

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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## MR. CHAMBERLAIN AT HULL.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN may be said on the whole to stick to the road he has taken; perhaps even his Hull speech shows a slight advance. He may be said to have preached from a text furnished by an agricultural labourer in these words: "Neighbours and friends, you have known me for forty years; I have lived and worked amongst you. I am not a drunkard; I am a steady man; I am an industrious man; I am not a spending man. I have worked and laboured for forty years; it has been a weary task, and I ain't any forwarder now than I was when I began." "What," said Mr. Chamberlain, "is the remedy?"

I think it at least possible that Mr. Chamberlain knows what the remedy is; but he is "a politician," and the exercise of courage and good faith, to say nothing of logic, is forbidden to all "politicians;" therefore Mr. Chamberlain could only show his audience as much of the remedy as he thought they were prepared to receive, which in fact consisted of free education, graduated taxation, and a queer muddle of land reform, in which free trade in land, fair rent for the farmer and allotments for the labourer, were mingled with the restitution of charitable trusts and stolen commons.

Although Mr. Chamberlain admitted that no prescription should limit restitution, he was careful to disclaim "confiscation," which will not reassure those who understand that word as it is understood by the privileged classes; even a writer commenting on this speech in the *Pall Mall Gazette* is able to see this, though otherwise he is a person of quite peculiar stupidity.

He (the specimen of stupidity), though rejoicing in Mr. Chamberlain's adhesion to the "eighth commandment," with charming simplicity quotes Macaulay to show that no property would be safe unless there were a strict limitation to the application of the ancient Hebrew law, "Thou shalt not steal."

Mr. Chamberlain's attack on common-stealing will, however, tend to make him popular with the general public, and it certainly is something that he is willing to apply the "eighth commandment" so far. Will it be possible to educate him to apply it to those who steal people's labour from them generally, and not only by making them pay for the use of land which is their own—certainly a gross form of stealing?

For if Mr. Chamberlain comes to think of it (if politicians ever do think, which is doubtful), he cannot fail to see that all his reforms together will not get his labourer much "forwarder." He will still have no time to accept education, however "free" it may be. No magic, no shuffling of the cards, will get taxation in the long run out of anything save labour; the labourer must pay it. And as for the disgorging of the land-thieves, Mr. Chamberlain will find it little use asking for "restitution" without an army at his back, which army, as it will be composed of workmen, will ask for something more than the restitution

of the commons: it will claim for the labourer the right to a full share in all the wealth to the production of which he is necessary. That is the only way in which he can "get forwarder."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

AGITATE! EDUCATE! ORGANISE!

### III.

If you wish the social revolution to evolve apace, *organise* the forces which you have raised through agitation and enlightenment, in order to effectually attack and finally overthrow the powers which are the main-stays of our present society.

*Organise!* Find out, bring together, and bind into one consciously-acting mass, all the isolated elements of discontent and indignation, of understanding and of burning human love, which are scattered about in this "best imaginable of worlds." Left to themselves, they will be driven around like chaff in the world's whirlwind, to nobody's good; but banded together, for one end, they may work wonders in the way of rousing and firing their neighbours, and influencing their actions for the better.

*Organise!* For what we have to assail is a vast organisation, firmly set and deeply rooted in the notions and habits of an individualistic generation. *Organise!* For however conflicting the personal interests of the privileged may seem, and however fiercely they may compete with and prey upon each other, the common object of their rapacity is *unpaid labour*. And whenever their capital principle, "Make your fortune out of the distress of your neighbour," is called in question and endangered, they invariably sink their minor differences of caste and individuality, and, rallying together on the base of their common purpose, show how their seemingly opposed interests are virtually interlinked into one gigantic social tyranny—the *hierarchy of capitalism*.

*Organise!* The system of acquired rights, of vested interests and of private property, in industry and commerce, in Church and State and Family, is a formidable fortress.

It holds all the positions advantageous in the strife for life, and is surrounded by unsurmountable walls of righteous laws, with equitable ditches and most charitable traps. The onslaughts upon this iniquitous stronghold have been fierce and numerous. But they are mostly made single-hearted and single-handed, and hence fail wretchedly. Thousands of outraged human beings have protested in burning words and desperate deeds against the dominion of monopoly and privilege, but have spent their lives in vain and died in desperation.

*Organise!* For isolated individual action in a struggle so universal, against a foe so formidable, means fruitless waste of precious force and energy. As you have, even for the attainment of trifling personal ends, to combine several of your capacities and bring their concentrated power to bear upon one special point—how can you dream of bringing about so thorough a change in men's minds and habits, and in the position of Social Power, by leaving it to everyone's own pleasure and convenience, to attack the ruling system in his own poor way, with his own poor means, and at his own scanty opportunities?

*Organise!* If we were many as we are few, such personal efforts, by being very numerous and working on many points, might be effective. But behold what a handful we are as compared with the host on the other side! Every capitalist's family is a closely-bound combination against the wage-workers, by whose loss they prosper; a conscious or unconscious conspiracy against the economical freedom of the creators of wealth. A man, who, in consequence of inherited or acquired cunning and of favourable circumstances, has managed to amass out of the unpaid labour of his fellow-creatures a fortune for himself,

must naturally be desirous of leaving a similar fortune to each of his offspring, in order to give them a start of the beggarly pack around them and to secure to them an existence of luxury and idleness. His sons and daughters are taught to marry for love of money and social position rather than for love of their partners, maintaining and increasing thereby their influence and power over the poor toilers, whose families are broken up and scattered to the winds by the insecurity of their labour, by the competition for bread among their own members, and by the constant change of domicile, forced upon them through search for work all over those parts of the globe, which have been taken possession of by man-abusing commercialism.

*Organise!* For it is only through organisation that the present state of things can be put a stop to and a new order begun. I know there are among us friends who look at the absolute and unrestricted liberty in all his actions of the individual as their ideal of human freedom; who consider, therefore, the subordination of their own "free" will even under that of a number of brotherly co-workers as "submitting to tyranny;" who dread the degrading consequences of officialism, and who, in view of all that, do nothing to further (if they do nothing to prevent) the establishment and growth of party-organisation. Yet: *Organise!* For the work we have set our minds to *can not be done without!* Organisation is the only means whereby to utilise every individual capacity to the best possible purpose, by making it work most effectively along with others towards one great common end. If we were able to be most useful and most effective, each one for himself, why have we combined? And since we have combined for strife, why should we not make our combination as powerful as we can?

*Organise!* Even though from organisation there seem to be inseparable the notions of leadership and command, of office and subordination. Let us modify those notions and thus limit the mischief they may do when left unguarded. Our leader be our cause, and our commander the necessity of the moment. If we delegate the power of command to any one person among ourselves, it must only be for a spell of time, for a distinct purpose and out of necessity. But if it be necessary, then let it work its purpose to the full and set aside all ideal notions of "personal liberty," of which we have, out of our own resolve, divested ourselves for the time being. Let us guard only the limit of this handing over of ourselves to the discretion of any one comrade: let it be the perception of his failing to fulfil his trust. Then must we be ready—every one of us—to take in hand the task he has shown himself unfit to perform. No "dignity" or "distinction" among us, save that which we confer upon ourselves by the sincerity of our actions.

*Organise!* Learn and teach to organise, for the ground-work of the Social Revolution will be the organisation of labour, and of the production and distribution of wealth. To create the necessities and comforts of life with the least possible exertion, and to secure a fair share of enjoyment to everyone who has been useful in the creation of our stock of wealth; to obtain from each according to his capacities and to provide for everyone according to his needs—this great ideal of Revolutionary Socialism can never be achieved without organisation, without combining in an effective, punctually and easily-working way all the manifold good, beautiful and willing forces, which will form the human elements of the future commonwealths.

*Organise!* For it is not the much-vaunted, and still more misunderstood, "independence," that "absolute" liberty of action or inaction, in every respect of the individual, we are striving for. The goal of the Social Revolution is that ease and well-being, that mental and physical culture, that social economical power—in short, that complete freedom from the care and worry, which now make the life of man well-nigh unbearable. Such freedom can be attained for all only by unreserved co-operation of all the members of the human family. The "absolute liberty" of the idealist is impossible among human beings. The liberty of "laissez faire, laissez aller," is the liberty of barbarism, which, when fully carried through, entails the charmlessness and destitution of barbarism for the greater part of mankind. To attempt (for whatever imaginary ends) to isolate human beings in their work, their aims, their efforts and their enjoyments, is to misconceive the relationship between man and nature, which latter yields her most bountiful blessings to those who best understand and most readily comply with, that necessity which governs her causes and effects.

*Organise!* It is necessary for the undoing of what there is, and for the doing of what there has not yet been: the founding and keeping alive of a society in which there is harmony between work and enjoyment, between freedom and restraint, between word and action—a society, which knows neither slaves nor commanders; a federation of communities, in which everyone serves because everyone loves and understands!

*Agitate!* Arouse the indifferent, spur the sluggish, and fire the luke-warm!

*Educate!* Show the causes and effects of tyranny and serfdom, of riches and poverty, of power and helplessness; discourage that which is bad, and culture that which is good in us; make ourselves and others fit for the tremendous task before us!

*Organise!* Recruit and hold together in the form best fitting the ends of intellectual, social and political warfare, all those elements of society which are destined by necessity to carry to a triumphant issue the throes and onsets of the labouring Social Revolution.

That is what is to be done:

*Agitate! Educate! Organise!*

ANDREAS SCHEU.

## MEETING ON THE RECENT EXPOSURES.

ON Wednesday evening, August 5, a crowded meeting was held at Farringdon Hall, under the auspices of the Socialist League.

The chair was taken by Thomas Binning.

The CHAIRMAN: We, as Socialists, intend to do our best to prevent the question raised by the recent disclosures from being a mere sensation. Others may be content with the temporary regaining of a waning popularity. It is for us to go to the root of the matter, and to try to assign a real cause and a real remedy for these evils. This will be evident from the one resolution that will be presented to the meeting. That resolution reads as follows:—"That this meeting, recognising the hideous sexual corruption of the capitalistic classes, and the iniquities practised by them on the children of the working class, is of opinion that these evils are inevitable under the capitalistic system, and will never be removed, or even remedied, until that system is at an end."

WILLIAM MORRIS: Two things are to be noticed. First, that the children of the poor are always the victims. Second, the terrible and miserable unhappiness of the whole affair. There is much talk of immorality. Whatever is unhappy is immoral. It is unhappiness that must be got rid of. We have nothing to do with the mere immorality. We have to do with the causes that have compelled this unhappy way of living; the causes that drive girls and women into the streets, to sell their love, not to give it. These causes are the same that make a man degrade himself by over-hours and competition. There is the closest of relations between the prostitution of the body in the streets and of the body in the workshops. Women's wages are not even subsistence wages. They are intended to cheapen labour for the manufacturers. The first thing that is necessary, is that all women should be freed from the compulsion of living in this degraded way. We aim at the real liberty of every human creature, not the liberty to starve or to sell oneself or one's child. Society to-day is like a wrecked ship where people eat one another. The real Minotaur is Capital—not one man, but the whole system is guilty. To get rid of this system is our serious business. We desire that all should be free to earn their livelihood—with that freedom will come an end of these monstrosities, and true love between man and woman throughout society.

J. L. MAHON: Our legislators are of course dealing with this question in the gingerly manner that is usual when the interests of the working classes are affected. The working classes must be determined to put a stop to these evils. The debates in Parliament have been an insult to the manhood of every working man. These things must go on as long as there is a poor and a rich class, and the daughters of the latter are compelled to sell their bodies. What is our duty? To teach our fellows not the immorality of the women, or even of the men, but the conditions that make this necessary. The useless, dangerous existence of the two classes must be ended. The responsibility is especially upon us workers, who are most injured. I beseech my fellow workmen to take up this question of Socialism. The work of teaching and spreading its principles is the holiest and best to which a man can devote his life.

LEWIS LYONS: Money will buy women to-day. We want to put an end to the possibility of anybody being able to buy, in any form, another human being. We must make the working classes see that they are giving these men the money to outrage their own daughters.

C. W. MOWBRAY: I have tried twice to get the opportunity of speaking at the Social Purity Alliance meetings. I wrote and made oral applications to move a rider at their readings in the sense of our resolution. Of the written applications no notice was taken. Three attempts to speak ended in my being "chucked out" of the meeting. This is another proof that the middle-class people want to gloss over the question, and are afraid really to tackle it. Can women pay 4s. a week for lodgings, get food and clothing, out of 2½d. per gross of match-boxes and find their own cardboard and paste. Take the case of the tailoring. For making a coat 6d., a waistcoat 3d., a pair of trousers 4d. A girl may make seven or eight pair of trousers per day of 14 hours. To get the poorest of living, she must work 18 or 19 hours. Certain philanthropists are paying 2s. 9d. a week for 16 to 18 hours a day. It is useless to talk about the Factory Acts. The inspectors are dodged in the most shameless fashion. Once again we say, remove the cause, cut out the cancer whose symptoms are pinched faces in the streets, whose effects are prostitution, suicides, an increasingly dangerous mass of men. And let those who object to force remember we are ruled by force. We are forced to work, forced to

obey the laws in the making of which we have no voice. Our sisters and daughters are forced to become prostitutes. It is certain that the changes we desire will not be brought about without tremendous struggle, sacrifice and suffering, but surely anything is better than keeping this monstrous class out of your hard earnings.

The CHAIRMAN then asked if there were any amendment.

Mr. WEDDELL rose to propose as an amendment "That individual responsibility for personal purity is the only remedy for this evil." I deny that the evil depends upon the capitalistic class, or any other. I deny that any but the individual man is responsible. If you got your way the end would be destruction. Your principles are unworkable. Individual responsibility is everything.

H. H. CLARK seconded: I am a Socialist. As I understand the supporters of this resolution, the condition of society is responsible for everything, even for the wrongs of individuals. I dissent from this latter conclusion. Even if the social condition were attained that I long for, am working for, and would die for, yet I think that individuality will have very free play. With the most perfect system I think there could be criminal vice in individuals.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING: A word or two on the amendment. It speaks of individual responsibility. But you must put the individual into such a position that he can be responsible. How are children of ten to thirteen to be "responsible?" Yet they form the largest number of the victims. But I go further. The men themselves, horrible as are their actions, are not responsible. As the inevitable outcome of social conditions, they are no more responsible than are the children. We do not make the class struggle. We only point out that it exists; and because we want to do away with it we are attacked. We do want to do away with all classes. This evil cannot be remedied. It must be wiped out, and the only chance to do that is to put everyone in the position that makes individual responsibility possible. As to legislation, it is of course well that the same penalties in certain matters should apply equally to men and women; but these laws will not really help the workers. We all know that laws are not applied equally, and it will be so with these. There has been some talk of the "exaggeration" that has been introduced. If the facts are true, the language cannot be exaggerated—and it is admitted that the facts are true. The fact is, women are driven to prostitution; not only women of the working class, but many of the middle class. Governesses are often supposed to be able to teach two or three languages and "accomplishments," and must dress respectably, on 6s. a week. Nearly all women obliged to earn a living have to choose between starvation and prostitution, and this must go on so long as one class can buy the bodies of another class, whether in the form of labour-power or sexual embraces. Enthusiasm alone is of no use. That is why we want men and women to join with us at once in bringing about those changed conditions that will make responsibility to oneself possible.

A. K. DONALD: The individual responsibility that the mover and second of the amendment spoke of generally leads to the putting of hands in the pockets. We must be strongly on our guard against this. Under the republics of which mention was made, prostitution of course existed, and this seems to be taken by non-Socialists as a reason for tolerating prostitution to-day. Not only the daughters, but the sons of the working classes, are prostitutes. To take an example not yet mentioned to-night, those who are made soldiers and policemen to guard the property stolen from the workers are prostitutes. Yet, in a certain sense individual responsibility is necessary, for unless we exert ourselves we must sink deeper in the mire. The fact that Blue Books containing full accounts of these horrors were published years ago, shows us that the legislators who live on your plunder are anxious to retain a fair field for the vices of themselves and their friends. Let us redouble our exertions to end this state of affairs.

EDWARD AVELING: We have a mixed audience here. Many of us are Socialists, and the causes and the only remedy for these evils are familiar to us. We are most anxious that those who are not Socialists should understand these. And we are anxious they should be reminded how worthless has been the action of the Press and of Parliament since these matters have come before the public. Even the so-called papers of the people have shown how completely they are the papers of the capitalist. As proof, take the disgraceful utterances of the *Weekly Dispatch*; and as further evidence of the wide spread of literary immorality, notice how such a man as Mr. G. R. Sims, who has in his way written at times on behalf of the poor, speaks of this matter in the *Referee*. As to Parliament, the conduct of such men as Warton, Hopwood and Harcourt, is typical. And let the worshippers of Messrs. Gladstone and Bright notice that upon this tremendous question one of these gentlemen has given no utterance whatever, and the other has practically said nothing. A word as to the effect of the publication of these facts. Judging from my own case, I am certain that they have opened the eyes of many people. I do not profess to be better than the other men of my own class, and I can only tell those present that the facts now disclosed were to me absolutely new. From that we may fairly argue that many hundreds of men, and probably thousands of women, have been made acquainted with them for the first time within these last few weeks. I, like one of the previous speakers, wonder at times how you working men can restrain yourselves from seizing the representatives of the capitalistic class, and breaking their necks across the nearest curbstone. Mind, that is not what I or any Socialist advises you to do, but we do advise you to break the neck of the damnable system that makes these things necessary.

The CHAIRMAN then put the amendment, for which only seven voted, and the original resolution was carried.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

The education of the working classes is, to the average middle class man, merely a means to the end of fitting both more completely for the station of life into which it has pleased Providence to call them. The former are to become more speedy and docile producers; the latter more extensive recipients of surplus-value.

As proof, let us study the instructive history of Dundee and Mr. Frank Henderson, M.P. By the sixth section of the Education (Scotland) Act, no child was to be employed as a half-timer who had not passed Standard III. Dundee masters dreaded that many half-timers would be shut out and the masters lose some of their profits.

Mr. Frank Henderson therefore made special efforts in the House that he adorns to obtain a modification of the regulation. He thought Standard III. too high, and induced the House of Commons to postpone the enforcement of the new rules for a year.

Since the passing of the Education Act, we learn on authority that the factory children are "quicker to learn, more amenable to discipline and much less mischievous." This, being translated, means that they are more ready to become machines, less likely to rebel against their unhappy lot, and less childlike.

"It became the duty of the commissioners to ascertain how far the private holding of land. . . has worked to public disadvantage." This is a part of a report of certain commissioners in the United States. What do you think are the three words I have left out? "About Niagara falls." Does it not read minus these, like a manifesto from a Socialist or at least a Land Nationalisation Society?

There is a sort of germ of hope in the idea. If the commissioners are anxious about the defacement of scenery that results from private property in land, one of these days, perhaps, there may be some anxiety about the defacing of man that results from private property in the means of production.

Then one of these days a measure like that just passed in America as to its wording may come to pass. "That the lands be purchased by the State in order that every part of them shall be for ever free of access to all mankind." Only there will be no "purchasing" and the lands will be not those round Niagara but those over the whole area of the globe.

Railway dividends are likely to be low. The meaning of this to all who have not any dividends to draw is that (1) the passenger receipts have decreased, and this means increased poverty among the workers; (2) the goods traffic has decreased, and this means diminished trade, especially in the iron and coal districts.

The new class of capitalists are the tradesmen, represented by Maple, Shoolbred, Whitely, who has had "another fire." Maple is going to stand for St. Pancras.

There is no more significant sign of the times than the mushroom growth of these pests of civilisation. Like the industrial capitalist, they have but one idea—surplus-value. They live entirely upon the results of the unpaid labour of others; they are a distinct injury to the community. The exploitation that goes on in their colossal establishments is as bad as that in any factory.

## REPORT OF THE PROPAGANDIST COMMITTEE,

(Adopted by the Council, and inserted in the "COMMONWEAL" by order of the Council).

(1) It was decided that lectures should be started (in the Hall, Farringdon Road) in the first week in September, and given on Wednesdays and Sundays.

(2) That a Children's Sunday School be held at 10.30 on Sunday mornings as soon as a sufficient number of pupils' names have been given in. Intending pupils can apply to 13 Farringdon Road for further information.

(3) That a catalogue of the Library books (to be kept in the Secretary's office) be written and hung in the Hall.

(4) That all standing Committees shall meet on Wednesday nights at 7.30 p.m.

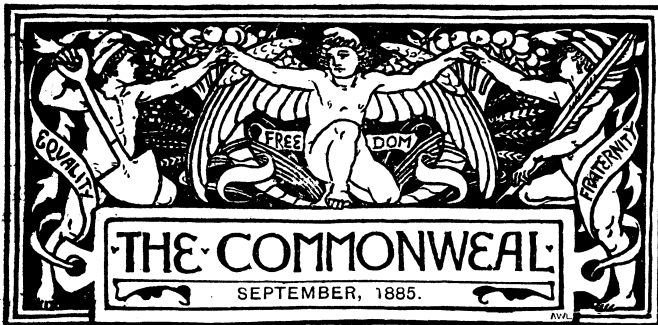
(5) That the Reading Room be open daily from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m., and on Sundays and Wednesdays from 10 a.m. till the lecture commences. Members as far as possible to volunteer to take charge during the day.

(6) That Friday nights be set aside for choir-practice.

(7) That Social Evenings (admission free) shall be held (if possible) every fourth Saturday evening; August 1 and 29, Sept. 26.

Lastly the Propagandist Committee earnestly ask all friends to give or lend them pictures and decorations for the Hall.

THE Hall of the League has been let to Edward Aveling on Tuesday nights during the months of October (starting the 6th) to April for the purpose of giving lessons in science. These lessons to be entirely under his own control and for his own benefit, and not under the auspices of the League. The classes will be connected with South Kensington, will deal with Animal Chemistry, Physiology and Geology. Intending students can communicate, as to fees, etc., with Dr. Aveling at 55 Great Russell Street, W.C.



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of THE COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 5s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**IMPORTANT**—Newsagents, etc., who supply the *Commonweal*, are asked to send in their names and addresses to the Manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for publication. The following leaflets have been issued by the League:—No. 1, "Why be Transformed?" No. 2, "Down with the Socialists!" No. 3, "To the Radicals!" No. 4, "The Cause of Prostitution." Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS**.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

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

**SPECIAL ATTENTION** is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Three numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Balfour Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Work v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny; the third, by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling, on the "Factory Hell," 16 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

**LECTURES** will be given throughout the winter at Farringdon Hall on Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m. The series will commence on Sept. 9. Subjects will be announced in *Pull Mall Gazette* and *Echo* on current evening.

**DECLIN.**—All sympathisers with our movement are *urgently* requested to write to the Secretary at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

**MANCHESTER**.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, High Town, Cheetham.

**A CHOIR** is now being formed at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. All members and friends (especially ladies) of the Socialist League who possess fair voices, are invited to join. No previous knowledge of music necessary. Further information may be obtained from Edwin Pope. Choir practice every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

**ROBERT SEIDEL** writes from Mollis, Canton Glavis, forwarding a copy of his "Instruction by Manual Labour" and a critical attack upon it by H. Laupp. We hope to be able to review both works.

**A READER** (Northampton).—The quotation you forward from the *Weekly Times* of July 25 is, as you say, quite Socialistic in sentiment. Under a Socialistic régime holidays will not be the fragmentary, practically useless, things they are to-day. Every day will be a holiday, and work, as it ought to be, pay.

**WM. HOMES** (Chicago, U.S.A.) writes us that he regards the *Commonweal* as the "ablest Socialistic paper in the world. I only wish," he adds, "I was in London and could take part in the agitation with the comrades there. . . . Quite a good many intelligent and wealthy business and professional men in the city call themselves Socialists, but they are the kind that do us no good—the milk-and-water sort—and are too much engrossed in scrambling for the Almighty Dollar to lead the cries of the disinherited and suffering proletariat. We have a good field here, and are doing good work, but we lack the co-operation of men of genius and means. Nevertheless, the Chicago Group of the International have not been idle in the work of propaganda, and we shall continue to spread the good seed as best we can."

**ANYONE** willing to form a Labour Emancipation League in Manchester is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 46 Bold Street.

**THE** editors insert with pleasure the following letter:—"DEAR COMRADES.—In your report of the Conference I am made responsible for the senseless statement that 'what was wanted was to get the attention of the superficial and frothy men.' I do not desire superficial Socialists any more than I desire insane Socialists. What I did say was that the workers were for the most part superficial, and that if we wished to create among them a desire and a demand for the *Commonweal* we must look to it that our articles are simpler in construction and more interesting in style than they have been heretofore.—Yours fraternally, T. MAGUIRE." [As the person responsible for the Report in our last issue, I must, in justice to myself, state that I took down verbatim in my shorthand what Comrade Maguire said.—EDWARD AVELING.]

**RECEIVED**.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Non Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Workers' Friend*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*Wage-Worker*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Tolierross Advertiser*—*Il Paria*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Laylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocates*—*Detroit Labour Leaf*—*Boston Liberty*—*Dublin University Magazine*—*Union Socialiste*—*Christian Socialist*—*Justice*—*Church Reformer*—*National Review*—*The Word*—*Boston Woman's Journal*—*San Francisco Chronicle*—*Watchman* (N.Z.)—*Index*—*El Angel del Hogar*—*Republican*—*Cleveland* (O.)—*Carpenter*—*Journal Vigilance Association*—*N.Y. Progress*.

**THE** following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—Parcels of books from Craig, Sparling, Morris and Wardle; "Odes of Horace," from Nicoll; "Communism," from A. Longley.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The October number (9) will be ready on Friday, Sept. 25th. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Monday, 21st.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### VI.—THE NEW PROLETARIAN.

How near to the goal are we now, and what shall we live to behold?

Will it come a day of surprise to the best of the hopeful and bold?

Shall the sun arise some morning and see men falling to work, Smiling and loving their lives, not fearing the ill that may lurk In every house on their road, in the very ground that they tread? Shall the sun see famine slain, and the fear of children dead? Shall he look adown on men set free from the burden of care, And the earth grown like to himself, so comely, clean and fair? Or else will it linger and loiter, till hope deferred hath spoiled All bloom of the life of man—yea, the day for which we have toiled?

Till our hearts be turned to stone by the griefs that we have borne,

And our loving kindness seared by love from our anguish torn. Till our hope grow a wrathful fire, and the light of the second birth

Be a flame to burn up the weeds from the lean impoverished earth.

What's this? Meseems it was but a little while ago

When the merest sparkle of hope set all my heart aglow!

The hope of the day was enough; but now 'tis the very day That wearies my hope with longing. What's changed or gone away?

Or what is it drags at my heart-strings?—is it aught save the coward's fear?

In this little room where I sit is all that I hold most dear—

My love, and the love we have fashioned, my wife and the little lad.

Yet the four walls look upon us with other eyes than they had, For indeed a thing hath happened. Last week at my craft I worked,

Lest oft in the grey of the morning my heart should tell me I shirked;

But to-day I work for us three, lest he and she and I

In the mud of the street should drabble till we come to the workhouse or die.

Not long to tell is the story, for, as I told you before,

A lawyer paid me the money which came from my father's store.

Well, now the lawyer is dead, and a curious tangle of theft,

It seems, is what he has lived by, and none of my money is left.

So I who have worked for my pleasure now work for utter need.

In "the noble army of labour" I now am a soldier indeed.

"You are young, you belong to the class that you love," saith the rich man's sneer;

"Work on with your class and be thankful." All that I hearken to hear,

Nor heed the laughter much; have patience a little while,

I will tell you what's in my heart, nor hide a jot by guile.

When I worked pretty much for my pleasure I really worked with a will,

It was well and workmanlike done, and my fellows knew my skill, And deemed me one of themselves though they called me gentleman Dick,

Since they knew I had some money; but now that to work I must stick,

Or fall into utter ruin, there's something gone I find;

The work goes, cleared is the job, but there's something left behind;

I take up fear with my chisel, fear lies 'twixt me and my plane,

And I wake in the merry morning to a new unwonted pain.

That's fear: I shall live it down—and many a thing besides

Till I win the poor dulled heart which the workman's jacket hides.

Were it not for the Hope of Hopes I know my journey's end,

And would wish I had ne'er been born the weary way to wend.

Now further well you may think we have lived no gentleman's life,

My wife is my servant, and I am the servant of my wife,

And we make no work for each other; but country folk we were,

And she sickened sore for the grass and the breath of the fragrant air

That had made her lovely and strong; and so up here we came To the northern slopes of the town to live with a country dame.

Who can talk of the field-folks' ways: not one of the newest the house,

The woodwork worn to the bone, its panels the land of the mouse,

Its windows rattling and loose, its floors all up and down ;  
 But this at least it was, just a cottage left in the town.  
 There might you sit in our parlour in the Sunday afternoon  
 And watch the sun through the vine-leaves and fall to dreaming  
 that soon  
 You would see the grey team passing, their fetlocks wet with  
 the brook,  
 Or the shining mountainous straw-load: there the summer  
 moon would look  
 Through the leaves on the lampless room, wherein we sat we  
 twain.  
 All London vanished away ; and the morn of the summer rain  
 Would waft us the scent of the hay ; or the first faint yellow  
 leaves  
 Would flutter adown before us and tell of the acres of sheaves.

All this hath our lawyer eaten, and to-morrow must we go  
 To a room near my master's shop, in the parlours of Soho.  
 No words of its shabby meanness! But that is our prison-cell  
 In the jail of weary London. Therein for us must dwell  
 The hope of the world that shall be, that rose a glimmering spark  
 As the last thin flame of our pleasure sank quavering in the dark.

Again the rich man jeereth : "The man is a coward, or worse—  
 He bewails his feeble pleasure ; he quails before the curse  
 Which many a man endureth with calm and smiling face."  
 Nay, the man is a man, by your leave! Or put yourself in his  
 place,  
 And see if the tale reads better. The haven of rest destroyed,  
 And nothing left of the life that was once so well enjoyed  
 But leave to live and labour, and the glimmer of hope deferred.  
 Now know I the cry of the poor no more as a story heard,  
 But rather a wordless wail forced forth from the weary heart.  
 Now, now when hope ariseth I shall surely know my part.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 There's a little more to tell. When those last words were said,  
 At least I was yet a-working, and earning daily bread.  
 But now all that is changed, and meseems adown the stair  
 That leads to the nethermost pit man wife and child must fare.

When I joined the communist folk, I did what in me lay  
 To learn the grounds of their faith. I read day after day  
 Whatever books I could handle, and heard about and about  
 What talk was going amongst them ; and I burned up doubt  
 after doubt,  
 Until it befel at last that to others I needs must speak  
 (Indeed, they pressed me to that while yet I was weaker than  
 weak).

So I began the business, and in street-corners I spake  
 To knots of men. Indeed, that made my very heart ache,  
 So hopeless it seemed ; for some stood by like men of wood.  
 And some, though fain to listen but a few words understood ;  
 And some but hooted and jeered : but whiles across some I came  
 Who were keen and eager to hear ; as in dry flux the flame  
 So the quick thought flickered amongst them : and that indeed  
 was a feast.

So about the streets I went, and the work on my hands increased ;  
 And to say the very truth betwixt the smooth and the rough  
 It was work and hope went with it, and I liked it well enough :  
 Nor made I any secret of all that I was at  
 But daily talked in our shop and spoke of this and of that.  
 Then vanished my money away, and like a fool I told  
 Some one or two of the loss. Did that make the master bold ?  
 Before I was one of his lot, and as queer as my head might be  
 I might do pretty much as I liked. Well now he sent for me  
 And spoke out in very words my thought of the rich man's jeer ;  
 "Well sir, you have got your wish, as far as I can hear,  
 And are now no thief of labour, but an honest working man :  
 Now I'll give you a word of warning : stay in it as long as you can,  
 This working lot that you like so : you're pretty well off as you  
 are.

So take another warning : I have thought you went too far,  
 And now I am quite sure of it ; so make an end of your talk  
 At once and for ever henceforth, or out of my shop you walk ;  
 There are plenty of men to be had who are quite as good as you.  
 And mind you, anywhere else you'll scarce get work to do,  
 Unless you rule your tongue ;—good morning ; stick to your  
 work."

The hot blood rose to my eyes, somewhere a thought did lurk  
 To finish both him and the job : but I knew now what I was,  
 And out of the little office in helpless rage did I pass  
 And went to my work, a slave, for the sake of my child and my  
 sweet.

Did men look for the brand on my forehead that eve as I went  
 through the street ?

And what was the end after all ? Why one of my shopmates heard  
 My next night's speech in the street, and passed on some bitter  
 word,  
 And that week came a word with my money : "You needn't come  
 again."  
 And the shame of my four days' silence had been but grief in vain.  
 Well I see the days before me : this time we shall not die  
 Nor go to the workhouse at once : I shall get work by-and-by,  
 And shall work in fear at first, and at last forget my fear,  
 And drudge on from day to day, since it seems that I hold life  
 dear.

'Tis the lot of many millions ! Yet if half of those millions knew  
 The hope that my heart hath learned, we should find a deed to do,  
 And who or what should withstand us ? And I, e'en I might live  
 To know the love of my fellows and the gifts that earth can give.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

### V.—LABOUR-POWER. MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE. ESSENTIALS FOR LABOUR.

In capitalistic circulation, the excess of the returns to the  
 capitalist over his outlay is surplus-value. The source of  
 surplus-value is some commodity of such a nature that its  
 consumption (or the realisation of its use-value) creates value.  
 This commodity is labour-power. The one source of all surplus-  
 value, as, indeed, of all value, is human labour-power.

Labour-power is the sum-total of all the physical faculties  
 of man that can be put into action to produce use-value. Of  
 course, the word physical is here used in the wide sense that  
 is, I think, its only sense. All bodily faculties are included,  
 those of the brain as well as those of the muscles. The facul-  
 ties of the brain are but functions of a particular part of the  
 body. They are therefore physical, and enter into that totality  
 of functions which is the labour-power of the individual.

Labour must not be confused with labour-power. In this  
 confusion of the two, a very common event, is the fruitful  
 source of much misunderstanding by the student and misrepresen-  
 tation by the opponents of Socialism. Labour is the realisa-  
 tion of labour-power. Every ordinary person has labour-power.  
 Not everyone realises it, *i.e.*, performs labour. The labourer is  
 the human being who does realise his faculties in the production  
 of use-value.

That labour-power and labour are not one and the same  
 thing is seen again when we consider the means of subsistence.  
 Labour-power realised in the production of use-value, or not so  
 realised, needs maintenance, restoration. Its possessor, whether  
 he is a labourer or a University cricketer, requires means of  
 subsistence. Whether labour is or is not put forth, means of  
 subsistence are essential.

What are these means of subsistence? They are food,  
 clothing, housing, warmth, rest, children, education. On the  
 first five there is no need to dwell. The last two call for a  
 word of comment. The commodity labour-power must be con-  
 tinuous on the market. There must be a constant supply. As  
 one generation of labourers passes another must take its place.  
 Children are an actual means of subsistence for the stock of  
 labour-power as a whole in the community, not of course for  
 the labour-power of the individual parents. For a like reason,  
 education is necessary to prepare the children for the due use  
 of their labour-power in the way that the capitalistic system  
 commands.

These means of subsistence have to us a special interest, as  
 it is their equivalent that the labourer produces during the  
 earlier part of his working-day. Until he has produced their  
 equivalent he can and does produce nothing whatever for his  
 lord. But the moment he has produced so much value, whether  
 in yarn that he has made out of cotton, or bricks that he has  
 made out of clay, in the soil that he has ploughed, or the cattle  
 he has driven a-field—the moment, I say, that he has put into  
 any commodity or commodities so much value (the result of his  
 labour-power realised), as is the equivalent of the means of sub-  
 sistence necessary to maintain that labour-power, from that  
 moment all other value that he may produce is not his, but  
 another's.

In this connexion the student is not concerned with how the  
 relative positions of capitalist and labourer have come about.  
 That will have to be considered later. The labourer and the  
 holder of capital are face to face to-day. That this is the case  
 not even the capitalist will deny. Explanations as to how this  
 came to be, he and his can and do offer. On these explanations  
 much will have to be said later. For the present, let us only  
 note that it is by no means a question of natural history, or to  
 be accounted for by immutable natural laws. Evolution has

been at work—social evolution. That social evolution has gone sufficiently far to have produced at least four results ere the production of surplus-value, *i.e.*, the capitalistic production, comes about. These are (1) that exchange-value and use-value are distinct; (2) that simple exchange has passed into circulation of commodities; (3) that money is playing its four parts, as measure of value, standard of price, means of circulation, means of payment; (4) that labour-power has become a commodity having exchange-value, and is paid by wage. Once more let us understand that the method by which this fourth result has been brought about, is not dealt with here.

In which of its four functions does money play its part in the alienation of the commodity labour-power from its possessor to the capitalist? In the fourth of these functions, *i.e.*, as a means of payment. Money is said to be a means of payment, when a certain interval of time elapses between the parting with the commodity (a house that is let, *e.g.*) and the return to its primary owner of its exchange-value in money. This is precisely what occurs with the commodity labour-power. For the labourer gives this commodity to the capitalist, say for a week, and receives at the end of the time his wage, after the use-value of his labour-power has been realised. The utilisation and the payment of the labour-power are not simultaneous. From this it results that the ordinary talk of the capitalist as advancing anything to the labourer is inaccurate. The advance is made by the labourer.

Let us now see in detail how surplus-value is produced. Labour is the realisation of labour power. There are three main essentials to the production of a use-value. These are: (1) an object on which to work, cotton, *e.g.*; (2) means of labour, machinery, *e.g.*; (3) human activity [true labour]. A use-value and therefore a product are formed when human activity works through means of labour on an object. Each of these three, especially the first and second, needs comment.

The object upon which human labor is to be expended may be natural or primitive, as a piece of wood or virgin soil. It may be raw material, such as cotton, a product upon which human labour has already been expended.

The means of labour must not be confused with the means of production. The latter is the larger term. The means of labour are everything that is interposed between the human being and the object on which his labour is exerted. Now this object itself is a means of production, but not a means of labour. These means of labour, intermediaries between man and the object (natural or raw material) may in their turn be natural or artificial. Examples of the former are the material conditions necessary for labour—ground to stand on and such agents as wind and water. Examples of the latter are machinery, buildings.

It will be noted that some of the objects of labour (raw materials) and some of the means of labour (the artificial ones) are themselves products. They have resulted from human labour that has previously worked upon some object.

We are now in a position to discuss two last points, for the present. (1) What are the fates of products? (2) What is productive consumption? A product may (a) be consumed at once, as a loaf of bread eaten new; (b) be consumed ultimately, as a wine that is laid down for many years; (c) serve as an object, primary or auxiliary raw material, of labour [cotton is a primary raw material, the dye that is united with it a secondary]; (d) serve as means of labour, *e.g.*, a tool.

Productive consumption occurs when the products are consumed as a means to the functioning of labour-power. The using of a machine, the eating of food by a labourer, are instances of productive consumption. Individual consumption, a better name than unproductive, occurs when the products consumed are for the enjoyment of the individual, as in the eating and drinking of the idle classes. The result in the former case is that the consumer produces something other than himself—a new commodity of some sort. The result in the latter case is that only the man himself is produced or re-produced.

Labour-power .....	The sum of man's faculties that put into action can produce use-values.
Labour .....	Realisation of labour-power.
Labourer .....	He that realises his labour-power and produces use-values.
Means of subsistence .....	Requisites for the maintenance and restoration of labour-power.
Enumeration of these .....	Food, clothing, housing, warmth, rent, children, education.
Preliminaries to Capitalism...	Exchange-value and use-value distinct. Simple exchange succeeded by circulation of commodities. Money with four functions, especially that of

means of payment. Labour-power a commodity, paid by wage.

Advance.....	Made by the labourer to the capitalist.
Essentials for production of } a use-value .....	(1) Object. (2) Means. (3) Labour.
Object .....	Natural or raw materials.
Means of labour .....	Natural or products.
Fates of products.....	Immediate consumption. Deferred consumption. Raw material. Means of labour.
Productive consumption .....	Products consumed as a means to the functioning of labour-power

EDWARD AVELING.

## CONFESSIONS OF THE CAPITALIST, SAMUEL SMITH, M. P.

ON commercial and trading subjects, "the Liverpool Smith" is an acknowledged adept, and, on social questions, one of the greatest authorities in this country. At least, so says the *Liverpool Mercury*. He is certainly noted for his opposition to Socialism, and his fear of it. Therefore, we commend to the attention of capitalists generally his avowal before the House of Commons of the failure of commercialism.

After mentioning the shameful facts that about two-fifths of the board-school children in London go without breakfast; that upon an average every poor working-man loses about twenty days in the year from *simple exhaustion*; that in London alone fully 60,000 families live in single rooms, Samuel Smith makes the ghastly confession that more than four-fifths of the deaths in London occur in workhouses and hospitals, the great mass as the results of wretched homes.

After our marvellous "progress," our undreamed-of increase in power over nature, this is the state of the people in the wealthiest city in the world! Is it not too high a price for the luxury of having a mercenary middle class and a "refined" aristocracy?

"The average wages of the working man throughout London are not more than 15s. to 16s. a week. I believe that there is no city either in Europe or America that contains anything like the wretchedness that is to be found in this City of London. London, however, does not stand alone in this matter. The same state of things exists in all our large cities, and, speaking of Liverpool, the city I represent, I would venture to say that we have just as great a proportion of people in that town living on the verge of starvation as there are in London. The lower stratum of the population is just as poor now as it was a hundred years ago."

As for the member for Liverpool, we must credit him with seeing that, as "our trade is exhausted," "there is looming in the future a starving proletariat." But, alas! after an eloquent recital, which would have made a righteous man fierce with indignation at the murderous effects of the greed and callousness of our governors, this representative of the people coolly explains that he is "an advocate of State-aided emigration." But, alas! he and his friends are unable to "ship off tens of thousands of the London poor," because "they have been so wretchedly trained, that they are of no use as emigrants." Hence he concludes, from the State's neglect to perform the important duty of preventing the degradation of its workers, that their children must receive compulsory industrial training.

As someone may reasonably inquire what was done after so much talk, it is worth adding that the plea, "Why should a boy, who has committed a small theft, get the benefit of industrial training, while his brother, who has not committed any crime, is left to run about the streets?" was met by the suggestion that this "Christian philanthropist" should contribute with others toward the expenses of voluntary night-schools; and finally Mr. S. Smith was willing to withdraw his amendment, but it was negated without a division.

There is no need for emigration. If the whole area of the United Kingdom (seventy-eight million acres) were controlled by the workers instead of by the monopolising idlers, it would support in comfort a much greater population than we now have. Every thoughtful person knows that the producers are degraded because they have to maintain a huge middle-class and a luxurious nobility; but plutocrats are naturally tempted to disguise this simple truth. It is scarcely credible that this "philosophic thinker" has not read Mill "On Distribution;" yet if he has, how can he conscientiously call Socialism immoral and impracticable without mentioning the contrary statement of the great economist? For himself, Mill hoped to improve the competitive system, but his words clearly testify to the righteousness and feasibility of Socialism.

Whatever may be the merits or defects of these various schemes, they cannot be truly said to be impracticable. The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race. The apportionment of work to the strength and capacities of individuals, the mitigation of a general rule to provide for cases in which it would operate harshly, are not problems to which human intelligence, guided by a sense of justice, would be inadequate. And the worst and most unjust arrangement which could be made of these points under a system aiming at equality would be so far short of the inequality and injustice with which labour (not to speak of remuneration) is now apportioned as to be scarcely worth counting in the comparison?

Although the cotton broker, Samuel Smith, might be supposed to know something of how fortunes are made, he will probably find food for reflection in these words of one of the few noble, outspoken English gentlemen (Ruskin's 60th letter to the workers): "No man ever became or can become largely rich merely by labour and economy. All large fortunes (putting treasure-trove and gambling out of consideration) are founded either on occupation of land, usury, or taxation of labour. Whether openly or occultly, the landlord, money-lender and capital-holding employer, gather into their possession a certain quantity of the means of existence which other people produce by the labour of their hands."

R. F. E. WILLIS.

#### RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

AMERICA.—The following are some extracts which English comrades are sure to find interesting, taken from a letter sent us on the organisation of the International Working Men's Association in California. One of its secretaries tells us that their "system is the formation of groups for the study of a prescribed course of Socialistic reading. . . Each student gets a red card. When he is 'educated,' and has formed a group of his own, he gets a white card. All white-card-holders in San Francisco are members of the committee. . . A managing committee of twelve divides this coast into districts, and each member has the charge of the correspondence of a district. There are two Eastern correspondents, and an English and German foreign correspondent. . . The objects we specially aim at are the formation of groups throughout the country. We are very poor, but we have one lecturer out, and hope soon to have another. We also strive to get our men to move about from place to place to form fresh groups. We take great interest in all Trades' Unions here, striving to pick out the leaders and educate them. . . For this purpose, in addition to our two meetings per week, a speaking class is held weekly, which is well attended. We have since March last organised the coasting seamen into a union 2,000 strong. . . We have formed a Central Labour Union . . . and we are engaged in federating all the trades of the water-front. Our own paper, *Truth*, went under . . . but against this we can place the conversion of two established papers in San Fris., to which one of us manages regularly to contribute; the founding of a paper at Eureka, Cal., and one at Salem, Oregon, both of which flourish, and the transfer of all our subscription list to the *Denver Labour Enquirer*, which is doing great work among the miners and railroad men. . . I need not tell you that our work is being done with a view to ultimate action, which we conceive is, for many reasons, more feasible at an early date here than elsewhere. . . In most of our judgments events are like to move too quickly with us. . . I am an Englishman, and know something of England, having travelled all over that country. I read all I can lay hands on as to the progress of Socialism there, and I cannot but think that matters are moving more quickly by far both here and in the East. . . The feeling on both sides, of rich and poor, seems to me incomparably more bitter than in the old country. . . In conclusion, our comrade suggests opening a regular correspondence with English Socialists, as this would be "encouraging and beneficial to both you in England and to us here."

It is certainly very encouraging to us to know such good work is being done in America, and all letters like these are beneficial to us.

*A propos* of our correspondent's conviction that "events are moving faster" in the new world than the old, I may quote a passage from a most valuable series of articles by Paul Lafargue in the *Neue Zeit* on the American agricultural labourer, or rather that large portion of them "who possess not a foot of land; the roof above them, the very bed on which they sleep, the spoon with which they eat, are not their own; . . . they can call nothing theirs but the food they eat and the rags that cover them. They have no regular dwellings in the country, which they leave for towns as soon as the work for which they were engaged is done. They are hired by the day, week or month. . . In the autumn they are dismissed, and in the winter only a few remain on the farm to look after the cattle and mind the machinery. The workers go to the towns and villages, where they try to get along as best they can. These men, without property, without a home or a family (for only single men are employed) constantly driven hither and thither from town to country and country to town, these men with the bodily strength and perseverance of the peasant and the intelligence of the town labourer, are destined to form a class that will be incomparably more dangerous to capitalism than is that of the industrial proletariat." The ferocious Acts against "tramps" show that the capitalists are beginning to understand their danger.

The recent strike riot at Chicago was much more serious than would appear from the newspaper reports. Regular barricades seem to have

been thrown up, and the police—these gentry are the same all the world over—"fell upon the people, striking them in the most brutal manner, and severely wounding many persons." A number of arrests were made, and over a hundred men are to be prosecuted.

GERMANY.—It was not to be expected that the police of the holy German Empire would let itself be outdone by the gendarmierie of a Republic. The achievements of the French police at Père Lachaise have fired the ambition of their German colleagues, who have just had a field-day at Frankfurt. The funeral of the Socialist, Hugo Hiller, attended by thousands of Socialists, offered an opportunity that was not to be neglected. So when some red crowns, sent from various parts of Germany, had been deposited upon the grave of the comrade who had worked so hard for the cause, and was now at last taking his well-earned rest, when red flowers had been strewn, and a Socialist began to speak, Police Commissary Meyer stepped forth, summoned the people to disperse, and, without waiting to see what they would do, gave the order to "draw swords and drive the mob away." A terrible scene ensued. Men, women and children fell bleeding beneath the sabres of the brave saviours of society. The fact that several children were badly wounded is even reported in such a radically respectable paper as the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. We need no further details. We know this old story of brutal attacks upon unarmed peaceful citizens only too well.

This is how the police disturbed the funeral of a Socialist at Frankfurt. At Barmen they would not allow another Socialist to be buried at all by his friends, but actually "confiscated" the corpse. This sounds like a ghastly joke. But it is an actual fact. This man had died on the Wednesday, and was to be buried on the Sunday—twenty-four hours beyond the legal time, it is true, but this extension is usual when the legal time falls on a Saturday. It was known that a band was to accompany the funeral procession, and the police, duly informed of this, offered no opposition at first. But on the Saturday afternoon the organisers of the funeral were informed that "any gathering at the churchyard was prohibited" by the Anti-Socialist Law, and that no bands would be permitted to enter. This, however, was not enough. The sagacious police-officer found that a large number of people would gather, music or no music, and that this must, at all costs, be prevented. But how? In this predicament a doctor—Strauss by name—came to the rescue. Accompanied by a commissary of police, this gentleman proceeded to the house of the deceased, and declared that, on sanitary grounds, the body must there and then be removed: Not only the brothers, but several independent doctors, protested against this unheard-of and quite unnecessary interference—to no purpose. Another commissary, three more policemen and four carriers, appeared on the scene, broke open the locked door of the room in which the dead man lay, and carried off the corpse with no more ado to the churchyard. The next day, however, thousands of persons—the numbers doubled through this shameful police outrage—gathered at the house of the deceased Socialist, formed into a large cortege, and proceeded to the cemetery, bearing large crowns tied with red ribbon. At the cemetery the procession found the gates locked, but these, despite the efforts of the police, were burst open, the crowns placed upon the new-made grave, and speeches made. The police stood by helpless. After the speeches the crowd quietly dispersed.

DENMARK.—Our fellow-organ, the *Sozial Demokrat*, of Copenhagen, on the 25th of July issued a special number to celebrate the fact that it now publishes twenty thousand copies daily, a fact of which it and our Danish comrades may well be proud. This "special" number gives some interesting and instructive details as to the movement in Denmark, and contains an account of the paper since its foundation. A few years ago the *Sozial Demokrat* was a small weekly. It is now, as I have already said, a daily, of large size, consisting of twenty-eight columns, or about 168,000 letters in all. With such results, it may well say that Socialism is a power in Denmark! Those who cannot read Danish would do well to get this number all the same, for it contains a map of Denmark, well worth studying, in which the spread of Socialism in the country can be seen at a glance, the various groups, unions, etc., in various parts, being marked off in red. Altogether our comrades are to be heartily congratulated; when we think of the 20,000 subscribers to this paper, we can only wish we would go and do likewise.

FRANCE.—On Sunday, August 9, the monument to Auguste Blanqui was unveiled at Père Lachaise, in the presence of thousands of Socialists and representatives of most of the different Socialist organisations. The monument, by Dalou, which represents Blanqui lying upon his bier, is said to be an artistic masterpiece. To speak of Auguste Blanqui is to speak of one of the noblest, truest, most heroic of the many noble men who have given their lives for the people. His was not the enthusiasm of a few short years or months; his was not one single act of heroism. His whole long life was that of a martyr. Forty years of imprisonment under every kind of government, all manner of persecution, the cruellest sufferings of body and mind, had been powerless to shake the iron energy, to destroy the unconquerable faith, of this man. At every revolution—when he was not in prison—we find him to the fore; and when the Commune offered to Versailles the Archbishop, and I know not how many other hostages thrown in, in exchange for the single Blanqui, the Versailles very wisely refused to give him up. Blanqui in prison was more valuable to them than a wilderness of archbishops. "No god or master" was Blanqui's motto. And in the ordinary sense of those words he was true to them. In the higher, nobler sense, Blanqui acknowledged both god and master. Truth was his god, and his master was that cause he served so faithfully.

There is a great stir in France anent the approaching elections. I hope to give a full account of the action taken by the various groups next month.

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

## APPEAL!

**COMRADES.**—At the General Conference of the League a resolution was passed to the effect that the monthly *Commonweal* be transformed at an early date, and as soon as the necessary funds are collected, into a weekly paper.

Steps have been taken by the Council towards realising this resolution. A printing plant has been bought, a practical printer and compositor has been engaged, thus enabling the Socialist League to print the next monthly issue of the *Commonweal* on the premises of the League, and so all preliminary conditions are fulfilled for changing the monthly paper into a weekly one.

What we now want is FUNDS to guarantee the continuous appearance of the weekly paper when once started. To collect such funds the undersigned Committee has been chosen, and this Committee herewith opens a subscription for

## A WEEKLY COMMONWEAL FUND,

and now earnestly solicits from all—Socialists, and outsiders who sympathise with us—donations and subscriptions, whether they be small or large, in order that at an early date a well-supported weekly issue of the *Commonweal* may appear and spread far and wide *under the Glad Tidings of Socialism*.

E. BELFORD BAX, WILLIAM MORRIS, C. THEODOR.

Farringdon Road, Sept. 1, 1885.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY** ("Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho).—The Thursday night discussions continue to be a success, and many new members have joined through them. We have also started open-air meetings, as advertised in the Lecture Diary, and these have also served to strengthen the Branch and push the sale of the *Commonweal*.—Thomas E. Wardle, Sec.

**SOCIAL EVENING.**—On Saturday evening, August 1, the first of a series of free evenings for the people was held at the Farringdon Hall. The room was quite full and for two hours working men, women and children seemed to enjoy themselves thoroughly. Pianoforte selections were played by Ann Taylor and W. B. Adams; May Morris, Frau Walther, E. Pope, W. Wade, Andreas Scheu sang; the readers were Eleanor Marx Aveling, David Nicoll, J. L. Mahon, H. H. Sparling, Donald, Edward Aveling. The evening closed with the singing by all present of the *Marseillaise*. The next Social evenings will be held on the last Saturday in August, i.e., August 29, and on Sept. 26, at 8 p.m. Admission free.

**STRATFORD.**—A new open-air lecturing station has been started here with great success. At the meeting on Saturday, August 1, Kitz was arrested on a charge of causing an obstruction. On the case coming before the magistrate, however, it was dismissed. The next meeting was held at the same place and attended by a very large audience. It was addressed by Mahon, Morris and Wade, who were well received. Sixty copies of the *Commonweal* were rapidly sold and a much larger number could have been disposed of if they had been at hand. The third meeting was addressed by Sparling, and was again well attended. A Branch has been formed and a course of indoor lectures will soon be started. Those willing to assist are invited to attend the open-air meetings on Saturday evenings and give their names to some of the speakers.—J. L. M.

**LEEDS.**—A very successful meeting was addressed by T. Maguire at the Vicar's Croft, Sunday afternoon, August 2. There was a submitter of "bosh" and "non-sense" present, whose stupid interruptions, however, were soon silenced by the threatening attitude of our hearers. Forty copies of the *Commonweal* were sold at the close of the meeting. In the evening another meeting was held at the same place by Sollitt, when the remainder of our supply of the *Commonweal* was easily disposed of. Meetings have also been held on the 9th and 16th, when Sollitt has succeeded in keeping interested audiences together, inlement weather notwithstanding.

**MANCHESTER.**—Socialism is making great progress in Manchester. All parts of the town are becoming permeated with its principles, and everywhere the workers are beginning to see that it is the only doctrine worthy of their serious consideration. This being the case, our comrades here, have recognised the necessity of strengthening still further the friendly relations existing between Manchester and London. For this reason, a special meeting of the M. S. U. was held on August 5, when the following resolution was moved, and, after some little discussion, unanimously agreed to: "That the M. S. U. be now dissolved, and that a branch of the Socialist League be formed instead thereof." After being in existence for a period of three months, as an independent organisation, the members of the M. S. U. arrived at the conclusion that they could advance the cause of Socialism better by becoming allied either to the S. D. F. or to the S. L. Of the two bodies, they preferred the latter, its principles being, in their opinion more advanced. Those principles are now being preached in all parts of Manchester, our comrades believing that wherever two or three people are gathered together, there ought to be a Socialist in their midst. By this means they hope to arouse the people to a just sense of their wrongs.—Thomas Ewing.

**NORTH LONDON.**—During the past month we have held four open-air meetings, which have been attended by upwards of one hundred persons each. The meetings have been very enthusiastic. A few interesting questions have been asked by small capitalists, and have been answered by the speakers very satisfactorily to the audience, but not to the questioners, which has caused much amusement, and has ended in a lively discussion after the meetings have been over. Over five dozen *Commonweals* have been sold. A few strangers have attended our indoor meetings, and have afterwards joined the branch. The branch has appointed Fuller and Graham to find a hall in the neighbourhood of Camden Town, where we may hold indoor lectures and debates during the winter months.—Fuller, Secretary.

**BRADFORD.**—Continuation of the debate at Royal Oak, Shipley, arising out of Mitchell's lecture reported last month, took place Sunday, August 2. Many spoke for and against Socialism, Maguire (of Leeds) amongst the former. Mitchell replied to objections, and debate was adjourned to Sunday, August 23. The matter is exciting great interest in the district.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—On July 26, Beasley lectured upon "Survivals of Ancient Socialism." The very common error that Socialists are endeavouring to found an altogether unheard-of system of society, without regard to the teachings of history, was refuted by the lecturer's account of those curious survivals of the communal holding of property, which still exists in Russian service, Switzerland and other countries. The lecture was followed by a good discussion. Mahon lectured on August 2, his subject being "The Rights of Capitalists," to an attentive and critical audience, many of whom seemed to think it right, natural and proper, that the earth and the fulness thereof should be at the disposal of the capitalist class. On August 19, George Bernard Shaw (Fabian) gave an ethical discourse, entitled, "Socialism and Scoundrelism." The lecturer said that Socialism had been so frequently dealt with from the optimist point of view, that, for a change, he proposed to look at it from the pessimist position, and show that, regarding the subject from either standpoint, the revolution was natural and inevitable. Even supposing every individual in the country resolutely opposed its advent, he believed the change would come notwithstanding. The lecturer dealt with the seven deadly sins of the Roman Catholic Church, and, in his usual brilliantly paradoxical manner, showed how each one of these, in a Socialistic state of society, would lose much of its harmfulness, and in most cases even become, under altered circumstances, an absolute virtue. Thus pride becomes self-respect; avarice, prudence; envy, emulation; and so on. The audience was one of the largest we have had here, the hall being filled to overflowing. On August 16, Lawrence Grünlund answered the question, "Are the rich getting richer, and the poor poorer?" with a number of statistics which tended to prove, while some improvement had taken place in the position of skilled workmen during the last forty years, the benefit of the enormous increase in the efficiency of labour had almost entirely gone to the capitalist classes and their parasites. On August 23, propaganda meetings have been held every Saturday as usual, Kitz, Rooke, May Morris, Mahon, Donald, Cooper and others speaking. These have caused a great attendance, and, among other results, an improved attendance at our indoor meetings.

**OLDHAM.**—This branch meets every Wednesday, at 7 p.m., for enrolment of members and to explain the aims and principles of Socialism to inquirers. Meetings are held in Curzon Ground every Sunday afternoon and evening (weather permitting) for the same object. Inquirers should communicate with John Oldman, Secretary *pro tem.*, 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham.

**HOXTON (L.E.L.).**—Successful Sunday out-door meetings have been held at Hoxton at 11.30 a.m. and 7 p.m. each Sunday, the speakers being—Mahon, Nicoll, Wade, Sparling, Donald and Mowbray, assisted by Mainwaring, Graham, Shackwitz, Pope and Allman. Over five quires of papers have been sold. Our Thursday night meetings have been exceedingly successful this month; speakers Mowbray, Wade and Sparling. We should be glad of more speakers at those meetings, and therefore invite any who can attend to do so. The indoor lectures have been as follows:—2nd, C. W. Mowbray, "Industrial Co-operation"; 9th, W. C. Wade, "The Cry of the Children"; 16th, W. Morris, "Commercial Depression"; 23rd, D. Nicoll, "Political Economy"; 30th, E. Aveling, "Curse of Capitalism."—C. W. Mowbray.

**PADDINGTON.**—At the John Bright Club, Paddington Green, W., on Sunday, August 16, C. W. Mowbray delivered an admirable lecture, entitled "Productive Co-operation." The audience was very attentive and frequently applauded. Opposition followed, which was ably replied to amidst continuous applause; and a vote of thanks was unanimously passed. The Secretary of the Club—Mr. R. Cuerel—challenged the lecturer to debate the subject of "National Co-operation"; this was readily accepted, and arranged for Sunday, Sept. 27, commencing at 8.30.—H. G. A.

## LECTURE DIARY: September, 1885.

Tuesday	1.	—Mile End, W. Morris, "Hopes of Civilisation."
"	"	—Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	2.	—Farringdon Hall, public meeting at 8.30 p.m., "The International Club and the Police."
"	"	—Leeds, M. Sollitt, "Education as it is and ought to be."
Sunday	6.	—Hoxton, J. L. Mahon, "Rights of Capitalists."
"	"	—Hammersmith, A. K. Donald.
Tuesday	8.	—Mile End, Edward Aveling, "The Curse of Capital."
"	"	—Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	9.	—Farringdon Hall, Edward Aveling, "The Capitalistic Octopus."
"	"	—Edinburgh, a lecture.
"	"	—Oldham, a lecture.
"	"	—Leeds, T. Maguire, "Labour and Capital."
Thursday	10.	—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	13.	—Hoxton, H. H. Sparling, "The Latter-Day Devil."
"	"	—Hammersmith, J. L. Mahon, "The Science of Political Economy."
Tuesday	15.	—Mile End, J. L. Mahon, "A Socialist View of Civilisation."
"	"	—Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	16.	—Farringdon Hall, Andreas Scheu, "Our Bounden Duty."
"	"	—Edinburgh, a lecture.
"	"	—Oldham, a lecture.
"	"	—Leeds, C. McHale, "My Views on Socialism."
Thursday	17.	—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	20.	—Hoxton, Joseph Lane.
"	"	—Hammersmith, W. Morris, "The Guilds of the Middle Ages."
Tuesday	22.	—Mile End, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."
"	"	—Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	23.	—Farringdon Hall, C. W. Mowbray, "Co-operation for Production."
"	"	—Edinburgh, a lecture.
"	"	—Oldham, a lecture.
"	"	—Leeds, J. Finn, "Socialism and Co-operation."
Thursday	24.	—Bloomsbury, discussion, "The Bradlaugh-Hyndman Debate."
Sunday	27.	—Hoxton, H. Charles, "Bourgeoisism."
"	"	—Hammersmith, Andreas Scheu, "Love and Hunger."
Tuesday	29.	—Mile End, H. Charles, "Socialism and Anarchism."
"	"	—Manchester, a lecture.
Wednesday	30.	—Farringdon Hall, W. Morris, "The Larger Hope."
"	"	—Edinburgh, a lecture.
"	"	—Oldham, a lecture.
"	"	—Leeds, F. Corkwell, "Why am I a Socialist?"

Notice to Workmen's Clubs and Institutes.—The Lecturers will visit any part of London free of charge. Special arrangements must be made for the provinces.

## BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

## LONDON.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.)**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Mile End.—Swaby's Coffee House. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Every Sunday at 8.  
**Merton.**—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.  
**Bloomsbury.**—"Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.  
**North London.**—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

## PROVINCIAL.

**Leeds.**—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.  
**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m.  
**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.  
**Manchester.**—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.  
**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wright's Coffee Tavern, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7 p.m.

## OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the COMMONWEAL.)

**North London.**—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m. 1, Donald; 8, Mahon; 15, Nicoll; 22, Sparling.  
**Bloomsbury.**—Broad Street, near Brewery. Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.  
**Hoxton (L. E. L.)**—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 3, Sparling; 6, Lane; 10, Mowbray; 13, Nicoll; 17, Mowbray; 20, Nicoll; 24, Wade; 27, Donald.  
**Hyde Park.**—Every Sunday at 3.30 p.m. 6, Scheu; 13, Mahon; 20, Donald; 27, Nicoll.  
**Mile End Waste.**—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 6, Mowbray; 13, Donald; 20, Lane; 27, Mahon.  
**Manchester.**—New Cross, Oldham Road. Every Sunday at 3 p.m. 6, Prince and McDonald; 13, Oldman and Goodwin; 20, Ewing and Parkinson; 27, Morley and Grundy.  
**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. 6, Morley and Prince; 13, Ewing and Oldman; 20, Morley and McDonald; 27, Parkinson and Ewing.  
**Stratford.**—"Argument Lamp," end of churchyard. Every Saturday at 6 p.m. 5, Mowbray; 12, Nicoll; 19, Mahon; 26, Lane.  
**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Every Sunday afternoon and evening.  
**Soho.**—Broad Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. 1, Mowbray; 8, Wade; 15, Mowbray; 22, Mahon; 29, Sparling.  
**Leeds.**—Vicar's Croft. Every Wednesday.



# Supplement to "The Commonweal."

VOL. 1.—No. 8.

SEPTEMBER, 1885.

## A NEW PARTY.

It would undoubtedly be futile to prophecy as to the immediate results of the forthcoming general elections, or to wager which side may get the majority; but whichever does come uppermost in the struggle, certain tendencies in the elected and the electors are likely to develop in a manner which can fairly be judged of, without pretence to the gift of prophecy, by noting the signs of the times at present; and it is not out of place, even in a Socialist paper, to look into these tendencies, since some of our friends are so anxious to try their luck in the game which is going on at St. Stephens, hoping that they may be allowed to remain Socialists even in the midst of the House of Commons.

It was easy to foresee that when the Tory Ministry came in it would make some attempt to dish the Liberals, though perhaps not quite so easy to foresee their eagerness in that amusement, and still less the speedy revolt of their own friends against it. Coercion in Ireland is turning out as much of a stumbling-block to the Tory party as it was to the Liberals. Lord Randolph Churchill is not to have it all his own way after all; there are Tories who are bent on trying what chance they have of preserving something more of Toryism than its name. There is apparently likely to be as wide a split in the Tory party as there has been for some time past in the Liberal. This has somewhat changed the aspect of affairs. A week or two ago it seemed as if it were a mere struggle between the Liberals and the Radicals, and that the latter depended for their chance of forming a strong party in the next Parliament on the success of the Tories in the elections; that a large Liberal majority would defer the hopes of the Radicals.

But now behold disunion in the hitherto united party, and such a state of parties, such a condition of party strife as seems to a Socialist to offer a most splendid opportunity—for leaving it alone. The "collective wisdom" is falling into chaos quite fast enough without our help.

And yet, it may be said, from out of that chaos something will emerge. Will that something be as favorable to our hopes as the chaos itself? Ought we not to try to bring out of the confusion something which will at all events approach nearer to Socialism than anything which has yet called itself a party?

Well, I think the Liberal split and the Tory revolt against overdoing dishing are merely superficial tokens of the creation of a new party which is now going on. Old Toryism, though not at an end in the country generally, has confessedly no chance of a majority in Parliament. Liberalism as a party has fulfilled its programme, and has nothing left to do. Radicalism is itself divided between the last dregs of the "Manchester school" and the new democracy, with some form of land nationalisation as one of the planks of its platform.

"There are no solid parties, then?" says the Parliamentary Socialist. "Let us go in and make a party and sway Parliament in a Socialist direction."

True, there is as yet no solid party, but I repeat there is one forming, which I believe will be the strongest which our times have seen, and by whatever name it may be called, it will be the party of reaction grown conscious that firm and serious resistance must be made to the claims of labour for equal rights for all. Read the serious articles in the *Standard* and the *St. James' Gazette* on this subject and you will recognise how different they are from the ordinary artificial tongue-in-the-cheek Tory articles. Sensible men of all the *bourgeois* parties are beginning to be alarmed and to see that the business cannot be played with, that Parliament must not be allowed to dally with its true function of seriously considering the best means of upholding our present economical and social conditions, and of using those means in the teeth of all opposition, all sentiment.

The party which this instinct (for such it is) will form will not deal in sensation; it will be peaceful, considerate, philanthropical; it will rally to it all "reasonable" and "practical" men who have to do with public matters; it will doubtless make large concessions to the cries of distress which will swell year by year, and so gather to it more and more the "good" men of the comfortable classes, while it will put down coolly and remorselessly anything which openly wears the token of danger. It will, in a word, govern us, and

will do so as the committee of that Hierarchy of Compulsion which, under various disguises of free trade, personal freedom, and the like, is the one enemy which we Revolutionary Socialists have before us.

And outside this party, what will there be in Parliament to resist it? Nothing but a scattered discontent, which will be helpless there, discredited by all *respectable* persons, who will point to the good deeds of the "party of order," and protest most energetically against any interference with those who are so busy making people happy and "contented." Any attempt to deal with such virtue and consistency from a revolutionary standpoint will be absolutely useless until the Revolutionary Socialists have stirred up and organised the discontent outside Parliament—until the workers have become conscious that their interests must be opposed to those of the governing classes, however anxious the latter may seem to be, or may really be as individuals, to promote their happiness and content; and when that time comes, what need will there be for Parliamentary agitation?

Meanwhile, once more it seems to me that the new party will soon raise its head up, and will put an end to puny opposition in Parliament. It will govern so reasonably and strongly that no one outside our ranks will have a word to say against it. Should that discourage us? By no means; it will unite the suffrages of all respectable people by aiming at bringing about peace by every means except the only one possible—the abolition of classes. It will have a great success, and be blessed by the whole *bourgeois* world, and—will lead us into Revolution.

With its respectable march let us have nothing to do, nor affect to think that it can serve our cause otherwise than by that repression which it will assuredly try. Let all *our* efforts be directed towards giving it something to repress.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION.

Of all the phrases with which the masses of the people have been deluded during the present century, probably the one at the head of this article has been oftener and most successfully used to that end. Yet it would be difficult to find a combination of four words in the English language, so "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." We, the workers are exhorted by our "pastors and masters" to be thankful for the blessings of civilisation, and to aid the political and ecclesiastical quacks, who rob, rule and bamboozle us, in spreading them to heathen lands.

But what is our civilisation, and in what do its blessings consist? To ninety out of every hundred inhabitants of Great Britain the phrase is a mockery as applied to their present condition and environment. Indeed, it requires some considering to get a glimmering of what can possibly be meant by it. I remember, as an apprentice lad, some twenty-five years ago, feeling the irksomeness of the "mill-horse round," which constitutes so large a part of the existence of the modern wage-slave, and recording in a diary my conviction that civilisation was a fraud, and that the freedom of the so-called savage was much to be preferred. To-day, in the light of that twenty-five years' experience, considering my own position as a worker, and reflecting upon the misery and degradation of my poorer brethren who inhabit the slums, with all the sordid, sickening, noisome sounds, sights and smells (products of our vaunted civilisation), which constantly, more or less, obtrude themselves upon my notice—I emphatically endorse my youthful verdict.

Society may be roughly divided into three classes—Outcasts, Wage-slaves, Monopolists. Let us briefly consider the position of each of them in relation to our so-called civilisation. And first as to the outcasts. There are three well-defined grades—(1) the, Slum-dwellers, (2) the Nomads, (3) the Tramps. The first of these are the utterly hopeless, helpless residuum, consisting, to a large extent, of the dregs and siftings of the labour-market. The worn-out slaves of the monster, Capital, whose very life-blood has been sucked out of them, they are cast aside (like refuse on a dung-heap) to linger out a miserable existence.

The Nomads comprise all that miscellaneous host of vagrants, who wander from town to town and from fair to fair, living precariously by begging, pilfering peddling, tinkering, etc.

The third group are the Tramps, by far the most important, from a Socialist point of view. The monstrous progeny engendered by monopoly and competition, they threaten, at no distant date, to destroy the cause of their misery. In the meantime, driven from field and factory by the ever-increasing expansion and development of machine industry, and denied access to the means of life, they are forced to roam over the country, sleeping in barns or sharing the honours of the casual wards, and ready to sell their labour for the price of the barest subsistence. The struggle for existence with them is comparable only with that of a pack of famished wolves, who tear and rend and prey upon the weakest of their fellows.

Who would not prefer the life of the savage to the existence endured by these outcasts? Indeed, the wretchedness of these miserables is admitted even by the most Philistine of the *bourgeoisie*, though they wilfully shut their eyes to the cause and the remedy. Prating idly of teetotalism, thrift, Malthusianism, etc., etc., or else stupidly canting of the divine will, the pseudo-philanthropists and hypocrites mix large and nauseating doses of spiritual consolation with their doles of charity.

Let us now glance at the condition of the wage-slaves. These are the actual producers of nearly the whole wealth of the nation. They constitute in fact the *people*, and it is for their especial benefit the phrase I have chosen for my text was invented. The great bulk of the workers may be comprised under the two headings, Labourer and Artisan. The position of other sections of the proletariat can easily be gauged by comparison. This is the melancholy picture, alas! too true of the life of the day-labourer of Europe drawn by Max Nordau in his remarkable book "The Conventional Lies of our Civilisation":—

"Miserably fed, principally on potatoes and the refuse of the meat-shops in the shape of sausages, poisoned with bad liquors, which give him the deceptive sensation of a satisfied appetite and renewed strength, badly dressed in blouse and overalls which proclaim him from afar as the poor man, the degraded social being condemned to physical uncleanness by his lack of money, he hides his wretchedness in the darkest, filthiest corners of the great cities. He not only has no share in the finer provisions that the earth brings forth, but he is also partially or totally deprived of light and air, which one would suppose were at the disposal of every living being in unlimited quantities. His insufficient nourishment and the excessive demands upon his labouring forces exhaust his vital energies to such an extent that his children are predisposed to rickets and he himself succumbs to an early death, frequently preceded by some chronic disease. His unhealthy dwelling-places fasten upon him and his offspring the curses of scrofula and consumption. He is a kind of forlorn post which every disease tries in turn to master. He is worse off than the slave of ancient times; oppressed the same, dependent in the same way upon master and overseer, he yet gets nothing in return for the loss of his freedom, not even the food and shelter given to a domestic animal." ("The Economic Lie," p. 232.)

Now let us consider the position of the aristocrat of Labour—the skilled trades' unionist, who receives what are termed good wages. So long as trade is brisk and his health and vigour last he is able, by rigid economy, to obtain the mere necessities of existence—that is, so far as relates to food and clothing. As regards housing no language can fitly characterise the mean, poky, comfortless habitations, including those philanthropical (!) monstrosities miscalled "model" dwellings, in which even the so-called well-to-do artisan or mechanic is compelled to live by the rascals who plunder us in the form of rent and interest. But he is confined day after day in unwholesome workshops, under perpetual surveillance, too often at the mercy of a capricious master or some petty tyrant who "gets on" by crawling, and who mitigates his own condition by making that of his subordinates even less tolerable. The mere slave, in many instances, of the machine produced by the labour and intellect of himself and his class, his occupation consists in an endless repetition of one trivial detail in the process of production. Unlike the savage wandering through the vast forests of America, or camping on the grassy plains of Australia, he is deprived of all pleasure in the pursuit of the means of subsistence, and knows not the keen delight which is produced by the expansion of the physical and mental faculties in the struggle with Nature. He is ever haunted with the fear of failure. He sees his comrades, overtaken by misfortune, by sickness, by loss of employment, become outcasts and paupers. As the elasticity and vigour of youth abate, and middle age creeps upon him, he knows that at any moment the ogre Capital may thrust him aside to make way for a younger and stouter slave. He knows, too, that one in every nine or ten of his class is doomed to end his days in an hospital or a poorhouse, and dreads that such may be his own fate.

What, then, does civilisation profit the worker? Either he is so debased and depressed by his exhausting labour, by his lack of education, by the sordid surroundings of his dwelling, and by the almost inevitable recourse to intoxicants—the effect, not the cause, of poverty and misery—that the beauties of art and

the wonders of science are a sealed book to him. Or else, equally unhappy, possessed with tastes and desires and aspirations for ever-denied satisfaction, life is to him a continual torment. Like the Barber's Brother in the Eastern story, he is bidden to rub his hands and smack his lips at an imaginary banquet, with this important difference, however, that whilst the Barber and the Barmecide afterwards feasted together in reality, the workers of to-day, who provide the feast, have to look on with hungry eyes whilst the idlers consume the produce of their labour, and be content, like Lazarus, with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

A few words now about the monopolists. There are, of course, many grades of these, but I have not space here to dwell upon them. I include in the term all who live by the robbery of the workers by rent, profit and interest, and all their parasites and pandars. In a sentence, all those who, having got possession, by more or less doubtful means, of most of the good things of this life, call us Socialists hard names for daring to question the wisdom and fairness of a system which works so admirably—for them. To the capitalist, the land-owner, the bishop, the lawyer, the sinecurist or extravagantly-paid official, the "blessings of civilisation" mean to live without toil or anxiety; to have at their command the choicest products of Nature and the finest creations of art and science, with leisure for study, opportunities for travel, and abundant and varied amusement. But their lives of leisure and luxury are purchased at the expense of the misery and degradation, the tears, sweat and blood, of thousands of hapless wretches. Yea, at the cost of the lives of the children of the poor and the virtue of their daughters. Think of the dandies, fops and mashers—the scum of our corrupt society—lounging in the parks and in their clubs, frittering away their lives in aimless frivolity, or in riot and debauchery in gambling-hells and dens of infamy, whilst pale, wan, haggard women stand from early morn till late at eve in the stinking, noisy streets, or in some sweaters' den sit sewing wearily, or in foul cellars or miserable garrets, toil unceasingly at their wretched tasks—their paltry wage perhaps the sole support of their families; for they who should be the bread-winners have sought in vain from some "fellow-worm for leave to toil," or have failed in the hideous struggle for employment at the docks.

See yonder sleek, unctuous citizens rolling by in their carriages, on their way to assist at some charity swindle, religious dodge, or bogus reform scheme, got up by the exploiters to delude the toilers. Do no visions haunt them of the poor girls who help to heap up their wealth, forced to sell their embraces to rich rascals to obtain the means of subsistence for which their starvation wages are utterly inadequate? Perhaps no; for the apathy of the degraded outcast finds its counterpart in the callous indifference, the sordid motives, the low ideals everywhere associated with the *bourgeoisie*. So that for them also our modern civilisation is a failure.

And what of the cultured classes, whose wealth has come to them by inheritance? Untainted by the debasing effects of "money-making," their habits refined by education, they probably loathe the ignoble acts by which their fortunes were obtained. An uneasy feeling of the injustice and insecurity of their position mars their enjoyment. The red spectre continually haunts them. They tremble for the judgment that shall surely come upon the spoilers of the poor (upon those who "lay house to house and field to field, who devour the portions of widows and rob the fatherless") when the giant Labour shall awake and rise in his might, and shall make his enemies flee in terror before his wrath.

Truly, O, Civilisation, thou art a horrid monster with the brains of a fox and the heart of a wolf! Turn where we may we see traces of thy bloody work. Ye who read these lines will you not help us to rid the world of this monster? Fellow wage-slaves be up and doing. And ye middle-class men and women who have left in you some milk of human kindness and who still feel some compunctious visitings of conscience, come join our ranks. Above all, you of the cultured classes. I call upon you to enrol in our holy brotherhood and to consecrate your genius and your talents to the cause of Humanity. Only by becoming apostles of the glorious gospel of Socialism can you obtain lasting peace of mind and absolve yourselves from the guilt of upholding the present devilish cut-throat state of society. Come, then, and help to prepare for the new era, for the true golden age foretold by the prophets and seers of old, and to hasten those coming the noblest spirits of all nations and creeds have toiled. The first faint streaks of the dawning even now pierce the storm-clouds. Help us to lay the foundations of happy and prosperous communes, based on Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which shall outvie "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" by the divine attribute of Love—the recognition of the Universal Brotherhood of Man.

THOMAS BINNING.

## FREILIGRATH'S REVOLUTION SONG.

"THE WAY IT'S DONE." Translated by J. L. JOYNES.

The day may come before ye think ; the men have nothing more to eat ;  
The wind goes whistling through their rags : whence can they clothing  
find and meat ?

"Let whose hungers follow me," a hot-head youth is heard to cry ;  
"I'll show him food and clothes enough a whole battalion to supply."

And quick as thought he gives the word, and draws them up in ranks  
and rows ;

And hark, the measured tramp of feet along the city causeway goes ;  
Till "Halt !" he cries before a house with frowning stone entrenched  
and walled ;

"See here, my men, my store of clothes ; the Royal Arsenal 'tis called.

The linen ye so sorely need this place in ample wealth provides,  
Warm padded jackets just made up, and choice of coloured coats besides,  
And cloaks against the rainy nights, and gloves, and cloth, the best  
that's made,  
And all the things that show so fine when'er they hold a grand parade.

Ye know the whole collection well : ye too, though now in tatters dressed,  
Have marched in uniform ere now, when in the service ye were pressed :  
Yea, well-trained warriors are ye all, as soon as each man dons his coat  
And wears the stripe along his leg and ties his number round his throat.

Who prates of theft ? The coats are yours. Whence was the wool that  
wove them torn ?

Did ye not furnish it yourselves, ye silly sheep as e'er were shorn ?  
You blockhead ! are not those the threads your poor old mother's hands  
have spun ?

Not those the marks of bitter tears that o'er her work are wont to run ?

Then take your own. Well done ! Ye look as trim as there were work  
to do

In battle, or as ye were dressed and marshalled in a grand review.  
We nothing need but muskets now to be secure from all alarm :  
And lo, a room-full here at hand ! Come, try the drill, mates. Shoulder  
arms !

Well done again ! Ye know the trick. But now, to cut the matter  
short,

Let's take the guns along with us. 'Twill be the royallest of sport.  
And just suppose a hue-and-cry set up by some officious dolt  
Who might be knave enough to name our little jest a great revolt !

They'll call it robbery as well ; full soon you'll see a sorry sight,  
A royal regiment of the line equipped and eager for the fight.  
Then show your teeth or lose your coats ; draw up in companies and sets ;  
Prepare your pikes and load your guns, and clean and fix your bayonets ;

And cock your shako on your head, and gird your sword against your  
side,

That sword that ye the "bread-knife" call—oh, may the omen well  
betide !

May no man's brains befoul its blade ; may no man's heart's-blood stain  
it red ;

For wife and child may it henceforth cut nothing ghastlier than bread !

On, drummers, to the van ; quick march ! and fifers forward to the  
front !

Must eagle-standards always wave to lead you to the battle-brunt ?  
Enough of old-world birds of prey ; we need no kite of all the pack :  
Ye want a sign with which to win ? Then rally round a beggar's sack.

Tie that to any staff you will—a trooper's pike, a spear, a lance—  
Like earlier beggars, wave it high ; with haughtier strides than their's  
advance.

Yes, haughty looks are yours of right, and vain pretence ye do not need ;  
Ye boast no idle empty name—true beggars all in very deed.

Then march, ye soldiers of the poor, ye beggars of a later day,  
For lo where come, with horse and foot, the royal troops in long array :  
Hark ! Down the lines of foot and horse the stern command to fire  
has fled—

Yet not a man obeys the word ; no guns discharge their load of lead !"

A murmur runs along the rank, "We too are for the People's cause !"  
And straight before the beggar's sack the eagle bows its beak and claws !  
Then loud hurrahs : "Ye are with us, and we with you in word and  
deed !"

"Curs !" cries the general, in rage—a sergeant smites him off his steed !

They storm along the crowded streets ; like avalanche their numbers grow ;  
The crown is trampled underfoot ; the kingdom totters 'neath the blow—  
Thus, ere ye think, through brauds and blood the conquering People  
raise their head,

And though by pain the birth be won, the day is born, the night is dead.

Whatever rights each man asks for himself, the same also let him  
grant to every other man.—Hobbes.

## INQUIRY COLUMN.

CONSIDERING that the basis of your propoganda is education, why do you not publish in a cheap form the famous books of bygone political writers ? For instance, the "Contrat Social," the "Essay on Poland," and that on "Inequality," of Rousseau ; the best works of Lamennais, of Abbé Mably and of those other authors whose works are indicative of Communism ; as, for instance, the "Life of Lycurgus," the "Utopia" of Sir Thomas More, the "City of the Sun" by Campanella—all of which predispose the mind to study the social and political condition of mankind, and dispose the mind to accept Socialism as the surest remedy for poverty. Such books could be published at the small price of threepence per volume of 190 pages. I do not suggest a thing which is impracticable, as it is done at the present time in France by the "Bibliothèque Nationale," who publish the best works of French and foreign literature at the low price of 25 centimes per vol.—RUSSELL WALLACE.

What difference will there be in the marriage state as it now exists and as it will become in a Socialistic community ? (a) Will the Social family take the place of the present private family ? (b) What is a Social family ? (c) Are the children in a Socialistic community to be considered as belonging to the State, and the parents absolved from all responsibility anent them ?—W. CABELL.

## ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS INQUIRIES.

A friend in the July number asks as to the desirability of establishing "communities," and seems to think that such schemes would lead to the realization of Socialism. In answer I beg to point out to him that it is not possible to establish a real Socialistic community in the midst of Capitalistic society, a social island amidst an individualist sea ; because all its external dealings would have to be arranged on a basis of capitalistic exchange, and would so far support the system of profits and unpaid labour. But, speaking for myself, I must confess great sympathy for those who look longingly on the scheme of a community. Miserable as the life of the workers now is, they get used to it ; their standard of life is so low that any slight bettering of "living to toil that they may toil to live" quiets them and gives a new lease of life to the present system of oppression. If it were but possible to give them new hopes by showing them, even imperfectly, what the life of a community might be, and how it would develop our energies and create new pleasures for us—if this could be done, and those making the experiment, or rather giving the example, were still to carry on the Revolutionary-Socialistic propoganda with all earnestness, I for one could not look coldly on such an attempt.—W. M.

An inquirer in August asks as to the mode of communising the means of production, and whether we will fight for this revolution, or return so many Socialist members of Parliament as to make a majority in its favour. Even supposing we gain a majority, if we are not prepared to fight, the minority which is so prepared will still have their way in despite of the ballot-box. But our friend may comfort himself by reflecting that Socialists will not fight until they can, nor unless they must. Those "who are opposed to our plan" can prevent our using force by themselves ceasing to use force for sustaining the system which now robs the workers. As to the Parliamentary matter, let me (once more) state the view of Revolutionary Socialists as I understand it. Parliament is the agent of our present society, which is founded on what it calls "the rights of property"—in other words, class privilege. The evils produced by this system it will (under pressure) strive to palliate ; but it is its business to sustain the system itself, of which it is a part. This system it is the business of Revolutionary Socialists to destroy ; but by entering Parliament, which is pledged by its very nature to go no further than palliation, the Socialists would be, by helping to legislate in the direction of palliatives or stepping-stones, helping Parliament to fulfil its functions, and thus would oppose revolution and not further it. Any "mere administrative changes" that Parliament could possibly make without bringing about an immediate revolution would still leave the worker subject to robbery by means of rent, profit and interest, and thus would be useless. I think I have now answered both the first and second of our friend's questions.—W. M.

Undoubtedly under Socialism every one will be expected to exert himself *duly* for the common good, and will expect in return to have his *due* needs satisfied. Also undoubtedly no one will have the opportunity of satisfying what he may please to consider his special needs at the expense of the needs of others. If he thinks, for instance, that he has a right, in virtue of his special capacities, to consume without producing, as so many people do now, he will be speedily enlightened. It is probable that in a community where all worked and where no work was wasted, the amount of necessary work would be so small for each person that people would rather seek for work in which to occupy their energies pleasantly than desire to shirk it.—W. M.

It is quite true that men must be "regenerate" before they can be depended upon to carry out a communal state of things successfully ; but this "regeneration" cannot be accomplished by magic, either Parliamentary or theological, but by the general conditions of life. It is useless to preach a lofty morality which the everyday necessity of men's lives forces them to set aside ; nor can the "individual moral character" of men be "improved" as long as society is divided into two classes, one of which thinks it right to impose slavery on their fellows, and the others tamely to accept it.—W. M.

The last eight words of the Manifesto assert that the Socialist League as a body does not concern itself with theological dogma. This should be sufficient answer to the last section of our friend's question.—W. M.

## REVIEW.

*The Co-operative Commonwealth.* By LAWRENCE [according to the cover] or LAURENCE [according to the title-page] GRÖNLUND. Edited by George Bernard Shaw. (International Library of Social Science, 13 Paternoster Row.)

LAURENCE GRÖNLUND has done most useful work in writing this volume. The Modern Press has done useful work in reproducing it in England, though I cannot, for the life of me, see their reason for having "edited" the book. On this point, more anon. Let me first deal with the work as it now is in the English edition.

And at the outset must be repeated the criticism made upon the opening volume of this series. The carelessness that marked the issue of the translation of Bebel's "Woman" is again visible here, though in hardly so pronounced a form. Printer's or grammatical errors occur on the following pages:—14, 22, 28, 31, 38, 39, 42 (two), 45 (two), 46, 49, 50, 53, 62, 65, 66, 71, 83, 106, 119, 122, 123, 140, 142, 164, 167, 174, 176, 179, 180, 186. This is, as the elderly female said to Artemus Ward, "too much."

I shall be glad to get rid of my adverse criticism on Grönlund's work at once. That adverse criticism takes the form of two friendly indictments. First, the author does not acknowledge sufficiently, as I think, his indebtedness to other thinkers. Anyone knowing nothing of the literature of Socialism would be led from "The Co-operative Commonwealth" to think that Laurence Grönlund was the Christ of the new creed, rather than one of its apostles. So charmingly naïf, indeed, is the style of Grönlund himself, so honest and childlike is his simplicity, that I am not sure he does not half imagine that most of his statements are original. Of originality of idea there is almost nothing; of originality of method there is much. It is excellent work this, of putting the thoughts of other, greater thinkers clearly and easily for the many. There is scarcely any better work. But it ought never to be done without the fullest acknowledgment of the source of the thoughts.

This last is to a large extent wanting in the book under review. Truly, on p. 6, Socialism is spoken of as German Socialism, and on p. 77 we have the phrase "us Socialists of the German school." But never a word is said of the founders of that school in the text. The one reference to them comes in a note *à propos* of Jews on p. 40, long after the discussion of value, profit, interest, capital and the like is over. "To the noble Jew, Karl Marx, we owe the science of Socialism; to one of the same race, Ferdinand Lassalle, its popularisation at its source in Germany." Upon this my comment is exactly the opposite of that made on the printer's errors. This notice of our masters is "not enough." And this is the more noticeable as such authorities as Thornton, Thorold Rogers, Hallam, Hyndman are given, and their works mentioned ten pages before the names of Marx and Lassalle, without any reference to their writings, are given.

That I am not hypercritical will, I think, be seen when I say that all Grönlund's economics are traceable to "Das Kapital." Unhappily, my second adverse criticism comes in here. In taking his economics from the Socialist philosophers, our author has got them a little "mixed." To criticise all the points where I think Grönlund is cloudy, or even inaccurate, would take up too much space. One or two only, therefore. Value, use-value, exchange-value are not, as it seems to me, distinguished with sufficient clearness. The last indeed only appears by name once in the book. It is casually mentioned on p. 42 and never explained.

On pp. 17, 113, 114 "labour" is used as if it were the same thing as "labour-power"; a serious blunder. The definition of "capital" (p. 45) as "that part of wealth which is employed productively, with a view to profit by sale of the produce" is a very dangerous one, I think. Capital will always be necessary. Profit will cease to be under the Socialist régime. Altogether, Grönlund never seems to me quite clear as to profit. Truly, he says (p. 101) "that which is now called profit will disappear." But then he adds, "It will be added to the reward of Labour." Now, as all Profit is due to unpaid labour we get the contradiction, "that which is due to unpaid labour will be added to the reward of labour." Had he stopped at the word "disappear" I could go with him.

Lastly on this. The paragraphs on rent, pp. 101, 102, do not seem economically sound. Rent of "land used by citizens for homes or other private purposes . . . will probably be regulated by competition," and the idea of the Commonwealth deriving revenue from rent are dangerous notions. All revenue could surely be derived from the universal mass of surplus-value that would be produced by the members of the community.

Enough of what appear to me the weaknesses of the book. Its merits are many. It does put many points clearly and forcibly. It will give the careful reader ideas upon many Socialistic generalisations and conclusions. The rough illustrations used are often very ready. The writer is exceedingly apt in his use of simile. Most excellent is the way in which he silences—if the foolish thing can be silenced—the clamour for "details." This he does in two ways. First, he points out that Socialists are not architects. He then sketches in the rough a scheme by which it is conceivable society might be carried on under Socialism. He never professes that what he pictures will happen precisely. But he shows that one man, aided by the thoughts of his predecessors, can plan out a draft of a society that, compared with that of to-day, would be as heaven to hell.

Among a number of useful things in a useful book, let me also note the admirable attack upon Parliamentaryism, and the phrase (something more than an epigram), "Men [of to-day] do not value liberty, but irresponsible power."

Upon one or two practical points I, personally, am at issue with Laurence Grönlund. *E.g.*, I do think that boys and girls should be brought up in schools as they have to live in society—together—and he does not. Nor can I agree with him that (p. 187) "it is folly to waste money and energy in starting special journals for the propagation of new ideas." Indeed, this latter opinion I do not doubt he has himself modified, as he writes at times for a paper known as the *Commonweal*. But all these little divergencies are as nothing by the side of the great oneness of principle. Here is a work by an earnest Socialist, that must do good to Socialists and their opponents also; that gives some insight at least into the ways and means of that coming society where, "beyond these voices" of friend and foe, "there is peace."

I have left to the last a note on the "editing" of the American edition for English readers. I am wholly unable to see the need for this editing. And this I say after comparing the two works, and as a personal friend of both editor and editée. George Bernard Shaw has knocked out the dedication to the wife of the author, altered the title slightly, changed that of four chapters, run together, transposed, omitted some of the paragraphs, changed a note or so of astonishment to one of interrogation, as becomes an inquiring spirit, altered a few phrases, and made an analysis of each chapter for the table of contents.

This last is, as far as I can see, the only gain to the book. Really, nothing serious has been done to the American edition—certainly nothing that can be called, even by the wildest imagination, editing. The only question is: "Ought the inoffensive little that has been done to have been done at all?" For my part it need not, and in one sense "ought" not to have been done. That is, I think the book should have come to us just as it left the hand of its author. We should—at least, I should—have preferred to know exactly what he said, exactly how he said it—especially as all the errors of any real moment are retained in the English edition.

Still, the Modern Press were perfectly justified in doing that which they have done, if they had Grönlund's permission. This, I understand, was given, though it is equally clear that Grönlund did not expect such alterations as have been made. The only thing that the English publishers should have done further is to insert a notice (say on the title-page) that the work of "editing" was done with the author's permission.

Nothing of this, however, affects the value of the book, which is certainly great.

EDWARD AVELING.

## "THE COMMONWEAL."

THE following methods of aiding the circulation of the *Commonweal* should be noted and acted upon, and further suggestions should be sent by its friends and supporters.

*What Individuals can do.*—Get annual subscribers. For 1s. 6d. the journal is sent post free for twelve months to any address in Britain, America, Germany, France, Canada, etc. Take a few copies of each issue and a contents bill to some of the newsgagents in the vicinity of your dwelling or workshop. Get them exposed for sale and the contents bill displayed, and promise to pay for what is left unsold. Take a few copies to meetings and sell them among the audience.

*What Branches can do.*—Impress upon every member that this journal is the organ of the PARTY, that therefore its success concerns EVERY MEMBER, and that it is the duty of every member to see that it is bought and read by all his friends, companions, and shopmates. Have the paper on sale at all the branch meetings. Organise small selling parties for public meetings. See that every member of the branch supplies the newsgagents near his house or factory. Advertise it on all publications issued by the branch.

THE Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class.

Patience itself is meanness in a slave.—*Cowper*.

Men bear wrongs more easily than irritations.—*W. S. Landon*.

The love of mankind is nothing else but the love of justice.—*Rousseau*.

Impossibility never prevented anything.—*Considérante*.

The chief authors of revolutions have been, not the chimerical and intemperate friends of progress, but the blind obstructors of progress; those who, in defiance of nature, struggle to avert the inevitable future, to recall the irrevocable past; who chafe to fury by damming up its course, the river, which would otherwise flow calmly between its banks, which has ever flowed, and which, do what they will, must flow for ever.—*G. Smith*.