

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE O'Brien incident in New York is worth noting. It must be admitted at once that Mr. O'Brien would have injured the present prospects of the cause of Home Rule—that is, more explicitly, the establishment of a semi-independent Irish parliament at Dublin—if he had identified himself with the Land Nationalisers and semi-Socialists of New York. But on the other hand, his refusal has also injured the cause of Irish independence, looking at it from a broader point of view. The Land Nationalisers and other more advanced politicians may well say, Is it a foregone conclusion, then, that all the Irish Parliamentary Party look forward to is an imperfect form of peasant-proprietorship—*i.e.*, the creating of a number of small landlords in place of the few big landlords already existing?

Well, as a matter of fact that is the idea of the parliamentary Irishman; and if he went further than that he would be ahead of the ordinary Irishman—in Ireland, at all events. Nor need we wonder at that. The land question is the side of the question of exploitation which naturally thrusts itself forward in Ireland; and the share that the cottar tenant has in it is a war between his industry on one side and a poor soil and a coarse form of robbery on the other; and any alleviation of his lot will for the time put him in heaven, so to say, and make him a very conservative and property-loving character. All this, of course, is what the parliamentary Irish politician is reckoning on, and consequently he won't trouble himself to even consider the landless labourer who will still remain after the advent of peasant proprietorship, or indeed the future of the peasant proprietor himself, which will, in two words, be ultimate ruin.

Perhaps sometimes we Socialists have been tempted to envy the simplicity of the one-plank platform of the Irish agitator, but such an incident as this of Father M'Glynn *versus* Mr. O'Brien shows the dull side of it. In fact revolutionists cannot evade the duty of keeping their true aim clearly before them, and asking themselves if it is worth the trouble, and they must accept as a necessary consequence of the carrying out of that duty all the unpopularity and lack of support and jeers at their want of practicality which they are sure to encounter if they go straight to their object.

Meantime a Socialist can hardly help chuckling when he thinks that Father M'Glynn, who has really made a straight revolutionary hit at that terrible revolutionist Mr. O'Brien, may in his turn find himself denounced as a capitalist-saver one of these days; may, or certainly will, unless he moves forward with the times. To-day there can be found respectable people who are moved to indignation by the spectacle of a certain class of landlords exercising their undoubted legal rights to the full; though the greater part of landlords, since they are not driven to act so dramatically, are allowed to do as they please without comment. At some future time not far distant there will be found probably respectable persons who will wish to take away this legal power from all landlords. There, however, the respectable people will stay their advance, for the next step will be the attack on all capital—that is, really, property; and all respectable people have capital in some form or other. Well, so it goes—he that endureth to the end shall be saved.

The triumphant Tories are determined to show us how feeble a barrier Parliament is between any faction that may have crept into power and the liberties of the people. By the time of the date on this number of *Commonweal* the parliamentary resistance to the Coercion Bill will be at an end, and for all practical purposes it might as well have never been begun. As to Mr. Smith's urgency resolution it was taken sheepishly enough by the House, and was clearly looked upon as a matter of little consequence. And indeed it is not of much consequence, considering what Parliament is.

It may well be hoped that one day the people will take possession for their own use of the noble buildings which their forefathers built in the days when they were striving to break the bonds of feudal tyranny, and had not yet foreseen the straiter bonds of capitalism. All Socialists therefore should join in the protest which Mr. Frederick Harrison made at the meeting of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings against the destructive tomfoolery now going on at

Westminster Abbey. It is an easily read token of the sincerity of the *conservatism* of the bourgeois, when a building, which is still perhaps, in spite of all the degradations it has suffered the most beautiful in Great Britain, is to be subjected to the risk of total destruction, and the certainty of great damage for an idiotic piece of Court humbug that nobody, not even the very flunkeys themselves, cares a rush for.

Apropos of this grievous nonsense our readers may have noticed some of them perhaps with disapproval, that there has not much been said about the Jubilee (one is really ashamed to write the word) in the pages of the *Commonweal*. That is to be explained, I suppose, by the mere contempt with which Socialists look upon the whole subject. But the "great event" of it is so near that one may perhaps say as much as this, that the powers that be are determined to use the opportunity to show what a nuisance the monarchy and court can be as a centre of hypocrisy and corruption, and the densest form of stupidity.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

FREE COMPETITION.

BEHIND THE SCENES.

In an article on "Social Experiments" published in the *Commonweal* of March 5th, I promised to give at some future time a more full account of the difficulties which the competitive form of industry places in the way of co-operative production. The present seems a good time to fulfil my engagement, as the question of co-operation and our attitude as Socialists towards it has been brought up in the issue for June 4. I will start, then, by trying to answer the question, Is co-operative production likely to upset the present system?—I mean, of course, what is generally understood by the term co-operative production. Now, from the societies which already exist or have existed for the purpose of co-operative production I think we may learn that the difficulty does not lie in the producing of goods. It is quite possible and comparatively easy for a body of working men, having the requisite amount of capital, to hire competent men and start a factory for the production of some articles of general use. They can get workmen as skilful as any one else can, and foremen as well able to look after the work and see that it is done properly. But unfortunately the production of good articles is not the chief difficulty about a modern concern; it is the buying of raw material and selling the finished article which requires the special "business faculty" of which so much is made and which gets paid so highly. The result of competition is to render trading very much like gambling. The constant fluctuations in prices, the careful watching and successful foreseeing of which is very often the chief cause of a man's financial success, make it almost impossible to carry on business with any certainty of being able to make both ends meet.

Another great cause of difficulty is the rapidity with which fashions will change. A firm settle down to make a certain class of goods, and behold, by next month nobody will buy them! Some one else has brought out something newer and managed to get it into fashion, and the success for the present is his. The following month, perhaps, he is cut out by a third man; and so it goes on, the element of gambling being uppermost again. Now the faculty which can always see the way things are going to turn and always manage to be on the paying side of these changes, is a comparatively rare one, and consequently can command a high price. Now it seems to me that co-operative productive societies are likely to fail chiefly through want of this faculty in their managers. As a rule they do not start with very large capitals, and cannot afford to give a very high salary to tempt a first-class business man to take the management. And the first-class business man can always get credit and do so well on his own account, that he will only take the management of another concern on condition of receiving a high salary.

It is found sufficiently difficult to keep old established businesses going without some special competitive faculty, and the difficulties are enormously increased with anything just starting. Many readers of the *Commonweal* will have heard that Mr. Thompson of Halifax has turned his cloth-factory into a co-operative concern. He was lecturing in Oxford last term on his scheme, and I asked him whether he thought there would be any chance of success for a concern started by working men. He said that any business started afresh would have scarcely any chance at all. His business is an old and well-established one, and

he is still to remain as manager. If he is right, the only hope for co-operative production would be for a large number of successful employers to voluntarily turn their places into co-operative concerns. Now this is hardly likely to happen, because the nature which as a rule makes a successful business man is not the nature which would give up for the good of the workers generally.

For collective management to be successful there must be some system which can be followed and which only needs revising occasionally. While the present confusion exists in trade it must be managed by individual heads, either as owners or managers, who are not much hampered by a committee.

Take the grocery trade, and let us look at a few forms which competition assumes there. Now sugar is a commodity the price of which is regulated a good deal by chance. Supposing there is a small fall in the wholesale price of sugar amounting to less than a halfpenny per pound. Now it is entirely a question of the strength of competition whether the retail price will be maintained and the additional profit go into the pockets of the grocers, or whether the retail price will come down a halfpenny and so leave perhaps a slight loss for the grocers. Any one of the chief competitors in the town has it in his power to bring down the price and do all the trade out of that extra amount of profit. We have only to remember that all the chief articles of commerce are constantly hanging in the balance, as it were, like the sugar, to realise into what a condition of confusion our industry has got.

This instance shows us that the individual is not free under this system of competition, but that he is practically bound by the actions of his neighbours; if they adulterate an article in order to sell cheaper, he must either do so too or sell at a loss. And if we follow the details of working still further, we see such a display of evil motives, selfishness and meanness that it is fairly astonishing that any one in business should uphold the system. Supposing our grocer has an assistant with good business faculty, he will be constantly afraid lest this man should set up in opposition, consequently he will give him fair wages to keep him in his place. But he will not stay many years; he saves up a little capital, borrows some more, and starts an opposition shop. Henceforward he and his late employer are the greatest of enemies; he will use the meanest tricks in many cases to get customers away from the old shop into his, he will sell some leading article at less than cost price to attract them, and make it up on little things the values of which are not so well known to his customers. All this is justified as good business faculty—"all is fair in love and war," and this is war sure enough.

Let us take another instance of the freedom (?) which exists under this system. In many provincial towns of late years there has been a movement set on foot to close the shops for a half-day's holiday each week, but when it has been tried, generally a few shops refuse to close. What is the result? Why, in most cases the movement fails because the shopkeepers who might be willing to close if every one would, when consequently they could lose no custom by it, are not willing to allow an afternoon's custom to go to their enemies. So we see that the freedom which exists is the freedom of two or three to force all the rest against their wills.

Let us take another example of the spirit of competition, this time in the wholesale trade; here prices are more flexible, more beating down is done, the keen customer beats the merchant down, the less keen has to pay for it. In an iron merchant's business, say he will supply iron to large iron-works or collieries, and also to little blacksmiths. The large works are keen, they know what iron costs, and but for the convenience of being able to get in smaller quantities from the merchant just what sort they want, they would buy from the makers, hence the merchant puts on a small profit to them, but the small blacksmiths in the country are not up to this, they deal always with one merchant and pay pretty much what he asks, always beating him down half a sovereign or so to satisfy their opinion of their own business faculty, the merchant of course putting the same amount on for that purpose. Thus the poorer man who gives the merchant credit for dealing honestly with him has to pay for the wealthier one who trusts no one's honesty, on the principle of serving worst the one who gives him credit for most honesty! This and similar processes lead to what is called the survival of the fittest, which is often another word for the greatest knave.

I think it will be pretty evident by this what the "business faculty" consists in, and also it will be clear that a body of workers trying to start a productive concern and trying to buy and sell in this competitive market is pretty likely to come to grief, unless by a great stroke of luck they happen to get hold of a manager with the aforesaid business faculty, who is willing to give them the benefit of it at a comparatively low figure. Therefore, it seems to me that it will be necessary to be to a large extent independent of the competitive market if co-operative production is to succeed.

I do not wish in any way to throw cold water on to such schemes as are proposed by our comrade J. B. Bright, on the contrary I think with him that very much good, both in helping the propaganda and in general experience and education, will result from the practice of co-operation either in distribution or production, and if the attempts fail they will at least help to convince co-operators that this awful rage of competition must be put a stop to, before any real good can be done.

And now a word to those who always want to know how we are going to obtain and reward this business faculty in a state of Socialism. The answer is simple enough, so simple that the business part of the community will be a long time before they take it in. We shall neither attain it nor reward it at all, for the very good reason that it will be perfectly useless! When competition shall have passed away

the relative values of things will be established on a rational principle based on the amount of labour, and possibly partly on the kind of labour needed to produce them, these relative values will be fixed and only revised at intervals. The managing of trade under this system will be so easy that there will be no scarcity of men able to do it, and so no need to reward them outrageously.

I spoke of the kind of labour having an influence in the prices of articles. I meant the pleasantness or otherwise; things the manufacture or obtaining of which necessitate unpleasant or unhealthy employments, would probably be relatively higher priced than now, as probably the workers employed in these trades would work less time for the same reward. I have only touched upon a few of the evils of competition, the great question of over-production would require an article by itself, but I think we must all feel the degrading character of the whole business, and wish to see some better and more noble system established in its place.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 187.)

WELL now, what Socialism offers you in place of these artificial famines with their so-called over-production, is, once more, regulation of the markets; supply and demand commensurate; no gambling, and consequently (once more) no waste; not overwork and weariness for the worker one month, and the next no work and terror of starvation, but steady work and plenty of leisure every month; not cheap market-wares, that is to say, adulterated wares, with scarcely any good in them, mere scaffold-poles for building up profits; no labour would be spent on such things as these, which people would cease to want when they ceased to be slaves. Not these, but such goods as best fulfilled the real uses of the consumers would labour be set to make; for profit being abolished, people could have what they wanted, instead of what the profit-grinders at home and abroad forced them to take.

For what I want you to understand is this: that in every civilised country at least, there is plenty for all,—is, or at any rate might be. Even with labour so misdirected as it is at present, an equitable distribution of the wealth we have would make all people comparatively comfortable; but that is nothing to the wealth we might have if labour were not misdirected.

Observe in the early days of the history of man, he was the slave of his most immediate necessities; nature was mighty and he was feeble, and he had to wage constant war with her for his daily food and such shelter as he could get. His life was bound down and limited by this constant struggle; all his morals, laws, religion, are in fact the outcome and the reflexion of this ceaseless toil of earning his livelihood. Time passed, and little by little he grew stronger, every step serving him as a lever to mount the next, till now after all these ages he has almost completely conquered nature, and one would think should now have leisure to turn his thoughts towards higher things than procuring to-morrow's dinner. But, alas! his progress has been broken and halted; and though he has indeed conquered nature and has her forces under his control to do what he will with, he still has himself to conquer, he still has to think how he will best use those forces which he has mastered. At present he uses them blindly, foolishly, as one driven by mere fate. It would almost seem as if some phantom of the ceaseless pursuit of food which was once the master of the savage was still hunting the civilised man; who toils in a dream, as it were, haunted by mere dim unreal hopes, born of vague recollections of the days gone by. Out of that dream we must wake, and face things as they really are. The conquest of nature is complete, may we not say, and now our business is and has for long been the organisation of man, who yields the forces of nature. Nor till this is attempted at least shall we ever be free of that terrible phantom of fear of starvation which, with its brother devil, desire of domination, drives us into injustice, cruelty and dastardliness of all kinds: to cease to fear our fellows and learn to depend on them, to do away with competition and build up co-operation, is our one necessity.

Now, to get closer to details, you probably know that every man in civilisation is worth, so to say, more than his skin; working, as he must work, socially, he can produce more than will keep himself alive and in fair condition; and this has been so for many centuries, from the time, in fact, when warring tribes began to make their conquered enemies slaves instead of killing them; and of course his capacity of producing these extras has gone on increasing faster and faster, till to-day one man will weave, for instance, as much cloth in a week as will clothe a whole village for years: and the real question of civilisation has always been what are we to do with this extra produce of labour—a question which the phantom, fear of starvation, and its fellow, desire of domination, has driven men to answer pretty badly always, and worst of all perhaps in these present days, when the extra produce has grown with such prodigious speed. The practical answer has always been for man to struggle with his fellow for private possession of undue shares of these extras, and all kinds of devices have been employed by those who found themselves in possession of the power of taking them from others to keep those whom they had robbed in perpetual subjection, and these latter, as I have already hinted, had no chance of resisting this fleecing as long as they were few and scattered, and consequently could have little sense of their common oppression. But now that, owing to the very pursuit of these undue shares of profit, or extra earnings, men have become more dependent on each other for production, and have been driven, as I said before, to combine together

for that end more completely, the power of the workers, that is to say of the robbed or fleeced class, has enormously increased, and it only remains for them to understand that they have this power. When they do that they will be able to give the right answer to the question what is to be done with the extra products of labour over and above what will keep the labourer alive to labour: which answer is, that the worker will have all that he produces and not be fleeced at all: and remember that he produces collectively, and therefore he will do effectively what work is required of him according to his capacity, and of the produce of that work he will have what he needs; because, you see, he cannot use more than he needs, he can only waste it.

If this arrangement seems to you preposterously ideal, as it well may, looking at our present condition, I must back it up by saying that when men are organised so that their labour is not wasted, they will be relieved from the fear of starvation and the desire of domination, and will have freedom and leisure to look round and see what they really do need. Now something of that I can conceive for my own self, and I will lay my ideas before you, so that you may compare them with your own, asking you always to remember that the very differences in men's capacities and desires, after the common need of food and shelter is satisfied, will make it easier to deal with their desires in a communal state of things. What is it that I need, therefore, with my surrounding circumstances can give me—my dealings with my fellow men—setting aside inevitable accidents which co-operation and forethought cannot control, if there be such?

Well, first of all I claim good health; and I say that a vast proportion of people in civilisation scarcely even know what that means. To feel mere life a pleasure; to enjoy the moving one's limbs and exercising one's bodily powers; to play, as it were, with sun and wind and rain; to rejoice in satisfying the due bodily appetites of a human animal without fear of degradation or sense of wrong-doing: yes, and therewithal to be well-formed, straight-limbed, strongly-knit, expressive of countenance—to be, in a word, beautiful,—that also I claim. If we cannot have this claim satisfied we are but poor creatures after all; and I claim it in the teeth of those terrible doctrines of asceticism, which, born of the despair of the oppressed and degraded, have been for so many ages used as instruments for the continuance of that oppression and degradation.

And I believe that this claim for a healthy body for all of us carries with it all other due claims: for who knows where the seeds of disease which even rich people suffer from were first sown: from the luxury of an ancestor, perhaps; yet often, I suspect, from his poverty. And for the poor: I have heard a distinguished surgeon say that the poor suffer always from one disease—hunger; and at least I know this, that if a man is overworked in any degree he cannot enjoy the sort of health I am speaking of; nor can he if he is continually chained to one dull round of mechanical work, with no hope at the other end of it; nor if he lives in continual sordid anxiety for his livelihood, nor if he is ill-housed, nor if he is deprived of all enjoyment of the natural beauty of the world, nor if he has no amusement to quicken the flow of his spirits from time to time: all these things, which touch more or less directly on his bodily condition, are born of the claim I make to live in good health; indeed, I suspect that these good conditions must have been in force for several generations before a population in general will be really healthy, as I have hinted above; but also I doubt not that in the course of time they would, joined to other conditions, of which more hereafter, gradually breed such a population, living in enjoyment of animal life at least, happy therefore, and beautiful according to the beauty of their race; though you must remember that the very variations in the races of men are caused by the conditions under which they live, and though in these rougher parts of the world we lack some of the advantages of climate and surroundings, yet if we were working for livelihood and not for profit we might easily neutralise many of the disadvantages of our climate, at least enough to give due scope to the full development of our race.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

Dr. Isaiah S. Tuppins, a negro, has been elected Mayor of Rendville, Ohio. He owes his election mainly to the votes of the miners.

PAUPER EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA.—NEW YORK.—The Commissioners of Immigration have decided to send back to Ireland sixteen families, comprising nearly 100 persons, assisted hither by Mr. Wynne, secretary of the Killarney Emigration Society, arriving on an Inman steamer a few days ago. The agent had paid the passage, and given each family from 15 to 20 dollars besides. In deciding, the Commissioners had before them the recent correspondence between the British Minister, Sir L. S. West, and Mr. Bayard. The former called upon Mr. Bayard for information whether emigrants assisted hither by public funds, with the assurance of support by friends in this country, would be permitted to enter. The Secretary replied that so far as permission to land was concerned the law was clear, and the officers charged with its execution were required to examine each case, and with them rested the decision whether the person seeking entrance into the United States should be permitted to land. No general assurance could be given covering the point raised. In view of this policy and these laws, concluded Mr. Bayard, the United States Government could not fail to look with disfavour and concern upon the sending to this country by foreign governmental agencies and at the public cost persons not only unlikely to develop the qualities of thrift and self-support, but sent here because it was assumed that they would have friends here able to support them. On the strength of this letter, the Commissioners decided that the families should be sent back to Ireland. Then the families were examined one by one, and it was proved that they all were pauper immigrants. They will be put on board the steamer on Saturday unless the question of the Board's authority be tested in the Courts.

SONNET.

Who would live on in such a world as this,
Where gilded shams usurp the place of Truth;
Where wrong is robed in purple, and men hiss
At scornèd Justice as a thing uncouth;
Where poison cells of lust are delvèd deep,
And Love's clear stream defiled with foulest spite;
Where Selfishness on softest down doth sleep,
And generous hearts bankrupt their owners quite;
Where Honesty, a beggar, hugs his rags,
Splashed with the mud from Fraud's rich carriage wheels;
Where Law, the cunning harlot, daily brags
That crime can buy, if gold the bargain seals;
Who would live on that sorrow did not sway
To strive towards changing this dark night to day?

FRED HENDERSON.

GRASE THE FAT SOW.

BY TIMOTHY WHACKSTRAW.

(Reprinted from *The Bristolian*, 1872.)

I'se a poor hignorammus an' knows little or nuffin,
Thanks ta squire an' parson, ther church an' ther skule;
No wonder, methinks, that sum calls I a ruf'un,
An' tha folk up in Lunnun a pig an' a fule.
Still I rokes things about wen I goes out a-cartin',
An' turns up a thort as I foller ma plow,
An' I ses ta mese' wi' a luk that menes "sartin,"
Tha rich be detarmined to grase tha fat sow.
Grase the fat sow,
Grase the fat sow,
Tha rich be detarmined to grase the fat sow.

I'm danged if I dwon't take ta pothooks an' hangers,
An' 'rite ta tha peepers tha leetle I knaws,
I'll tell bit o' truth 'bout ourself an' our gangers,
An' games as be played by tha hawks and tha crows;
Thay gie I ten shillin's a week to keep six wi',
For seventy-two hours at steables and plow,
An' not a bit more ta tha people I mix wi'
An' keeps all tha rest for ta grase tha fat sow, etc.

Thay telled I 'twere wicked ta sing an' ta whistle,
An' danged if I chirrured for meny a year,
Fur I felt loike a jackass content wi' a thistle,
An' trembled all over when master were near.
Thay telled I ta pray and I prayed loike a good 'un,
I prayed for a fortin', some sheep, an' a cow,
But while I were prayin' they stole all our common,
Because it were wanted ta grase tha fat sow, etc.

Tha squire has jest bin an' taken ma gardin',
An' sent a poor chap off to jail for a hare;
So I tellee tha loife as we lade be a hard 'un,
An' danged if I think we shall change it by prayer.
I'se fund out tha humbug o' parson's religun,
For I turns it all over wile drivin' ma plow,
It prepares a poor fule to be plucked loike a pigeon,
An' helps tha rich squire ta grase the fat sow, etc.

Thare be good texts in Scriptur' but parson dwon't hade 'um,
Thare be sum that poor people cud well understand,
An' tha time's comin' fast when we poor folk 'll rade 'um,
An' prache 'um a sarmint on labour and land.
All thare prayin' an' prachin's dun little or nuffin'
Ta raise sich as I from this terrilb slough;
I'se fund out thare sarmints be only goose-stuffin',
Or else it be summat ta grase the fat sow, etc.

Lawyers, merchants and such folk, who properly and originally earn nothing for the public, being only a kind of gamblers who play with one another for the labours of the poor.—*Sir Wm. Petty*.

While the past fifty years have been such an uncommonly happy time for the rich, it is impossible to say so much for the poor. Out of the thirty-six millions, or thereabouts, forming the population of the United Kingdom, six-sevenths, or thirty millions, have so narrow a margin between income and the necessities of bare sustenance that they cannot pay the annual cost of their children's education, and are obliged to have it spread through all their lives by means of rates and taxes.—*J. A. Picton*.

An equal distribution of riches through any country ever constitutes its happiness. Great wealth in the possession of one stagnates, and extreme poverty with another keeps him in unambitious indigence; but the moderately rich are generally active: not too far removed from poverty to fear its calamities, nor too near extreme wealth to slacken the nerve of labour, they remain still between both in a state of continual fluctuation. How impolitic, therefore, are the laws which promote the accumulation of wealth among the rich; more impolitic still in attempting to increase the depression of poverty.—*Oliver Goldsmith*.

ECONOMY.—Universal economy would kill the goose that lays the golden egg. Men can "retrench" until a mud hut, a wooden bench, a cup of corn meal and a pan to bake a hoe-cake in, is all he needs. But what becomes of all the trades and occupations which furnished people with the "needless" luxuries of life! What becomes of progress, refinement, education? Individual economy is only successful when it exceeds the economy of those surrounding the economiser. If he can live on less than the worker's usual pittance, in time he gains an advantage over his fellow-toilers; but if they all economise the next successful man must starve himself just a little more than the first one has done. Economy is a fraud; it is a species of robbery. The brain, heart, mind and body are defrauded of their natural rights and chances for development, that a few individuals may revel in excess of enjoyments. The world's resources are limitless; the skill and strength of men and the wonders of science are inexhaustible. Why should we go without a single article that would add to our comfort, enlightenment or enjoyment?—*Lizzie M. Swanik*.



"HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN NEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON!"

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 15.

ENGLAND Brotherhood Die Autonomie Justice Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Norwich—Daylight	CHICAGO (ILL.) —Vorboten Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Hamamton (N.J.) Credit Foncier Troy (N.J.) Christian Pulpit Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate San Francisco (Cal.) The People Seattle (W.T.) Voice of the People	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Le Revolte Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Melbourne—Honesty	ITALY Turin—Il Muratore	SPAIN El Productor
UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Truthsoeker Der Sozialist Volkzeitung John Swinton's Paper Herald Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty		AUSTRIA Vienna—Gleichheit Brunn—Volkfreund Arbeiterstimme
		ROMANIA Jassy—Lupta
		DENMARK Social-Demokraten
		SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten

NOTES.

SAID Mr. Champion, the barbarians are within and not without the so-called pale of modern civilised society. They have been engendered by it. Let the cultured and leisured classes look to it, before these barbarians rise in all the might and misery of their wrongs and with avenging hands bring red ruin and destruction to that society that has fed and fattened on their sufferings.

It may be, as was asserted, that there is much Socialism among the educated classes, but so long as it remains hidden it is of small value. Let the educated classes make their Socialism manifest in unmistakable manner, let them labour with all their might for its realisation.

To-day it is the despised street-preaching Socialist that bears the brunt of the battle, who endures persecution and suffers imprisonment for the advocacy of its cause.

If there is so much Socialism among the cultured and leisured, let them come from behind the "screen" and show it to the world. Let them take up its cross and bear it.

Socialism has too few advocates, but would soon have many did the cultured and leisured get to work and teach its principles.

Socialists are rebels against society as it is to-day; they rebel not in silence, wherever they go they declaim against it.

A cultured, leisured and silent rebel runs no risk of persecution or imprisonment; but did all the silent rebels proclaim themselves rebels, the social revolution would be nearer.
H. A. B.

C. A writer (anonymous) in our contemporary *Justice*, has found out a new definition of Anarchism. According to our friend Anarchism means abstention (for whatever reason) from parliamentary action. I fear this new definition is scarcely exact enough to satisfy either Anarchist or Collectivist.

Our friend also writes as if the Socialist League had made some new departure at the late Conference. He had better read again the resolution of the Conference as printed in the *Commonweal*, which will set him right in this matter, since it asserts the indisputable fact that the policy hitherto pursued by the League has been one of abstention from parliamentary action.

I must venture to call the end of his note as to the constitution of the Council of the League impertinent, since the domestic concerns of

a body with which he has nothing to do, do not concern the writer. However, it may be as well to remind our friends that while our Council sits in London we have Branches in various parts of Britain; who cannot possibly send up one of their members to sit on the Council once a-week. A real delegate Council would be impossible under such conditions, and a bogus one would not be desired by a body like the Socialist League, which has always shown what I must consider a very laudable objection to "bossing."
W. M.

The Albert Medal founded 25 years ago by the Society of Arts, and presented to such men as Rowland Hill, Wheatstone, Whitworth, Siemens, Bessemer, Armstrong, Liebig, Hofman, Lesseps, Holker, Doulton, and Pasteur, is proposed to be given to the Queen in this Jubilee year. If ever there were any good object served in providing the men above-named with a circular plate of metal called a medal, that good object will be entirely eclipsed by the bestowal of that which is awarded for "distinguished merit in promoting arts, manufactures, and commerce," on an old woman who has done nothing to deserve the insane, debasing, and unnecessary flattery with which she is inundated.

Personally we regard her much the same as many other women, and we have no doubt she is well informed of the Socialist movement in Germany,—she, as many a hundred of the trained men and women (with brains) who compose the thieving classes, or to put it a little milder, the predatory classes, must estimate the twaddle and fuss now made at its true value.

We know many of these people who live upon unearned profit and increment, who acknowledge that the people who provide them the means by which they live are mostly fools, and as long as they are allowed to gather in profits will do so, for the very good reason that until the workers show by united action that they will allow this system to exist no longer, it would be absurd to change the condition in which we now live, that is until an organisation of honest and true workers come forward and claim their own.

The best effort we can make, therefore, is to educate and prove our position to the masses. Labour should unite as it has never yet united to withstand the common enemy, the profit-thief. Strikes should be made no more possible, but a strike far-reaching and universal should be made on behalf of any section or separate trade by the whole of the workers throughout our country. When this is made possible, then the battle we are now fighting will be half won.
A.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIX.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.—CONSTANT AND VARIABLE CAPITAL.

MARX goes on to develop further the process by which the capitalist exploits the labourer under the present system of wages and capital.

We now come to the two instruments which the capitalist uses in his exploitation of labour, and which are named constant and variable capital; constant capital being the raw material and instruments of production, and variable the labour power to be employed in producing on and by means of the former.

The labourer, as we have seen, adds a value to the raw material upon which he works; but by the very act of adding a new value he preserves the old; in one character he adds new value, in another he merely preserves what already existed. He effects this by working in a particular way, e.g., by spinning, weaving, or forging, that is, he transforms things which are already utilities into new utilities proportionately greater than they were before.

"It is thus," says Marx, "that the cotton and spindle, the yarn and the loom, the iron and the anvil become constituent elements of a new use-value."

That is, in order to acquire this new value, the labour must be directed to a socially useful end, to a general end, that is, to which the general labour of society is directed, and the value added is to be measured by the average amount of labour power expended; i.e., by the duration of the average time of labour.

Marx says: "We have seen that the means of production transfer value to the new product so far only as during the labour-process they lose value in the shape of their old use-value. The maximum loss of value that they can suffer in the process is plainly limited by the amount of the original value with which they came into the process, or in other words by the labour-time necessary for their production. Therefore, the means of production can never add more value to the product than they themselves possess independently of the process in which they assist. However useful a given kind of raw material, or a machine, or other means of production may be, though it may cost £150, or say 500 days labour, yet it cannot under any circumstances

add to the value of the product more than £150. Its value is determined not by the labour-process into which it enters as a means of production, but by that out of which it has issued as a product. In the labour process it only serves as a mere use-value, a thing with useful properties, and could not therefore transfer any value to the product unless it possessed such value previously."

The matter is succinctly put as follows: "The means of production on the one hand, labour-power on the other, are merely the different modes of existence which the value of the original capital assumed when from being money it was transformed into the various factors of the labour process. That part of capital which is represented by the means of production, by the raw material, auxiliary material, and the instruments of labour, does not in the process of production undergo any quantitative alteration of value. I therefore call it the constant part of capital, or more shortly *constant capital*."

At first sight it might be thought that the wear and tear of the machinery, and the seeming disappearance of part of the auxiliary material (as e.g., the mordants used in dyeing cloth or yarn, or the gums, etc., used in textile printing) contradict this statement as to the alteration of value; but on closer view it will be seen that the above wear and tear and apparent consumption enter into the new product just as much as the visible raw material does; neither are really consumed, but transformed.

In the following chapters Marx enters into an elaborate and exhaustive analysis of the rate of surplus value, i.e., of the rate at which the creation of surplus value takes place; and he also deals with the important subject of the duration of the working-day. But as this is after all a matter of detail, in spite of its very great interest and importance we must omit it, as it would carry us beyond the scope of these articles.

Marx distinguishes between *absolute* and *relative* "surplus value;" the *absolute* being the product of a day's labour over and above the necessary subsistence of the workman, whatever the time necessary for the production of a definite amount of product may be. The *relative* "surplus-value" on the other hand is determined by the increased productivity of labour caused by new inventions, machinery, increased skill, either in manipulation, or the organisation of labour, by which the time necessary for the production of the labourer's means of subsistence may be indefinitely shortened.

It will be seen once again by all this, that whatever instruments may be put into the hands of the labourer to bring about a result from his labour, in spite of all pretences to the contrary, the one instrument necessary to the capitalist is the labourer himself living under such conditions that he can be used as a mere instrument for the production of profit. The tools, machinery, factories, means of exchange, etc., are only intermediate aids for putting the living machine into operation.

E. BELFORD BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

'COMMON-SENSE SOCIALISM.'

THE first word of the above title is usually a sort of danger signal to the wary reader to avoid boredom and confusion. "Common-sense" as applied to knotty questions usually meaning the ignoring of the main issue, or the putting forward of a remedy difficult to apply and useless when applied. This is so well understood by persons with not more than the average amount of time for throwing away on futile and foolish literature, that the title of this book will probably prevent many people from looking into it at all. This is a pity, although before the end of the book the author justifies this well-grounded fear—a pity, because two-thirds of it or more, which is devoted to the criticism of the present state of things, and the remedies proposed by non-Socialists and semi-Socialists, is on the whole clearly put and well reasoned. The author points out the growing discontent, the insufficiency of the reward of labour; the futility as remedies of thrift and temperance, of preaching Malthusianism, of land nationalisation, peasant proprietorship, etc. But then having condemned capitalism by showing its inevitable results, and having condemned all the "tinkering" methods of reform which we Socialists know so bitterly well, he puts forward his own nostrum, which, after all this labouring of the mountain, turns out to be one of the smallest and feeblest of mice ever brought forth. The competition, which he sees very clearly to be producing a condition of industrial production which will end in a dead-lock, is to be checked artificially; and how? By regulating the hours of labour in factories where machinery is used!

For he expressly excepts field labour, the building trades, etc., which etc., by-the-by, must include at present at least, the labour of the coal-hewers and our hapless friends the chain-makers.

It is true he adds to this "remedy" some sort of semi-Georgeite

land-tax (having argued well and clearly against Mr. George in an earlier chapter), and the restriction on heritage usually advocated by those who take up that form of tinkering, as also a tax on speculation; but he does not seem to set any great store by these latter remedies, his great invention being the limitation of the day's work in machine-using factories and workshops.

What lies at the bottom of this curious aberration seems to be an ingrained tendency in the author to utopianism. Mr. Kempner seems incapable of conceiving of the class-struggle, or the historical evolution of industrialism, or of understanding that the real point at issue is when and how the workers shall emerge from their condition of pupillage and be masters of their own destinies.

In spite of all this the book may be recommended to young Socialists, as the destructive part of it is, once more, clear and well reasoned, and the would-be constructive part so feeble that it is scarcely possible that anybody could be misled by it, or attracted to it.

It is worth while to note apropos of the attempt some persons make to draw a hard and fast line between Socialism and Communism, that Mr. Kempner uses the latter word in the sense that it is used in the 'Manifesto' of Marx and Engels, of 1847. A Communist is with him one who advocates the communisation or nationalisation of the raw material and instruments of labour and distribution. W. M.

SOCIALISM IN THE WEST END.

ON Saturday afternoon, at the French Hall, St. James's Restaurant, Piccadilly, H. H. Champion lectured on Socialism to a middle-class audience, Stepiak in the chair. The room was crowded to excess, and the address was listened to with interest. Mr. Champion stated that he was speaking solely on his own responsibility, though he believed that many, if not all, Socialists would agree with what he had to say. The first step was to realise the amount of suffering that existed. When a man of sincerity understood the foundation of misery on which modern civilisation was built he was unable to prevent himself becoming a Socialist. The returns of the Registrar-General show that the material conditions in which the poorer classes have to live are such that their lives are shortened, in some cases to such an extent that the rich live twice as long as the poor. The children of the poor are to an alarming extent insufficiently fed; and as the result of careful enquiry last winter it was found that in the poorer Board Schools one-third of the children were insufficiently clad and shod. In winter in the East-end and other poor districts in London half the males are out of work. In spite of all this poverty, the poor have to pay rent at a higher rate per cubic foot than the rich in the West-end. It is not uncommon for a poor family to have to pay a quarter of its total income to the landlord, while one-fifth or one-sixth is the usual proportion. The sanitary condition of these exorbitantly rented houses was shown to be abominable by the commissioners appointed by Lord Salisbury for enquiring into the housing of the poor, and yet all that was done was to pass an Act giving the tenant of the unsanitary den, with an income of perhaps fifteen shillings a-week, the power to raise a civil action against the landlord, the initial expenses of which would cost him perhaps a month's income. No such action has yet been raised; one might venture to foretell that no such action ever will be raised. The position of working women especially calls for comment. Samuel Morley, of chapel-building renown, bought hosiery from middlemen who paid their women workers at the rate of nine shillings a-week. Deduct half-a-crown or three shillings for rent, and you leave tenpence a-day for the women to supply themselves with food and clothing. How can it be done? Bryant and May, Limited, paid last half year twenty per cent. dividend on their capital, and earned this profit, among other ways, by making women make match-boxes at 2½d. per gross, the women having to find their own work-room, firing, and paste. In London three thousand shopwomen are killed yearly by diseases brought on by the long hours they have to stand and run about.

These are some of the miseries to which the poor must submit. Under such material conditions who can wonder that some of the poor are drunken and vicious. The wonder is not that they are so bad as they are, but that they are as good as they are. The gin-shop is the poor man's drawing-room, and hence it is that he so often goes there. The rich are able to save now £250,000,000 per annum, in spite of the bad times. What are the middle classes going to do under the circumstances? One thing is certain—this state of things cannot last. Left alone, the poor will become poorer and poorer; those who have nothing to lose will form an overwhelming portion of the population, and a revolt may be expected of such an extent that the world's history cannot parallel. On the other hand, there may be yet time for the middle classes to enter the field of battle and help the workers to a peaceful transformation of society. It is not only to the sense of fear that Socialists appeal when they address the propertied classes; they believe that there is no nobler career for a middle-class man than for him to aid in the peaceful transformation of our present society into a co-operative commonwealth. If any one thought that Socialism was not the remedy, they should come and explain what they conceived to be the remedy.

At the close of the lecture a few questions were asked. A somewhat excited person—a clergyman, I thought—championed Samuel Morley the chapel-builder. The audience seemed to be bored by the reverend gentleman. A. K. D.

In his new book on 'State Purchase of Railways,' Mr. Waring says:—"Government activity in the acquisition of railways has increased very much in quite recent years. In 1875 there were on the Continent 69,246 miles of railway, of which 14,268 miles, or about 20 per cent., belonged to Government. Seven years later the mileage had risen to 88,782, of which 32,563 miles, or about 36 per cent., were in the hands of the Government. Further acquisitions since 1882 have placed about 50 per cent. of the continental lines under the management of the State. In Germany the transfer of the entire railway system to the Government is nearly complete, and in Belgium it is only a question of time. Out of sixteen continental Governments twelve are proprietors of railways."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A sliding scale for the regulation of wages has been signed between the representatives of Messrs. Bolckow, Vaughan & Co. and the men employed at their Cleveland Steel Works. The sliding scale is to be in operation for two years.

The strike in the iron shipbuilding trade in Belfast continues. About 6000 persons have now been upwards of six weeks idle and a large proportion of them are in a most destitute condition. Several efforts at an agreement by arbitration have failed, and the men still firmly declare they must receive their wages weekly else they will not return to the shipyards.

The General Committee of the Iron Trades Employers' Association have decided to place the funds of the Association at the disposal of the Executive Committee to expend as they may see fit for the assistance of the employers in connection with the strike at Bolton. When will the workers make common cause in like manner, recognising that an injury to one is the concern of all?

A local auctioneer, who had occasion to clear some premises the other day, came upon a mass of interesting papers in reference to foreign-made articles, chiefly scissors, brought to Sheffield to the order of Sheffield houses. These were mainly invoices of goods, and they proved—some two dozen of them shown to me—that the business in foreign scissors and other kinds of cutlery was very considerable indeed, and engaged in by merchants and manufacturers who were not supposed to encourage foreign work.—*The Engineer*.

FORTH BRIDGE.—The men at the Forth Bridge, owing to the great number of accidents that have recently taken place, have made a demand for one penny an hour more wages. The dispute has been going on for some days and a strike is threatened, through the masters state that they will bring surplus labour from the Tay Bridge, which is now nearly completed. The contractors want to deal with each workman separately, but it is to be hoped the men will hold together and not allow the bosses to manipulate them.

The award in the wages dispute in the West Cumberland coal trade was issued last week. The umpire finds that the wages for the quarter preceding April 1st were after the rate of 6½ per cent. above the fixed standard, and as this was an advance on the previous quarter, the men are entitled to receive wages at the same rate, because there is no fall in the price of coal of a full 1½d. per ton below the point which caused the advance. The wages, therefore, remain at 6½ per cent. above the standard.

THE STRIKE OF CHAIN-MAKERS.—A meeting of chain-makers was held on June 10 in the Salvation Army Barracks, Cradley Heath, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Homer. The chairman said that certain masters had not been paying the list price for work executed. He believed that, let them work at whatever price they might, the masters would not be satisfied, but would still try and force reductions upon them. The following subscriptions were announced: from Bristol, £2; Colonel Stewart, £15; Mrs. Jope, 15s. It was resolved to continue the strike.

The Preston Operative Spinners' Association have issued an address in which they say:—"The ring of New York and Liverpool are cornering cotton to such an extent that the master cotton spinners of Lancashire and adjoining counties are earnestly engaged in agitating the trade to run short time, their object being to crush out of existence the gambling cotton speculators, who hamper and worry the trade to such a ruinous degree that the margin between cotton and yarn is approaching a miserably low figure. We feel it our duty to fight on the side of the employer shoulder to shoulder, against the common enemy of our trade, the gambling speculators."

On Saturday afternoon a delegate meeting of Mid and East Lothian miners was held in the Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Mr. W. Holman, Niddrie, presiding, to consider the claim of the miners employed by the Clippens Oil Co. for remuneration for the carrying of propwood, consequent upon a change in the internal working of the mine known as the "long wall system," which is alleged to involve more labour and an extra risk of accident. After a long discussion the meeting agreed to recommend that the Clippens' miners adopt the five days a-week system with a view to arriving at a satisfactory settlement of the dispute, failing which that the County Board support the men should circumstances necessitate the extreme measure of a strike.

At Wood Green there is a large sweet-factory known as Barrett's Factory, at which a large number of persons are employed. Besides those working in the factory, women are supplied with work at their own homes, in making up and packing sweets. They are obliged to fetch the materials and goods from the factory, and carry back the finished packages themselves. For this work the pay is from 1½d. to 2½d. per gross of small packets. By the most attentive toil this cannot be earned under at least an hour. This is a parallel case with that of the match-box makers. It is not known whether the proprietors make 22½ per cent. on their capital as Bryant and May, Limited, are reported to do, but they are doing a "tremendous" trade. I could not ascertain the wages paid to those working in the factory, but one can form an idea from the above of what it might be.—P. C. W.

NEW TREDEGAR, MONMOUTH.—There is a serious misunderstanding about the price of cutting the 3-foot seam in Elliott's pit, New Tredegar, which it is considered must now be determined. The vein is only three feet thick with a bottom of fourteen inches, which makes it much more difficult for the miner. The price paid is only the same as in the old pit, while the workmen say is very unfair. A first-class workman can only earn 17s. 6d. per week, out of which he has to pay for blasting powder. Mr. P. Jones, the overseer, has visited the place several times, and when he brought the matter before the Sliding Scale Board, he was told that it was not understood that there was any misunderstanding. The workmen are determined to have a settlement. They are willing to submit to arbitration, but if that is not accepted, then a notice of termination of contract will be handed in. *Later*.—It has been determined by the workmen that a month's notice be given for the completion of all contracts, to end the 30th June.—*Tarion-y-Gweithiwr*.

THE STRIKE IN THE BOLTON IRON TRADE.—On Monday the ironworkers of Bolton entered upon the fifth week of the strike, which has been begun with a view to getting a return of the reduction made in wages 16 months ago to the extent of about 7½ per cent. As a consequence of the strike some hundreds of non-society hands are now idle, and it is estimated that altogether nearly 2000 men are out of employment. The society men state that assistance is coming in from near and far, and that they will be in a position for some weeks to keep up the full rate of strike pay. The mayor of Bolton (Mr. Ald. Fletcher) was much disappointed at the failure of the

conference brought about by him between employers and employed, and will try to bring representatives of the contending parties together again, with a view to an agreement or understanding being arrived at by which the men may resume work.

THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS IN SOUTH YORKSHIRE.—At a meeting of the Executive of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, held at the Miners' Hall, Barnsley, on Saturday, under the presidency of Mr. Cowey, the dispute at Monk Bretton Colliery, one of the largest in South Yorkshire, and the decision of the men to give in their notices was considered at some length. A deputation from the men employed at the colliery attended before the executive, and the following resolution was passed:—"That the Monk Bretton case be left in the hands of the officials of the association to arrive at an amicable settlement, if that is at all possible, between now and next Council meeting. That Mr. B. Pickard write to Mr. Pepper, sen., stating the facts of the case, and that the matter go before the district for their consideration and decision as to whether the men go out on strike or not." Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., states that the officials are opposed to a strike, but the men are very determined and declare they will send in their notices.

The North Yorkshire and Cleveland Miners' Association held their sixteenth annual demonstration and gala on Wednesday week. Addresses were delivered from a platform to an appreciative assembly. Mr. Joseph Toyn, agent and president of the Cleveland Miners' Association, presided. Mr. Joseph Arch was one of the speakers, and the following resolution was passed:—"This meeting, believing (1) that the present system of land tenure is detrimental to the interests of the nation, and (2) that decentralisation of government is necessary to enable Parliament to deal with this and other questions of national importance, is of opinion that the reform of the land laws and the question of local self-government should receive the earnest and speedy attention of the Government, and calls upon them to introduce into Parliament at the earliest possible moment Bills dealing in a comprehensive manner with these most important subjects." A resolution condemning the Crimes Bill was also passed.

The short time project in cotton spinning is being strongly supported in Oldham, Ashton, and surrounding districts. In Rochdale all the limited spinning companies have signed in favour of the proposal of the Manchester Cotton Spinners' Association. It is now stated that the mills in Darwen will soon close entirely. At Church and Accrington it is understood the mills have agreed to support the united movement. In several directions lessened production on a free scale has already commenced. In addition to a long stoppage at Whitsuntide, the following companies will close entirely the whole of next week:—Prince of Wales, 68,500 spindles; Tonge Vale, 55,292 spindles; Abbey, 45,100 spindles. The Star Company (103,536 spindles) is still closed. The large spinning mills of Messrs. H. Whittaker and Sons, Royton, have begun to work three days a-week. The Oldham Twist Company, Hollinwood, have stopped for an indefinite period eight pairs of mules. At Church, Messrs. Watson have begun to run half time, and Messrs. B. and R. Walmsley have closed one mill. Short time in spinning and weaving is reported from Smallbridge, near Rochdale.

A meeting of the Heckmondwike Auxiliary of the English and Scotch Carpet-Weavers' Association was held at the Mechanics' Institute and Club, Heckmondwike, on June 8th, Mr. F. Fisher being elected to the chair. There was a fairly good attendance of weavers—one of the best that has been held for some time. The deputation to the joint meeting of masters and men, held at Carlisle last Friday, gave their report, the first speaker being Mr. Joseph Lodge. He mentioned that the proposition upon the masters' programme of a reduction of 10 per cent., and also of a lowering in the price of tying on short lengths in broad looms, had been abandoned on the ground of informality, no intimation of such reductions having been previously given to the Weavers' Association. The only propositions of the weavers granted were to pay for half yards, and that the 1d. to the shilling for winding be paid 2d. per yard extra. Mr. Goodall, the other delegate, having spoken, the report was eventually adopted, and several suggestions were made for the better government of shop committees, etc., also to offer different facilities to the weavers for weighing off at Messrs. Kelley's.

FRANCE.

At the Hotel de Ville on Wednesday last week the Socialist Municipal Councillors of Paris placed before the sitting a motion "inviting the Director of Works to proceed immediately to the opening of the greatest possible number of work-yards, to take all possible hygienic measures to assure the health of the population and those employed in the works," etc. This motion has not yet received full consideration and discussion at the Hotel de Ville; when it does, the discussion will assuredly be a lively one.

MARSEILLES.—*L'Intransigeant* says, "This evening (June 9th) at the meeting-place of the Union of Labour Syndicates, a preliminary meeting relative to the formation of a labour-fund has taken place, the municipality and the General Councillors representing the canton of Marseilles, taking part in the same. The formation of a labour-fund was agreed upon, and the mayor has promised the moral and financial support of the town. A committee will be named for the elaboration of the scheme, the members to be composed of Municipal Councillors and those belonging to the Syndicates."

LE CREUSOT (SAONE-ET-LOIRE).—The *Cri* gives in one of its latest issues some information concerning the situation of the miners at Le Creusot. At present, it seems, the mines only employ below ground 150 workers at the most, under the pretext that there is scarcely any coal to be extracted now. These 150 slaves are bound to extract more than 580 tonnes of coal in the twenty-four hours; their work comes to one-third beyond what they were accustomed to some time before, and their wages from 75 to 50 centimes less per day, the pay averaging formerly 4 fr. 75 c. and the maximum now being 4 fr. 25 c. per day. In some branches of the work the wages from 3 fr. 50 c. are lowered to 2 fr. 50 c. These miners, it seems, are in happy possession of a *Watrin* for an overseer, to use a word coined by the foreign Socialist journals since the execution of that hero.

MEHUN-SUR-YEVRE.—The syndicate of porcelain-workers of Mehun thank the syndicates of fellow-workers who have kindly sent subscriptions to the strikers. The strike, finishing in a demi-victory, leaves on the street some five-and-twenty men with families absolutely without resources.

BELGIUM.

In the Charleroi coal basin most of the strikers have gone back to work, with many a fair promise of reform and attention to their needs from the Liberals ringing in their ears. Wherever they return to their former work, the most intelligent, the most active among them being considered as the "leaders," have been dismissed pitilessly. So much for the "good faith" of the capitalist—and so much for the "universal strike" that was to bring

great things with it. "Thanks to the good sense of the Belgian workers, work has recommenced," says one of the bourgeois journals, rubbing its hands with sleek satisfaction.

"The Belgian coal industry is a question of life and death. Its existence depends upon cheap production. It has keen competitors in German collieries on one side and French on the other, though it has itself been organising an opposition to the English trade in the direction of exports. The nature of the mines renders the extraction of coal costly in the way of machinery and waste, so that a low price can only be maintained by cheap labour. Belgium has a dense population, and though the people are intelligent enough, they have yet to become acquainted with correct ideas on the subject of their own industry. In their ignorance they give too much heed to the doctrines of Socialists and Anarchists."—*M. André in the 'Colliery Guardian'*.—Ignorant truly! Not to see the overwhelming importance of an industry that in order to keep itself going must reduce them to mere starvation! But, Messieurs the Belgian Capitalists, what is to be done? You can it seems work your mines with half-dead men, a fact which surely redounds to your ingenuity, and your usefulness as Captains of Industry; but not even your ingenuity can work them with men wholly dead. Don't you wish it could? Surely in that case the governments would issue game licenses to kill for that purpose, not partridges, but men. O you damned scoundrels!—W. M.

[Branches, members, and readers might easily do a great deal to assist in rendering more complete this weekly record of the Labour Struggle. Every one should send any information in their possession to the SUB-EDITOR at this Office, by Tuesday in each week, marking envelope "Labour Struggle."]

NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

THE strike being now a thing of the past, the affairs in Northumberland are resuming their usual aspect. Many of the pits are not at work yet, but there is little reason to fear that any of the trade of the district was lost during the strike. Amongst the men, however, there is a bitter feeling that their agents (as they call the leading officials of the Union) are very much to blame for the failure. At some collieries the men are threatening to leave the Miners' Union, so much are they disgusted with it. This, however, would be a terrible mistake. They should stick to their union, make it stronger than ever, and above all make their officials servants—not masters as they are now and have been.

During the past 16 years the miners' wages in Northumberland have been reduced fully 45 per cent. The miners get 15s. 9d. now for the same work that brought 30s. in 1874. This gives a better indication of the "National Progress" than Messrs. Giffen and Mulhall's figures. These are the dry unquestioned facts about one of the largest and most important trades in the country.

Some miners want to know why Mr. Burt's salary should not be reduced at the same rate as their wages. At the annual meeting of the union delegates a motion was made to this effect, and only lost by a narrow majority.

At Burradon (Northumberland) last week, four miners worked seven shifts and got 27s. for the whole of the work. A shift is seven hours from the time of leaving the pit bank till the returning. These men working hard got less than one shilling for seven hours' work. This may seem incredible to many people, but I have it on unimpeachable authority.

The Northumberland miners' gala will be held on July 30th at Blyth Links. The ballot for the election of speakers is now going on. The nominations at present include the Bishop of Newcastle, C. Bradlaugh, William Morris, John Morley, A. K. Donald, C. V. Conybeare, H. M. Hyndman, J. L. Mahon, etc. Generally Mr. C. Bradlaugh heads the poll in the ballot, the speaking being in the open-air, and Mr. Bradlaugh being the most effective open-air orator in the country. The newspapers carefully conceal that any Socialists have been nominated at all.

St. James's Gazette has a very ill-informed article on the strike. The usual silly application of the profit and loss test of the usefulness of the strike is put forward. In most strikes the amount lost in wages exceeds what is gained by the advance or the averted reduction. In this strike the loss has been both ways, for the reduction has not been averted. But it is ridiculous to think that therefore the strike was an error and a failure. The great value of such strikes as that just ended is that they are an active protest on the part of the workmen against the injustice inflicted on them. If the strikes are a dead loss it makes the protest all the more significant. It would be well if some of these journalists would really consider the full meaning of a strike like that just ended. It has many lessons which they do not see, and which are full of the gravest warning. J. L. MAHON.

FACTORY ACT PROSECUTION.—At Walsall, on Friday last, Ralph Richman, draper, was summoned for having, contrary to the Factory Act, had six young persons at work in his dressmaking department at ten to eleven at night. The defence was that he personally knew nothing about it. He was ordered to pay four fines of 20s. and costs, making £6 19s.

MR. DAVITT AND IRISH EMIGRATION.—Mr. Davitt has sent a telegram to Mr. Fitzgerald, president of the Irish National League in America, suggesting that the friends of the Irish cause and the Knights of Labour should visit President Cleveland, "with the object of calling his attention to the fact that England is driving thousands weekly from Ireland to the United States. The workers of America should protest against pauper labour being forced on their market."

Mr. Samuel Smith has been addressing his constituents. He referred to the tithe question, and said "the tithe seemed to be levied on principles which appeared very inequitable, and that complaint seemed to hold in England as well as in Wales. But the main objection which the Welsh people had to paying the tithe was that it went to support a church with which the bulk of them were not connected. He exhorted the people of Wales, however, to be patient until the Liberals were again in power." Wales can remember the Liberals being in power several times, and has not forgotten the advice which she received on those occasions. Wales was always told to be patient. When the Liberals are in Opposition, Wales has to be patient until they come into power. When the Liberals are in power Wales has to be patient to keep them there. Wales is not going to be patient any more, but is going to have the reforms she wants by sheer force. Wales has tried centuries of patience and got nothing. She is now going to try a strong dose of coercion. Wales has never lacked advisers like Mr. Smith. What she wants is somebody who will fight without knowing when he is beaten, and who will persevere until the necessary reforms have been obtained.—*Cambrian News*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE.

The Mallock fallacy is absurdly obvious. "Our manufacturing operatives" were working during the year on materials and with machinery which already contained a vast amount of "crystallised labour," which of course is reckoned into the final product.

The agriculturalists of the United States were working on the bare earth and except perhaps in the case of the Bonanza farms, with the usual simple implements in use in small agriculture. *Hinc ille lachrymæ.*

E. BELFORD BAX.

CHRISTIANITY, POSITIVISM, AND SOCIALISM.

COMRADE.—Our friend Beckett, in his criticism of Cotter Morison's book, has, I think, missed the real point of the inconsistency in the Positivist's attitude with regard to Christianity. The "essential thought" of Christianity lies in the notion of "holiness"—i.e., a special relation between the individual soul and "God." This has as its correlate what is sometimes known as the "ethics of inwardness"—that is, a morality which centres in the personality and the attainment of this quasi-mystical relation with the divinity—or in other words, "Salvation." As a consequence, Christianity, though retaining elements of barbaric ferocity in its theology, in its moral sentiment invariably tends to become maudlin, and its practice commonly to hypocrisy.

Now Positivism, while abandoning the theological side of Christianity, retains its introspective and individualistic attitude in Ethics. The ethical aim of Positivism, like that of Christianity, is the perfecting of the individual character, and according to what is virtually the same standard, as is proved by the retention of so many Christian forms in the Comtean *cultus*, and still more in the adoption of the introspective and mystical *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis as a text-book of life and conduct.

Socialism alone, in effect, definitively abandons this old ethical standard, and the code of morality growing out of it, by proclaiming the great modern truth, that Social Happiness, in its plain sense, is the one object of all moral conduct, and in refusing to be turned aside from this principle by specious attempts to reintroduce the rags and tags of a theological morality under another name. Morison is evidently sensible in a vague way of the distinction between Christian or personal morality (with "Salvation" for its end) and Social Morality, but he is apparently oblivious of the fact that Positivism has sucked in the former wholesale while rejecting the basis with which it is both logically and historically connected.—Yours fraternally,

E. BELFORD BAX.

A WORKMAN.—Your letter will be inserted in next number.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

Library.—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

Outdoor Lecturers.—A special meeting of the outdoor lecturers will be held at the Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday June 25, at 7 p.m., for the purpose of arranging the lecture-list for coming quarter. Branches are specially requested to send delegates.

Resolution of Council.

"That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30. Clerkenwell, Walsall, to May 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Regent's Park, 4s. Collected at Hyde Park, 1s. 5d. P. W., Treasurer, June 14.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, June 9, Rev. Stewart D. Headlam lectured on "Christian Socialism" to a large audience. There was considerable discussion. After the lecture a business meeting of members was held. On Sunday, an open-air meeting was held at St. Pancras Arches, 1s. 10d. being collected for the Missionary Fund.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 8, W. W. Bartlett lectured on "The Meaning of the Social Revolution." Lively discussion followed. On Sunday, June 12, we held excellent meeting on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Blundell and Wardle, and Doughty (H.K.) A resolution protesting against the Irish evictions was carried unanimously. Sold all literature we had with us, including 21 *United Ireland*. We want assistance at this station for Sunday mornings. In our hall, after the outdoor meeting, a large audience had gathered to hear A. K. Donald on "The Chain-makers of Cradley Heath." A very successful week taken altogether.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—The monthly meeting of members of the Branch was held at the club on Tuesday, June 7. The following officers were elected for the ensuing month:—Treasurer: J. R. Cooper; Secretary: G. Cores; Librarian: J. J. Smith; Lecture Secretary and Managing Steward: H. Graham; Auditing Committee: James Allman, W. Wess, and C. Hobbs. Good attendance of members. A good meeting was addressed by Graham and J. Lane at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday. Fair sale of literature.—G. C.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a good meeting in Hyde Park, addressed by Cantwell and Mainwaring, the latter speaking upon the attitude of the Irish Parliamentary party to the Labour question, followed by Nicoll, Turner, and John Williams, who spoke on the same lines. Sale of literature good.—T. C.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening last, we reopened our station at Ossulston Street. Meeting was addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, and Nicoll. Good discussion followed. On Sunday morning, at Regents' Park, Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring spoke. Some questions were answered satisfactorily by Mainwaring. 4s. was collected for the Propaganda Fund. Good sale of literature.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, June 8, in Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Tuke spoke on "How we are Poor," Gilray in the chair. On Saturday, a good meeting was held at Loanhead, with Tuke and G. Hossack as speakers. The latter must surely be one of the youngest speakers in the whole movement. Good sale of *Commonweal* at Loanhead meeting, and an agent got to take it on sale. On Sunday afternoon, Smith, Davidson, Paterson, and Gilray had a most attentive audience in the Queen's Park. No opposition. Fair sale of *Commonweal* at this meeting, and in the evening in the Meadows.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, Paterson and Ward had a good open-air meeting at Paisley. On Saturday, Glasier, Paterson, Anderson, and Carmichael had a large meeting in Cambuslang. On Sunday, the branch had a successful meeting in Jail Square. On the same day, three branches of the Irish National League were addressed by various members of our Branch. Glasier spoke to the Parkhead Branch, McLaren to the Coatbridge Branch, and Brown to the Legislative Independence Branch. All were excellently received, and it looks as if the Irishmen will soon be prominent in the Socialist movement.

LANCASTER.—At weekly meeting of members at our club, Sun Street (on Friday nights), E. P. Hall read extracts from Shelley's notes to poems, followed by hot discussions on marriage and the "Political Situation." The handling of the former subject evinced much intelligent appreciation of the moral aims of Revolutionism.—L. H.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning, Maguire and Braithwaite addressed an open-air meeting at Hunslet Moor. In the evening, Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke in Vicar's Croft. Sale of *Commonweal* for the day two quires.—F. C.

NORWICH.—On Thursday, 9th inst., we held a meeting at Dereham, addressed by Henderson and Slaughter. On Sunday morning last, Henderson and another addressed a meeting at Wymondham. In the afternoon we held our usual meeting in the Market-place, Henderson speaking at some length on Socialism generally, Morley in the chair. In the evening at 7 o'clock, we held our usual meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, addressed by Slaughter and Morley. At 8 o'clock in the Gordon Hall, Henderson gave a lecture on "Co-operation." All meetings well attended. During coming week we intend to visit Aylsham, North Walsham, Dereham, and Yarmouth.—J. S.

WALSALL.—On Saturday, H. Sanders held a meeting in the Market-place, Walsall. The meeting, which was large, was several times interfered with by drunken persons, who had evidently been put on for such purpose, but no disturbance ensued. On Sunday evening, Sanders and Deakin addressed an audience at Wednesbury, where we hope to form a Branch in a short time.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—On Thursday, June 9, at the weekly meeting of the Labour League, Swords moved a resolution that steps be taken to bring public opinion to bear upon the Corporation for its neglect in enforcing the sanitary laws; that the compulsory demolition of unsanitary tenements and the erection in their stead of healthy dwellings be demanded. After a lengthened discussion, in which Karpel, Coffey, Coulon, and others took part, the proposal was adopted. It was also decided to appeal to the Knights of Labour and the Labour Union in America for funds to carry on the labour agitation in Ireland.

WOOLWICH.—On Sunday evening, R. Banner and A. K. Donald held a meeting at the Arsenal Gates. The audience was large, and purchased 6s. worth of literature. A few questions were put and satisfactorily disposed of. 5s. 4d. collected for propaganda.—R. B.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION.—On Sunday morning, Proctor and Wane addressed an interested audience in Sinton Market. In the evening, a large meeting was held in the Great Market-place, addressed by Peacock and Proctor. A little opposition was shown, but was soon disposed of. Some thousands of leaflets were distributed, and were eagerly received. Collection for club and propaganda 4s. 6d., after which a friend gave 1s. making 5s. 6d. *Commonweal* sold out. A meeting was held at the club afterwards, and another member enrolled.—T. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 16, at 8.30, George Bernard Shaw will lecture—subject, "The position of exceptionally clever men under Socialism, or the Rent of Ability." A Business Meeting will be held before the lecture, at 8 p.m. On Thursday June 23, Mrs. Annie Besant will lecture.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday June 19, at 8.30 p.m. W. Blundell, T. E. Wardle, Annie Taylor, and others, "A Jubilee Recognition." Good singers wanted on this occasion. Wednesday June 22, at 8.30, W. Utley.

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturdays, 7 till 12.30. Sunday June 19, at 8.30, S. Mainwaring lectures, "Socialism and the Worker."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 19, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Rebel Songs of Ireland."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Members' Meeting on Friday June 17th, at 8.30. On Sunday June 19, at 8 p.m., W. C. Wade will lecture, "Henry the Eighth's Legacy."

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. A mass meeting, under the auspices of the Labour League, will be held at Kingstown on Sunday June 19, at 4 p.m. Two Socialists will speak.

Dalkeith (Edinburgh).—Scientific Hall, Wednesday June 22, a Lecture.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Monthly Business Meeting in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. (See "Open-air" below.)

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

LANCASTER.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. On Sunday at 8 o'clock, lecture by Fred Henderson—subject, "The Fifty Years' so-called Progress of the Victorian Era."

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Paisley.—On Friday at 8 o'clock, open-air meeting at County Square.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 19.

- 11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.Wade & Pope
11.30...Mile-end WasteDavis
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll & Brooks
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBartlett & Donald
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3...Hyde ParkKitz & Mainwaring
3.30...Victoria ParkDavis
7...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch

Tuesday.

8...Ossulston Street, Euston Road...Nicoll, Brooks

Wednesday.

8...Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday.

8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....Wade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Baillieston.—Saturday: at 6.30.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 o'clock; Stobcross Street at 6 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 6.30.

Paisley.—Friday: County Square, at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

MEETINGS—JUNE.

Friday 17—Bacworth Market Place, at 7 p.m.

Saturday 18—Seaton Delaval. Mrs A. Besant lectures on "Why Workers should be Socialists," in the Co-operative Hall, at 7 p.m.

Seghill. J. L. Mahon, at 8.30 p.m.

Sunday 19—Byker Bridge End. Stevens, 11 a.m.

N. Shields, Quayside. Mahon, 10.30.

S. Shields, Market Pl. Mahon, 2.30.

Monday 20—Consett. Town Hall, at 7 p.m.

Wednesday 22—Jarrow-on-Tyne. Boat landing, at 7.

Friday 24—Seaton Delaval. Foot of Harpers, at 6.30 p.m.

STAMFORD HILL AND TOTTENHAM.—Comrades and Friends living in this district desirous of forming a branch of the Socialist League are requested to address John Fleckton, 3 Sussex Terrace, Markfield Road, Broad Lane, Tottenham, or to the Secretary of the League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—Balls Pond Branch N.S.S. Sunday, at 11.30. H. A. Barker, "Spiritual Consolation and Material Satisfaction."

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, Robert Banner, "Wages."

HACKNEY BRANCH.—A Free Concert on Saturday June 18, at 8.30. All members of the League invited.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE GROCERY.

13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

THE STORE is open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8.30 till 10.30 p.m. All Grocery Articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

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BIRLEY—J. Loring. CONSETT—Cockburn, 8 Front St.; Coruford, 21 Middle Street. CHESTER-LE-STREET—Mr. Bland, newsagent.

FATFIELD—Humphrey. JARROW-ON-TYNE—Henderson, Walter Street. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—P. Weston, 77 Newgate Street.

SEWELL—Cooper, Seghill Mill. SHIELDS—North—J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street. SHIELDS, SOUTH—T. Brown, 24 Alfred Street.

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