vagueness rests with the Communists who are neither Anarchists nor Authoritarians, but that this vagueness has in the past caused many Socialists who wanted a political as well as an economic faith, to become Social Democrats instead of members of the Socialist League.

Comrade Morris brings forward the old question of majorities and minorities, and asks what is to be done in the case of a piece of business which must be either done or left undone, would the small minority have to give way or the large majority ? Now, no logical reason has ever been brought forward to show why the minority should give way to the majority, or the majority to the minority, for as has been proved over and over again counting noses doesn't prove the truth or falsehood of a thing. If on a committee, for instance, there are two opinions as to a certain matter, it is just as reasonable and rational to decide by a toss up as by a vote. A minority of one may be right, and so may a majority of ever so many. When a minority gives in to a majority on a committee, it is because the difference of opinion is not very great, and practically they are converted to the views of the majority. If the difference was sufficiently important neither party would give in. They would throw the business over. But let us take a concrete example as is suggested. A number of men and women agree to form a Socialist community or village, and they agree that there shall be equality, liberty, and fraternity in all their dealings with one another. A section of the community wishes to build a large common dwelling for the whole village, another section wishes that each family shall inhabit a separate cottage ; how do they settle it ? Either by the section who want the common dwelling having a common dwelling for themselves and letting the others have the separate cottages, or by one party voluntarily giving way to the other. It would be absurd to try coercion. And then in tilling the land of the village, there are perhaps two or more methods which could be employed ; why should not both be tried ? or, if that is not possible, why should not the advantages of each method be properly discussed until one party gave in ? If they were reasonable people living in good fellowship with each other, the weakest in argument would naturally give way. The pig-headedness which the opponents of Anarchism want to ascribe to so large a proportion of the human race does not, in reality, exist. In every-day life, even now when there is so much to irritate us and set our backs up, people are always giving way to one another in order to maintain friendly relations and their advantages. Comrade Morris may not think my concrete example a good one, and if so, I hope he will state a few cases in which he thinks coercion by majority-rule would have to be used to settle a difference.

In conclusion, let me quote the platform of the International Working People's Association, the organisation of the American Anarchists, as agreed to at the Pittsburg Congress in October, 1883 :—

1. Destruction of the existing class rule by all means, i.e., by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.
 2. Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organisation of production.
 3. Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organisations without commerce and profit-mongery.
 4. Organisation of education on a secular, scientific, and equal basis for both sexes.
 5. Equal rights for all without distinction of sex or race.
 6. Regulation of public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalist basis.
- Now I think most members of the Socialist League agree to every one of these planks ; and I hold with Adolph Fischer that "a Socialist who is not a State Socialist must necessarily be an Anarchist," and if the members of the Socialist League cannot falsify this opinion, it is for them to say which camp they belong to.—Yours fraternally,
 JAMES BLACKWELL.

EDUCATION IN INDIA.—The increase in the number of schools in the Bengal Presidency last year was 6,140, and in the number of pupils attending the schools 90,843. If the paternal British Government of India continues its beneficent administration on these lines, they may soon expect a grateful return.—A. B.



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. 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.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 3.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Brotherhood	Investigator	Arbeiterstimme
Church Reformer	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	ITALY
Justice	Daecker Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reform	Seville—La Solidaridad
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	San Jose—Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Social Democrat	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Porto—A Revolta
Telegraph Service Gazette	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	AUSTRIA
INDIA	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	L'Attaque	HUNGARY
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Commentary—Le Socialiste	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Herald	BRUXELLES	Malmö—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Workers Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
United Irishman	Antwerp—De Werker	
Znamia	Liege—L'Avenir	

UNDER AN ELM-TREE;

OR,

THOUGHTS IN THE COUNTRY-SIDE.

MIDSUMMER in the country—here you may walk between the fields and hedges that are as it were one huge nosegay for you, redolent of bean-flowers and clover and sweet hay and elder-blossom. The cottage gardens are bright with flowers, the cottages themselves mostly models of architecture in their way. Above them towers here and there the architecture proper of days bygone, when every craftsman was an artist and brought definite intelligence to bear upon his work. Man in the past, nature in the present, seem to be bent on pleasing you and making all things delightful to your senses; even the burning dusty road has a look of luxury as you lie on the strip of roadside green, and listen to the blackbirds singing, surely for your benefit, and, I was going to say as if they were paid to do it, but I was wrong, for as it is they seem to be doing their best.

And all, or let us say most things, are brilliantly alive. The shadowy bleak in the river down yonder, which is—ignorant of the fate that Barking Reach is preparing for its waters—sapphire blue under this ruffling wind and cloudless sky, and barred across here and there with the pearly white-flowered water-weeds, every yard of its banks a treasure of delicate design, meadowsweet and dewberry and comfrey and bed-straw—from the bleak in the river, amongst the labyrinth of grasses, to the starlings busy in the new shorn fields, or about the grey ridges of the hay, all is eager, and I think all is happy that is not anxious.

What is that thought that has come into one's head as one turns round in the shadow of the roadside elm? A country-side worth fighting for if that were necessary, worth taking trouble to defend its peace. I raise my head, and betwixt the elm-boughs I see far off a grey buttressed down rising over the sea of green and blue-green

meadows and fields, and dim on the flank of it over its buttresses can see a quaint figure made by cutting the short turf away from the chalk of the hill-side; a figure which represents a White Horse according to the heraldry of the period, eleven hundred years ago. Hard by that hill-side the country people of the day did verily fight for the peace and loveliness of this very country where I lie, and coming back from their victory scored the image of the White Horse as a token of their valour, and, who knows? perhaps as an example for their descendants to follow.

For a little time it makes the blood stir in me as I think of that, but as I watch the swallows flitting past me betwixt hedge and hedge, or mounting over the hedge in an easy sweep and hawking over the bean-field beyond, another thought comes over me. These live things I have been speaking of, bleak and swallows and starlings and black-birds, are all after their kind beautiful and graceful, not one of them is lacking in its due grace and beauty; but yesterday as I was passing by a hay-field there was an old red-roan cart-horse looking seriously but good-humouredly at me from a gap in the hedge, and I stopped to make his acquaintance; and I am sorry to say that in spite of his obvious merits he was ugly, Roman-nosed, shambling, ungainly: yet how useful had he been—for others. Also the same day (but not in the same field) I saw some other animals, male and female, with whom also I made acquaintance, for the male ones at least were thirsty. And these animals, both male and female, were ungraceful, unbeautiful, as ungainly as the roan cart-horse; yet they were obviously useful, for they were making hay before my eyes. Then I bethought me that as I had seen starlings in Hertfordshire that were of the same race as the Thames side starlings, so I had seen or heard of featherless two-legged animals of the same race as the thirsty creatures in the hay-field; they had been sculptured in the frieze of the Parthenon, painted on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, imagined in literature as the heroes and heroines of romance; nay, when people had created in their minds a god of the universe, creator of all that was, is, or shall be, they were driven to represent him as one of that same race to which the thirsty haymakers belonged; as though supreme intelligence and the greatest measure of gracefulness and beauty and majesty were at their highest in the race of those ungainly animals.

Under the elm-tree these things puzzle me, and again my thoughts return to the bold men of that very country-side, who, coming back from Ashdown field, scored that White Horse to look down for ever on the valley of the Thames; and I thought it likely that they had this much in common with the starlings and the bleak, that there was more equality amongst them than we are used to now, and that there would have been more models available amongst them for Woden than one would be like to find in the Thames-side meadows.

Under the elm-tree I don't ask myself whether that is owing to the greater average intelligence of men at the present day, and to the progress of humanity made since the time of the only decent official that England ever had, Alfred the Great, to wit; for indeed the place and time are not favourable to such questions, which seem sheer nonsense amidst of all that waste of superabundant beauty and pleasure held out to men who cannot take it or use it, unless some chance rich idler may happen to stray that way. My thoughts turn back to the haymakers and their hopes, and I remember that yesterday morning I said to a bystander, "Mr. So-and-so (the farmer) is late in sending his men into the hay-field."

Quoth he, "You see, sir, Mr. So-and-so is short-handed."

"How's that?" said I, pricking up my Socialist ears.

"Well, sir," said he, "these men are the old men and women bred in the village, and pretty much past work; and the young men with more work in them, they do think that they ought to have more wages than them, and Mr. So-and-so, he won't pay it. So you see, he be short-handed."

As I turned away, thinking over all the untold, untellable details of misery that lay within this shabby, sordid story, another one met my ears. A labourer of the village comes to a farmer and says to him that he really can't work for 9s. a week any more, but must have 10s. Says the farmer, "Get your 10s. somewhere else then." The man turns away to two month's lack of employment, and then comes back begging for his 9s. slavery.

Commonplace stories of unsupported strikes, you will say. Indeed they are, if not they would be easily remedied; the casual tragedy cut short; the casual wrongdoer branded as a person out of humanity. But since they are so commonplace—

What will happen, say my gloomy thoughts to me under the elm tree, with all this country beauty so tragically incongruous in its richness with the country misery which cannot feel its existence? Well, if we must still be slaves and slaveholders, it will not last long; the Battle of Ashdown will be forgotten for the last commercial crisis; Alfred's heraldry will yield to the lions on the half-crown. The architecture of the crafts-gildsmen will tumble down, or be "restored" for the benefit of the hunters of picturesque, who, hopeless themselves, are incapable of understanding the hopes of past days, or the expression of them. The beauty of the landscape will be exploited and artificialised for the sake of the villa-dweller's purses where it is striking enough to touch their jaded appetites; but in quiet places like this it will vanish year by year (as indeed it is now doing) under the attacks of the most grovelling commercialism.

Yet think I to myself under the elm-tree, whatever England, once so beautiful, may become, it will be good enough for us if we set no hope before us but the continuance of a population of slaves and slave-holders for the country which we pretend to love, while we use it and our sham love for it as a stalking-horse for robbery of the poor at

home and abroad. The worst outward ugliness and vulgarity will be good enough for such sneaks and cowards.

Let me turn the leaf and find a new picture, or my holiday is spoilt; and don't let some of my Socialist friends with whom I have wrangled about the horrors of London, say, "This is all that can come of your country life." For as the round of the seasons under our system of landlord farmer and labourer produces in the country pinching parsimony and dullness, so does the "excitement of intellectual life" in the cities produce the slum under the capitalist system of turning out and selling market wares not for use but for waste. Turn the page I say. The hayfield is a pretty sight this month seen under the elm, as the work goes forward on the other side of the way opposite to the bean-field, till you look at the haymakers closely. Suppose the haymakers were friends working for friends on land which was theirs, as many as were needed, with leisure and hope ahead of them instead of hopeless toil and anxiety, need their useful labour for themselves and their neighbours cripple and disfigure them and knock them out of the shape of men fit to represent the Gods and Heroes? And if under such conditions a new Ashdown had to be fought (against capitalist robbers this time), the new White Horse would look down on the home of men as wise as the starlings in their equality, and so perhaps as happy.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WORKING-MEN'S CONGRESS.

PARIS, 14TH TO 21ST JULY, 1889.

REPORT OF THE ORGANISING COMMISSION.

The Socialists of France could not let the anniversary of the bourgeois revolution pass without affirming the imminence of a working-class revolution, that on the ruins of a capitalistic society shall proclaim, alike for men and women, equal conditions of labour and equal means of existence and enjoyment.

Wherefore the trades' unions and Socialist organisations of France resolved at the Bordeaux and Troyes congresses to convene an international congress during the Exhibition. The solidarity of the workers, which the bourgeois reactionaries had thought to drown in blood, would thus have a glorious opportunity of proving that it had not been affected by the crushing of the Commune and the proscription of the International Working-Men's Association, inasmuch as, born of capitalistic production and exchange, it defied persecution and outlived defeat.

To organise this Congress, the Bordeaux National Council of Trades' Unions and the Troyes Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation appointed a Commission constituted by the different workmen's and Socialist organisations. With a view to emphasizing the work of union with which it was charged, the Commission, at its first meeting, invited the Syndical Chambers and Socialist groups of Paris to nominate delegates to participate in its labours. Thus open to all, our Commission may be considered as truly representative of the Socialist proletariat of France, bound, in spite of difference of opinion, by one common purpose, the international union of the workers.

On the other hand, an international corporative congress, held in London shortly after the Bordeaux Congress, resolved to call an International Congress in 1889, and notwithstanding the presence of Farjat, delegated by upwards of 250 non-Possibilist trades' unions, the Possibilists alone were charged with the organisation of the Congress, in total disregard of the fact that this was wrongfully taking sides in the French differences and defrauding all non-Possibilists of an indisputable right.

Rightly concerned by the calling of two international congresses simultaneously and in the same city, the foreign Socialists were bound to do their utmost to avert such a scandal by an attempt to fuse the two congresses. On the initiative of the German Socialists, a private international conference was called for the Hague on the 28th February of this year. Were present: Bebel and Liebhuecht, delegated by the Social-Democrats of Germany; Scherer and Reichel, delegated by the Socialist party of Switzerland; Ansele and Volders, delegated by the Socialist party of Belgium; Croll and Domela Nieuwenhuis, delegated by the Socialist party of Holland; Paul Lafargue, delegated by the National Council of the Syndical Chambers of France and the Executive Committee of the Socialist Federation of France. The delegates of the Socialist party of Denmark and William Morris excused themselves for not attending the conference, but intimated their adhesion to resolutions for the convening of a united International Socialist Congress. The Federation of Socialist Workmen, or the Possibilist party, invited on the same terms, and at the same time, as the workmen and Socialists of France, declined to send a delegate to the Hague conference, declaring that they would not allow the mandate given them by the London Congress, and which they intended appropriating to themselves, to be discussed. This was converting the duty to convene an International Congress into a right that should supersede the will of the Socialist parties of Europe. Now the London Congress was not qualified to pass resolutions binding on Socialist parties, because, though attended by Socialists, the Congress was not a Socialist but a corporative Congress, in the hands of the parliamentarians of the trades' unions, who went to the length of threatening the foreign delegates with eviction from the hall that they had hired: they had, indeed, taken measures to exclude from their congress the Socialist parties of Germany and Austria, as well as all other than manual labourers.

The Socialists would have been justified in disregarding a mandate conferred by such a congress; as to the Socialist organisations of France, they were resolved to abstain from sending representatives to an International Congress convened by the Possibilists. This resolution was motivated by the capital fact that the Possibilists, by openly acting as the bond-servants of the bourgeois parties and the electoral agents of successive ministries, had forfeited all claim to that independence which a Socialist party cannot renounce without abdicating.

Notwithstanding these considerations, the Hague conference, having international concord at heart, forbore to contest the validity of the mandate conferred on the Possibilists, and confined itself to specifying the conditions on which the Socialist parties represented at the Hague should participate in the International Congress. In a first circular, the Possibilists, treating

the Congress as their property, had arrogated to themselves the right of fixing the date and order of the day of the Congress, and of imposing a mode of verification of credentials that made the admission of French delegates a matter of their good pleasure.

These impudent pretensions were unanimously set aside by the delegates to the conference, who passed the following resolution: "The undersigned invite the Federation of the Socialist Workmen of France, in virtue of the mandate conferred by the London Congress in 1888, to call the International Congress for Paris, in accord with the working-men's Socialist organisations of France and other countries."

This convocation, signed by the representatives of the working-men's and Socialist organisations, to be brought to the knowledge, with the least delay possible, of the working-classes and Socialists of Europe and America, read as follows:

The Conference of the Hague resolved:

- (1) That the Paris International Congress be held from the 14th to 21st of July, 1889.
- (2) That the Congress be open to the workmen and Socialists of all countries on conditions compatible with the political laws in force there.
- (3) That the Congress be sovereign with respect to the verification of credentials and the fixing of the order of the day.

The Conference resolved, provisionally, that the following questions be treated:

- (a) International labour legislation; Regulation, by law, of the working-day (day-work, night-work, holidays, work of adult males, women, and children).
- (b) Inspection of factories and workshops, as well as of domestic industries.
- (c) Ways and means to obtain these demands.

The Belgian delegates were charged with officially communicating to the Possibilist party the resolutions of the Hague Conference.

Citizen Volders, having accomplished his mission to the Possibilist Council, came to our committee. He informed us that the Possibilists refused to allow the French workers and Socialists to sign the international circular of convocation, as also to recognise the right of the Congress to directly verify the credentials.

The National Council of the trades' unions, the executive committee of the Socialist Federation, and the Congress organising commission unanimously resolved to conform to the Hague resolutions.

So great was the desire to effect a union that the foreign Socialists endeavoured to persuade the Possibilists to reconsider their refusal. They addressed themselves to the Social Democratic Federation of England, which is in friendly relationship with the Possibilists, and urged the same to use its influence in deciding the Possibilists to acquiesce in the reasonable demands of the Hague Conference.

The Social Democratic Federation was as unsuccessful as had been the delegate to the International Conference. The Possibilists, on the contrary, took advantage of the forced inaction to which these efforts at conciliation had condemned the executive committee; they intrigued right and left, communicated perfidious attacks on our Congress to the bourgeois press, calumniated our organising commission, and despatched delegates to Belgium, Spain, and Portugal with a commission to win over adherents to the Possibilist Congress at any price.

In presence of this insuperable determination of the Possibilists and their party to divide the French proletariat, the Socialist parties of Europe resolved to act; leaving to the Possibilists the responsibility of a counter-Congress, that we had done all in our power to prevent, they, jointly with us, issued the convocation already published in *Commonweal*.

Before the publication of our first circular, a Congress of the Belgian Workmen's Party had been held at Julimont; the Possibilists lost no time in sending delegates to the same, in the hope of burking the Hague resolutions, but, despite their efforts, the Julimont Congress resolved by 39 votes against 33 that a delegate be sent to the Possibilist Congress, and by 55 votes against 22 that it be represented at our International Congress.

The Democratic Socialist Party of Denmark, at a meeting held on the 23rd of May, passed the following resolution:—"This meeting profoundly deplores the calling of two Workmen's Congresses for Paris, and resolves that the Danish Democratic Socialist Party adhere to neither of the two so long as two Congresses are maintained, but urges the council of the party to bring its influence to bear on the parties in dispute, so as to amalgamate the two Congresses."

The Social Democratic Federation of England alone, setting itself against all existing Socialist organisations of Europe and America, has espoused the Possibilist cause, without, it may be presumed, pretending, by its solitary presence, to impress an international character on a Possibilist Congress so innocent of all international socialist elements.

The workers of both hemispheres thus find themselves in presence of a unique Congress having a claim to act as their representative and interpreter, for it alone has been convened by the Socialist parties at large, and it alone will count in its body delegates of that fraction of the world's proletariat which is conscious of its aim, and resolved to rear, on the ground of common property, the emancipation of labour and humanity.

It is with a view to obviating all misunderstanding, and frustrating all manoeuvres of the eleventh hour, that the organising commission has decided, for the benefit of International Socialists, to publish an account of the efforts at conciliation and union that have been made prior to the meeting of the Congress.

For the Organising Commission and by order,

DAUMAS, *Chairman of the Sitting.*
BESSET, JAULARD, VAILLANT, and LAFARGUE, *Secretaries.*

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE IN LEEDS.—The labourers in the Leeds building trade are waking out of their Rip van Winkle sleep, and an organisation is in progress which bids fair to make a sensation among their masters. Last Sunday a meeting of about 3,000 men was held in Vickers Croft—Paylor, Hill, Sweeney, and Maguire encouraging the men to form a labourers' union, inclusive of bricklayers, plasterers, slate-layers, and joiners' labourers, with the result that at the end of the meeting 200 names were given in and 25s. collected. In the afternoon a crowded meeting was held at the club rooms, Clarendon Buildings, and a provisional committee was elected with a view to taking immediate steps to organise the labourers of the town. Meantime an aggressive front is being shown. The men are demanding an advance of a halfpenny per hour. They contend that during the past ten years wages have gone down 25 per cent. They will continue to meet at the branch rooms of the Socialist League until further developments.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Tram Slaves.

The agitation has now reached the North of London. The men employed by the North London Tramway Company and the London Street Tramway Company are bad off even for tram slaves, worse than they are even upon some poorer lines. This is especially the case with the men employed upon the steam-cars of the North London Tramway Company. According to the *Star*, the conductors work from 14 to 15 hours a-day, without any relief whatever, Sunday and week-days alike.

The men of the South London Tramway Company met at Sydney Hall, Battersea, in the early hours of the morning of 25th of June. Our comrade John Burns spoke at the meeting, and told the men that if they could not afford to pay 3d. a week, only the price of a pint of ale, to the Union, they deserved to work as many hours as could be crowded into a week. This blunt sentence is quite true. It is certain that if the men won't help themselves no one else can help them.

We are glad to hear that the Union now numbers over 1,000 strong. We are also glad to see that employees of some of the companies that do not treat their men so badly, are joining the Union in order to help their more unfortunate brethren. This is what all workers must do if they would free their class from its present slavery. The principle of the devil take the hindmost must perish before the feeling that the sufferings of the feeblest and most unhappy concern us all, and that in fighting their battle we are fighting our own.

The London Tramway Company have sacked two more men for joining the Union. One of them, Condon, has a wife and six children, and as one of the children was sick, he watched at its bedside till four in the morning. Through this he arrived four minutes late, and received his dismissal at once. Col. Davidson would not listen to his explanation, but said "Here's your license," and discharged him. He had served the Company for eleven years, and yet was sacked for being four minutes late. Can it be doubted that his membership of the Union explains it all? It is a great pity the gallant colonel cannot find courage to tell the man the real reason for his dismissal. The pretended reason for the dismissal of Driver W. H. Smith, who has been in the Company's employment for nine years, was that his horse looked "rather bad." What a pitiful excuse! Driver Smith had been very active in the formation of the Union; that was his real offence. The bullying cowardice of these slave drivers should teach the slaves how easy it would be to make them bite the dust, if the men were only united and determined.

On Saturday, the Cardiff tram slaves revolted, for the third time during the last six months, against their odious slavery of long hours and starvation wages. The slave-drivers endeavoured to start two cars manned by the scabs, but they got a warm reception, being surrounded by dense crowds and assailed with stones, rotten eggs, etc. One of the cars was thrown off the lines. The affair concluded by the chief of the police writing to one of the managing directors, and asking him to take the cars off the lines, as he feared their presence would lead to a riot! It is quite evident that the chief of police isn't suited for his position; he ought to have rejoiced at the opportunity for a wholesale bludgeoning of the strikers. Can't Mr. Matthews lend Munro for a few days to the Cardiff tram directors; we could spare him here.

It is good news to hear that on Monday, July 1st, the Cardiff men gained a victory by their indomitable courage and determination. It was time when grave-stones were laid across the lines, bricks and stones were flying through the air, and the heads of scabs and passengers were broken. The whole available police force of 150 men could do nothing against the popular storm, so the masters gave in. The following terms have been agreed upon: The men's wages will commence at 23s., and rise a shilling a week each year till the maximum of 28s. is reached. The men are allowed half a day off weekly, and no man is to suffer for his share in the recent proceedings. It is estimated that the damage done to the Company's "property" reaches £400. London tram-men, here is an example for you.

The Seamen's Strike.

At Liverpool, on Thursday, June 27th, another "violent" scene occurred. Some rats were signing on board the steamer 'Teneriffe,' when suddenly they were surrounded by a horde of furious men, who by force of desperate oaths and threats and the shaking of clenched fists, forced the rats to abandon the vessel. They then marched off with them in custody, the police being quite helpless. On the same day two processions of strikers with brass bands played the "Dead March" outside the offices of the Cunard Company, who have been among the bitterest opponents of the strikers. The steamer 'Atlas,' belonging to the same Company, is used as a floating boarding-house for scabs. The crew of the steamer 'Spray,' at Dundee, have refused to go to sea because the steward of the vessel belongs to the noble army of rats.

The seamen and firemen went in at Glasgow on Friday, June 28th. They agreed with the representatives of the masters that all scabs should be dismissed, but the masters now refuse to carry out their part of the agreement. Another example of the treachery of capital.

The Walsall Bit Makers.

These unfortunate men, who have been out on strike for a 15 per cent. advance for more than a month, have issued an appeal for help to their fellow-workmen, in which they state the reason why they have been forced into the struggle. They point out that some sixteen years ago the employers were so ashamed of the miserable wages they were paying that they granted them a 15 per cent. advance. For eight years they paid it, but suddenly the advanced price was knocked off. But now let the men tell their story in their own way:

"We had no option but to submit, for we were poor even at the advanced rate, and consequently weak; whilst our employers were few and rich, and therefore strong. For eight long years we have patiently submitted to this wrong; during which time we noticed that whilst we have worked harder and got poorer, we have earned more profit for our employers, and they have become richer and richer. Also that in our struggle to get on, we often fall victims to some form of chronic disease, and die a slow and miserable death long before our time. Even our most skilled workmen are unable to provide against our slackness of trade and old age. How then must it be for the ordinary and less fortunate workman? Yet on such miserable wages we are expected to be self-respecting, independent, honest, and to make due provision for old age and sickness: virtues which we

would ask our employers could they accomplish if they were in our places? We do not pause for their reply. We know they could not. For eight long years we have tried and failed; and now we feel bound, as honourable men, to refuse to continue this miserable, pitiless struggle any longer. We refuse, as men, such grinding of our faces, such degradation and tyranny. Life for us and our wives and children must be morally, physically, and spiritually blighted. To submit any longer to such slavish conditions, without making a desperate effort to free ourselves, we feel would be unmanly."

These poor fellows seem to have some idea as to the root of the evil—the oppression which naturally follows when the few are rich and the many are poor. It will not take them long to recognise the fact that Socialism is the only remedy for their wretchedness. Those who desire to help them in their uphill battle against the power which wealth gives to a few merciless men cannot do better than send their subscriptions to C. Taylor, secretary, 159 High Street, Bloxwich.

The Durham Miners.

A large meeting of delegates, representing some fifteen thousand men, has been held at Houghton-le-Spring. They unanimously passed a resolution urging upon the Executive of the Union that if the owners refuse to accede to their demand for a 10 per cent. advance, to take a ballot at once, and that if this is carried, their notices will be sent in so as to expire on the 31st of July. Great enthusiasm and a dogged determination to strike if necessary was shown at the meeting. The 5 per cent. offer of the owners was looked upon as an insult, and there can be no doubt that if this most reasonable demand of the workers is not acceded to, some twenty thousand men will come out. As nearly all the miners in other districts have gained advances ranging from 5 to 10 per cent. upon threatening to strike, there is a great chance that the Durham men may win without a battle. We wish them good luck. D. J. N.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ROUMANIA.

The Conservative Government of Roumania having introduced a Bill for fifteen millions, to be devoted to military works, the Socialist deputy Nadedje, the "best friend of the workers," has voted for the Bill! That's one of the blessed things to which parliamentarism leads a Socialist deputy. But we may add to the credit of the Roumanian Socialists that they have refused to endorse the action of their deputy. Would it not be better, indeed, if he took somewhat more notice of the awful sufferings of the Roumanian peasantry? Roumania is chiefly an agricultural country, and those who produce all that she lives upon are in a much more dreadful condition than anywhere else, even than in Ireland or in Italy. Dr. Obédénar writes about the miserable condition of the peasants in the *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des sciences médicales*: "The food of the peasant consists almost entirely of vegetables, cabbages and *mamaliga*, a kind of maize worse even than the Italian *polenta*. This subsistence, insufficient by its quality, which fatigues beyond all measure the digestive organs without repairing the daily losses of the body, is absolutely incompatible with the body in a land where malaria never disappears and where the cold weather is as excessive as in the Crimea. The Roumanian peasant produces only one half of the production of a French or an English agriculturist. But these would certainly only produce half the quantity produced by the Roumanian, if they were to be kept on the régime of cabbages and *mamaliga*." And Dr. Félix, professor of medicine at the University of Bucharest, writes: "The Roumanian peasants have not the same dynamic force as the foreign workers. The cause of it resides in their *frugality*, or rather, in their *exaggerated abstention*! Frugality here stands as an euphemism for starvation: professors are capable of anything and everything! Dr. Dima Georgesca, who is not a patented professor, puts it more plainly: "The food of the peasant is scarcely enough to benumb the colic that precedes death from starvation." That is the general condition of the people in Roumania, and it is not difficult to conceive how they have been visited by *pellagra*, that horrible curse of Italy. It is really to be hoped that the revolutionary party will soon be able to alter that state of things, for the agrarian reform of 1864 has made the peasant poorer and more unfortunate than he has ever been before.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Our contemporary *die Gleichheit* (Equality) of Vienna has been definitively suppressed by the Austrian police authorities, and without any judgment whatever. The police decree by which the paper is suppressed does not give any reason for it at all. But privately the chief commissioner of police has been good enough to tell Dr Adler, the editor of the paper, that the Socialist organ has been suppressed because it has provoked the troubles that have arisen in Steyr. Now, that is the second time that the police have tried to get rid of that incommuting paper, the first attempt having been made at the time of the tramway-men's strike. Our Vienna colleague asserts that it has had nothing at all to do with the Steyr troubles, but the capitalist press has been continually denouncing Dr. Adler and the *Gleichheit*, especially so *das Wiener Tageblatt*, the *Oesterreichische Volkszeitung*, the *Deutsche Volksblatt*, and *das Vaterland*. These papers point at Dr. Adler as an Anarchist; though he has never been anything else than a Social Democrat, and whenever he has had the opportunity he has fought against Anarchists. Again, the whole affair in Steyr was not even a Socialist uprising, and the organised Socialists there did not even interfere with it. Notwithstanding all this, not only was *die Gleichheit* suppressed by the police authorities, but the editors, Dr. Victor Adler and Leo Bretschneider, were charged with the instigation of the working classes and with interference in the recent troubles, and tried under the Anarchist laws before an extraordinary tribunal. Although the defendants and their paper, as we stated before, were opposed to the Anarchist party, the tribunal declared themselves competent, and sentenced comrade Adler to four months' imprisonment and fined comrade Bretschneider thirty florins, and the suppression of the paper was held good.

We are very sorry for the disappearance of the Austrian paper, and although we did not always share its views, we must say that it was one of the best papers in Europe. We hope that our Austrian friends will soon get out of their difficulties and start afresh. In the meantime, the subscribers of *Gleichheit* will receive, instead of their suppressed organ, the *Sozialdemokratische Monatschrift*, a monthly review edited by comrade A. Grosse, in Vienna.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Commonweals for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.: per post, 5s. 6d.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

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The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; M. Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Webb, 1s.; J. Presburg, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; C. Saunders, 1s.; E. E. Minton, 6s. 6d.; F. Kitz, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; and R. Unwin, 5s. 6d. Norwich, 1s. 5d.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Deptford Broadway*—Brookes and Charles spoke here to a small meeting last Saturday; 12 *Commonweal* sold. *Clerkenwell Green*—Brookes and Blundell spoke to a large and attentive audience on Sunday. *Hoxton*—Charles and Blundell addressed good meeting; fair sale of literature.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, A. Brookes lectured on "Order without Law"; a long and interesting discussion followed.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday, Kitz spoke to a fair audience on Mitcham Fair Green, giving a brief account of his visit to Manchester; 13 *Commonweal* sold.—S. G.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road Station at 11 a.m.; speakers were Mrs. Lahr, Grierson (S.D.F.), Tochatti, Lyne, jun., and Maughan; choir also sang; 3s. 4d. collected, and 35 *Commonweal* sold. A poor meeting at William Street; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, jun., and Dean; 2 *Commonweal* sold. This is one of the poorest neighbourhoods in the Kensington district, and our comrades mean to make something of the people if it is possible to arouse them. At 7.30 a good meeting was held at Archer Street; speakers were Dean, Crouch, Tochatti, Maughan, and young Saint; a swell in the crowd thought to entrap the youngster by questions, but the lad was equal to the occasion and astonished the people by his answers; collected 6d. and 24 *Commonweal* sold. During the afternoon our comrades at the demonstration in the Park managed to sell 64 *Commonweal*.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 17th ult., Leatham read a paper in answer to the question "Is a Science of History Possible?" On 24th, McCulloch's paper on "Education" was read and discussed. On 28th, Duncan, Cooper, and Leatham addressed meeting at Woodside, the singing attracting a good audience. On 29th, the usual Castle Street meeting was addressed by Duncan, Gilray (of Edinburgh), and Leatham—the latter being challenged by a vendor of doctor's prescriptions (who put a question and spoke from our platform) to debate Socialism with him in public on a date to be fixed hereafter. Same speakers held meeting on Sunday afternoon at Duthie Park.—L.

MANCHESTER.—No reports of our meetings were sent in last week, because we wished a fuller account of Kitz's visit to appear in *Weal*. This week we began with the Saturday night meeting at Middleton, where Bailie and Marshall addressed a good meeting; 18 *Weal* sold. The same speakers addressed a large meeting in Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon, the audience being very enthusiastic; 28 *Weal* sold and 9d. collected for propaganda. At Chester Road, Ritson and Marshall spoke. We began on Sunday night at a fresh station in Harpurhy; Stockton, Bailie, and Parkinson addressed the people, but it was not till we were over an hour started that a fair audience had assembled; 9 *Weal* sold and four new members joined. We intend working this station on Sunday mornings. We hold a meeting every Monday night at Holt Town, where we generally encounter considerable opposition.

LEICESTER.—Sunday, 30th ult., C. W. Mowbray addressed two meetings; morning, "The Need for Socialism;" evening, "Socialism, what is it?" The people seemed very interested, and the audience in the evening was the largest we have yet had; 15s. 10d. collection. This is the first collection that has been made in Leicester; 5s. worth of *Commonweal* and pamphlets were sold. H. Snell (Fabian), of Nottingham, gave a short address after Mowbray. Discussion was invited, but there was none forthcoming.—T. P. B.

LEDS.—On Sunday morning our speakers attended the bricklayers' labourers' meeting and spoke on their behalf. Again at night we had another meeting, when Sweeney, Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke to a large and appreciative audience, who manifested their approval of our ideas by loud cheering. We are endeavouring to organise the unskilled labourers in all branches of industry in the town, since the aristocrats of labour take no steps in organising them.

ROCHDALE.—On Sunday 30th we had L. Hull from London; he gave three lectures. A well-known spiritualist put a letter in the local paper which dealt with the strong language used by Socialists, which comrade Hull ably replied to.—H. BLOMLEY, Sec.

YARMOUTH.—On Monday a large meeting was held at Belton; comrade Reynolds addressed the meeting, which was very sympathetic. Our reception was so good that it is proposed to continue our meetings here. On Thursday evening a mass meeting was held in the Market Place, at which comrade McCormack of London and comrade Reynolds spoke. On Saturday a splendid meeting was held on the Priory Plain, addressed by Reynolds and McCormack. On Sunday morning on the Plain a meeting was held, which comrades Reynolds, McCormack, Ruffold, and Thomas of Ipswich addressed. In the afternoon another meeting was held, addressed by the same speakers. In the evening, on the Quay, we held a very large meeting, opened by Ruffold and followed by McCormack, who gave his experiences in the provinces; Reynolds came afterwards, and was well received. Six new members; total collection on Sunday, 11s.; *Commonweal* sold out. On Sunday morning, at Bradwell, a meeting was held by comrade Brightwell.—J. McC.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, June 29, G. King lectured on the "Gospel of Plenty." Slight disturbance by two or three blatant Gaels. Shields, Hamilton, Graham, and Wilson took part in discussion.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Good meeting in the Market Place on Sunday night, Peacock and Rooke speaking. The former denounced the boycotting of the club by certain property owners, who refused to let their premises for meetings.—R. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday July 7, at 8.30 p.m., Herbert Burrows will lecture on "Social Democracy v. Anarchism."

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Keimscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 7, at 8 p.m., a lecture by E. B. Bax, "Law." Thursday July 11, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 12, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

Glasgow.—A general meeting of the Branch will be held in Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street, on Sunday at 6.30. Members are urgently requested to turn up. Report of Committee and new Rules will be submitted for consideration.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurby.

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion in Gordon Hall. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 6.

7.30..... Finsbury ParkBrookes and Charles
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ ChurchKitz and Parker
7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchHill and Samuels
8.30..... Mile-end WasteMowbray and Davis

SUNDAY 7.

11 Latimer Road StationDean, Crouch, and Lyne jun.
11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar WalkEast London Branch
11.30..... Belbrook CommonHammersmith Branch
11.30..... North Kensington—William Street.....Tochatti, Maughan, and Saint
11.30..... Kilburn Road—"Canterbury Arms"Mainwaring
11.30..... Leman Street, ShadwellNicoll
11.30..... Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30..... Regent's ParkMowbray
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchMaughan
5 Victoria ParkMrs. Schack
6.30..... Wood Green—Jolly Butchers HillMowbray
7 Clerkenwell GreenPresburg
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
7.30..... Mitcham Fair GreenBrookes
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High StreetKitz
7.30..... Walham Green—back of ChurchThe Branch
8 North Kensington—Archer StreetNorth Kensington Branch

TUESDAY 9.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green ChurchThe Branch
8 Mile-end Waste.....St. George's-in-the-East Branch

THURSDAY 11.

8 Ossulton StreetNicoll and Cantwell
8.15..... Hoxton ChurchThe Branch

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.
Bradwell (near Yarmouth).—Monday evening.
Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslat Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. North Walsham at 11.
Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. A Meeting at Belton every Monday evening.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

Carnoustie.—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.
Dundee.—Meetings every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh.—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.
Galafruits.—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary.
Gallatown and Dysart (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. A.
Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

TO READERS.—Wanted, the address of Prince Adam Czartoryski. MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St.—Sunday July 7th, at 8.45, Mr. Jas. Harragan, "The Labour Bank." SOCIALISTS in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

LONDON ANARCHISTS' open-air propaganda.—Sunday 7th, Regent's Park, at 11.30, Humphreys and Ater-oll, "No Exploitation of Man by Man." Hyde Park (near Marble Arch), at 6 p.m., Bonham and Whiteside, "No Government of Man by Man."

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