

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

It is difficult, or rather impossible, to get at the real facts of the farce enacting in Bulgaria at present. The ultimate meaning of it is of course that Russia wants to get Bulgaria into due condition for being eaten—to beat it tender, as French cooks do with a beefsteak. As to when or how she will eat her Bulgarian morsel it is little use speculating. Meanwhile the Prince Alexander, who a few days ago was such a hero to the English bourgeois, turns out to be a "hero" of quite a modern type. He will now doubtless find plenty of people to give him the very disagreeable names which his present conduct seems to call for. I think it will be enough for us to sum them all up in one word—perhaps the most opprobrious that can be cast at a man—and say that he has acted like "a gentleman."

For the disappointment of the Bulgarian people one does really feel a pang of genuine grief; that they should be made the playthings of these scoundrels! Yet one must keep in mind that even if their dream of independence had been realised they would have been after all landed amidst the sordid realities of a backward country undergoing the process of being opened up to modern commerce. Nothing worse will happen to them under Russian rule—because nothing worse could happen to them. Massacre, war, pestilence, pinching times—all these are incidents to a rough condition of life; but they come and go, and leave hope behind them. But the pitiless grasp of commerce, continuous, unrelaxing, is a robbery of the weak by the strong from which there is no appeal. All these blessings of civilisation the Bulgarians would have had to accept as the dark lining to the glittering robe of their independence. Dependence on Russia can give them nothing worse, and may make them more discontented, more ready to throw off at once the tyranny of absolutism and the tyranny of the money-bag.

It is at least to be hoped that they will have no illusions as to the help they are likely to get from this country. "Our best wishes" they can have as much of as they please—a kind of gift-money which several other nationalities have had opportunities of appreciating at its true value—nothing. If they are so rash as to attempt to resist the Czar in arms, and get themselves killed and maimed by the thousand in consequence, they will at least have the further consolation that their sufferings will afford a pleasure equal to the reading of a realistic novel at the breakfast-tables of English middle-class families. But on the whole they had better trust to the paternal promises of the Czar than to the sentiment of the ruling classes of England: there is not a pin to chose between the good faith of the two.

In the debate on Dr. Clarke's amendment on the Crofter question there was plenty to show how in questions affecting the immediate welfare of the working classes it is hopeless to expect to get anything out of Parliament. "Non possumus," how can we? was the clear-cut answer to the Crofters' story; and will be the answer always given to any attempt at dealing with the one thing necessary to be dealt with—the exploitation of the workers at the hands of the land and capital grabbers. The occasion was made good use of by those who were anxious to set forth the virtues of the "Macallum More," that great chief (of rack-renters and land-agents) known in London as the Duke of Argyll, and to sing the praises of landlords generally.

It was no bad commentary, also, on the curious delusion that Parliament is a good platform for revolutionary propaganda that Dr. Clarke's speech was contracted into three lines of print by the great Liberal paper, the *Daily News*.

The unemployed men who "demonstrated" in Liverpool on the 3rd ult. met with a similar "How can we?" from the mayor of that city; though the answer was not given so unhesitatingly as in Parliament, and to judge by the report in the *Liverpool Courier* the mayor seemed somewhat uncomfortable, probably because he could not fail to know what an amount of distress there exists close to his own municipal door. One workman asked the mayor if the corporation could not take in hand their work themselves, instead of giving it out to contractors, who would employ less men. The mayor naturally said in answer that he could not say anything on the matter, and pointed out that competition among the contractors prevented any excessive profit. He did not further point out that that profit came out of the wages of the workman, for if he had heard that fact he of course would have

tried hard not to believe it, and probably would have succeeded. Neither, it seems, did the workman retort on him that the competition praised by the mayor was the reason why the unemployed were there asking for what in fact amounted to parish relief in a different form.

The workman (poor fellow!) had had no opportunity of learning that "relief works," in crises like the present, mean just digging a hole and filling it up again—a make-believe of real work, in short—and that the temporary palliation of employing out-of-work men on non-productive labour must be very temporary indeed, and react on those men who are "in employment"—i.e., who are working not for their own livelihood, but the profits of a master. Let us hope that he and his fellows are learning in various ways that there is but one remedy for their trouble—employing themselves; living on the wares which they themselves have made, using the machinery and hoarded wealth which they themselves have made to go on producing necessary and pleasant wares for their own use. It is dismal to think what a heavy price they are paying meanwhile for their ignorance of this. Let the thought stir up all Socialists to extra exertions.

WM. MORRIS.

TO THE POLICE.

FELLOW-VICTIMS,—Poor, despised, abused policemen, how refreshing a poor man's pity must be to you! But does it never strike you as passing strange why you, of all men, should be so generally disliked and avoided; you who are charged with the weighty duty of watching and guarding the interests of the community? I pity you sincerely in your thankless task. I pity you, dull and lonely, compelled to live aloof from men, pacing your cheerless rounds in stiff and sullen decorum. I pity you, numbered, buttoned, and solitary, dogged by the cold scrutiny of an unsympathising, fault-finding public, and for many other things beside.

What quarrel can there be between us as reasonable men? I know that you come of the people—the poor and unfortunate of them, as I do. That you have been buffeted through life I know, with next to no leisure or means by which to put your days to profitable account. That you, in common with the most of us, have had to rough it in all weathers for a scanty living, and, on the whole, a miserable one, I also know. What cause, then, can there be for bad blood between us? No cause in the world but our own sad ignorance!

But you may say: "Are you not a Socialist, and the enemy of law and order which it is our bounden duty to maintain?" I am a Socialist, and the ardent supporter of all order and law which have Justice for their foundation. Do you say that the justice of things is not your concern? Then will you not say whether you are men first, or policemen? Surely the justice of the laws you are called on to maintain should concern you closely as men, and doubly so as policemen. But you know, and I do, perfectly well that you cannot at all afford, as affairs stand at present, to consider the right or the wrong of Society's regulations. It is a matter of bread and butter to you, and you let it rest at that. Still, you would prefer to maintain the right thing to the wrong thing, would you not? If you say Yes, that is enough.

Now look carefully about you. You have a wide field for observation. The vices and weaknesses of the highest and lowest come out in all their nakedness before you. Are you never ashamed of the work you are compelled to do? Surely you do not enjoy arresting the poor starveling whose offence is his necessity, the begging of a mouthful of bread. Surely you at times compassionate the destitute girl whose last resource against hunger is the streets and a short life. But have you never made a mistake? I mean have you ever arrested, in your fresh and unsophisticated experience, an aristocratic ruffian under the delusion that the law applied without favour to wealthy and poor? If so you will have atoned. I can sympathise with the sense of shame which must take hold of you when you are contemptuously tossed half-a-crown to see a brawling, drunken money-bag home. I have seen a wealthy young rough make a bet with his friend that he would knock down the first "bobby" he met and not be arrested. And it actually turned out so, the few shillings which might have been mulcted at the police-court going, in this case, into the assaulted policeman's pocket. Of these proceedings I know but little in comparison to what you must know. I know sufficient, however, not to envy you.

Strip yourselves of your blue-coats and buttons now, and let me address you as men. Are you not saddened and sickened by the

miseries rampant around you? Are you not disgusted by the rottenness lording it and ruling? You cannot fail to note the fact that it is the unworthy, unscrupulous people, who attain to wealth and station. You must know that the useful worker, the creator of the good things called wealth, is a despised lower-class body, of which class you yourselves are parcel. When you know that wealth abounds, and in consequence of the labour of this degraded class, and when you see that very class starving through lack of the veriest necessities, what more is wanting to convince you of the injustice of prevailing laws?

Do not, therefore, as men of understanding, voluntarily set yourselves in the way of those who seek to uplift the downpressed. Curse the hour you are ordered to stand between the People and their proper rights! And prepare yourselves, while yet there is time, to help the People, when the right moment comes, to discomfort the common oppressor—yours as well as theirs.

In the meantime, you will be sent to our meetings to harass and obstruct us. Be not too willingly duped. Hear what the Socialists have to say, and by that means you will profit. Do not fall foul of the People! This mean stratagem of the powers set over us has worked too long and too disastrously. It is high time the Police and the People understood one another. Now more than ever it is meet for them to know that their interests and well-being should be one.

For the rest let me appeal to your humanity. Scatter the new ideas among and about you. Embrace them. Bide your time, and when the deciding hour is at hand throw off the blue-coat, buttons and all, join in the Cause of the People!

T. MAGUIRE.

“MOSTLY FOOLS.”

CARLYLE'S dictum has been well-nigh worn to death by this time, but it receives confirmation afresh from day to day. The latest illustration of the innate stupidity of the unawakened, unreflective mind, may be found in the columns of the London daily paper which with brazen insolence arrogates to itself “the largest circulation in the world.” In a column which has for some time past been set apart for correspondence upon the subject of foreign goods and competition, the British merchant has wailed and wept over his decreasing share of the world-market. The excuses framed by him, and for him by the ingenuous young men of the staff, in defence of his “enterprise” and “sagacity” in presence of the incontrovertible fact of his being beaten in the race, are numerous and wonderful, affording food for thought.

Let it be borne in mind that the only plausible pretext for the continued existence of the capitalist—the individual employer of labour—be he manufacturer or merchant, is, that he *organises* labour, productive or distributive, and that he thus fulfils a definite and useful function in the community.

Organisation of labour if it mean anything at all, must mean the disposition and arrangement of the work to be done among the men who do it, so that the greatest possible result may follow the least possible exertion, that the community in return for the labour expended by its members may receive the largest possible quantity of the necessities of life; and organisation of distribution must likewise mean the so managing the conveyance of the products of labour to the consumer as to cause the least possible waste or expense.

All this is upon the assumption that the “organisation” is really *intended* to benefit the community, but, as it is to-day, the so-called organisation upon which the capitalist bases his claim to extra remuneration is directed, *not* to the good of the community, but to the exclusive profit of the individual monopolist. As the individual capitalist has to fight for his life with all other capitalists in the same line of business, that is, to compete with them for a share in the market, a very large portion of the product of labour must be expended in maintaining this battle. As he by no means “sees the fun” of retrenching his “legitimate share” of the wealth produced, the sole way of meeting the drain caused by advertising, clerks, travellers, etc., etc., is by decreasing the wages of his workmen, and thus reserving to himself a wider margin of profit. His workmen—poor devils!—having only the power to labour in their own bodies by which to live, are compelled to sell it at whatever it will fetch in the open market, and to compete against one another for the privilege of toiling hard all their miserable lives for a starvation wage, with the workhouse as their reward at the end of it.

The profit of the master means the poverty of the worker. Wages cut down to their lowest render the wage-receiver unable to buy anything but the cheapest goods in the smallest quantities. In other words, they lessen his purchasing-power. Low purchasing-power, an inability to buy on the part of the masses, stagnates the home market and makes impossible the consumption of the manufactures of a country, or even an equivalent thereof, in that country itself. Hence arises the compulsion upon the capitalist to seek a market abroad, to find some place where his goods will sell at a sufficient price to keep up his profits. Capitalists of other nationalities are on the same road, they are equally anxious with himself to get and keep as much of the market as they can, and the battle is continually widened and intensified.

Every civilised community is in the hands of the capitalist class; every nation is exploited in the same way. Thus the imported goods must square with the purchasing-power of the consumers, must be cheap, even as the goods of home manufacture. But, as already pointed out, cheap goods entail low wages on those who make them,

and lessen their ability to buy, and thus the play and inter-play of competition goes on, until the whole civilised world groans under “foreign competition,” “over-production,” “depression of trade,” and all the other ills that our beautiful commercial system is heir to.

Surely now, one would think, the men of brain and breeding, the marvellous masters of the cheating art, the great captains of industry, should be able to assign somewhat of an intelligible reason for “the faith that is in them,” and in some measure to explain away the existing dislocation of commerce in accordance with their creed, which includes amid its many dogmas the assertion that this is the best of all possible worlds, and their management of the world the best of all possible providences.

From their prolific pen has flowed a stream of attempted explanations indeed, but they are explanations which explain nothing, and elucidations that, if taken as meant, would render the riddle a thousandfold more intricate even than it is.

The “foreign” capitalist is painted in colours of awe-inspiring darkness, and the good kind British merchant stands out in strong relief against a background of evil, unscrupulous, Machiavellian competitors. Somehow or another, the foreign workmen reverses the verdict, and is an angel of light when contrasted with our home article. As one means of raising himself to the sublime level of his foreign brother, the working Britisher is advised to reverse his present policy, and is warned against the “illogical action of trades’ unions in restricting production.” “If trades’ unions troubled themselves more about the hours worked, and the minimum wages of the particular trades they represent, they would do much more good than by restricting output, because most men would try to earn the highest wages;” which, being interpreted, means that the capitalist would be enabled to “employ” more labour if he could make a greater profit upon it, that unrestrained piece-work and overtime would multiply his profit, and enable him to compete with advantage until the balance was restored, when the labourer would find himself working at lower wages for longer hours and harder work, while production had again become as “restricted” as ever. “Yet,” says “Manufacturer,” “East-end labour is as cheap as *any labour in the world*,” and he adds his opinion that London manufacturers “ought to be ashamed of themselves, *with all their advantages*, for not having pre-eminence not merely at home, but in all neutral markets.” To this observer for one, it evidently appears as though it is his tender-heartedness and reluctance to “take advantage” which throws the British merchant so far behind. We may note with interest, remembering what “cheap labour” means, the admission that the London toilers are as miserably treated as the most rigorously trodden down of earth’s inhabitants; and yet it is not enough!

Of course, the venerable but decrepit stalking-horse of the apologist for commercial crises has been trotted out, and “Over-production” in all its glory brought forth as a solution. Where production is for consumption, and regulated alone by the needs of the community, there *can* be no over-production,—nor is there now in truth. What the cry means is that there are more goods produced than will bear profit to the capitalists.

Another correspondent, who attributes the ills of which he writes “to the competition of the low-paid labour of the Continent,” finds the remedy in “protection of British industry,” for, as he says, lowering of the wages generally “would only drive our people to discontent and Socialism.” That is to say, he wants to artificially raise the prices of imported goods so that home-made ones may be “enabled to compete,” and he does not see that this is robbing Peter to pay Paul, mulcting the consumer to benefit the producer, who in his turn is mulcted upon what he consumes, until it is all brought round to the same condition of things as that with which we start. His letter concludes with a question we too should like to see solved: “What is the use of the British Empire if it fails to find employment for the people to whom it belongs?”

One individual, after a little juggling with the currency question, concludes: “It is certain that we are not being drained of our gold, and that what we buy is counterbalanced by what we sell. This being so, *we have not as a nation anything to complain of.*” Virtually saying: “Scant food and lack of clothing, depleted stores and poor harvests, all these may come upon us and much more, but so long as we have a supply of the precious metal we are all right. What we want is *money*, it does not matter about the things to be bought with it, we can do without *them.*”

But the gem of the whole collection is a letter which treats of the former supremacy of England in the world market and her gradual decline, ending with the naively lachrymose complaint: “I have come to the conclusion that some foreign merchants and manufacturers are quite as expert in roguery as any we can produce!”

In the day now dawning, when social good shall be men’s aim instead of private profit, when goods shall be made and stored and exchanged as the need of the community direct without regard to individual greed, when amicable exchange of worth and benefit between peoples shall supplant commercial war and national rivalry, when free federated communes are tilling and working and building in peace with themselves and all others, such manifestations of utter imbecility will be looked back upon with compassion, even as the “civilised man” of to-day looks back upon the crude and childish ideas of his primitive progenitors. Meanwhile we, the forerunners of the coming time, must in season and out of season expose the trivial absurdity of the excuses put forward by the men who imagine that as they stultify themselves by their lying they can blind the world.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

THE PARIS TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

MR. BURNETT has written an article to the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he has given his views of the International Trades' Union Conference recently held in Paris. Considering Mr. Burnett's position and that of the English trades' unions at present, this is a document of some importance, and it would be well to understand what the drift of it is. He writes as a trades' unionist, and clearly is anxious to establish the superiority of the English workman over the French, who from his point of view is more backward as being less of an unionist, and also as being worse paid than his English brother. As to the latter point I need say nothing, save that Mr. Burnett's figures help to confirm the Socialist view of the general industrial depression all over the world. For the rest, he speaks of the French trades'-unionists as belonging to the Possibilist section of the Socialists, who, I must remind our readers, are the most backward section of the party, being sorely tainted with opportunism, and aiming at mere State Socialism; so that I must assume that the French trades'-unionists, though they may go further in a Socialist direction than the English do, are nevertheless not amongst the most advanced of French workmen. As for the resolutions for which the English delegates refused to vote, it is true, as Mr. Burnett states, that some of the measures they indicate have been in force in England for some time; but the two most important of them are the claims for an international minimum of wages and for a maximum of eight hours for the day's work, which of course have not been touched here. However, Mr. Burnett states that the English delegates would have affirmed their assent to them, "but for the first clause, which required the workmen of the different countries represented to urge their respective governments to open negotiations for the purpose of concluding international conventions and treaties concerning the conditions of labour." Now the neutrality of the English delegates on these terms does seem, as the *Cri du Peuple* calls it, "grotesque," because these resolutions imply the continuance of the present state of things otherwise, and can only be carried into effect by the existing machinery of government; so that to a plain man the meaning of the neutrality seemed to be, "Yes, we agree to these measures, but we do not want to have them carried out."

Of course to us Revolutionary Socialists the resolutions seem no approach to a solution of the labour question; and to try to carry them as an instalment of our claims seems a more than doubtful step, as it is possible that after a long agitation they might be yielded to by the masters, who, though they would then be in a worse position perhaps, would still be the masters; labour would not be emancipated, while the workmen would be "contented" by the concession—i.e., put off from the real issue.

But, also of course, the neutrality of the delegates was not based on this objection: they were not afraid of State Socialism, but of Socialism. Nor, indeed, can we pretend to be surprised that they were not prepared to vote on this point with the other delegates, who were all avowed Socialists of some shade or other. Mr. Burnett's phrase of "the English unions depending for their advancement upon themselves" is a mere phrase, and really means the reverse of what it seems to mean. It means that the English unions are not prepared to accept the responsibilities of freedom, that they are still contented with their position as a check on the masters—a check whose tendency is to ensure the existence of the employing class. But it is clear from Mr. Burnett's article that they are shaken somewhat, as the following quotation from it shows decidedly: "It was felt that with so strong a Socialistic feeling now manifesting itself in England, it was not possible to stand on the high ground of three years ago, as if no such feeling existed."

There is a certain weight in these words, coming from Mr. Burnett, whether we look upon him as "Chief Correspondent to the Labour Bureau of the Board of Trade," or as a trades' union delegate: in both capacities he is bound to be very cautious. We may fairly hope that three years from this time the trades' unions will not be "sitting on the fence," but will be in the lists, and on the right side there.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

The form of Mr. Bradlaugh's question in the House as to the imprisonment of John Williams was rather unlucky, since it allowed the Home Secretary to evade the real point of the extreme harshness of the sentence on both defendants, for Mainwaring's was exactly the same as Williams's. Of course the Home Secretary told the now well-worn falsehood of the absence of discrimination on the part of the police; also he said nothing on that important part of the sentence which binds our comrades over to keep the peace and find a surety for twelve months. If John Williams were to pay the fine, he could not come out of prison until he had satisfied this part of the sentence also. In short, Assistant-Judge Edlin has managed to bamboozle people as to what the sentence really was; and now the Home Secretary is helping him. In any case, the public may rest assured that the sentence was directed against the Socialists because they were Socialists, and for no other reason.

A (PROFIT-SEEKING?) CIVILISER.—Whether this man be honest or not, whether his motive be a high one or base, matters little to the unfortunate victims of his exploiting "improvements":

"The young Maharajah of Manipur is setting to work in earnest to improve his estates and give employment to his subjects. He has imported machinery from England at a cost of over Rs. 55,000, and has established works at Lakhipur, Cachar, for sawing and preparing timber for building purposes, and for the making of furniture and tea boxes. The valuable forests of Manipur will yield an unlimited supply of timber, and the cost of preparing it for industrial uses will now be greatly reduced. Machinery for working soorky-mills and for paddy-husking has also been added to the resources of the State, and will no doubt bring in a considerable accession of revenue. The young Maharajah is certainly moving in the right direction; and if he continues to show the same intelligent interest in the welfare of his people, he will secure their loyal attachment while adding to the material prosperity of the country."—*Times of India*, Aug. 10.

THE SONG OF THE WORKERS.

(REMEMBERING THE MARTYRS OF THE COMMUNE.)

We drift along the streets, and hear our masters in their mirth.
They've slain our friends—our martyrs—but their spirits walk the earth:
They're moving in a silent realm of service for the race;
Their voices now are sounding from a hushed and awful place.

They now are calm and patient—they are for us, but can wait;
They're moving on forever in the silent round of fate—
Free as the winds and waters—all our earthly wall and bars
Have crumbled into ashes: they are moving with the stars.

We'll not forget, O comrades, how ye met the ravening hordes—
How shone out over all the earth the splendour of your swords;
How they lit up all the Future, all the golden years to be,
When the burden shall be lifted and the worker shall be free.

We'll remember how ye rallied, faced the ancient Wrong in wrath,
How your swords that lie in ruins cut the centuries a path.
We'll not forget your forms that loomed upon the barricades,
Nor how ye looked from silent eyes when laid asleep with spades.

Yours were the distant voices of the Revolution:—hark!
What noise is that of hurrying feet that gather in the dark?
The noise of pale men marshalling! Look! what tremendous Form,
Looming in outer darkness, throws its shadow on the storm!

It is the Terror marching on before the face of kings—
The light of hope that falls upon the anvil as it rings—
The sad and haggard Spectre that begins to hush the feast—
The Hand reached down to mortals in the furrow with the beast.

More terrible than bugles or the roll of startled drums
Will be their cry before us when the final battle comes.
Ring out, O voices, gather from the four winds of the night—
Ring on as rallying music in the fearful front of fight.

CHARLES EDWIN MARKHAM.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Little Socialist* of Denver, from which the Clerkenwell Branch took its idea of the *Labor Leaf*, has reciprocated the compliment by adapting to the advertisement of the *Labor Enquirer* the leaflet entitled "The Worker's Claims and Public Opinion," originally written by comrade Schen to advertise the *Commonweal*. This is as it should be: whatsoever is of use for the advancement of our cause should be used by all.—S.

Essais de Critique (Giraud, 18, Rue Drouvt, Paris). Under this title, M. Charles Fuster publishes a number of studies of the most striking personalities and ideas in the literature of to-day. The article on "Pessimism and M. Paul Bourget" is one of the best in the book. In it the author discusses the theories of cotemporary pessimism in a spirited manner. M. Fuster defends throughout his book optimism, the dream and the ideal. It is a work of literary reaction, and, what is rare, written by a young man. Seldom has the school been so energetically attacked.

We have received Nos. 3 and 4 of the *Tribune des Peuples* (Paris), which bids fair to be a very useful publication. These numbers contain some well-written popular articles on subjects interesting to Socialists, and a good deal of varied foreign news, of which, indeed, the editors seem to make a special feature in their periodical. We wish our cotemporary all success.—M. M.

To-Day for September has two sonnets on "The Depths of the Sea," that, good as they are, are immensely over-matched by the subject with which they attempt to deal. The articles this month are up to the average. A special number has been published, consisting wholly of an instalment of Broadhouse's "Capital."

Christian Socialist is, as usual, fairly good reading. An over-zealous correspondent is tacitly rebuked for taking a recent rabid article on "Socialists and Purity" too literally, and is told "There is a high moral tone among its (Socialism's) London advocates as a rule."

Municipal and State Socialism (L.P.D.L.) is a reprint of the address delivered by M. Leon Say to the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is principally filled with a glorification of "individual energy and personal responsibility" as against social unity for common good. The international solidarity of the exploiters grows ever more complete—let the toilers take heed.

The Liberty and Property Defence League have also issued a broadsheet translation of M. A. Raffalovich's laudatory description of them, and of their work originally published in the *Journal des Economistes* (Paris). This contains a confession that the League was formed "under the pressure of necessity"—(the rats are being cornered and show fight)—and elsewhere explains: "It is certainly not a disinterested League, actuated by humanitarian motives; its bond is rather the upholding of the grand principle of individual liberty, and the preservation of property intact. Railway companies, shipowners, manufacturers, landowners, have had for some time separate organisations for the protection of their particular interests; these independent associations are grouped around the London League. It is an incontestable fact that these interests are powerful, dispose of large resources, and wield considerable influence in Parliament. Granted they are monopolies," etc., etc. Keep on explaining, and you will lighten our work!—S.

Six thousand tobacco-workers have struck work in Havanna, because the employers would not raise their wages. Sixty-eight factories are stopped.

More capitalistic murders are reported this week. At Linkinghorne, near Launceston, a workman and his child were killed by the bursting of an unsafe boiler. Being only a workman he can be replaced at less expense than his employers were willing to go to for a new boiler.—F. H.

"Unreasonable devil! You're twice as well off as your grandfather was!" says the capitalist to the workman. But that isn't the point: the question is, is the workman as well off as he might be and ought to be? And if not, why not?—*Workmen's Advocate*. It is not only the capitalists who talk like this, but men, who imagine themselves to hold advanced opinions and who belong to Radical organisations, sometimes lecture Socialists upon their presumed unreasonableness because they refuse to be bamboozled with such ridiculous comparisons. Editor of *Radical* please note.—T. 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 are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

All articles are signed, no special significance should be attached to them because of the position they may occupy in these pages. None, therefore, are 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. can only be 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.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

J. W. B. (Deoghur, Bengal).—We have replied by post. We are always glad to receive letters from all sorts and conditions of men in every country of the world—the more the better.

C. E. MARKHAM.—Many thanks. One used in this issue, others as we find room.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 8.

ENGLAND	NEW SOUTH WALES.	La Citoyenne
Justice	Sydney—Bulletin	Guise—Le Devoir
Freethinker	UNITED STATES	BELGIUM
Norwich—Daylight	New York—Volkzeitung	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Club and Institute Journal	Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir
Church Reformer	Truthseeker	SPAIN
Anti-Sweater	Boston—Woman's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Bristol Mercury	Liberty	Bandera Social
Anarchist	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Cadiz—El Socialismo
National Review	Tuculo (O.)—Industrial News	Barcelona—La Justicia Humana
Journal of Vigilance Association	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Aeracia
Practical Socialist	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	HUNGARY
Radical	Cleveland (O.)—Carpenter	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	NORWAY
Madras—People's Friend	Herald	Social-Democraten
Allahabad—People's Budget	Evening Journal	Kristiania
Bombay—Times of India	Daily News	SWEDEN
Indian Spectator	FRANCE	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Voice of India	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL
Calcutta Statesman	Le Socialiste	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
CANADA	Le Reveille	Voz do Operario
Toronto—Labor Reformer		

RECEIVED.—"The Poor's House"—"Where does all the Wealth go?"—"Crime under Socialism"—"Woman's Work."

MONEY AND MEN.

WE can scarcely open a newspaper at present without seeing all the ills of the present time put down to the fall in prices. The daily papers of the 27th ult. report that Mr. Norton, the New South Wales delegate to the Working-men's Congress in Paris, said that in his colony "agriculture could not be said to exist," the landlords being of the same kind as our Irish ones, and that "the position of the working-man was intolerable." In the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 26th ult. is a picture of "Another Circle of Hell," namely the condition of the pit-women of Belgium, as set forth in the Report of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry into the Material Condition of the Working-classes. The same *Gazette* contains an article by M. Emile de Laveleye on "The Case for Bi-metallism," in which it is stated that one main cause of "the present economic crisis" is the recent disuse of silver for coinage purposes. The meaning of an economic crisis is, I think, a state of affairs entailing suffering on some large body of people. The above-cited "intolerable position of the working-man" in New South Wales, and "the Circle of Hell" in Belgium are samples of such suffering, which spreads over the whole commercial world.

M. de Laveleye has studied primitive property and has a reputation for trying in a scientific spirit to get at the real root of things. His article may then perhaps be taken as a scientific statement of the causes of the pressing social evils of the time, and of the remedies which, in the view of commercial magnates, it is possible to apply.

Now the point of the scientific statement is that a fall in prices leads to most dreadful results in a commercial system. Is it seriously believed that the condition of the working-classes, which only varies between being a little less and a little more miserable, has been in the

least caused, or can in any way be affected by "a fall in prices," any very sudden changes being excluded? Judging from the wearisome repetition in the mouths and through the newspaper organs of the governing classes, they do entertain this belief. But if we recollect that many beliefs are based upon people's interests, we naturally ask whether this class-belief has any other foundation.

Arthur Young, writing in 1770, makes a statement, verified by later enquirers, that in the 275 years elapsed since 1495, prices had increased seven-fold, but agricultural wages had only doubled. The scientific statement strongly suggests, though not saying so in so many words, that among "the sad results of a fall in prices" is "a proportionate fall in wages," and the same must be true of a rise. What does such science make of Arthur Young's fact?

Will Political Economical Science be pleased to tell us what is the ideal relation between an ounce of gold or silver and a pound of beef or a sack of wheat? If I go to a professor of Natural Science, he will tell me that if certain definite weights of sulphur, oxygen, etc., be taken, sulphuric acid can be made; that this by acting on copper and zinc to a certain extent, will produce electricity, which can be measured and stated in quantity quite definitely; and finally that the relations between the various weights and quantities are and always have been the same. Does Political Economical Science give us any similar information about its subject matter, and will it tell us why an ounce of gold would buy nearly 1000 lb. of meat in 1495, when its price was about 1d. per lb., but now only about 100 lb.? If the persons who profess this science were to venture to tell out plainly the reason of this, it would give such a shock to their enchanted palace, as would shake it into ruins.

Their answer would tell the world that their measure of value was a thing that itself varied in value from day to day, and that they were like architects using an enchanted foot-rule which though always a foot-rule in appearance, should vary in length day by day from an inch to an ell. The folly, or rather the cruelty of mortgagees, landholders, etc., is extraordinary. They demand a fixed amount of gold every year, without any regard to the amount of labour required to get the gold. Then comes a crisis and farmers and tenants are unable to pay their rents. Is this because they work less, or because the ground is less fruitful? Not a bit of it, but "prices have fallen." In other words, the farmer has to hand over to his landlord a larger share than before of his wheat or barley, has in short to work more for him, until he can work no more. Then comes a chorus of complaint from all the idle classes who live on other's labour; up rise the Professors of the sham Science, and the Apologists of Usury, and put forth scientific excuses for the mess that has been made, or promote Wars which shall develope commerce and set us straight. The scientific statement above alluded to is simply a number of assertions, without any attempt to connect them together into the form of a proof, or even of an argument for establishing some probable conclusion. "Coinage is the blood of the social body"—such phrases are simple nonsense. "The production of gold is very inferior to the requirements of the world." Where is the proof? If the production of gold were half of what it is, the labour employed in getting it and other circumstances being unaltered, the principal differences would be that there would be less gilding, and that our "sovereign" would be of about half its present weight. It cannot be said that such changes could constitute a disaster of the intensity prophesied by our commercial wisecracks.

The fact is that their scientific statements show how entirely they walk in grooves, and how cramped their minds have become by the deadly formalism of our money-making society. They have become unable even to grasp the idea of living men acting together under a more rational system, where something very different from "coinage" would be "the blood of the social body," namely, a fellow-feeling over all its members. There would then be no horrible contrasts of the millionaire lolling in his Heaven of idleness, and of starved women grinding out their lives in the Hell of a Belgian or English pit, contrasts which are the necessary results of competitive commerce. Is it because the Professors of Scientific Commercialism regard them as necessary, that they pass them over in silence? If so, they and Socialists are at least agreed on one point, and the question that remains is whether the only conclusion to be drawn is not that a system producing such necessary results, without any corresponding advantage, ought not at once to be swept away.

C. J. FAULKNER.

A visitor at a lunatic asylum made the following observation to the head doctor: "How is it that you venture to risk yourself among all these raving lunatics?" "There is no great courage in what I do. Madmen are veritable anarchists, for one never sees two of them agree upon combined action. One can chastise a lunatic and his neighbour will never dream of defending him. Because they are incapable of uniting themselves in resistance, but few warders are sufficient to control hundreds." Society is an immense asylum: the wage-workers are like the lunatics; as they will not agree to impart solidarity to their efforts, it only needs some thousand police and soldiers to oppress millions of workers.—*Le Socialiste*.

Every toiler in the land contributes more than half the products of his labour to the support of the 50,000 state office-holders, 125,000 federal office-holders, a standing army of 25,000, a navy of 20,000, besides 100,000 ministers, 125,000 lawyers, 150,000 doctors, and innumerable other quacks, to which may be added half a million retired usurers and speculators. The farmer gives these idlers his best veal, beef, wheat, and mutton, while he has left the heads, plucks, and middlings. The coal miner gives them the best coal while he burns screenings; the gold digger gives them the best metal, while he wears brass; the weaver gives them the silks and laces, while she wears the five-cent print; the tailor gives them the best broad-cloth, while he wears shoddy. Thus it is with everything. The drones live on the fat of the land.—*Industrial News*.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XI.

REACTION AND REVOLUTION ON THE CONTINENT.

WHEN the great war which Napoleon waged against Europe came to an end by his defeat and ruin, France was once more handed over to the Bourbons, and Europe fell into the arms of reaction and sheer absolutism. The Holy Alliance, or union of reactionary monarchs, undertook the enterprise of crushing out all popular feeling, or even anything that could be supposed to represent it in the persons of the bourgeois.

But the French Revolution had shaken absolutism too sorely for this enterprise to have more than a very partial success even on the surface. The power of absolutism was undermined by various revolutionary societies, mostly (so-called) secret, which attracted to them a great body of sympathy, and in consequence seemed far more numerous and immediately dangerous than they really were. Still there was a great mass of discontent, mostly political in character, and by no means confined to the poorer classes.

This discontent went on gathering head, till in 1830, and again in 1848, it exploded into open revolt against absolutism all over Europe. This revolt, we must repeat, was in the main a mere counter-stroke to the reaction which was diligently striving to restore the aristocratic privilege which the French Revolution had abolished, and to sustain what of it had escaped its attack. In 1830 the revolt was purely bourgeois in character, and was in no sense social, but, as above said, political. In 1848 it had in some places a strong infusion of the proletarian element, which however was dominated by middle-class patriotism and ideas which led to the assertion and consolidation of nationalities. But a new element was present in these latter revolutionary movements, though at first it did not seem to influence their action much. This was the first appearance in politics of modern or scientific Socialism, in the shape of the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, first published in 1847. The rise and development of this phase will be dealt with in detail further on; at present we can do no more than call attention to the steady and continuous influence of this last-born Socialism, compared with the rapid extinction of Babeuf's propaganda, although he had a numerous body of adherents; since this fact marks a very great advance in opinion since the end of the eighteenth century.

The general effect, however, at least as seen openly, of these insurrections was little more than the shaking of absolutism and the supplanting it in various degrees by middle-class constitutionalism; and also, as aforesaid, an added impulse to the consolidation of nationalities, which later on produced the unification of Italy and of Germany, and the assertion of the independence of the Hungarian nationality.

In France the outward effects of the insurrection were most obvious and lasted the longest; but the bourgeois republic which took the place of Louis Philippe's corrupt constitutional monarchy asserted itself tyrannically enough against the proletariat, and in consequence had no strength left to meet the political adventurer Louis Napoleon, whose plot against the republic received just as much resistance as gave him an excuse for the massacre of 4th of December 1851, by means of which he terrorised France for many years; although as to numbers it was quite insignificant compared with those which followed the taking of Paris by the bourgeois troops at the time of the fall of the Commune in 1871.

This successful stroke had really no relation to any foregoing reactionary dictatorship. It even professed to be founded on democratic feeling, though as a matter of fact it was the expression of the non-political side of bourgeois life—the social and commercial side—the ideal of the shopkeeper grown weary of revolutions and anxious to be let alone to make money and enjoy himself vulgarly. Accordingly France settled down into a period of "law and order," characterised by the most shameless corruption and repulsive vulgarity. She got at last into full swing of the rule of successful stock-jobbery which had already been established in England, and carried it on with less hypocrisy than ourselves, but perhaps with more open blackguardism.

To sustain this régime various showy military enterprises were undertaken, some of which it was attempted to invest with a kind of democratic sentiment. It was also of some importance to make at least a show of giving employment to the working classes of France. This principally took the form of the rebuilding of Paris and the restoration, or vulgarisation, of the mediæval cathedrals and public buildings, in which France is richer than any other country; so that this apotheosis of middle-class vulgarity has left abiding tokens of its presence in a loss which can never be repaired. But in spite of this militarism and the attempt to gain the support of the proletarians by gifts of "bread and pageants," discontent of various kinds sprang up and steadily increased. Moreover, the new birth of Socialism was beginning to bear fruits; the Communist propaganda got firm hold of the city proletariat of France. Socialism was steadily preached in Paris at La Villette and Belleville, which latter, originally laid out and built upon as an elegant suburb for rich bourgeois, proved a failure, and became a purely workman's quarter in consequence.

While all this was going on underground as it were, the Cæsarism of the stock-exchange was also beginning to get the worst of it in the game of statecraft; and at last the results of the consolidation of nationalities which was the chief aim of the bourgeois revolt became obvious in the revival of the old animosities between Germany and France. Bismarck, who had become the attorney-dictator of Germany,

had got to know the weakness of the showy empire of Louis Napoleon, and had a well warranted confidence in that carefully elaborated machine the German army. He laid a trap for the French Cæsar, who fell into it, perhaps not blindly, but rather driven by a kind of gambler's last hope, akin to despair.

A great race war followed, the natural and inevitable outcome of which was the hopeless defeat of the French army, led as it was by mere selfseekers and corrupt scoundrels, most of whom lacked even that lowest form of honour which makes a Dugald Dalgetty faithful to the colours under which he marches. The Second Empire was swept away. The new Republic proclaimed after the collapse at Sedan still kept up a hopeless resistance to the unbroken strength of Germany—hopeless, since the corruption of the Empire still lived on in the bourgeois republic, as typified in the person of the political gamester Gambetta. Paris was besieged, and taken after a long resistance, which reflected infinite credit on the general population, who bore the misery of the siege with prodigious patience and courage; but no less disgrace on those who pretended to organise its defence, but who were really far more inclined to hand over the city to the Germans than allow it to gain a victory under the auspices of the revolution.

All this must be looked upon by us as Socialists as merely the prelude to the great drama of the Commune, whose aims and influence will form the subject of another chapter.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERNATIONALISM.

As the references to the starting of various associations in "Socialism from the Root-up" are necessarily brief, I desire as one who took a part in bringing together English and foreign workers, to supplement them. If we select the period immediately subsequent to the death of Robert Owen, we look upon a gloomy phase of working-class history. Remnants of the great Chartist and Socialistic agitations were following upon divergent roads the lead of Bronterre O'Brien and Ernest Jones; the former attacking the evils of landlordism, usury, and profit, and proposing what might be termed a mixture of Individualism and Socialism as a remedy, and the latter seeking through political Parliamentary means to alleviate social ills. Away from these sincere men was a mass of what may be termed the disbanded army of Chartist workers, men who probably were never sincere in their temporary adhesion to the great principles put forward during the previous great agitations, and now sought their own aggrandisement at the expense of the people's Cause. All sorts of middle-class humbug was upheld and preached by these renegades—Thrift, Emigration, National Insurance, and Malthusianism—a host of bogus associations sprang into existence for these several objects, and one or two middle-class saviours of Society became general banker and treasurer to the whole; our old friend Samuel Morley might consider this a personal reference. How these fellows scrambled for the middle-class gold thrown amidst them! How they belittled the great principles which they had formerly professed, and derided the enthusiasm of young men who sought to carry these principles forward, is well known to many who have pioneered the present Socialist revival.

The birth of the International was a gleam of hope for the workers, but even upon that body they intruded their presence; sleek trade unionists, who only believe in a corrupt aristocracy of labour and the "rights of those who can get them," irrespective of those who are entitled to them, joined with the aforesaid middle-class hacks in an hypocritical make-believe of adopting the economic theories of Marx and the principles of universal emancipation. But whilst the English delegates were playing a rôle, the "foreigners" were in earnest, and the Commune was proclaimed in Paris. It acted as a solvent upon these members of the British Federation, and they hastened to assure their patrons that they had no sympathy with violence, and a few belonging to that curious combination known as the Workmen's Peace Party, chief product of benefactor Morley, went to Paris and wept crocodile's tears over the effigy of the executed Archbishop of Paris, and thus added insult to the injuries endured by the martyr Parisian people in striving to prevent the re-imposition of the shackles of Capitalism. Favourable mention must be made of those members of the Federation who did honour to the heroism of the Parisian workers, but their enthusiasm could not withstand the dull apathy and hostility of the masses—apathy in a large degree due to the spectacle of apostasy presented to them. Their expiring effort was the formation of a club in 1873, which, however, was short-lived, and the earlier celebrations of the Communist uprising as a consequence were almost confined to foreigners resident in London. The persistent efforts of the London refugees to establish relations with English workmen resulted in a meeting of English, French, and Germans in August, 1877, whereat a resolution was agreed to form an International Club, and a few months saw its inauguration at Rose Street, Soho. I might record that they had previously rendered generous service to the English Trades' Unionists by causing the return of a large number of German masons, who, through the misrepresentation of the employers, were inveigled over here during the famous masons' strike. Their efforts were rewarded by the somewhat Internationalist Broadhurst rushing into print to deny that the International had any hand in the business. The passing of the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany crowded the ranks with exiles, and clearly demonstrated the futility of lawful agitation against despotism. The sudden strain of supporting a mass of expatriated men, women, and children was immense, but it was met and overcome. Suffice it to say that outside of the few Englishmen comprising the English section, not one penny of help did we receive. The Englishmen in association with this club now commenced attacks upon the cant and humbug which the enemies of progress were indulging in. Anti-Emigration meetings were held, whereat resolutions were passed denouncing the monopolists and their tactics, and the unemployed were stirred to resist the process of slow starvation. The execution of the Czar, and the prosecution of Most for commenting upon this event in the German *Freiheit*, together with the publication by the English section of a manifesto and English edition of the *Freiheit*, drew general attention to the principles of

Socialism, and vastly aided their propagation. In this light we might almost view ex-Home Secretary Harcourt as the putative father of the present marvellous growth of our movement.

The initial meetings of the Social Democratic Federation were held at this revolutionary and by that time Anarchist club, and although it may be very inconsiderate of me to note this fact, as affecting the origin of those who are not only painfully anxious to be considered a "purely English party," but also as the sole custodians of correct Socialist principles, to whom all others are "but their pupils and offshoots," (*vide Justice*), yet the truth must out. The Germans, having by bitter experience been cured of Parliamentarianism, the New English Party started with it, with what success the logic of events may prove, but there were a few inside and outside of the new party who would not wholly commit themselves to it on account of its Jingo Nationalism, and still preserved their organisation intact, and to these are due the thousands of Socialistic pamphlets, leaflets, and manifestos in circulation over the country, the wherefrom of which has seriously troubled our "masters."

The foundation of the "Radical," by S. Bennett, and the efforts of the Anti-Coercion Association to prevent coercion in Ireland, was also contributory to the birth of the "only English Party." In connection with Gladstone's ill-starred coercive policy, there are one or two facts which show curiously how English opinion is manufactured. Four trusty henchmen met over a friendly glass and determined to go to the aid of the Grand Old Man, and forthwith there was launched into existence the "Radical" League in support of the policy of her Majesty's Government towards Ireland. One of the four, a reporter, under a cloud for reporting an execution that never took place, had to work his "copy" through another hand, and the morning papers contained lengthy reports of the speeches which this precious gang made to one another, and Irishmen were exasperated by what appeared to be an influential combination against them. One of the historic four I see was among the seven who pretended to represent the English working-class at the late International Trades' Congress, and as "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind," he, of course, "warmly protested" against the attack made upon his fellow-Coercionist—Broadhurst by the German delegate. The game of representation which he and others have played for so many years, and the formation of bogus political associations chiefly around the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, is now doomed by the advance of Socialism. Whilst in reality they have only represented a narrow clique in a special craft, as another delegate truly told them, the Aristocracy of Labour, they have presumed on all occasions to speak in the name of the great mass of the English workers, a position for which they have as much right to as the man in the moon. To talk of German competition whilst Englishmen are forcing their goods upon millions of people at the point of the bayonet, is like pot calling the kettle black, and is a stupid and mischievous contribution to the discussion of Social Economics.

The toilers and moilers in the sweltering back slums of our cities and towns, who get their hand-to-mouth existence in ways that Burnett and Co. neither wot of nor care about, and even the over-worked unionist who sees his combination powerless to repress the growing power of Capitalism, and only useful in saving the pockets of the exploiters from poor rates, and to increase the cost of living and rent to himself and others, may well question whether the Socialist or the *paid* Union Delegate best represents the full interest of Labour.

Mr. Burnett's sneer as to the fact of his being able to speak without fear of imprisonment falls flat, for he and his fellows would run no risk of imprisonment, even in despotic Germany, for acting gratuitously as relieving officers for the middle-class. But if, instead of talking cant, he fought the true battle of Labour with Monopoly, he might find himself fined or imprisoned even in "dear" Albion—Mainwaring and Williams to wit. However, he and his *confreeres* have their reward. That sly product of our modern capitalist system, viz., the anonymous scribbler of the Hebrew Money-jobber Daily Press, belauds them, and this, together with the small jobs which their close friends the Parliamentary Whigs are sure to give them, will constitute a sufficient recompense for the trials and tribulations endured at the Congress.

The German delegates' references to the Conservatism and indifference of the English workers to the root question of whether Labour shall be the slave or the master in Society are particularly true, and whilst we must regret that the present Socialist upheaval is more due to the failure of English Capitalism to still afford wages to its slaves than to spontaneous generous impulse on the part of the workers, we know that the movement now growing will not recede, and that the glorious band of men and women who dreamed dreams of Universal Freedom, and fought and died for their realisation, will receive just recognition by the establishment of an International Federation of the wealth producers.

FRANK KITZ.

"CAPITALISTIC ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM."

In the article on the above subject in the *Commonweal* for Aug. 28, an attack is made on vegetarians which to me is unjustifiable from a Socialistic point of view. The writer says it is "the vegetarian capitalist circular setting forth the advantages to be derived, both morally and monetarily from a vegetarian diet." And why should not this be what the writer says it is? This sneering style of writing in a Socialist journal is not calculated to advance the cause for which we are working; because, first, is it not a fact that vegetarians are as a rule thoughtful people, and is it not this class which it will be an advantage for Socialists to enlist under their banner? Second, is it not a fact that the majority of working men waste a large proportion of their hard-earned wages on eatables and drinkables which are not only worthless but positively injurious to them? Third, is it not a fact that working men can keep the body in a proper condition to perform their daily labour on a vegetarian diet? Having had five years' experience, my testimony ought to have some weight. Fourth, is it not the duty of every wage-earner to study how to lay out the money he works so hard for in the most advantageous manner? It is thought so; and I adopt the practice because there is an old saying that practice is better than precept.

It is all very well to rail at capitalists, and as a rule they are selfish and cruel oppressors of the masses; but what of the workers? Can we honestly and truthfully say they are what we wish them to be? The answer must be, they are not. The writer says by a cheaper diet they—the masses—may save a little if they are very economical. Would it not be better for them if economy was more extensively considered and practised in their daily lives? The writer of the article makes this quotation: "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow." That in this case is quite true; but the blow must be struck near home, and at some of the vicious habits which workers have contracted, before they will be in a position to enter fairly into a war

with the capitalist of this country. And it will be well for our fellow-workers to consider what are the conditions necessary to success when an army enters the field against an enemy. Why, that they have healthy bodies, that the organisation under which they fight shall be as near perfect as possible, and that they be commanded by able and skilful generals. Is this the case as regards the workers to-day? I fear not; and the workers' true friends are those who point out in what they are deficient. The capitalists have the advantage of the workers in all the particular points put forth; and though the workers outnumber them by ten to one, they are powerless to materially alter the existing state of things while they are merely dependents.

PHILIP R. DOMONEY.

Southampton.

"RIOTS AND REVOLUTION."

"Russian Anarchist" has proffered in your columns of Aug. 28 some remarks which, alas! are anything but superfluous. Among the curses of so-called constitutional (*i.e.*, hyper-commercial) countries the disposition to truckle to law and order takes the place of honour. How the bourgeoisie can be expected to hand over their "rights" and privileges to the mere force of moral suasion is only known to peace-preaching Socialists. Surely by this time we ought to comprehend that so long as the workers only demand their rights the capitalists will simply commiserate with and pray for them, perhaps sending round the hat for the purpose of flinging a few bones to the hungry dogs outside, and then philosophise upon the superior humanity of latter-day civilisation. This infamous farce would be ludicrous were it not effective; but effective it is, at least with our countrymen of the "tight little island." Through persecution, therefore, we learn to see the bourgeois jackal in all his native ugliness—a sight to be commended to all weak-kneed Socialists. In England the flimsy sham of freedom has hitherto sufficed to confine the malcontents within the bounds of moderation. In Germany (as I have noticed since my sojourn here) the "Arbeiter" understands perfectly well the economical chess-board, and will give small quarter to King Capitalist when once he succeeds in mating him. I can only say with your correspondent that I consider riots as of incalculable moral value as preparative measures, habituating as they do the people to measure their strength with the hirelings of their "betters," and destroying that fatal prestige which the law enjoys with the superstitious. This the shrewd capitalist are well aware of—*vide* the journalistic Billingsgate on the occasion of the London riots, and the moderate and matter-of-fact language used with regard to the Belfast scimmage, where blood has flowed freely, but wherein the Social-Revolutionary element was unsuspected. The gulf between exploiters and exploited is an impassable one: *verb. sap.*

K. L. L.

Hamburg, Sept. 2.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

FRANCE.

PARIS.—In the XIII Arrondissement there has been a strike of women at a corset-maker's atelier. This man employs 150 women who earn 8 to 12 francs a-week. Finding this wage too dazzlingly large, he made a new regulation which still further reduced it 20 per cent., requiring the workers to sign this on their entrance to the workshop as a *sine qua non*. Most of them naturally refused to accept such a condition, and have struck.

VIERZON.—The municipality of Vierzon-Ville have been quarrelling among themselves in a very edifying manner, the mayor and the opportunist members of the Council reproaching each other for the reprehensible action taken in summoning troops in aid of the "Société Française." In short, they are a little bit uneasy, seeing that the strike has assumed an important aspect, the strikers having popular opinion and sympathy with them. The authorities who permitted military assistance to be sent in against so peaceable and dignified a set of strikers might well begin to feel, as they look, somewhat foolish.

AMPLEPUIS.—A correspondent of the *Cri du Peuple* writes: "The firm of Villy, after having acquired an immense fortune, finds that this is not enough; they must reduce their workers to a state of misery. Is it not the way to obtain this result, to give them a wage of 1 franc a-day while exacting 12 hours' work for the same? What can the father of a family do with such a sum? We have been striving since the 16th June to lead our exploiters to recognise that the proletaire is not a labour-producing machine, and that he too has necessities of life. In sustaining our own cause, we sustain that of all our brothers."

RONCHAMP.—M. Rondet, secretary of the Federation of Saint-Etienne is at Ronchamp working among the miners towards the formation of an association of workers. The strike here caused much alarm to the mining company, and the prefect and commandant of the gendarmerie have remained in the district awaiting the outbreak of a general strike, while cavalry and infantry have been held in readiness at Belfort. The overseers had forbidden the miners to assist at any meetings, but uselessly, for when Rondet arrived on the scene several meetings were largely attended, the audience openly defying the gendarmes.

"If they (the masters) agree together to force us to be idle, so much the better! Let us take them at their word. A universal strike! But instead of coming one after the other, let us strike all at once, the same day! The Aventine of Labour. . . . Let Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, all the great centres of national work give at the same moment the signal for a universal strike. Let the French workers cross their arms for only twenty-four hours and they will conquer, without a wound, without one drop of blood, one tear. There is no prison large enough to contain a People! The Social Revolution will be effected."—FELIX PYAT in *Cri du Peuple*.

SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—There has been some disturbance in the air at Barcelona for some time; a large strike of masons has lately taken place, and the authorities of the town have been taking military precautions in expectation of possible rioting.

An important meeting will be held here on the 8th September, consisting of representatives of the different departments of the woollen industry of the district. They purpose enquiring into the question of wages and organising some resistance to the prejudicial tariff of the capitalists.

BILBOA.—A correspondent of *El Socialista* writes: "It is sufficient here for a workman to be known to hold Socialistic and anti-religious opinions for him to be dismissed from workshop or factory. The authorities play shamelessly into the hands of the masters. It is now five months that the rules of working-men's societies have been detained by the Municipal Government awaiting their final approval and sanction. The local mandarins have a special law, it would seem, to interpret the right of association; as a proof thereof it is sufficient to know that a little time back Señor Pirala said that "they would approve of any such society, not being in existence for the purpose of organising strikes; if the contrary, they could not pass the rules." In short, the obstacles to the right of association are of such a nature that it is impossible for a workman's organisation to exist legally. The result is that the solidarity amongst the workers is nowhere sufficient to enable them to break the chains that enslave them and subject them to the "organisers of labour."

MADRID.—The numbers of the Labour Party increase day by day. The wage-workers of the capital who are the victims of an overwhelming an exploitation as their fellows in other parts, and who perhaps feel the severity of the economical crisis here more intensely than elsewhere, begin to see clearly that the only way to obtain their complete emancipation is to unite and take action as a definite party.

CASTELLÓN.—The Typographical Society still holds on the strike in Armentogot's establishment, though the latter, unable to find workers to replace the strikers, is offering a certain reduction of the working-day and a rise in the wages.

BELGIUM.

GHENT.—Ansele, the editor of the *Vooruit*, has just given himself up at the prison of this town to undergo his term of imprisonment. Several hundred workmen and women were at the gates of the prison awaiting his arrival, and cheered him loudly on his entrance.

VERVIERS.—300 navvies on the railway at Lamboux, near Verviers, have left off work on hearing that a reduction of wages was intended. Several brigades of gendarmerie have been sent to the spot.

LIEGE.—"The depositions made by the workers before the Commission of Inquiry has produced a deep impression throughout the country. The frightful misery of the wage-workers, the inhuman way in which the great majority of them are treated in the capitalist *bagnios*, where they in truth undergo the punishment of 'hard labour,' the numberless abuses of all sorts of which they are victims, all this clearly shows those among the bourgeoisie who think and reflect, that Belgium is not exactly a country of Cocaigne—as is so often falsely said in official harangues and hymns of praise—and to better the condition of the Belgian worker is an urgent necessity." I quote from *L'Avenir* (Liège), which goes on to give a full account of the result of the Commission of Inquiry. Among the witnesses taken from the iron foundries of the district, most of them demanded the total abolition of child-labour under the present conditions, in the last degree degrading and demoralising, as they say; and some of them demand the abolition of woman's labour. One witness said that the women in the foundry where he was, often worked all day up to their thighs in water, their wage being 70 to 80 centimes. Several officials and police-inspectors were examined, and gave the same dismal account of the lives of the miners. The huddling of families in one room (because the workmen's dwellings, so thoughtfully built for their benefit, are beyond their means), the miserable households—to call them by so grand a name—the dependence on the shops that sell on credit up to a certain time, and then "Pay or be off with you!", the debauchery and degradation—all this is, not a "twice-told tale," but a thousand-times told tale, "vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man." The dull ear will have to quicken its sense if the securely-sleeping bourgeois would not be suddenly aroused by the murmurs which, as yet, he hears only vaguely through his slumbers.

A large demonstration of miners and ironworkers was held at Motherwell on Saturday last, some 20,000 workers being present. Resolutions were passed denouncing the truck system still prevalent in Scotland, and the exactions of mining royalties. Messrs. Bradlaugh, Stephen Mason, and Donald Crawford, M.P.'s, spoke to the resolutions, their speeches being commonplace appeals for Whiggish reform. Several of the working-men, however, made vigorous and even Socialistic speeches, and it was quite evident from the applause with which the most extreme sentiments were received, that the miners are far ahead of their political patrons.

"Every night crowds of people are huddled together on the seats along the Thames Embankment and on the waste ground near Blackfriars Bridge." Such was the statement of the police at the Mansion House Police Court on Tuesday, August 31. Sir Andrew Lusk said it was scandalous that in the richest city of the richest country of the world so many persons should be wandering homeless and destitute. I beg his worship's pardon; he did not say that. He said it was scandalous that the authorities took no notice of the complaints about the state of the Embankment. The Alderman apparently would like these miserable outcasts to be driven from their present sleeping places to some spot where they would not offend the eye of comfortable respectability. Does Sir Andrew ever reflect that wealthy aldermen and homeless vagrants are produced under the same social system, and that the police are powerless to reform either body.—*Club and Institute Journal*.

The British Association have been debating on co-operation, and one of the speakers made a statement, in opposition to which I should like to place my small experience. He said that Socialist agitators had been unable to make any head-way in Lancashire because co-operation had turned so many of the workers into little capitalists. Doubtless, in this case "the wish was father to the thought." I only remember to have been once opposed by a co-operator specially on the question of co-operation, and that was near Oldham, where to my surprise more than one co-operator got up and said that our system had been tried and had proved anything but satisfactory. I found that he had taken Socialism to be another form of joint-stock company, such as those which pass under the name of co-operation, and that they had already begun to see the weak places in that system. Doubtless, many of the more thoughtful men, who if free would have come and worked with us, are too much taken up with co-operation even to give us a hearing, but I feel sure that the experience which they will get of the evils arising out of our competitive form of industry in their attempts at joint-stock production, will speak to them in favour of Socialism more eloquently than the best of our lecturers.—R. U.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Executive.

At their weekly meeting on Monday September 6, the Council unanimously voted: "That the Council of the Socialist League has full confidence in the good faith and loyalty to the Cause of our comrade Victor Dave, and supports him against the malicious attack made against him in the *Anarchist*." H. Graham was selected to fill vacancy in Council caused by resignation of Mowbray.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Mile-end, North London, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Dublin, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Birmingham, Leeds, Merton, Norwich, to August 31. Manchester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

BRANCH REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, September 3, at 49, Tottenham Street, W., a very successful business meeting was held. We decided to give at least 5s. per week to the *Commonweal* fund. We mean to discontinue the usual weekly public meeting, and hold instead one every month, but members are asked to attend with their friends at the Communistic Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., on Friday nights to enjoy a social chat on some subject appertaining to Socialism. P. Webb will open the discussion next week.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, September 1, D. Nicoll lectured on "The Benevolent Bourgeois;" good discussion followed.—On Sunday, September 5, we held an excellent meeting on the Green, of an hour's duration, addressed by Blundell, Chambers, and Somerville, after which we invited sympathisers and inquirers to come and listen to an indoor lecture by H. Davis on "The Modern Trinity." Some hundred or more followed us to the hall to the tune of the Marseillaise, and comrade Davis had a large audience. The lecturer dealt with rent, interest, and profit, and showed the immorality of this modern Trinity; altogether friends found the lecture quite interesting and profitable; a brisk discussion followed. Sale of literature has improved. One new member made, and several this week have promised to join. Collected for Defence Fund: Wednesday, 1s. 10d.; Sunday, 3s. 0½d.—W. B.

CROYDON.—On Sunday morning, September 5, D. J. Nicoll spoke at our open-air station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road, to a highly interested audience. In the evening he lectured on "The Benevolent Bourgeois," and his amusing discourse was much appreciated by those present.—A. F.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday morning, we had a very successful meeting at the corner of Salisbury Street, addressed by comrades Arnold and Henderson. We succeeded in keeping the footway pretty clear, and were not interfered with. In the afternoon we held our usual meeting in Hyde Park, at which Henderson, Chambers, and members of the Branch spoke; 1s. 1½d. was collected for the Defence Fund.—H. G. A., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 31, we met at our Branch-room, "East London United Radical Club," 143, Mile-end Road, for the purpose of holding our last meeting there, as we had notice to quit the hall after that date, when, to our surprise, we found all the chairs, forms, and tables placed on the platform in an ungainly heap, the floor of the hall swamped with water, rendering it entirely unfit for carrying on a meeting. T. E. Wardle was the lecturer appointed, and was already awaiting to be summoned to the hall. Under the circumstances, however, we decided to carry on our meeting on the Waste, as it would take some time to make the hall ready. Comrade Wardle then addressed a very large meeting on the Waste on the general question of Socialism, which was well received by the majority of those present; some slight opposition was offered by a bystander, who declined to address the meeting from the platform; his questions were answered to the satisfaction of the audience. Some pamphlets were sold at the end of the meeting. We are again without a place to meet in, which means practically that we are, as a Branch, disorganised; I therefore appeal to our Socialist friends in the district to keep on the alert for a suitable place to hold our meetings in for the approaching winter.—H. DAVIS.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, F. Kitz spoke to a large crowd gathered on Mitcham Fair Green, and a contingent of working-men came over from Streatham to assist. They listened attentively to a lecture on the history of the "Rise and Progress of English Manufactures," and the institution of the Poor Law as a reward to the workers for their industry. The chief inventions were the result of working-men's inventive genius. The capitalist horde of stock-jobbers and share mongers had seized upon the inventions of Stephenson, Arkwright, and Hargreaves, and built up colossal fortunes out of the over-work of men, women, and children. The lecturer concluded with an exposition of the principles of Socialism. 22 *Commonweals* sold, and several promises of adhesion given in. We purpose forming a Branch in the neighbourhood.—F. KITZ.

NORTH LONDON.—The usual meeting was held by Chambers at Ossulton Street on Tuesday, and was followed by some discussion. Sale of literature fair.—At Harrow Road, a most successful meeting was addressed by Henderson and Wardle. Although the meeting was as large, if not larger than usual, no police interference occurred, and the audience was most favourable.—The Sunday morning meeting at Regent's Park was addressed by Cantwell, Beckett, Mainwaring, and Wardle. The Branch is making good progress.—F. H., sec.

DUBLIN.—At a meeting held on Sunday, September 5, it was resolved to form a committee for the purpose of establishing an International Club, the objects of which are to be the promotion of solidarity among the persons of various nationalities residing in Dublin and the establishing of the Socialist movement upon a firmer basis. Membership will be open to all persons of advanced opinion, Radicals, Democrats, Secularists, etc. Our temporary address is 50, Dawson Street, where we shall be glad to see all *bonâ fide* enquirers and sympathisers, and where all subscriptions, presents of books and papers, etc., will be thankfully received. Several of our members are assisting in the formation of the Saturday Club for the coming season. All friends of progress, lovers of free speech and free discussion, no matter what their political creed, should support this useful club. We are in hopes of being able to push a very effective propaganda here this winter.—K.

GLASGOW.—Owing to unfavourable weather our outdoor meetings had mostly to be abandoned last week. On Saturday, a band of our members went to Motherwell, where a large demonstration of miners and ironworkers was being held. The attraction of M.P.'s, brass bands, and holiday exuberance, however, militated against the efforts of our comrades, and but little propaganda work was done.—On Sunday evening in our Rooms, 84, John Street, owing to Mavor being out of town there was no lecture, but an interesting discussion on "Socialism and Politics," took place.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Tuesday, August 31, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" was read by Mrs. Teesdale. The simple and eloquent style of the address was much appreciated by the audience. J. L. Mahon afterwards spoke on the Free Speech struggle, and a collection was made towards paying Mainwaring's fine.—E. T.

LEEDS.—We held our usual open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor on Sunday morning. Comrade Maguire spoke to a large and attentive audience on the

conduct of the English delegates at the Paris Congress, and showed that English workmen could hope for nothing from their so-called leaders and representatives; that their only thought was how quickly to get out of the ranks of the workers into those of the idlers. Comrade Hunter, an old trades-unionist, who followed, said that although trades unions may have done good work in the past, they would not be able to raise the workers from the depths to which they had fallen, and that the only hope for the workers was through Socialism. The audience took the points well, and when we left they were discussing the question in groups. Sale of *Commonweal* two quires.—We have not yet got a meeting room, and have to transact the Branch business in a comrade's house kindly lent for that purpose, but we are endeavouring to procure a room for the coming winter.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning, a very good open-air meeting was held on the brick-field, Ashton Old Road. Unwin spoke of the robbery of labour by landlord and capitalist; comrade Prince followed with a very good speech, in which he dwelt on the international character of our movement. Our able salesman, comrade Cadle, disposed of a quire of *Commonweals*. Two or three promised to come up to the club-room and join.—R. U.

NORWICH.—No meeting Sunday morning on account of rain, but we held two very successful meetings, one in the Market Place at three o'clock, also one on St. Martin's Palace Plain at 7.15 p.m. Speakers were comrades Mowbray and Thixton of Lowestoft, who was over on a visit to our Branch. The audiences in both cases were very sympathetic, a few questions being asked which were satisfactorily replied to. The enquiries about Socialism being so earnest and numerous, we have no doubt when our comrades Morris and Sparling come to Norwich they will be gratified to find that Socialism has made some little progress here.—T. M., joint sec.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING-MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB, 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—The following resolution was passed unanimously at the weekly meeting of the members of the above club on Saturday, September 4:—"Considering that the American Government pronounced a sentence of death, which means eightfold murder, on our Chicago comrades, although the only crime proved during the whole infamous trial was their sympathising with the oppressed, therefore be it resolved, that we express our utmost abhorrence against the American legal murderers; furthermore, we appeal to the workers of all countries to heed such bloody deeds of the capitalistic tyranny, and call upon them to combine for bringing about speedily the Social Revolution which alone will put an end to such base and murderous deeds, and will secure happiness and harmony for the whole of Humanity."—W. W., sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 10, at 8 p.m. P. Webb on "Foreigners in English Socialism."
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 12, at 7.30 p.m. H. Charles, "The Dawn of Happiness." Wednesday 15, at 8.30. William Morris, "Education."
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7.30 p.m. H. A. Barker on "The Poor's House."
Dublin.—50 Dawson Street. Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m.
Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.
Hammersmith.—26, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald.
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

Country Branches.

- Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. On Saturday afternoon, September 11, open-air meeting at Rutherglen (near Town Hall) at 5 p.m.—On Sunday afternoon, at 4.30, open-air meeting on Glasgow Green.—At 7 p.m., in our Rooms, a lecture on "Mr. Bradlaugh's Criticism of Socialism," by J. Bruce Glasier.—On Monday evening open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.—On Friday evening open-air meeting at Govan (Cross).
Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. September 14. E. Teedale, "The Times of Wat Tyler."
Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m. On Monday evening, September 27, William Morris will lecture in the Ardwick Temperance Hall, Pin Mill Brow, Ashton Old Road. All our members are urged to muster on Saturday evening, September 25, to meet comrade Morris in our club room.
Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.

Table with columns: Date, Station, Time, Speaker, Branch. Includes entries for Sat. 11, Sun. 12, Tue. 14, and Wed. 15.

PROVINCES.

- Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.
Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m., Sundays.
Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.
Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

PECKHAM REFORM CLUB, Queen's Road, S.E.—On Sunday, September 26. at 8.30 p.m., C. W. Mowbray will lecture on "Woman, Her Place under Socialism and To-day."

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged, £16, 3s, 2 1/2d. Clerkenwell Branch, 1s. 10d. Hull Branch and Com. Arb. Bild. Ver., 10s. 6d. T. B., 6d. N. London Branch, 3s. 10d. Clerkenwell Branch, Sept. 5, 3s. 0 1/2d. E.S.S., 1s. Total, £17, 3s. 11d. T.H. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 6, 1886.

A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£200) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square. The Committee requests that early application be made for Programmes by all who can help to sell them.

International Congress of Glass-Bottle Makers.

The International Congress of Glass-Bottle Makers, already mentioned in these columns, will take place on Saturday October 16, at Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

THE VIERZON STRIKE.

OUR comrades engaged in the struggle at Vierzon are in urgent need of help. We, the English Socialists, as a token of solidarity with our French comrades, open herewith a subscription on behalf of their wives and children. All amounts to be sent to the Secretary of the League, who will duly forward it to Le Cri du Peuple for administration.

LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

- The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. . . 1d.
For Whom Shall We Vote? Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. 8pp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. . . 1d.
Art and Socialism. By William Morris. Bijou edition. . . 3d.
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THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

- 1. Trades' Unions. By E. Belfort Bax. 16pp. crown 8vo. . . 1d.
2. Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By Wm. Morris. 24 pp. . . 1d.
3. The Factory Hell. By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 1d.
4. The Commune of Paris. By E. B. Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 24pp. . . 2d.
5. Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. . . 1d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13, FARRINGTON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

THE

PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

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SOCIALISTS should read BRONTERRE O'BRIEN'S great work—"THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PHASES OF HUMAN SLAVERY: How it came into the World, and how it shall be made to go out." 148 pp., demy 8vo, cloth lettered. Published, 1885, at 3s. 6d.; now offered post-free, 1s. 3d.—GRO. STANDING, 8 PINSBURY STREET, E.C.

REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Contains: The Marsellaise; Song of the "Lower" Classes (Ernest Jones); Song of Labour (Andreas Scheu); Song of the Social Democratic Band (Carl Weiser); Hymn of the Proletariat (Johann Most); A Last Appeal (E. Nesbit), etc. 16 pp. cr. 8vo, 1d. To the trade and for distribution, 7 1/2d. per doz.; 1s. 1d. per quire; 4s. per 100.—Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

BOMBAY, INDIA.—The Commonweal and other Publications of the League can be obtained of D. Gostling, 47 Apollo Street, Bombay.

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. Commonweal always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.