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THE LABOUR WAR IN WALES.

MORE depends upon the conflict that is now raging in South Wales than a careless observer might imagine. It is not alone a battle between the South Wales railway men and the rich railway company, it is really a fight between the railway companies and railway workers of Britain. South Wales has been chosen as the battle-field, and that is all. If the railway company is beaten, every one of these rich corporations in England, Wales, and Scotland may look forward to reduced dividends. If the men are defeated it may be the Sedan of the New Unionism, and the Norwoods and Liveseys may rejoice, for Labour will be once more a crushed slave beneath their feet. No wonder, then, that all who love the people are looking with so much interest to South Wales.

But there is another reason why Socialists should be interested in this Great Strike. If capitalists have united against labour, then on the other hand labour stands in serried ranks against capital. Sympathy is universal among the workers with the strikers. The dockers will not take coal from blackleg railway men, and the miners on their side not only will not dig coal, but they threaten that they will prevent by main force the running of trains by blacklegs. What with the men on strike, and the miners and the dockers who are locked out, the strike is practically a general one. This fact has been recognised even by the scribes of the capitalist press. The *Weekly Dispatch*, among other capitalist newspapers, has pointed this out. It says:

"Another point to be noted is this. The Welsh strike for the moment simply paralysed the life of the community. And why? Because it was a case where labour operated not merely by one combination, but by a combination of combinations, and because it contrived to neutralise the blackleg. The strikers first shut up the seaport of the district, and then strangled its railway system. If that were done in London—and it can be done—we leave it to our readers to say what would happen within twenty-four hours. The alternative would be surrender or civil war, and the sooner this ugly fact is faced the better."

We do not think that a General Strike even in London would involve civil war, because we do not know who would do the fighting on the part of the capitalist classes. With outbreaks among the soldiers in our garrison towns, and with a fierce discontent among them, of which these revolts are only the outward symptoms, it will not do for fat railway directors and other sweaters to rely too much on their army. As for the police they would simply, to use a graphic Americanism, be "chawed up" in the event of a popular outbreak. Robert knows this, and he will if he is a sensible man take care to be out of the way when trouble comes. We fear that so great is the unpopularity of the force, that a blue uniform would be a certain passport to Paradise. Of course, we would not insult the "respectable" police by hinting that they would be sent anywhere else by a revolutionary mob. Therefore, provoking general strikes by "smashing unions" is not to be such a safe amusement as some capitalists appear to think. Let them listen to the words of wisdom of the *Weekly Dispatch* again:

"Moreover, do people know what the effect of 'smashing up unionism' must be? As Professor Lugo Brentano, of Breslau, told the Germans in his great work on English guilds, nothing but the trades union stands between England and the social revolution."

What do you think of that, ye Norwoods and Liveseys? The *Dispatch*, and other papers that have said the same thing, are right, but

it will not be the social revolution of legality that these people are forcing on. Do you know what you are doing, you rich respectable gentlemen of the middle classes? When unions are smashed, what will happen then? Will the workers sink into the old condition of miserable slavery? Are the "resources of civilisation" exhausted when the unions are defeated? Do you know what you are doing?—you are provoking, not the Red, but the Black Terror. You are putting the torch into the hands of the incendiary to fire your mansions; you are urging on the masses to use those dread forces which the science of your civilisation has placed in their hands; you are whetting the sword for your own slaughter. That is what you are doing, gentlemen of the middle classes.

There is one thing which strikes us particularly in this crisis in South Wales—how much more advanced the men are than their leaders. Mr. Harford, the delegate of the men, accepts a compromise. The men, knowing their own business better than any trade-union leader, reject Mr. Harford's compromise, and stick to their original terms. But it has been reserved for William Abraham (Mabon) to treat the public to an exhibition of unexampled cowardice and treachery. He and two other gentlemen have issued a disgraceful document, in which they recommend the miners to let the company run the trains with their blacklegs, knowing well all the time that it is only the fear of having every bone in their bodies broken by the stalwart miners of Rhondda Valley that has kept shoals of blacklegs out of the district. We advise the miners not to follow this cowardly and treacherous advice. All the gentlemen who signed that document—we give their names, it is right that they should be remembered: William Abraham (Mabon), M.P.; William Evans (miners' agent); T. Pascoe Jenkins (president of the Rhondda Labour and Liberal Association, Pentre)—are in the pay of the Liberal party, a party that has always sold and betrayed the people. For all we know, they may be in the employ of the railway directors. We therefore advise the miners not to let a single train pass along the line manned by blacklegs. If the miners do, the treachery of Messrs. Abraham and Co. will be successful and the railway men will be defeated.

D. J. NICOLL.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. XXV.—STILL UP THE THAMES.

As we went down to the boat next morning, Walter could not quite keep off the subject of last night, though he was more hopeful than he had been then, and seemed to think that if the unlucky homicide could not be got to go over-sea, he might at any rate go and live somewhere in the neighbourhood pretty much by himself; at any rate, that was what he himself had proposed. To Dick, and I must say to me also, this seemed a strange remedy; and Dick said as much. Quoth he:

"Friend Walter, don't set the man brooding on the tragedy by letting him live alone. That will only strengthen his idea that he has committed a crime, and you will have him killing himself in good earnest."

Said Clara: "I don't know. If I may say what I think of it, it is that he had better have his fill of gloom now, and, so to say, wake up presently to see how little need there has been for it; and then he will live happily afterwards. As for his killing himself, you need not be afraid of that; for, from all you tell me, he is really very much in love with the woman; and to speak plainly, until his love is satisfied, he will not only stick to life as tightly as he can, but will also make the most of every event of his life—will, so to say, hug himself up in it; and I think that this is the real explanation of his taking the whole matter with such an excess of tragedy."

Waiter looked thoughtful, and said: "Well, you may be right; and perhaps we should have treated it all more lightly; but you see, guest" (turning to me), "such things happen so seldom, that when they do

happen we cannot help being much taken up with it. For the rest, we are all inclined to excuse our poor friend for making us so unhappy on the ground that he does it out of an exaggerated respect for human life and its happiness. Well, I will say no more about it; only this, will you give me a cast up stream, as I want to look after a lonely habitation for the poor fellow, since he will have it so, and I hear that there is one which would suit us very well on the downs beyond Streasley; so if you will put me ashore there I will walk up the hill and look to it."

"Is the house in question empty?" said I.

"No," said Walter, "but the man who lives there will go out of it, of course, when he hears that we want it. You see, we think that the fresh air of the downs and the very emptiness of the landscape will do our friend good."

"Yes," said Clara, smiling, "and he will not be so far from his beloved that they cannot easily meet if they have a mind to—as they certainly will."

This talk had brought us down to the boat, and we were presently afloat on the beautiful broad stream, Dick driving the prow swiftly through the windless water of the early summer morning, for it was not yet six o'clock. We were at the lock in a very little time; and as we lay rising and rising on the in-coming water, I could not help wondering that my old friend the pound-lock, and that of the very simplest and most rural kind, should hold its place there; so I said:

"I have been wondering, as we have passed lock after lock, that you people, so prosperous as you are, and especially since you are so anxious for pleasant work to do, have not invented something which would get rid of this clumsy business of going up-stairs by means of these rude contrivances."

Dick laughed. "My dear friend," said he, "as long as water has the clumsy habit of running down hill, I fear we must humour it by going up-stairs when we have our faces turned from the sea. And really I don't see why you should fall foul of Maple-durham lock, which I think a very pretty place."

There was no doubt about the latter assertion, I thought, as I looked up at the overhanging boughs of the great trees, with the sun coming glittering through the leaves, and listened to the song of the summer blackbirds as it mingled with the sound of the backwater near us. So not being able to say why I wanted the locks away—which, indeed, I didn't do at all—I held my peace. But Walter said—

"You see, guest, this is not an age of inventions. The last epoch did all that for us, and we are now content to use such of their inventions as we find handy, and leaving those alone which we don't want. I believe, as a matter of fact, that some time ago (I can't give you a date) some elaborate machinery was used for the locks, though people didn't go so far as to try to make the water run up hill. However, it was troublesome, I suppose, and the simple hatches, and the gates with a big counterpoising beam, were found to answer every purpose, and were easily mended when wanted with material always to hand: so here they are, as you see."

"Besides," said Dick, "this kind of lock is pretty, as you can see; and I can't help thinking that your machine-lock, winding up like a watch, would have been ugly and would have spoiled the look of the river: and that is surely reason enough for keeping such locks as these. Good-bye, old fellow!" said he to the lock, as he pushed us out through the now open gates by a vigorous stroke of the boat-hook. "May you live long, and have your green old age renewed for ever!"

On we went; and the water had the familiar aspect to me of the days before Pangbourne had been thoroughly cocknified, as I have seen it. It (Pangbourne) was distinctly a village still—i.e., a definite group of houses, and as pretty as might be. The beech-woods still covered the hill that rose above Basildon; but the flat fields beneath them were much more populous than I remembered them, as there were five large houses in sight, very carefully designed so as not to hurt the character of the country. Down on the green lip of the river, just where the water turns toward the Goring and Streasley reaches, were half a dozen girls playing about on the grass. They hailed us as we were about passing them, as they noted that we were travellers, and we stopped a minute to talk with them. They had been bathing, and were light clad and bare footed, and were bound for the meadows on the Berkshire side, where the haymaking had begun. At first nothing would content them but we must go with them into the hayfield, and breakfast with them; but Dick put forward his theory of beginning the hay-harvest higher up the water, and not spilling my pleasure therein by giving me a taste of it elsewhere, and they gave way, though unwillingly. In revenge they asked me a great many questions about the country I came from and the manners of life there, which I found rather puzzling to answer; and doubtless what answers I did give were puzzling enough to them. I noticed both with these pretty girls and with everybody else we met, that in default of serious news, such as we had heard at Maple-durham, they were eager to discuss all the little details of life: the weather, the hay-crop, the last new house, the plenty or lack of such and such birds, and so on; and they talked of these things not in a fatuous and conventional way, but as taking, I say, real interest in them. Moreover, I found that the women knew as much about all these things as the men: could name a flower, and knew its qualities; could tell you the habitat of such and such birds and fish, and the like.

It is almost strange what a difference this intelligence made in my estimate of the country life of that day; for it used to be said in past times, and on the whole truly, that outside their daily work country people knew little of the country, and at least could tell you nothing about it; while here were these people as eager about all the goings

on in the fields and woods and downs as if they had been Cockneys newly escaped from the tyranny of bricks and mortar.

I may mention as a detail worth noticing that not only did there seem to be a great many more birds about of the non-predatory kind, but their enemies the birds of prey were also common. A kite hung over our heads as we passed Medmenham yesterday; magpies were quite common in the hedgerows; I saw several sparrow-hawks, and I think a merlin; and now just as we were passing the pretty bridge which had taken the place of Basildon railway-bridge, a couple of ravens croaked above our boat, as they sailed off to the higher ground of the downs. I concluded from all this that the days of the game-keeper were over, and did not even need to ask Dick a question about it.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

TO BE CONTINUED.]

(This Story began in No. 209, January 11, 1890. A few sets of Back Numbers can still be had.)

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

NOTTINGHAM.

We are still pegging away in Nottingham. On Sunday July 6, our comrade Proctor spoke twice—in Sneinton Market in the morning on "Quack Remedies for Poverty"; in the evening, in the Great Market Place, on "The Historical Development of Trade Unions." On Sunday July 13, comrade W. K. Hall, of Manchester, visited us, and gave three addresses in his excellent style before good audiences, our comrade Peacock silencing some working-men politicians who were giving some opposition on the temperance question. On Sunday July 20th comrade Andrew Hall, of Chesterfield, gave three stirring addresses to very large audiences. He created great interest by the way in which he spoke of gaining our object by any means. He advocated the same methods in defence of our cause as were used against us. We are expecting some lively meetings when our comrade again visits us, which he has promised to do in a few weeks' time. On Sunday July 27th no meetings were held, our members having the annual picnic, the place chosen this year being Naupanton, on the borders of Charnwood Forest. The weather was all that could be desired, and we all spent a most enjoyable day, rambling amongst the bracken and foxgloves, mounting the rocks, and trespassing in the woods in defiance of Law-'n'-order, arriving in Nottingham about 11 p.m. On Sunday August 3rd our comrade Harry Carless, of Walsall, visited us again, and spoke in his usual eloquent and able manner, his addresses producing a great impression on capital audiences. Last night, August 9, comrade Proctor assisted at the first meeting held in Derby by the Midland Counties Socialist Federation, a splendid start in preaching Socialism being made, this being the first Socialist meeting held in this town. During the past month we have increased the sale of the *Commonweal* at our meetings, also having disposed of a number of pamphlets, especially the "Rights of Labour," "Monopoly," and "True and False Society." We have also had good collections. Although this is not such a glowing report as has been made by some of our comrades, we consider it a very satisfactory one, and hope to produce better results in the future by dint of hard work and preaching the cause in season and out of season. Our lecturers for the ensuing month are Mowbray, Bingham, Leonard Hall, George Cores, and Miss Lupton. A. CLIFTON.

LEICESTER.

UNDER the auspices of the Leicester Branch of the S.L. and the Midland Counties Socialist Federation, meetings have been held at the villages of Oadby, Ansty, and Wigston, and the towns of Loughborough and Derby. These meetings have been addressed by comrades Chambers, Taylor, Proctor, Barclay, Purcell, and Mowbray, of London. Notwithstanding that it has been Bank Holiday week, and money must necessarily be scarce, we have sold a very large quantity of literature. The meeting in Derby was to me a great surprise. Some 2,000 people answered the announcement made on the posters and handbills, and gathered early in the Market Place in order to hear what Socialism is. There was little or no opposition worth mentioning, and about 15s. worth of literature was sold by our Nottingham comrades and the Leicester Branch; £1 0s. 3d. was collected towards expenses. This is the first meeting that has been held in Derby, and to my mind the results only prove more conclusively than ever the need for more country propaganda. Owing to the rain, our meeting at Russell Square, Leicester, was shorter than usual; but, as if to make up for the loss in the morning, a very large meeting indeed was held in Humberstone Gate. Mowbray spoke out strongly and vigorously, and after his address was finished the audience kept up a discussion until 11 p.m. Filled by the spirit of emulation, our Leicester comrades are intent on entering the lists with the comrades of Sheffield, whose work recently shows what metal they are made of. The sale of literature in Leicester has been for the week about 8s., and 9s. 3d. has been collected towards expenses. I have been compelled to promise the Nottingham comrades that I will give Nottingham a turn as soon as possible. I can safely say that everything shows me that if we only work hard at our propaganda as Socialists, we shall make better headway than we have done before. Three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution is the greeting we send from the Midlands. C. W. M.

'COMMONWEAL.'—On Sunday, August 10th, Miss Lupton and McGinn held a good meeting at Hyde Park, and collected 3s. 7d. In our hall, A. Brookes addressed fair audience on "Labour."

STREATHAM.—At Fountain on Sunday night, a short but interesting meeting was held, interesting on account of interference by the law-'n'-order lams, short on account of a heavy pour of rain; Gossellers on the path and Revolutionary Socialists on their track, makes it necessary for "pass along, please" to the respectably-dressed crowd and "get away here" to the underpaid groaning worker; our purpose was served, however, and a good meeting was held.

ABERDEEN.—At adjourned Conference held on Monday, August 4th, among a good deal of other business, a set of rules for the regulations of branch business was gone over, amended, and adopted. On Tuesday and Wednesday nights new ground was broken at the Quayside, good meetings being addressed there by Duncan, Atkinson, and Leatham. At Castle Street on Saturday night, W. Cooper and Leatham spoke to the usual large crowd. At Sunday night meeting (indoors) a paper on "German Railways" was read and discussed.—L.

GLASGOW.—Last week we had a visit from comrade R. S. Bingham (of Sheffield), who was taking a holiday in Scotland. Bingham, who gave us a cheering account of the progress of the Cause in Sheffield, spoke at mid-day on Jail Square, and in the evening at Paisley Road Toll; Glasier and Joe Burgoyne also spoke.

NOTES ON NEWS.

UNDER the heading "Chickens Coming Home to Roost," our American contemporary, *The Rights of Labour*, after quoting the remarks in the *Commonweal* re the disposition to humbug the Socialist Cause by bogus ories, says "The error lies in so persistently insisting that reliance must be placed in the State." Pray where does the anonymous writer of this refreshing piece of news hail from? Has any of the U.S.A. lunatic asylums been depleted of an inmate who has found employment on the staff of the *Rights of Labour*, and written the notice regarding the *Commonweal*?

Such mis-quotations and mis-representations are part of the burden we sufferingly have to bear, because the advocates of soup-kitchens and parochialism in this country persist in waving red flags and calling themselves Socialists. I suppose that this sort of thing must be endured as patiently as it can be, until these folk reach their haven of rest in the den of thieves at Westminster, and if we let them make laws for us. But we expected better things of our American contemporary than to be classed with the mob who are striving to be our future masters. F. K.

It is just as well to give our readers a word of warning. There is a danger that many honest and enthusiastic Socialists may be deceived by the pretended zeal of certain capitalist newspapers in the cause of the workers, and may take advice given by them as coming from thoroughly honest sources. If the workmen knew, however, who was behind these papers their confidence might not be given so generously.

Take, for instance, the *Star*. It is not Messrs. Parke and Massingham, who we believe are both thoroughly honest in their Socialist Radicalism, who really direct the policy of that paper, but it is Professor Stuart who in reality sets the pace. And who is Professor Stuart? He is the son-in-law of Mr. Colman, who owns the big mustard works at Norwich, and who has made an immense fortune out of the labour of men, boys, and girls, not always, if common report is true, paying the most magnificent wages. Professor Stuart is also the boon friend and trusted political agent of Mr. Gladstone! Do you smell a rat, gentle reader? Does it not seem rather probable that the "advanced" tone of the *Star* is only assumed by direction of the Grand Old Sham himself, who wants the workmen's votes for the next General Election?

This opens up a fruitful field of conjecture, but I leave this alone, as it was not this that I meant particularly to refer to. We were told the *Star* was going to be as "advanced" as ever. But the *Star* has not gone back to its old form. During several periods of crisis in the labour movement recently the paper has become suddenly wonderfully moderate,—during which periods people have laughed and said Stuart was getting frightened. Now, can any man put his confidence in a paper that is under the control of a hired pack of the official Liberal gang, who are without exception the worst enemies of the working class?

I have no love for the Tory party, but they at least are honest in their enmity. But the whining old humbugs who sit on the front opposition bench are not only really your foes, but they add hypocrisy to their other vices, and pretend to be the workman's friends while they are picking his pocket or stabbing him in the back. We have not forgotten the treason of the *Star* a few months ago, and there is some danger that under the able directorship of Professor Stuart that treason may be repeated.

Even now the *Star* gives treacherous advice. Only the other day, when the Welsh railway strike had "frightened" its able director, the paper was very busy recommending boards of conciliation to the people. Strikes were "barbarous." Quite so; but we had better have barbarous realities than civilised shams. And boards of conciliation and arbitration are shams and frauds. They are simply a means of cheating the worker out of his just rights. Who are the people who want boards of conciliation? The capitalist classes; they have been crying out for them for the last year—ever since the great Dock Strike. Do the workmen want them? No. A few leaders of the old school, who get their living by blacking the boots of capitalists, and who ought by rights to wear plush breeches to show in whose employ they are, join their hired voices to the general cry. But the mass of the working classes have no desire to be swindled by these "impartial" tribunals.

What does a board of conciliation consist of? An equal number of trade-union leaders and capitalists, with an "impartial" capitalist in the chair to hold the scales of justice. Let us suppose all the trade-union leaders are honest and cannot be bribed either by money or fair words—a very bold supposition. What about the capitalist in the chair, who gives the casting vote? Why, the mere fact of his being a capitalist means that he will always act with his own class, and the workers will find themselves bound by the decisions of a tribunal of which the majority is composed of their worst enemies. No, Professor Stuart; the workmen would rather do without boards of conciliation.

"Will you walk into my parlour, said the spider to the fly,

It is the prettiest little parlour that ever you did spy."

But the fly does not care about it, he does not want to be devoured by the capitalist spider. Let the workman stick to the big strike, the combined strike of all trades and industries.

It is a very inconvenient method to the Liberal capitalist. It is barbarous, brutal, unconstitutional. But the workman will get a good deal more by it than he will get out of a board of conciliation. Stick to the General Strike, boys, and you will get what you want.

John Burns's wages as a County Councillor are running short, and he has been talking of going back to the bench again. Several papers have expressed themselves strongly about the ingratitude of the London workman. Well, if the London workman believes that Burns can do anything for him on the County Council, the London workman is acting very stupidly in not paying him for his work there. But has John Burns been able to do much there? We don't think so. In our opinion the best work he has done has not been done in the Council, but outside, and could have been done equally well if he had remained plain John Burns, and had never been a County Councillor. It was Burns's reputation as a Socialist which made him the leader of the Dock Strike, as it made him the leader of the unemployed, and we are only sorry that a man who has done such good revolutionary work, and who we believe, with all his "constitutionalism," is still at heart a revolutionist, should "waste his time" among the second-rate mediocrities, insipid respectables, and corrupt jobbers who compose the bulk of the London County Council.

The capitalist press is in an awful state of alarm regarding the spread of revolt among the troops. The *Leeds Mercury* declares that the revolt among the Guards was caused by the underground work of the Anarchists and Socialists. The *Dublin Express*, the organ of high and dry Toryism, says that these outbreaks will increase and multiply, and then in a tone of deepest horror informs us that there are "paid revolutionary agents" in every garrison town who have a most "evil influence" upon the troops. Dreadful, isn't it? It seems that the "gifted" writer on the *Dublin Express* knows more about the revolutionary movement than we do. We know nothing about any "paid agents," but we have plenty of friends in garrison towns who have done good work in supplying soldiers with revolutionary literature. Only they do this work not for payment, but for the love of their principles. They are not like the hired scribes of the Tory press, and we are glad to see that the efforts of our comrades have not been unfruitful. Any one who wishes to aid in this good work can send subscriptions to us, and we will take care that the money is well expended. N.

"Free" Labour is one of the catch-cries of avowed enemies of the people. Such papers as the *St. James's Gazette*, and its like, are at one with the directors in Wales, who are attempting to crush the workers. "Free" Labour, forsooth! What does it mean? The "right" of masters to employ the workers at starvation terms; a neat little dodge to deal with the workman as an individual, and not, as in large industries where men have united, collectively. The latter may be best while Commercialism stays!

Blacklegs versus Trade Unionists! This is the grievance; not only in Wales, but in every large movement for the advancement of wages affecting the standard of comfort, as represented by money, remember. The masters object to collective bargaining; they demand individual bargaining. The workers themselves are divided on the matter, and this, unfortunately, enables the capitalist to still hold a trump card. What does this schism among the workers come to? Why, just this, that a trades' unionist is at the best only a respectable slave, while the blackleg is an unrespectable one. Trade unionists contend that non-unionists have to thank them somewhat for even the wages they command in the labour-market. To a very large extent there is much truth in this.

Some pretty plain talk is required on the subject, and here it is. The trade unionist who contends he has done his duty when he has paid his weekly "subs," and, maybe, kept this up since "coming out of his time" till he has reached the two score and ten period, is the veriest dolt. It is perfectly true he has done his best in so far as keeping up, at the very most, a miserable standard of comfort. We admit that this standard is better than any blackleg can expect under existing circumstances, unless he is good at "lifting" without being cotched.

But such a trade unionist has not done his duty! The broad platform of humanitarianism should have taught a bolder lesson. When unionists have reached that stage in human affairs, where men and women would act fraternally, and, in short, where the worker's interests are identical, something will have been done. When will they recognise that masters (capitalists) are not necessary for the carrying on of industry? The very system which gives cause for unions to spring up for the avowed purpose of protecting industry and its "reward," as against masters who contend for "free" labour, should convince the trades' unionist that something much more aggressive than uniting together and holding delegate and annual meetings is the course that must be taken, and to which, by the way, events are fast tending.

You want free labour, do you? Free in its proper sense! Very well, we must have abolition of capitalists, then; the taking over of the means of life, i.e., the land, machinery, tools, factories, and so on, each industry managing its own affairs; rent, interest, and profit must go; production and distribution for workers and by workers! These are matters that should and must be worth the consideration of even blacklegs and unionists. W. B.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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

The COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 13.

ENGLAND Belfast Weekly Star Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight People's Press Railway Review Sozial Demokrat Seafaring The Whirlwind Worker's Friend	CHICAGO (Ill.)—Vorbote Cincinnati (O.)—Volks-Anwalt Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Philadelphia—Knights of Labour Paterson Labour Standard S.F.—Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco Arbeiterzeitung Pacific Union San Diego—Calif. Nationalist Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—El Productor
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE Paris—Bourse du Travail Paris—La Revoltue Le Parti ouvrier La Revue Europeenne Charleville—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Rouen—Le Salariat	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist New York—Truthseeker New York—Freiheit Freie Arbeiter Stimme Twentieth Century Phrenological Journal, etc. United Irishman Volkszeitung Bakers' Journal Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Boston—Liberty Investigator Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Halberstadt, Sonntags-Zeitung
	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor	AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
	CAPE COLONY Cape Times	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Weekend-Chronik
	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwärts	DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen
	GREECE Socialists	SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm, Social-Demokraten

THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN SOCIETY.

(Concluded from p. 253.)

Thus fell the Society of the Middle Ages, by Capitalism establishing itself on the ruins of Feudality, and the rise of a middle-class who were either parasites of the nobility, themselves become commercial, trading on the grossest monopolies, and exacting rack-rent, and practically doing the state no service—partly parasites of the nobility, or partly employers living on the profit wrung out of workmen employed at a very low rate of wages. I have been giving the story of the change as it happened in England. On the Continent the divorce of the people from the land was not so sudden or complete, I think because there was less resistance possible to the centralised bureaucracy here than on the Continent. There, on the other hand, the rise of definite nations with stiff political demarcations gave rise to most horrible wars, which reduced the peasants to the last stage of misery, hampered new-born commerce, and in the long run ruined the land-owning aristocracy, and at last made the French Revolution both possible and necessary. It is no exaggeration to say that Germany is only now within the last twenty years recovering from the Thirty Year's War which went on at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

But with the birth of capitalism and the world-market, the relative importance of agriculture and manufacture began to alter; and that again especially in England, a country so rich in coal and minerals, and so well furnished with harbours on all sides. The new-born power of making profit out of the employment of handicraftsmen had to be

exercised and developed. The craftsmen were in a changed position; they had been completely masters of their own work with other resources, which forbade the work mastering them; they were so no longer; they were working for other people, driven by competition to sell themselves at a poor price in the market. In short, they had become wage-slaves; but they were still handicraftsmen working in an isolated way. They were not being made the most of, and could only be the instruments of a timid scanty commerce. If they could have remained thus I think that they would have been less degraded than they became afterwards, and are now; but then the last word of progress would have been said, the hope of revolution would never have arisen.

What happened was very different. Capitalism was no sooner born than she was forced to sow the seed of her decay and final destruction; she was forced to develop the power of Labour to the utmost; that was indeed her work. The mechanical invention of man had lain dormant since the early days that had invented the plough, the cart, the row-boat, and the simple machines that help man's labour and do not supersede it, such as the grist-mill, the potter's wheel, the lathe, the simple loom, the crane, etc.; that invention was now to wake up, but not very suddenly; the fuller organisation of handicraft was to precede its abolition. I say when Capitalism began to grow towards manhood at the end of the sixteenth century, production was wholly by handicraft little organised.

The work of the seventeenth century was that gradual organisation by means of the division of labour. In handicraft (supposing a man to take no pleasure in his work, to be no artist) the single worker's whole intelligence is wasted on a piece of commonplace goods; a small part of that intelligence will suffice, if the whole of some one else's intelligence is employed in organising. Therefore, set him, the single man, at doing one small portion of that work, and you can soon dispense with almost all his intelligence, while at the same time you will quicken the habit of his hand, his mechanical power, prodigiously; in short, you will at last make of him a very delicate machine, or part of a machine, for performing the small piece of work you apportion to him; but you must take care that the whole machine of him and his fellows must be properly built up. This was the work of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth it was complete, and the unit of labour was no longer a single man but a group of men.

Commerce was now, one would think, as well provided as she needed to be; but happily she could not stop there, or there would still have been no revolution possible for us. Now, indeed, she stirred up the sleeping invention of man, and with the latter half of the eighteenth century began that marvellous series of inventions, which one would have thought should have set mankind free from the greater part of his labour, but which, as it is, has done, on the face of it, little more than make a new and enormously rich middle-class, and multiply the working population many times over in order to provide them with due wage-slaves, who work not less, but more than they did in the days before the organisation of labour, and get not higher wages, but lower for their more burdensome labour.

My briefly told tale is over now, for I need not go through the often-told story of the fly-shuttle, the spinning jenny, the steam-engine, the power-loom, and the rest of it. I will only remark that the last development of machinery is to make the factory itself the machine, of which these wonderful machines, and the men that manage them (the most wonderful of all) are only parts. There remains only on this side of human life, production to wit, one thing to do as long as machine production lasts (which I prophecy will not be for ever). That one thing is this: The machines were invented that some men might work harder and others softer than they used to do, and they have well fulfilled their purpose; but though they have in that process seized hold of the bodies of the hard-working ones, the wage-slaves, though the factory has their bodies in its grip, it has not got hold of their intelligence, and does not want it, nay, sedulously keeps it out. Suppose that intelligence to wake up and to say, The hard work and the soft work, let us no longer keep these two separate for two classes of men, but throw them together and divide them equally amongst all, so that there should be no classes! In that case would not life in general, the only holy and sacred thing we know, be purified and made far holier by taking away from it the sorrow and misery that come of anxious seeking for toil, and the need for accepting the sickening burden. Surely that is so. Surely there is nothing in the machines themselves and the invention of man which created them, that they should forbid the true use of them, the lightening the burden of human labour.

That is what we Socialists under the machine and factory system are striving for at present, leaving the consideration of what is to be done to the machines and factories to future ages, who will be free to consider it, as we are not. Freedom first at any price, and then if possible happiness, which to my mind would be the certain result of freedom. Or are we free? I have told you what was the condition of the civilised world in the days of the late Roman Republic, and the Absolutist Empire which followed it. What is its condition now that we have gone through chattel-slavery and serfdom to wage-slavery? It can be told nearly in the same words.

A privileged class partly composed of a landed nobility, partly of a money-bag aristocracy; a parasite class, ministering to their pleasures and their corruption, drinking of their cup, eating of their dish, flattering them and flattered by them but despised by them, and (woes me!) sharing in their crime of living on the misery of the poor. And those by whose labour they live? A huge population of miserable and hopeless labourers, to whom are superadded a crowd of paupers, far

less joyous than the old Roman ones, fed by the fears, the remorse—the charity we call it—of the rich; and a few, a very few, free workmen, who as they work not for the workers, but the idle, must be turned back again to herd with the crowd of parasites aforesaid. Who can dare to say that this is not true of our society? And how does it differ from that of Roman corruption? Can its end be otherwise then—or worse?

Remember this, that in the days of that Roman corruption there was valiancy outside it which was ready to help the then world by destruction and new life combined; its enemies were the friends of the world, and were as good in their way as the early classical peoples had been in theirs, and I say they were outside that society, but at hand for its regeneration. All that the last two thousand years have used up; there is nothing outside civilisation that we can turn to for new birth; whatever there is to help us must come from within.

How are we to get at that? you will say. The answer to that question is the fact that we admit that the workers of to-day are wage-slaves. Those that feel themselves slaves must have been driven to desire freedom. But, again, what is the freedom which we desire? For the word has been used so often that men have forgotten its meaning. I think the answer is the freedom to develop our capacities to the utmost without injuring our neighbours. And how can that be done? By each of us working for the welfare of the whole of which we each form a part, and feeling sure that only so can we each of us fare well. Shall we not then have to give up a great deal in order to reach this point? Yes, we who are trying to bring people to that point will have to, but when people have reached it, they, when Socialism is realised, will turn round and find that their loss has only been imaginary. The rich man will have lost riches, i.e., dominion over others, and find that he is happy; the intellectual man will have given up his claim to be worshipped by the masses, and will find that he is understood by them and loved by them—and the poor man, what has he to give up? He will have to give up his chance of becoming rich—a valuable possession truly—and he will find that he is not rich, but wealthy; that is, that he has whatever a man healthy in mind and body can wish for, and that poverty has become an evil dream but half remembered.

In short, even now, while the realisation of Socialism, though it is already going on, is neither desired nor understood by most men, the mere breath and rumour of its coming can at least hold out to true men who will join our ranks one gift at least—that they shall be glad to live and not afraid to die. And is that not a wonderful contrast to the spirit of the life of those who are still living placidly, because ignorantly, amidst the dishonesty of our present society? wherein how many there are, and those not always the poorest or most ignorant, but men of culture, men of genius, who do at once hate life and fear death. Friends, join us in helping to throw off this bugbear, so that you may be no longer wage-slaves or their masters, or their masters' parasites. So shall we be our own Goths, and at whatever cost break up again the new tyrannous Empire of Capitalism. WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE.

An Anti-Parliamentary Conference of revolutionary bodies and groups was held at the Autonomie Club on Sunday, August 3rd. The following societies and groups were represented: Autonomie Club, Berner Street Club, East London Anarchist-Communist Group, Gleichheit Club, Hull Freiheit Club, Freedom Group, Italian, French, and Scandinavian Groups, Knights of Liberty Group, Sheffield Socialist Society, and the West-end Anarchist-Communist Group; and the following Branches of the Socialist League—North London, Hammersmith, Streatham, East London, North Kensington, South London, 'Commonweal', Leicester, Norwich, Oxford, and Yarmouth.

The Conference having assembled, Kitz, at noon, on behalf of the Socialist League, stated the general objects aimed at—viz., greater unity and efficiency in revolutionary work and propaganda. He asked the comrades present to decide whether they would elect a chairman or not. It was unanimously agreed to dispense with any such quasi-constitutional official. It may here be also mentioned that throughout the proceedings no vote or division was taken, but that, nevertheless, perfect order and harmony were maintained. The undersigned were appointed Secretaries, and the Conference was constituted.

The first question on the agenda for discussion was—

“To secure United International Action on the part of the Revolutionary Party in the event of a European crisis, so that the Cause be not injured by indecision in such event.”

Mowbray thought that the gist of the matter was to secure ourselves from waiting or indecision. In the first place, we should meet at least quarterly together. As to what he would do “in the event of a crisis,” he would do his best to get the groups called together for consultation; but as to preliminary steps he should form himself into a committee of one. In the event of a crisis at home, the first thing to do was to fire the slums and get the people into the West-end mansions. In the event of a crisis abroad, the first thing to be done was to prevent help to foreign capitalists being sent from here.

Cores thought that for example in the Leeds business strong revolutionary placards might have been issued and meetings called in the neighbouring towns, so as to keep the police of those towns employed at home. He hoped that what we discussed to-day would not be kept to ourselves, but spread abroad. Workmen understood unflinching propaganda better than theoretic discussions.

Kitz said our chief enemies, strange to say, were amid the dregs of the populace. We were largely to blame for this, because of the academic mode in which the propaganda had been carried on. We should preach to the thieves, the paupers, and the prostitutes. The Christians already reached them by their emotional superstition; we might do so by preaching heaven here on earth. The first act of the Revolution ought to be to open the prison doors.

Charles (Sheffield) was sure the spirit of revolt would spread here as well as abroad. Leeds showed this. The very children looted the little provision shops for their fathers who were fighting in the streets. The women collected stones for the men to throw. If we only spread ourselves a bit in the provinces we should soon light a fire that would end the whole damned thing.

Malatesta said the problem of the best means of assuring combined international action had been often discussed. The authoritarian solution was to have committees everywhere. The committees were always too late or ill-informed, and consequently the movement was paralysed. Another system was to renounce all system. The results of this course were no better. By all means trust to individual initiative, but let every individual have a clear idea of what he should do, without necessity for any word of command. To establish an initiative of this kind the individual must know the strength behind him. As a rule men were not heroes, and they wanted to be assured that if they did some great thing they would have the sympathy of their comrades. For practical purposes, too, we should distinguish future plans from present action. For instance, as to the future, we might be either Communists or Collectivists; but both schools of Anarchists were at one as to what was to be done immediately. Each school was determined to seize property and put it in common by means of a tumultuous revolution. Why should not the two schools agree together, so long as the Revolution was yet to be made? Let us urge the people to seize property and go and dwell in the mansions of the rich; do not let us paralyse our efforts by discussions as to the future. Some organisation was desirable. There was an authoritarian system of organisation, which encouraged spies and accustomed the people to the system of delegation; but there was also a system of organisation which was spontaneous and Anarchist. A party which did not believe in organisation would do nothing; a party which believed in organisation only would soon join the Social Democrats or the politicians. In all things we went from one exaggeration to another before finding the mean. It was so in discussing the problem of how to make the Revolution. At one time Anarchists had abandoned trade-unions and strikes, and thought of nothing but making the Revolution by force. Then we found the bourgeois too strong for us upon this ground, and after the great Dock Strike we began to fancy that the General Strike would do everything. A strike, however, was not the Revolution, but only an occasion to make it. The General Strike would be good if we were ready to make use of it at once by immediate military action, whether by barricades or otherwise.

After Malatesta's speech the Conference adjourned at 1.30 for dinner. Upon resumption of business at 3 p.m.,

Ogden (Oxford) said that it would be very indiscreet, as we had no pretensions to be prophets, for us to lay down laws as to what any individual should do or as to what the future society should be like. We could at any rate here to-day make doubters understand that we were at war with the present society. What should be our immediate practical action? He answered, to bring into existence elements out of which the Revolution would be made. Natural leaders there must be, but do not let us make gods—Gladstones or Bradlaugh—of them. That was what we were in revolt against.

Pearson (Freedom Group) said that we must know what we were to put in place of the present system. The Social Democrats were revolutionists, but we could never work with them because they would not abolish authority. The Social-Democratic system was as bad as the present one. Coercion in any shape—dictating to people what was right and what was wrong—was bad. Our organisations in the past had gone wrong by electing people to do our work. We should recognise individuality. We should get into harmony with those with whom we could work and whom we could trust. For example, we had got to make it unsafe to send English soldiers to put down rioters and revolters elsewhere. This should be done by individual guerilla warfare. Don't let us try to organise the Revolution upon fixed lines beforehand, and bring people into the streets to be shot down. The Commune was ruined by councils and governors.

Kent (Sheffield) spoke of the impending colliery strike. Leaders would be required to prevent people acting all together in mobs and to utilise them individually. We wanted to know where the gatling guns and other instruments of destruction were kept, so that we might find them when wanted. So we wanted to know where the storehouses of food and clothing were, that we might take them.

Bordes said that whenever the people had conquered any advantage, it had been by means of individual initiative. It was so in the great French Revolution. At the time of the Commune, too, people did not wait for the Central Committee, but acted for themselves. Organisations of every kind had only sold the people. The thing to be done was to show the producers that everything that existed was false, and to put into their hands the means of getting rid of their masters.

Miss Lupton believed in assembling the people in the streets; only by teaching them together could we infuse courage into them. Revolt, too, was generated in this way, as fire by the sharpening of flint against flint. There must be leaders—(some cries of “No!”)—but they must arise when the time came. Leadership was necessary—(renewed dissent)—but we must not plan it. We must not make a trade of it; only we must be ready to utilise it when necessary.

Casey suggested that we should stick to what he called the basic line of this discussion, viz., that our Revolution was a Revolution against property. He thought Miss Lupton's views of leadership somewhat dangerous.

Louise Michel said that the General Strike was the Revolution. In the Revolution there was no Group, no League,—only Humanity. We should not be always talking; we should act. By action the Revolution would be begun; all would understand action. In France, too, there had been too much talking. Comrades have endeavoured to make propaganda before the law courts, but they had only made themselves drunk with their own words and moved no one. The 1st of May showed they had been working on wrong lines.

Weiss thought the result of the discussion was that personal and local initiative was the best means to our end. He also thought that we should not depend upon bourgeois papers for news, but upon our own journals and personal information.

The Conference then proceeded to discuss the second question on the agenda, viz.:

“To determine the best methods of propaganda.”

With this question was also considered the following suggestion from the Council of the Socialist League:

“To push on the Cause by the advocacy of a General Strike and Non-Payment of Rent.”

H. Davis, reverting to the previous discussion for a moment, spoke against

all idea of leadership. Leadership had ruined every movement. The very fact that a leader was asked for to make a Revolution showed that the time was not ripe for a complete Revolution. Anarchism was the simplest doctrine in the world. There were scores of systems of society. The Anarchist said, "Let us have no system; the only thing we want is inter-dependence one upon the other." We ought to be more definite in our propaganda and policy. There was no half-way house between Social Democracy and Anarchism.

Netlow thought the General Strike should not be made too prominent. It might become a fetish, and take the same place in our movement as the Eight Hours with the Social Democrats. He took the same view as to a No-Rent propaganda; a strike was apt to kill individual initiative. We had too much to do to devote much time to it.

Nicoll said there was no need to preach the General Strike so as to lose sight of principles. When we were asked what practically was to be done, we must have some answer. The General Strike coupled with a No-Rent movement, would deal a heavy blow at the present system. An Eight Hours' Day, on the other hand, would tend to prolong the present system.

Mowbray thought that if we clearly advocated the taking over of the means of life, a General Strike might also be advocated as a means to that end. A propagandist should keep clear of trades' union disputes.

Mrs. Lahr thought we should do our utmost to get among the soldiers. We should distribute leaflets among them, and teach them not to fire on their brethren. She would advocate the General Strike as a revolt against the whole system. We must make sacrifices, and be courageous in preaching revolt; we had been mild too long.

Brooks said a general cessation of work meant the destruction of master-ship. A General Strike meant the International Revolution.

Saint thought slavery was not to be abolished by using the means of authority. A General Strike meant authority. No-Rent he supported. The Revolution must be brought about by economic means.

Schmidt (Hull) wanted to know why, instead of going out of the shops and leaving the masters in, we should not kick the masters out? Men would not act in the way of a strike without an order from their union executive. He thought some share might well be taken in the unions, but no doubt any true Socialist would soon be kicked out of them. We should preach Socialism in the unions and everywhere else, only do not let us help any comrade to become a paid official.

Wess showed how the demand for a General Strike originated in Tortelier's Eight Hours' proposition. We must tell the people "Whatever you want you must get for yourselves." So would the General Strike be prepared. The next Revolution should be final. He also thought some good work might be done within the trades' unions.

Casey was thoroughly opposed to too much stress being laid on the General Strike; by advocating it you weakened your position. It might be used to obtain only an Eight Hours' day. We might take advantage of it, if it came. It was very dangerous to advocate it except by putting it forward as a means to an end.

Nicoll thought the General Strike meant the Social Revolution. It was not necessary to tell everybody so; all revolutions hitherto had been made by minorities. A General Strike would mean the streets thronged with desperate hungry crowds ready for anything, and that would mean the Revolution.

Cores said strikes and crowds would come of themselves; we were only going to take advantage of them when they came. As Socialists, we should preach and encourage every kind of revolt. The General Strike was the easiest way of attacking the masters.

A collection was taken for the wives and children of the men murdered by the Austro-Hungarian Government during the recent mining disturbances in that country, and realised £1.

The Conference at 6.30 adjourned for an hour. Upon resumption the following matter was referred to the various societies and groups:

"The support of the recognised organs of the party, and the printing and publication of leaflets and periodicals."

It was agreed to publish the proceedings of the Conference in the Revolutionary Press.

After a long discussion it was also agreed that the next meeting in Conference should be appointed for Easter-day, 1891, but that the groups should be requested to call a Special Conference should any urgent occasion arise.

A collection was then taken for the different anti-Parliamentary newspapers.

So terminated a most successful Conference, pervaded throughout by a spirit of comradeship and good feeling. Although all red-tapeism and quasi-authoritarianism were banished, the order maintained set an excellent example to that "den of thieves" the House of Commons. Exigencies of space have compelled us to give only the barest outlines of the speeches, and to omit some altogether. Comrades must pardon these enforced deficiencies.

W. WESS,
R. W. BURNIE, } Secs.

The Onion-peelers Win.

The onion-peelers' strike at Crosse and Blackwell's, East Ham, was settled on Thursday August 7. The women asked for 1s. for white onions and 6d. green onions, and they are to get it in future. The strike has also improved the condition of the women who gather beans for the farmers. On the same day they demanded 8d. instead of 6d. a-basket, and they got it.

NOTICE.

Next Week's Issue will contain an Article on

"REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT,"

By PETER KROPOTKINE.

Branches and Newsagents are requested to order early.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

The thirty-four Social-Democratic Members of Parliament have issued an address to their party, in which the party is requested to send delegates to a congress which is to be held on the 12th October and following days at Halle. The coercion law against the Socialists has lasted nearly twelve years, and will come to an end on the 30th September, and the party is asked to select their delegates on the 1st October. The order of the day at the congress will be rather rich, as it is proposed to discuss the following items: 1. Report on the condition of the party; 2. Report of the auditors; 3. Report of the parliamentary section; 4. The organisation of the party; 5. Election of officials; 6. The programme or platform of the party; 7. The press of the party; 8. Our attitude to strikes and boycotts; 9. Free propositions. The old question about centralisation and federalisation will be once more thoroughly chewed—in fact, it has already started in some papers of the party, pro and con. No doubt the big pots of the movement are very much in favour of a strict centralistic organisation, and are strongly against a too free development of private ideas and the desire for liberty in some members of the party. They also object to their trying to communicate their ideas to their fellow members. It is very sad indeed that men like Bebel and Liebknecht, who once upon a time defended their independence and federalistic principles so ably in *Der Volkstaat*, are now up in arms against anyone who dares to be independent. It is very doubtful whether the great mass of our comrades in Germany will be led so easily; they have outgrown their leading-strings, and very likely soon will break the strings and perhaps kick out the leaders in the bargain, even if the majority in the congress carry such measures. To talk about the necessity of closed, disciplined ranks because we are in constant warfare, is all very well, and no doubt the rank and file will work in a body if the circumstances demand such action, but if allowed freedom the local bodies will be more able and understand much better how to fight and how to win. What was the good of the centralisation at the time when the coercion laws were declared? The party had been used to look to the heads of the party; and the heads, what did they do? Nothing; they simply lost their heads. If there had been no centralisation or combination whatsoever, the chaos could not have been worse, and it would have been a deal better if the people had been used to stand on their own legs. Well, we shall soon see what resolutions the congress will come to.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The last act of a great tragedy, which was played in a northern part of Bohemia, and in which two men were killed and many wounded, has begun. Eighty-seven glass-workers have been arraigned before the Reichenberg District Court, on the charge of riotous conduct, open revolt against the established law, plundering, etc. Out of the voluminous acts of accusation, we learn the following facts of the case. The splitting of glass into rough beads, during many years, was done by the workmen at home, and many thousands earned their living in this trade; a quick workman could split 5,000 dozen in a day, at 7½d. per 1,000 dz. In the last two years the trade has been very bad, beads being not very fashionable, and as a consequence the prices got lower and lower; the competition was also great with Venetian beads made by machines. In 1887 a large firm put some machines up, and in 1888 another firm, L. Breit, himself an engineer, improved the machines to such an extent that one machine can do more work than a hundred hands. The beads are even in better condition for further improvement. The average wages went down to 2½d. a-day, and by degrees, horrible suffering were the consequences. On the 28th January, at a secret meeting of the men a resolution was taken, and on the next day several hundred workers went from factory to factory destroying all machines and machine-made beads. The police had no knowledge of the movement, and the few in the place had enough to do to save and protect the owners until the arrival of the military. In the first instance the bourgeois papers made a hue and cry against the "Socialist agitators"; but they had no luck there; it was too well known that hardly any Socialists are in the district, and even the public prosecutor puts the revolt solely down to the horrible misery under which the people suffered. The ignorant people think the machines are the source of the evil, whereas the evil is that the machines are in the hands of the capitalist; and the evil will last until all instruments of production will be common property. The end of the tragedy will be—the accused sent to a long term of imprisonment, the wives and children in the workhouse, thousands of men, willing to work, in unspeakable misery, and the younger ones absorbed by another branch of industry equally as bad. O, ye ladies! do you think sometimes, donning your fine dresses ornamented with beads, on the many hot tears out of the eyes of the poor mixed with them?

DENMARK.

The director of the United Steamship Society, Mr. Tietgen, who was sent by the king as council delegate to the International Workmen's Protection Congress in Berlin, called together by the "Socialistic" Kaiser, used the following words: "As long as a tear can be dried from the face of a labourer we must not be lax in our endeavour to create better circumstances for them." Now the seamen and sailors are on strike for a pittance of mere wages, and, of course, the gentleman can do nothing in the matter. At a meeting the women have carried a resolution to go in procession to him with the fine sounding words on a banner, and we hope they will make him eat them, the miserable hypocrite.

SWITZERLAND.

A new paper, called the *Textil Arbeiter*, has made its appearance, and we wish it success. At the same time we learn that a movement is on foot to hold an international congress of the workers in the textile industry, to consider the means for an improvement of their position. They need it, indeed; it is one of the worst paid branches of industry.

Some great patriots want to erect a monument to Tell, the tyrant-remover, the personification of bold manliness and love of freedom. A Swiss labour paper says: "If to-day a Tell was to do his deed in another country and fly to us for protection, we would give him up, or turn him out of the country at least, as many a brave fighter for liberty has been insulted and hunted from our mountains. The agitation for a Tell monument by those who cry 'Bravo!' and clap their hands at the infamous deeds of the political police, is therefore a detestable hypocrisy and a barefaced lie." Rrr.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

THE SONG OF HATRED!

Yes, Freedom's war!—though the deadly strife
 Makes earth one charnel bone-yard!
 The last kiss now to the child and wife,
 And the first firm grasp of the poniard!
 Blood soon shall flow in rivers above
 The bright flowers we to-day tread;
 We have all had more than enough of love,
 So now for a spell of Hatred!
 We have all had more than enough of love,
 So now for a spell of Hatred!

How long shall the hideous ogre, Power,
 Rear column of skulls on column?
 Oh, Justice! hasten thy judgment-hour,
 And open thy doomsday volume!
 No more oiled speech!—it is time the drove
 Of despots should hear their fate read—
 We have all had quite enough of love,
 Be our watchword henceforth Hatred!
 We have all had quite enough of love,
 Be our watchword henceforth Hatred!

Cold steel! to that it must come at length—
 Nor quake to hear it spoken!
 By the blows alone we strike in our strength
 Can the chains of the world be broken!
 Up, then! No more in city or grove,
 Let Slavery and Dismay tread!
 We have all had more than enough of love,
 Let us now fall back upon Hatred!
 We have all had more than enough of love,
 Let us now fall back upon Hatred!

My friends; the tremendous time at hand
 Will show itself truly in earnest!
 Do you the like!—and take your stand
 Where its aspect frowns the sternest!
 Strive now as Tell and Korner strove!
 Be your sharp swords early and late red!
 You have all had more than enough of love—
 Test now the talisman, Hatred!
 You have all had more than enough of love,
 Test now the talisman, Hatred!

HERWEGH. Translated by CLARENCE MAGNAN.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Great Strike in Wales.

On Wednesday August 6th the strike began, as the directors not only refused to agree to the terms of the men, but had even refused to meet the secretary of union, Mr. Harford. 1,500 men came out on Wednesday evening and Thursday morning. The directors had talked very loudly about getting blacklegs, but blacklegs were scarce. The whole population sympathising strongly with the strikers, the blacklegs were very easily "persuaded" to go home. In illustration of the terror caused by the threatening attitude of the people, I may mention an amusing incident which occurred on Thursday morning at half-past three. Mr. Harford, who did not wish to "inconvenience the public," gave permission for a mail train to be run. The attitude of the working-class public who had gathered along the line was so menacing that men could not be got to run the train, and "her majesty's" mails had to go in brakes by road. On one train that did run the driver and fireman had to beat a hasty retreat before the people, the fireman being knocked about severely. The directors, seeing the blackleg game was up for the time, then entered into negotiations with Mr. Harford, who rather weakly consented to a compromise by which the men could work 240 hours a-month instead of the sixty hours a-week demanded by the men. The men, however, very rightly rejected this compromise, and declared that they would stick to their demands. They adhere to their claim for a sixty hours' week, but they are willing in the case of the colliers' monthly holiday to guarantee a week of fifty hours. The railway men have the support of both dockers and miners. The dockers will not load coal that is brought down with blacklegs, and the miners will not dig for these people. Meanwhile the miners have been everywhere locked out, and the dockers, too, are idle, so what is practically a general strike prevails in South Wales.

The strike on Saturday was beginning to be felt in the district; there was a famine in garden produce, and meat supplies except the local hill sheep were beginning to run short, while in many large towns not a single London paper had been seen since Wednesday. Trade was completely paralysed. The condition of affairs is thus described by a *Times* correspondent: "Nobody had anything to do, and nobody was doing anything. In the East, West, and Roath docks, everywhere, the scene was the same. Huge colliers, sailing and steam vessels, great ocean liners, lay in absolute idleness, for the very sufficient and very deplorable reason that there was not a ton of coal to place in them. The railway lines are the arteries, and the coal which they bring down are the blood and life of many hundreds and thousands of tons of shipping. The shipping lay motionless and inert. There had been, said the experienced officials, bad times during former strikes, but the appearance of the docks has never been so depressing as upon this occasion. The average arrivals have dropped from 10,000 net tonnage to 2,000. There were in the docks on Saturday steamers of a registered tonnage of nearly 59,000, and sailing vessels of nearly 68,000 tons register, of which at least two-thirds ought to have gone away. Such figures speak for themselves." The directors contrived to smuggle a large number of blacklegs into their premises while a big demonstration was being held on Saturday. Encouraged by the presence of these blacklegs, the directors refused the men's terms on Monday. The police are being got together, and troops are held in readiness. It is evident these gentlemen intend to massacre the people if they can get a chance.—*Later*.—No blackleg trains ran on Tuesday. The directors complain bitterly of threats of force and the talk of "hot receptions" for blacklegs among the miners. At the same time the directors do not mind using "threats," the latest of which is a proposal to work the line by "Royal Engineers." We do not think, however, these gallant soldiers will turn blacklegs, even if they are "ordered."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.
Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Tuesdays, Singing Practice. Thursdays, Business meeting. Saturdays, Social Gathering.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 17, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. French Class conducted by Mlle. Desroches on Friday evenings at 7.30.
North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. The branch Band meets every Friday at 8 p.m. for practice. Comrades wishing to join to give in their names to the instructor at the above address.
North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.
South London.—St. George's Coffee Tavern, 106 Westminster Bridge Road. Monday August 18, at 8.30, J. Casey, "Government and Palliatives."
Whitechapel and St. Georges-in-the-East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Sunday evenings at 6.30. Singing practice, etc., Mondays at 8 p.m.
Glasgow.—Members are invited to meet on Thursday and Sunday evenings, at 8 o'clock, in the Secretary's house, 250 Crown Street, S.S. All communications to be sent to that address.
Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.
Leeds.—International Educational Club, Templar Street. Open every evening. Discussion class every Friday at 8; lectures every Saturday at 4. All kinds of Socialist literature on tables and for sale.
Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday, Thursday, and Saturday at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8.
Norwich.—Members' meeting held every Tuesday at 8.30.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.
Sheffield.—Socialist Club, 63 Blonk Street. French Class, Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Wednesday at 8.30. Open-air meetings are held as follows:—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30; Newhall Road, Attercliffe, at 11.30; Pump, Westbar, at 8; Heeley, Maresbrook Park, at 7.30; Monolith, Fargate, at 6.30; Rotherham, College Yard, at 3.15. Wednesday: Nursery Street, Wicker, at 8. Thursday: Bramall Lane, at 8; Eckington, at 6.30. Friday: Duke Street, Park, at 8. Saturday: Woodhouse, at 7.
Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.
Yarmouth.—Socialist League Club, 56 Row, Market Place. Open every evening. Business Meeting, Tuesday at 8. Singing Practice, Wednesday at 8.30. Discussion Class, Thursday at 8.30. Elocution Class, Friday at 8.30.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 16.

7.30..... Prince of Wales RoadThe Branch

SUNDAY 17.

11 Commercial Road—Union Street.....Davis
 11 Latimer Road StationNorth Kensington Branch
 11.30.... Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
 11.30.... Hoxton ChurchBurnie and Mrs. Lahr
 11.30.... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn LaneMainwaring
 11.30.... New Cut—Short StreetCasey, Buckeridge, and Pearson
 11.30.... Regent's Park.....Nicoll and Cantwell
 11.30.... Streatham—Fountain.....Smith
 3.30.... Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Mrs. Lahr
 3.30.... Victoria Park.....The Branch
 3.30.... Streatham CommonMiss Lupton and Gregory
 7 Hammersmith BridgeHammersmith Branch
 7 Wormwood ScrubsNorth Kensington Branch
 7.30.... Streatham—Fountain.....Smith
 8 Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

MONDAY 18.

7.30..... Westminster Bridge Road—Pearman Street.....Smith and Holloway

THURSDAY 21.

7.30..... New Cut—Short StreetBuckeridge and Casey

FRIDAY 22.

8.15..... Hoxton ChurchKitz

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.*
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Friday: Bridgeton Cross, at 8.15.
Leeds.—Saturday: Woodhouse Moor, at 7.30 p.m. Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russell Square at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. Tuesday: Sanvey Gate, at 8 p.m.
Liverpool.—Landing Stage, Sundays at 11.30 a.m. and 3 p.m.
Manchester.—Saturday: Middleton market ground, at 7 p.m. Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3. Monday: Market Street, Blackley, at 8.
Norwich.—Saturday: Haymarket, at 8. Sunday: Market Place at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Yarmouth.—Saturday: Church Plain Trees, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Bradwell, at 11.30; London Boat Landing Stage, at 3; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7. Monday: Belton, at 8 p.m.

Mr. Hayne, newsagent, Harrow-on-the-Hill, is agent for *Commonweal*.
DERBY.—In connection with the Midland Counties Socialist Federation, open-air meetings are held every Saturday in the Market Place, at 7.45 p.m. Aug. 16, Harry Carless, of Walsall. Aug. 23, J. C. Chambers, of Leicester. Socialists in Derby willing to assist in forming a Branch, please communicate with W. G. Purcell, 12 Society Place.
LOUGHBOROUGH.—Meetings every Friday at 7.45 p.m. in the Market Place. August 22, T. Barclay and J. C. Chambers, of Leicester.
NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street.—Open-air meetings held every Sunday in Sneinton Market at 11 a.m. and Great Market at 7 p.m. Club contribution, 1d. per week; Dancing every Wednesday, 8 till 10.30—fee 3d. *Commonweal* can be had from Mr. Mills, newsagent, Milton Street; G. Hickling, 44 Fym Street; or at the Club.

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What Socialists Want ...	3	0
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The above Leaflets, at prices given, can be had from the *Commonweal* manager in any quantities by Branches, members, or sympathisers, for distribution, 24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

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STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES.

THE Socialist League advocates International Revolutionary Socialism. That is to say the destruction of the present class society, which consists of one class who live by owning property and therefore need not work, and of another that has no property and therefore must work in order that they may live to keep the idlers by their labour. Revolutionary Socialism insists that this system of society, which is the modern form of slavery, should be changed to a system of Society which would give every man an opportunity of doing useful work, and not allow any man to live without so doing, which work could not be useful unless it were done for the whole body of workers instead of for do-nothing individuals. The result of this would be that livelihood would not be precarious nor labour burdensome. Labour would be employed in co-operation, and the struggle of man with man for bare subsistence would be supplanted by harmonious combination for the production of common wealth and the exchange of mutual services without the waste of labour or material.

Every man's needs would be satisfied from this common stock, but no man would be allowed to own anything which he could not use, and which consequently he must abuse by employing it as an instrument for forcing others to labour for him unpaid. Thus the land, the capital, machinery, and means of transit would cease to be private property, since they can only be used by the combination of labour to produce wealth.

Thus men would be free because they would no longer be dependent on idle property-owners for subsistence; thus they would be brothers, for the cause of strife, the struggle for subsistence at other people's expense, would have come to an end. Thus they would be equal, for if all men were doing useful work no man's labour could be dispensed with. Thus the motto of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which is but an empty boast in a society that upholds the monopoly of the means of production, would at last be realised.

This Revolutionary Socialism must be International. The change which would put an end to the struggle between man and man, would destroy it also between nation and nation. One harmonious system of federation throughout the whole of civilisation would take the place of the old destructive rivalries. There would be no great centres breeding race hatred and commercial jealousy, but people would manage their own affairs in communities not too large to prevent all citizens from taking a part in the administration necessary for the conduct of life, so that party politics would come to an end.

Thus, while we abide by the old motto

Liberty, Fraternity, Equality,

we say that the existence of private property destroys Equality, and therefore under it there can be neither Liberty nor Fraternity.

We add to the first motto then this other one—

**FROM EACH ACCORDING TO HIS
CAPACITY, TO EACH ACCORDING
TO HIS NEEDS.**

When this is realised there will be a genuine Society; until it is realised, Society is nothing but a band of robbers. We must add that this change can only be brought about by combination amongst the workers themselves, and must embrace the whole of Society. The new life cannot be given to the workers by a class higher than they, but must be taken by them by means of the abolition of classes and the reorganisation of Society.

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Printed in the Socialist League Printery, and published in the name and on behalf of the Socialist League, by FRANK KITZ, at 24 Great Queen St., Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, W.C.