

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 188.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 17, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

TRIAL BY JUDGE v. TRIAL BY JURY.

THE Maybrick case, of which we have been hearing so much, does not differ in essence from most other trials for murder. A man is killed; there is a certain amount of presumptive evidence against such and such a person; a coroner's jury find that this person is guilty of the murder. The presumptive evidence is after long delay brought before the Criminal Court; which delay, be it remarked, tends very much to increase the difficulty in getting at the truth, as lies and falsities have time to grow round the original kernel of fact, and make a regular problem for the solution of the professional dealers with other persons' misdoings—the lawyers and judge. In the Criminal Court the game begins. Each side has its theory for accounting for a series of events which are supposed to have taken place, and tries to establish that theory by the piecing together of details, the cross-examination of witnesses, and so on. It must be said that in this game the defence, which has to prove a negative, is necessarily very much weaker than the prosecution.

Next, the theory on either side being complete, it is in practice submitted to the judgment of *one man*, the judge, who is of course a thoroughly practised and skilful lawyer, drilled into a knowledge of what is called the "law of evidence"—*i.e.*, a series of maxims, more or less arbitrary, as such theories must be, as to the credibility of statements of events more than half forgotten, misunderstood by the witnesses at the time they happened, confused by hearsay, corrupted by prejudice—in a word, mostly lies. This one man, the judge, may be a treasure of impartiality, though he is not likely to be, since he is a successful advocate, and therefore *must* have been in the habit of wresting appearances towards the side that he was conventionally interested in, however they might have showed to his real self. But, however impartial he may be, it is not in the nature of man for a person not to take sides in a dispute which he is obliged to listen to, and considering his official position, the side that this person is most likely to take is the official one—*i.e.*, that of the prosecution.

In theory, however (as we all know), it is the jury and not the judge who have to make the final decision of the case,—but in theory only. For the jury are of necessity men of average intelligence, taken from the middle class; and they are in consequence deeply imbued with the middle-class prejudices of the day. Now the present-day middle-class theory of the jury has mistaken the function of the jury, and assumes that its business is, not to judge the case, as it was originally meant to do, but to correct any gross mistakes or partiality in the judge; to be, in short, a kind of censorship on the judge, and therein to represent the public generally. This being the case, as a matter of fact the jury almost always take their verdict from the judge's summing-up, and it is rare indeed that those who are watching a case need trouble themselves about the jury's decision when they have heard or read the judge's summing-up—unless, indeed, he is really puzzled over the matter, in which case, having no opinion, he kindly allows the jury to have one.

And now in the midst of this intricate game which is being played for the life or death of a fellow citizen, there is one person who is out of it all, and can only watch what is going on; and that person is the one who is principally interested. The mouth of the accused is shut until the decision is given. Whatever misunderstandings, falsifications, or wrong deductions take place must pass without challenge from his personality, although it is obvious that often a few words from the accused might explain the matter, and give a new course to the evidence either for or against.

In short, in an English Criminal Court sides are taken for and against the silent onlooking accused (who, in spite of all theories to the contrary, is always looked on as guilty from the first). The judge decides which of those two sides has the preponderating weight of evidence, and the jury formally ratifies his decision, unless it is so monstrously

unfair that they are compelled to protest by expressing their own opinion. The "criminal" either "escapes" or is convicted and slaughtered; our "cultivated classes" bless their stars they are not living in days of violence, and those of the working classes who are not Socialists at heart echo their cant in various degrees of *un-cultivation*, however miserably they may be living.

For the rest, this is that "average" justice which is in complete harmony with the commercialism of the age, which declines to supply the public with anything choice; it is, like all machine-work, a make-shift. Such make-shifts people put up with without grumbling for a long time; but at last when some dramatic demonstration of their futility is given, when the shoe-sole comes off in the middle of a muddy road, or the hat melts in a heavy shower, they get angry, and express their anger—in a futile way indeed, because they are the slaves of the machine which they grumble at.

That we would fain hope, is the explanation of the popular ebullition of temper at Liverpool the other day; the people there were at last struck by the obvious unfairness of the whole proceeding, of the farce which thus trifles with the lives and liberties of the citizens. At all events they directed the expression of their anger rightly this time. The judge and his summing-up is the real centre of the whole iniquity. That is the head and front of the attack on Trial by Jury, which, as long as it was a reality, was a true defence of the liberties of the people.

That is the interest the Maybrick case has to us Socialists. The case itself was a wretched one, a mere exemplification of the unhappiness which springs from the corruption of a Society founded on robbery; an unhappiness which so often avenges the wrongs of the poor on those whose iniquitous position puts them beyond the reach of the special misery which they inflict on so many millions of people, as good as or better than themselves. Yet, indeed, it must be said once more that Mrs. Maybrick's "immorality" weighed heavily against her, helped the judge to get the conviction, and that if people are to be hanged for making mistakes in married life, there will be a large mortality amongst the upper and middle classes.

The remarks in the capitalistic papers on this case, a great part of which amount to a defence of the present system of dealing with circumstantial evidence in criminal cases, are curious, but are too numerous to go through. One, however, must be noticed, because it is the argument most often and most plausibly used. It is admitted, say these wisacres, that this was a case of doubt; but in the teeth of the maxim that the jury should give the benefit of the doubt to the accused, if this were done, almost no criminal could be convicted, as all evidence is circumstantial, and in almost every case there is doubt

What does this amount to but this? That so beautifully constructed is the machine of criminal law, that it gives us two overwhelming risks, either of the escape of the guilty, or the condemnation of the innocent. Unhappily, it is not doubtful which risk our Society will take hardened as it is by the daily and hourly practice of wrong against so many people.

In effect, it is a ghastly thing to note so many respectable persons sitting safe at home in luxury so convinced of the necessity for hanging some one, either the right or the wrong person, if a "crime" is committed. How strange that persons not ill-natured, not specially stupid, should think it above all things necessary that a private murder should be remedied by a public one.

As to the Court of Appeal which is in every one's mouth at present, it would be a feeble protection against injustice; and if, as I suppose, it were to be a court of professional judges, it would tend to a further weakening of what is left of the jury system, and so do more harm than good.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE CHATEAUX IN FLAMES.

(Continued from p. 250.)

In the midst of a delirium of joyful excitement there is always a chance of sudden relapse into gloomy terror, all the heavier and more overwhelming on account of its lack of reason. Especially is this noticeable in times of great public excitement, such as a period of revolution must necessarily be. Men's imaginations are exalted. They have seen so many extraordinary things, that nothing which could happen will astonish them. We know during a disturbed period like that of the last few years how far rumour exceeds the reality. So it was in France in 1789. These riots, these revolts astonished the respectable middle-class person; he could not understand them at all. For the wild, starving people did not confine their attention to aristocrats, but attacked the houses and the stores of the rich in general. It was clear that these were not revolutionists of the middle-class pattern; these daring men—the poachers, the smugglers, and the vagrants who were foremost in the fray—were not likely to spare even middle-class property. So there is great fear in the hearts of the respectable. They dread the houseless wanderers who, with fierce faces, matted hair, and wild eyes, in which hope now gleams out, are marching along every highway in troops of twenty or twenty-five, and are gathering intent on pillage and destruction in every market place and every town. Rumour multiplies them from tens and twenties into thousands. Travellers gallop into every town, having caught a glimpse of them or heard of them, with intelligence that "the brigands are coming," and straightway the whole town flies to arms. A middle-class militia, afterwards known as a National Guard, is formed. From the towns the rumour spreads to the country. The peasants seize what weapons they have; they tear over the highways in search of the mysterious insurgents who are declared to be advancing. Filled as they are with wild excitement, they are often mistaken by other bands of peasants for brigands, and with difficulty a conflict between them is prevented. This rumour travels to the remotest regions, and in a few days the whole of France flashes with bayonets.

But brigands not turning up, or, if they do, arriving in small numbers and proving friends rather than foes, the peasant begins to turn his attention to his real enemy, his old oppressor, the lord of his village in which he dwells. He hears wonderful tidings, that a Bastille has fallen, that the rule of the lord is abolished—nay, in some cases he is informed by his brigand friends that a patriot king has abolished all feudal dues and taxes of every kind, and has ordered his loyal country people to drive away the lord, destroy his title-deeds, which enslave the poor, and burn his chateau to the ground.

In the midst of this growing excitement a awful story arrives; not a rumour this time, but true in all its ghastly details. Memmay de Quincey, a lord of Franche Comté, when the news arrived of the fall of the Bastille, invited the rustics of the neighbourhood to a banquet. In the midst of the jovial merrymaking, chateau and merrymakers together are blown in air. The ground around is strewn with the bodies of men, women, and children, while the scoundrel who has contrived this dastardly treachery quietly escapes. He returns years after, when the revolution is over, and the middle-class authorities are in power. These are inclined to trouble very little about the death of a few peasants; so he has no difficulty in persuading them that it was all by accident!

The news of this horror in this time of furious excitement flies over France with lightning speed. The cry goes forth, "Down with the accursed race who murder under the guise of friendship and hospitality!" So we see outcasts gather in the night with the boldest men of the village; the church bell clangs out; the inhabitants of the villages fill the village street, and, joined with the people of the country round, they pour forward in a stream of haggard hungry faces, fierce with want and frenzy, while blazing torches held aloft throw the glare of a smoky light on sharp glittering axes, pikes, scythe-blades, firelocks, and every weapon that revolt can fashion for itself.

Ye noble lords, ye proud ones of the earth, who have trod the poor in the dust for so many years, who have treated them like dogs, even worse than dogs, they have been your asses, your mules, their portion starvation, heavy loads, and blows. See, they are coming, starved, brutalised, maddened by you, with torches and weapons in their hands, and the bitterest hatred of you in their hearts. Fly, worthy seigneur, fly! there is no mercy there; there may be mercy in the flaming torches, in the glittering weapons, but not in the hearts of the people whom you have ground down and embruted out of all semblance to humanity!

The lord does fly; he, his wife, and his little ones, half naked, under cover of the night; and as he gazes back his chateau blazes behind him, a savage crowd dancing around the flaming mansion the funeral pyre of all his honours, dignities, and wealth, the flame of which makes the black night still more black and hideous than before.

This was the scene that occurred in most villages in France; but sometimes perchance the village was lazy or cowardly. Then in the dead of the night emissaries from other districts where the revolutionary feeling was stronger would creep through the place and silently fire the chateau, which would send up another beacon flame of revolt throughout rebellious France. Everywhere bands of peasants and vagrants move through the country, burning as they move. Flame after flame springs up. "Seventy-two chateaus have flamed aloft in Maconais and Beaujolais alone. This seems the centre of the conflagration; but it has spread over Dauphiné Alsace, Lyonnaise; the whole south-east is in a blaze. All over the north, from Rouen to Metz, disorder is abroad: smug-

glers of salt go openly in armed bands: the barriers of towns are burnt; tollgatherers, tax-gatherers, official persons are put to flight. "It was thought, says Young, "that the people from hunger would revolt"; and we see they have done it." Every lord is not so fortunate as to escape even half-naked from the hands of the avengers. The lords who have hidden high upon their dignities, who have been merciless tyrants in the days of their triumph, are put to death by furious peasants. Among them is a gentleman who had distinguished himself by walking up the only fountain of the township, which he would only allow no peasant to use. Another man who seized on the common lands of a village meets a similar fate.

In many cases the outbreak is provoked by action of the lords. At several places these true representatives of property had fired upon the poor wretches who begged bread at their gates. At a chateau in Maconais a noble lord had hung several of his vassals who been driven by hunger to take the food they needed.

The fury excited by these stories which fly over France is terrible, and the vengeance that falls upon the lords, who have tortured, plundered, and oppressed the people, and now murder them, is what might be expected from a populace embruted and degraded by witnessing the cruel punishments which were common under the feudal system. Down to 1789 men had been broken on the wheel; and remember that the burnings, the quarterings, the hangings, whippings, and rackings had taught the peasants a sorry lesson, a lesson which they showed the lords they had learnt thoroughly. We know that feudal justice often forced from a culprit by means of torture the inmost secrets of his heart. What wonder, then, that the peasants also employed torture to gain their ends. Their great aim was to get hold of the title-deeds which gave their lords the right to plunder and oppress them. To force one lord to give up his deeds they hold a pistol to his throat for three hours, and he and his wife are then dragged from their carriage to be thrown in a pond. In Franche Comté, Madame de Bathilly is forced, an axe gleaming over her head, to give up her title-deeds. Another lady is also obliged to do the same by a pitchfork at her throat and her two daughters swooning at her feet. Another nobleman, Baron de Montjustin, is suspended for an hour in a well, listening to a discussion as to whether they shall drop him or not. The Chevalier d'Amby is thrown on a dung-hill, while the wild men who have just torn out his hair and eyebrows dance like devils around him. In some cases the frenzy of hatred and fury brings death upon the oppressor. At Mans, M. de Montesson is shot after seeing his godfather's throat cut. In Languedoc M. de Barras is cut to pieces.

Such are the natural consequences of a long reign of wrong and tyranny, which reduces men and women to a state of slavish savagery. It is people like these that our present rulers are penning up by hundreds of thousands in the hideous slums of this most Christian city. If some day the barriers give way and the torrent of maddened men pour forth upon the mansions of the rich, it is not improbable that similar scenes might occur. Let the rich take warning, and stop their work of turning men and women into brutes by perpetuating a condition of society in which thousands cannot get enough bread to eat, even by the most wearisome and exhausting toil. Let them stop the cruel system by which rich men pile up their wealth out of the tears, the groans, the slavery and hunger of the poor. While this continues can we be surprised that crime increases, and that among the prostitutes, the thieves, and the ruffians—products of a vile debasing system—who fill the dens of Whitechapel, may be found the material for a new Jacquerie, which may fire the mansions of the tyrants and bloodsuckers of our own days? Only when that moment comes, gentlemen of the middle classes (to whose large fortunes, amassed by twenty per cent. dividends screwed out of slavery, misery, and prostitution of wretched men and women, may be traced most of the evils which afflict our present society), do not cry out, like the seigneurs of France, against the people whom you and yours have turned into devils, without ruth or pity, but reflect that these are the work of your hands, these are the beings that you have made.

Little more remains to be told. The fires of flaming chateaux lit up the whole of France, and with their destruction goes on a war against rent, tithes, and legal extortions of all kinds. The nobles and clergy in the National Assembly, finding that their feudal dues and tithes have vanished with their title-deeds in the glare of their burning chateaux, determine to renounce what they can no longer keep, and accordingly in a fit of forced enthusiasm they abolish all feudal and clerical dues on the famous night of the 4th of August. But however, they have an eye to themselves, and provide that some of these feudal rights shall be redeemed by a money payment on the part of the peasants. It is also decreed that tithes are abolished and the State in future must provide for the clergy, but in the meantime the tithe must still be levied. But the peasant refuses to pay. Revolt follows revolt during the four years of the revolution, and these insurrections do not cease till the National Convention, seeing that it is impossible to get any money out of the people, declare that the peasants shall no longer be forced to pay compensation for the abolished tithes and feudal dues.

Thus the peasant by his own action freed himself from the slavery which had ground him to earth for many centuries. It is a fact that for many years after the Revolution the French peasant was living in a state of comparative comfort and prosperity, which was mainly due to the work of the "brigands" and "incendiaries" of the stirring years of the first French Revolution.

D. J. NICOLL.

¹ Carlyle: 'French Revolution.'

A VISION OF FREEDOM.

I saw the sun reel down in sulphurous flame
And fume to death upon the cold sea's brink ;
And every chain was loosened, link by link
That bound the people to a nameless shame.
Each man arose and called his fellow's name
And, eye to eye that was too free to shrink,
In the great name of Freedom bade him drink ;
And lo ! the sea grew still and pure and tame.

The Spirit of Freedom with white wings outspread
Shed benediction on them : all were free.
And on the wind came sounds of minstrelsy,
Proclaiming Freemen living and slaves dead ;
While o'er a re-arisen people's head
Rang out the jubilation of the sea.

CHARLES KENNETT BURROW.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

HOLLAND.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, of the Netherlands, said at the Congress on July 20 (see the *Sozialdemokrat* of August 10) "that he expects nothing for the protection of the workers from parliamentarism. If the governments would only understand what their proper advantage is, they would immediately grant our demands (i.e., those of the Social Democrats on labour legislation), for thereby the Socialist movement would be killed at one blow. Fortunately for Socialism, the governments are not so clever. Labour legislation, like Malthusianism, etc., by which a few workers become individually a little better off, only contributes to reconcile the workers to a certain degree with their present position. The capitalists themselves will grant the eight hours working day at a given moment, for they will prefer to remain masters of the situation after some small sacrifices made. They will gild the chains of the workers to keep them the longer their slaves. The position of the workers can only be really bettered by abolishing private and introducing collective property." These perfectly sound remarks were of course at once contradicted by Liebknecht, who stuck to the orthodox dogmas of Social Democracy. We have to remember, it is true, that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis himself brought in a Bill, mostly relating to women's and children's labour, but also containing the eight hours day, in April last in the Dutch parliament, of which he is a member. On the other side, the report on the Paris Congress, published in *Recht voor Allen* of August 4, is the only fair report we have yet seen in a Social-Democratic paper, and denounces in much sharper terms than the English published reports the many blunders committed. The author failed to hear much of the "highly interesting debates" so much spoken of, considers the disunion of the congresses as the entire fault of the leaders of both parties, and urges upon the workers not to submit any longer to play the rôle of an army of either of the two coteries ; blames the election of a permanent bureau from which workers were wellnigh excluded, considers the management to have been "bad and highly arbitrary," complains of the three days wasted in hearing reports which are to be printed and which were not at all subjects of the order of the day, reproves the arbitrary high-handed action of the bureau on Saturday afternoon, when those who wanted to speak were met by "the howlings and threatenings especially of Liebknecht's German guards," and, he goes on, "the Dutch delegates then refused (as did the Belgian delegates from the same reasons) by abstaining from voting, to take part in such a farce" (*comedievertooning*). "We call the manner shameful in which an Italian delegate was treated," etc., who was "simply thrown out by the help of the strongly disciplined Germans," who in his opinion bossed the Congress in an unbecoming manner. He then complains that the property-question is neglected in the resolutions, which contain nothing new, and he scoffs at the idea decided upon to enter into relations with the Swiss bourgeois conference. We give these extracts because this is a Social Democratic report, and to compare it with the reports in the other Social Democratic press. For instance, whilst it is reported from various parts of Germany that delegates on their return lost their employment, were subjected to various police molestations or even arrested, their chief paper, though of course grumbling over this, is endeavouring to show to the bourgeois the merits of the Congress by writing, "The practical character of the Congress, which, without veiling final aims, abstained from all utopian excursions into cloudland, and which cleared off quickly and energetically the Anarchist idiocy whose aim it is to discredit and to compromise the working class movement, has made an imposing impression in the widest circles" (of the bourgeois!). Also, as the Social Democratic papers record, Liebknecht has already had an interview with M. Clemenceau, the leader of the French Radicals who (the French elections being close at hand!) assured him of the utmost sympathy he always felt for the working classes in general and for labour legislation in particular, which indeed would save the State from revolution!

DENMARK.

From Denmark, during the last years, we continually heard about the growing strength of the Social Democratic vote, which returned several of their members to Parliament, and about the splendid state of their paper, *Socialdemokraten*, which has nearly 30,000 subscribers, more than any other paper of Copenhagen and of Denmark too. This country was often held up as a model country for Social-Democratic agitation. Only this year the real state of the movement has become apparent, and is now a matter of public discussion and agitation in Denmark. It appears that in the years 1883-5, when the opposition against the Estrup conservative ministry was the greatest, an alliance between Social Democrats and Radicals and Liberals was made, and from that time dates the large circulation of the paper, which now discusses questions of political opposition in the first rank, and delegates economic or Socialist questions to a back place. All Social Democrats returned to parliament were so only by means of compromises with the bourgeois parties, for whom the Socialists voted in their turn in other places. This year an opposition sprang up against this way in which the party is managed by a few persons ; and although we have no sympathy for this opposition, led by Nicolai Petersen (because they simply do like the others do, go on electioneering, with a little more ostentation of Social-Democratic principles), we are indebted to it for an intelligence of the true state of the official Danish party. We read in *Socialdemokraten*, for instance, "The Danish Social-Democratic party represents Reform Socialism, and consequently, fights against Revolutionary Socialism, a standpoint also taken by the vast majority of Social Democrats" ; or, "The chief fault of the Revolu-

tionary Socialists is to think that Socialism has in any way a greater connection with revolution than any other political standpoint. But just the contrary is the case. . . . Therefore we fight the real Revolutionary Socialists," etc. The keynote of the Danish elections is now militarism, and the Social-Democratic candidates simply say, "You have to choose between militarism and reforms," and on such grounds they are elected. All this shows plainly what is behind the big numbers of voters and subscribers—namely, the surrender of Socialism to bourgeois Liberalism. The opposition, as we see from *Arbejderen*, makes progress, but what can this result in? Not more than purifying the party for a short time, until a new bourgeois alliance offers itself.

GERMANY.

There are now 34 trades-unionist papers published (23 on Jan. 1, 1886), circulation 90,000. Also (at the end of 1888) 28 political Social-Democratic papers (8 in Prussia, 10 in Bavaria, 3 in Hessen, 3 in Wurtemberg, 1 in Baden, Braunschweig, Hamburg, Bremen) ; circulation about 140,000. These are big figures, but it must not be forgotten that if any of these papers only once were to make a really Socialist remark, it would instantly be suppressed, as some are here and there. So these papers simply deal with the ordinary political news, trade matters and election propaganda. A reader of them may lose his belief in the old parties, but at the same time he must receive quite a wrong impression of Socialism from them, so that in reality they are one more hindrance to the progress of Socialism (not of Social Democracy) in that country.

* *

MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

THE following is the full text of comrade Merlino's resolution, which he wished to put before the Paris Congress :—

"Considering that international or even national labour legislation would not only be, if accepted by the workers, the confirmation of their slavery and the negation of the great principles of revolutionary Socialism, but is also an economic impossibility, that it is therefore deplorable that such a false hope should be dangled before the eyes of the workers.

"That the workmen in different trades, the domestic servant and the workshop slave, the artisan and the peasant, the hands of the great manufacturers and the almost independent producers in the home industries, would never submit to one and the same regime, and even less so would the workmen of different countries, races, and continents.

"Seeing the differences which exist between manufacturing, agricultural, and commercial countries, and the different degrees of economical development at which they have arrived, it would be unjust to attempt to equalise their conditions otherwise than by the spontaneous evolution of economical relations ; as this attempt would only result in the sacrifice of the weaker to the stronger ; which is inevitable in a social organisation so essentially antagonistic to every principle of Justice and Reason as is the present form of society.

"Considering, in addition to these economical impossibilities, that there are also political impossibilities in the way of this gigantic illusion of international labour legislation ; the governments being always armed to the teeth against each other, and continually engaged in fomenting national hatreds. When they fail even in reconciling the interests of the capitalistic classes, which they represent, how could they succeed in agreeing together for the benefit of the workman, whose natural and irreconcilable enemies they are? The State being an enormous engine of destruction and violence, how can it be an instrument of concord and peace, not only amongst workmen who fraternise without its interference, but between the workmen and their masters ; the latter being at the same time the masters of politics, diplomacy, and finance, nay, of the State itself?

"Considering that even apart from all these economical and political impossibilities which render perfectly utopian the idea of international labour legislation, the great moral principle of Freedom is incompatible with any regulations and measures which interfere with the free development of society, and would instead mould it to a procrustean bed. Freedom has become for civilised man not only a want but one of the most important.

"Further considering that it is dangerous to foster amongst the masses the great superstition of the century, which consists in pretending to solve the great social problems by the ballot box and Acts of Parliament ; that it is on the contrary necessary to undermine and destroy the fetishes of legislation and legislators ; and that the offer of labour legislation officially made by the governments has only one aim, that of rehabilitating in the eyes of the masses the Parliamentarism which is now becoming utterly discredited, and to prolong its agonising life.

"Considering that at the present state of development of socialistic principles, and after the conquest and defeats of the International Workingmen's Association, we should not retrace our steps to old expedients, but march onwards and push forward the great claims of the proletariat and attack the last ramparts of the bourgeoisie, monarchical and republican parliamentarism.

"Considering that the bodies of thousands of victims, and the whole race of the oppressed stand between us and our enemies, and that this abyss must be deepened more and more, and not bridged over by compromises which amount in fact to treason to the Cause.

"That together with private property, government, this monstrous centralised engine of fraud, corruption, oppression, and social discord, must be suppressed, and in its place must be substituted a society composed of free associations of workers settling their own affairs and organising their own work.

"In accordance with these considerations the congress :

"Declares its intention to remain true to the great principles of Revolutionary Socialism ;

"Rejects as anti-socialistic, reactionary, and fallacious any proposals for labour legislation ;

"Inscribes in its programme the abolition of the parliamentary and governmental system as an essential condition for the real abolition of the capitalistic system ;

"Lastly, deying to any one the right to compromise our principles (the sole and inalienable patrimony of the proletarians of the world and their only hope) and denying also the right to reduce Socialism to the meaner proportion of a class legislation, recommends that the union between the revolutionary Socialists of the world be made on the basis of the great and imprescriptible human claims ; because on any other ground no union would be founded amongst the workers, but discord, rivalry, ambition, and the tyranny of one privileged minority over the suffering masses."



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G. (Glasgow).—Scotch Notes came too late for insertion this week, so much pressing matter having already been set up. Will go in next number.
D. C.—Articles of about one column in length are the most acceptable. They should each deal clearly with some one point in our principles or propaganda.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Trial by Judge v. Trial by Jury	257
The Chateaux in Flames (concluded)	258
A Vision of Freedom	259
International Notes	259
Merlino's Resolution	259
Notes	260
Correspondence:—Communism and Anarchism—Paris Congress; a Disclaimer	261
Socialism at Yarmouth	261
Sailors' Strike	261
The Labour Struggle	262
Revolutionary Calendar	262
Are Labourers Free Men?	262
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings	263
Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc.	264

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 14.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY	SPAIN	PORTUGAL	AUSTRIA	SWEDEN	WEST INDIES
Justice	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Seville—La Solidaridad	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Goteborg—Pölkets Röst	Cuba—El Productor
Labour Elector	Le Proletariat		Milan—Il Fascio Operato	Madrid—El Socialista		Brunn—Arbeiterstimme		
Labour Tribune	L'Attaque			Cadix—El Socialismo		Denmark		
Norwich—Daylight	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur					Copenhagen—Arbejderen		
Railway Review								
Social Demokrat								
UNITED STATES								
New York—Der Sozialist								
Freiheit								
Truthseeker								
Volkzeitung								
Jewish Volkszeitung								
Workmen's Advocate								
Twentieth Century								
Nationalist								
United Irishman								
Boston—Woman's Journal								
Investigator								
Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote								

No remittances for League purposes should be sent to any other persons than those specially appointed to receive them, and whose names are duly advertised in the "Commonweal," or to any other address than this Office. Readers, especially in the Provinces, are asked to beware of appeals emanating from any person other than the Treasurer of the League, the Secretary of the Propaganda Committee, or myself,
FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

NOTES.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL is a smart young man; there is not the least doubt about it. His attempt to outbid the advanced Radicals is a masterpiece of genius, while his prophetic warning to ground landlords to set their houses in order for the day of retribution that is coming upon them, is the unkindest cut of all to these bulwarks of the Tory party. No wonder Randolph's leaders don't know what to do with this little puppy of Tory Democracy, whose teeth are growing and who knows how to bite.

But what are we to think of Randolph's speech, or of the rival performance of Professor Stuart at the Shoreditch Town Hall? They

remind me very much of the orations of two rival Cheap Jacks at a country fair, who are both in possession of a number of articles equally cheap and worthless, and who are each endeavouring to howl the other down. The patter is the same in both cases. "Ladies and gentlemen, yer pays yer money and yer takes yer choice. A fine new political programme. What d'ye lack? What d'ye lack? A bill for the better housing of the working-classes; an excellent article; I can recommend it, gentlemen, I can recommend it. Yer you hab, yer you hab, all very fine and large. Some new workmen's dwellings, lighted by electricity, furnished with hydraulic lifts, and filled with every comfort and convenience. Who bids? Who bids? Your vote and interest at the next general election is all I require. To be had at the same moderate price—the taxation of ground rents, an eight hours bill, the suppression of the liquor traffic, or anything else you want. Any article not in stock procured at the shortest notice." And so they go on, though the Liberal Cheap Jack pauses in the midst of his harangue to warn his audience that the person over the way is an impudent fraud, and hasn't got the articles in stock that he brags so much about.

To this pass has the steady propaganda of Socialism during the past few years brought both political parties. Those who have purchased articles of the ordinary cheap jacks, may judge of the value of goods these political ones vend. For my part I do not believe that either the programme of Randolph Churchill or Professor Stuart will touch the sources of the present misery. They will but make discontent wider and deeper; but they will once more prove the truth of the proverb, "That those who make half revolutions dig their own graves."

But there is another person whom Randolph's eloquence annoys more even than any member of the Liberal party, and that is Joseph Chamberlain. Joseph appears to regard Randolph's most recent deliverance as a direct invitation to the Birmingham electors to desert the standard of the Chamberlain family and rally round the Churchill flag; and no doubt he isn't far wrong.

Mr. Chamberlain appears to be of an opinion that Churchill has got his advanced opinions from the extreme men of all parties, and he is unkind enough to put poor Professor Stuart among his list of extremists. Surely a milder Jacobin was never known than the author of the Metropolitan Liberal programme. Before long we shall have Howell and Cremer put on Chamberlain's list of dangerous persons.

Then, Randolph is accused of borrowing his Socialism from Burns and Hyndman! This is hardly complimentary to those two prophets of Social Democracy, for the only measure of theirs he has borrowed is the eight hour bill, and every one knows that that is advocated in America and in our colonies by many people who would be very much insulted if you called them Socialists—save in Sir Vernon's Harcourt's sense of the word.

But I think there is a far more probable explanation of Randolph's advanced opinions than by throwing the blame of them upon Professor Stuart, or Hyndman and Burns. In the good old days of "ransom" and "natural rights," Joseph and Randolph were fast friends. In those days Mr. Chamberlain formed himself upon the model of "the sea-green incorruptible" Maximilian Robespierre. Already in his own vivid imagination he pictured himself as a Jacobin dictator, passing heads of dangerous aristocrats like Salisbury and Hartington under the guillotine. But that dream is over for the friend of lords and the pet of duchesses. In the old days the haughty aristocrats would have nothing to do with the little Brummagem snob, and he burned for vengeance on them. Is it not, therefore, probable that Randolph got his advanced opinions from the "incorruptible" Joseph, and now he proceeds to hoist the "incorruptible" with his own petard! Once more has the pupil beat his master.
D. N.

Montana, one of the four new States lately added to the Union, refuses to prescribe the reading and writing qualifications for her voters, customary in the older States. Delegate Maginnis, whose name bespeaks his paternity and probable creed, secured this result by pointing out that "the most dangerous classes in this country were not the illiterate, but the over-educated," and he instanced "several distinguished Anarchists who could read and write and talk several languages." Here, at last, is a congenial refuge for the atavistic reactionaries who are always denouncing education as a danger to the State. If only all the good orthodox, untroubled, and contented souls would migrate thither, and leave other people to wend their wicked way unhindered!
S.

Joseph R. Buchanan, formerly editor of the Chicago Labour Enquirer, now has charge of the labour department of the New York Sun.

ERRATUM.—W. Wess was delegated by the Manchester International Club, and not Berner Street, as appeared last week in Paris Congress report. Ida M. Van Etten, Frances Morris, Marian Macdaniel, Florence K. Wischnewetzky, and Jane T. Gillespie have incorporated the "Working Woman's Society of the City of New York," to promote organisation among women engaged in industrial pursuits, and to furnish indemnity to the members of said society by payments of money collected by way of dues, against loss occasioned by sickness or lack of employment, and also in general to labour for improvement in the condition of all working women.

CORRESPONDENCE.

COMMUNISM AND ANARCHISM.

I HAVE to excuse myself for being so long in answering our comrades. My journey to the Paris Congress, and business necessary to be done before and after that event, accounts for the greater part of the delay. I will now do what I can to answer our friends who have written to the *Commonweal*. I must premise, by the way, that I have let a typographical error of importance pass unnoticed: for "moral conscience" our friends should read "social conscience."

And now I find that one difficulty in dealing with the friends who are discussing the matter is that, in all probability, I differ very little in theory from what they think, but considerably from what they write—e.g., comrade Armsden appears to meet my commonplace "that you have a right to do as you like so long as you don't interfere with your neighbour's right to do as he likes" with a negative; which he cannot mean to do. Anyhow, I assert it again, and also assert that the social conscience, which being social is common to every man, will forbid such individual interference, and use coercion if other means fail: and also that without that there can be no society; and further, that man without society is not only impossible, but inconceivable. I may say that I perceive here that the unlucky misprint of moral for social has turned our friend's arguments beside the question.

Comrade H. Davis misunderstands my use of the word Communist in supposing me to use it as the Owenites did, as implying life in separate communities, whether those communities were mere scattered accidents amidst a capitalistic society or not; whereas I use it as a more accurate term for Socialism as implying equality of condition and consequently abolition of private property. In this sense, of course, you could not live Communistically until the present society of capitalism or contract is at an end. Equally of course, the living in small communities is not in theory an essential of this great change, though I have little doubt that it would bring about such a way of living and abolish big cities, which, equally with comrade Davis, I think much to be desired.

In his reference to Philip drunk and sober, comrade Davis does not of course really mean that any obnoxious person shall be allowed to tyrannize over the rest of the citizens without restraint from them; but that is what his words mean.

As to the matter of majority-rule, let us look at the matter again. All rule must be, as comrade Davis sees, majority-rule—i.e., of the effective majority. If at any time the minority rules, it is because they are better organised, better armed, less stupid, more energetic than the mere nose-counted majority: this effective majority therefore coerces the minority; and as long as it can coerce it, it will. The time may come, and I hope it will, when the social conscience will be so highly developed that coercion will be impossible, even on the part of the community: but then in those days the community will be composed of men who so thoroughly realise Communism that there will be no chance of any of them attacking his neighbour in any way. All reasonable men, whatever they may call themselves, would rejoice at such a change; and it is because I know that this cannot be brought about as long as private property exists, that I desire the abolition of private property, and am a Communist.

But I do not consider myself a pessimist because I am driven to admit that such a condition of things is a long way ahead. And what can we do in the meantime? I remember that the great traveller Dr. Wolff, travelling in the eastern wastes, inhabited a tent alone with a stalwart Greek servant of his, who habitually got drunk on the feast-days of his church, and when drunk, habitually beat poor Wolff. The latter objected, and said to his servant (I quote his own words), "You must either not get drunk, or when you get drunk you must not beat me." But the servant said to Wolff, "I shall get drunk, and when I am drunk I shall certainly beat you." Wolff being the weakest physically, had to submit; but if there had been two Wolffs, I will answer for it that they would have had recourse to coercion, and if they had allowed the drinking, they would certainly have put a stop to the beating. And really I think we should all of us have done in likewise, and considered it pedantic to allow one man to beat two of us: and surely it will always be so, as long as the individual acts unsocially: in that case he has no right against the society, which he himself has cast off.

I must repeat practically also what I said in my first article: however much the unit of association may be divided, people will have to associate in administration, and sometimes there will be differences of opinion as to what should be done. E.g., a community discuss the building of a bridge; some say Ay and some No, and persist in that opinion after all possible arguments have been exhausted: what is to be done? which party is to give way? Our Anarchist friends say it must not be carried by a majority; in that case, then, it must be carried by a minority. And Why? Is there any divine right in a minority? I fail to see it, although I admit that the opinion is held by the absolutists.

Or again, passing to matters of principle again. Supposing that a commune decides to re-introduce wage-slavery within its bounds. Is that to be allowed by the majority of communes? Are we not to deliver slaves from their masters? If not, why are we revolutionary Socialists to-day?

A friend under the signature of "Anarchist" stumbles, I think, over voluntary and involuntary association. Where all men are equal, I believe "the give and take" would have such influence over men's minds, that "the authority of compulsory representative institutions," or whatever took their place, would be so completely at one with the Social Conscience that there would be no dispute about it as to principle, and in detail, as above, the few would have to give way to the many; I should hope without any rancour. This correspondent does not seem to be able to think himself out of the present state of things, and yet at the same time imagines a possibility of free association as things now are; a quite illusory hope, since those of us who are unprivileged are at the beck and call of the privileged.

Comrade Blackwell suggests that since the majority is no more likely to be right than the minority (which I admit) they might as well toss a copper for it. I don't object; but then there might be a difference of opinion on that method also, and how are we to settle that? It is curious that comrade Blackwell in suggesting that the larger of the two differing parties in a matter of administration should throw the matter over, cannot see that this would mean victory for the noes; or, in other words, that in any question which must be answered aye or nay, any one obstructive could always prevent any business being done, and could in such matters thereby establish the most complete minority rule conceivable.

The other side of comrade Blackwell's remedy is a system of perpetual

compromise, which would be disastrous if it were possible, for it would so hinder all reasonable work or progress that it could not be submitted to.

Comrade Blackwell objects to my calling the "Anarchist-Socialists" "vague," but he himself furnishes a specimen of their vagueness in the platform of the Pittsburg Congress in 1883. He adds, "Now I believe most members of the Socialist League agree to every one of these planks." Exactly, and every other Socialist also; there is nothing distinctively Anarchist in them. And this I find is often the case with "Communist-Anarchists"; they cannot differentiate themselves from the Communists. Their Anarchism consists in a somewhat exaggerated fear of a possible re-growth of some of the tyrannical methods of the destroyed Society, and a consequent distrust of the new Society having any definite form. On the other hand, I have met with Anarchists who were not at all vague, and who definitely opposed Communism. They had, indeed, this in common with militant Socialism, that they wished to abolish organised monopoly: but they supported unorganised monopoly, or the rule of the strongest individual, taking for their motto "To each one according to his deeds," which means the upholding of private property with no association to uphold it, a position impossible and inconceivable.

Our friends who have been discussing this subject do not, I know, agree with this view, but intend to be Communists though they find stumbling-blocks by the way. As for me, I can only say that whatever will give us equality, with whatever drawbacks, will content me, and I find that at bottom this is the ideal of all Socialists. So I think the fewer party-names and distinctions we can have the better, leaving plenty of scope for the inevitable differences between persons of different temperaments, so that various opinions may not make serious quarrels. WILLIAM MORRIS.

PARIS CONGRESS—A DISCLAIMER.

SIR,—In your number of the 10th of this month, Mr. F. Kitz pays me the compliment of having "carefully, very carefully translated into German Keir Hardie's speech." Mr. Kitz is right. I did it "carefully, very carefully," as I am always wont to do my duty. Since Mr. Kitz has omitted to mention it, I may add that I have translated Mr. Morris's speech with exactly the same care and love; and if Mr. Kitz had made a speech as interesting and as instructive as those of his two countrymen, I should have rendered him the same service.—Truly yours, W. LIEBKNECHT.

Borsdorf, near Leipzig, August 11.

SOCIALISM AT YARMOUTH.

OUR comrades at Yarmouth have been employing their time so profitably recently, that as their report went wrong last week we think it only fair to put it in now. "We began our campaign on Monday evening, July 29th, when Reynolds gave an address at Norton to a good audience. On Wednesday, July 31st, Reynolds and Barber took advantage of the fair to hold a meeting on the Green at Martham. We were quite a feature of the fair. The boxing men wanted to know what the devil the Socialists wanted here spoiling their audiences; and another big show boss tried to spoil our meeting, but Barber knew his character too well as a sweater of the worst type, and he had to make a hasty retreat. Then we got wrong with the toll-collector, because we told the stall men that the lord of the manor was a fraud and advised them not to pay the 1s. toll. We sold 1s. 3d. worth of literature. In Yarmouth, on Friday evening (2nd inst.), Mrs. Tochatti and Reynolds held a meeting near Colman's Granary. We opened and finished with singing, and little Tochatti, not yet 8, gave a neat little socialistic speech. On Saturday evening, Reynolds, Mrs. Tochatti, and A. Barker held a meeting in the Market Place. We pitched close to where the Blue Ribbonites stand, but when we placed our platform they were not there; but just before we began the captain and one other made their appearance, read our placard but said nothing. But as soon as we began they started to sing. Well, we let them, but as soon as they left off singing we began, and those godly people sent for their drum (which the authorities had forbid), and for more than an hour they shouted and banged, but Reynolds stood his ground, and took advantage of any lull to tell the people that the teetotalers were advertising the Socialist demonstration for the next day. The captain fetched a constable in uniform, who told Reynolds to desist, but we told him we should do nothing of the kind and he could carry out any instructions he had received. Then a detective came and tried to get us out of it by saying he had told the others to drop it, but it was no use, we held on. At last, from sheer exhaustion, the drum and Gospel-grinding water-drinkers had to go. Reynolds moved a vote of thanks to the captain for the advertisement and the collection we had gained through their efforts, and our comrade wanted to shake hands, but the captain indignantly declined. By this time there were several hundred people collected; Mrs. Tochatti sang, and Reynolds kept the meeting up till nearly 10 p.m. Well, wonders never cease, we were so elated over our meeting, that we adjourned to Reynolds's house and sang till three in the morning, when we went to meet Tochatti and Turner, who did not arrive by the train we expected. So we adjourned to South Town station to meet the next train, and we sang the *Marseillaise* from station to station. When we got to the station up came a detective and says, 'Now, then, don't you know better making this row?' He asked comrade Thomas (of Ipswich) his address, and before our comrade could scarcely answer him he took him to the station; but our comrade soon made his appearance again, his name and address being taken. On Sunday we had three splendid meetings, Turner giving a capital address in the morning; Tochatti followed with an earnest and telling address. Tochatti spoke again in the afternoon and evening. The speeches of our comrades have made a good impression; sold 54 *Commonweal* and collected 10s." C. R.

Sailors' Strike.

The *Coast Seamen's Journal* (San Francisco) takes the Glasgow Socialists to task for interfering in the sailors' strike, and alleges that their action caused a split amongst the men. It appears that our Glasgow comrades went amongst the sailors distributing literature, and some of the union leaders abused them; that the men resented this and supported the Socialists, who held a successful meeting in consequence. To introduce, says the *Coast Seamen's Journal*, scientific theories, i.e., Socialism, "would defeat the object of the sailors, who are fighting for better wages and the principle of unionism." Socialism would abolish the system which breeds strikes and lock-outs, and replace it with free fraternal co-operation. Militant Socialists could not find a better field for operations than the scene of a strike; and whilst they neither desire to, or do, hinder trade union construction, they exercise both a right and a duty when they point to the object-lesson of strikes and lock-outs as showing the rottenness of wages-slavery. The same journal has also some pertinent comments upon the action of the *Commonweal*, re the printing of *Seafaring* (England) by non-unionists. Have not the leading officials of the Seamen's Union got over that yet? Is it sulks or press of business which prevents an answer being sent to a letter addressed to the General Secretary of the Seamen's Union agent the overworked men on the Channel steamers, and the opportunity for extending their union?—F. K.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Tram Slaves.

The London Tramways Company have added three more victims to their list of men discharged for joining the Union. Mr. Wylie, the manager of this Company, was the first manager to begin this tyranny, and he seems the last to leave off. Last week Robert Anderson, a driver, was dismissed upon the trivial excuse that he had been speaking to his conductor. Alexander Innes has also been sacked because, according to Col. Davidson, "his conduct had been very irregular," though what constituted the irregularity, except joining the Union, the gallant Colonel did not condescend to say. But the worst case of all is that of conductor Cane. This conductor, it appears, slipped on his car and hurt himself, and in consequence was absent from duty for a few days, sending word that he was ill. When he returned he was ordered up to the head office, and was told by the omnipotent Wylie that he had better take his papers and look for another job. Some time ago the night inspector (Daniels) asked if he belonged to the Union; Cane returned an evasive answer, and Daniels, in return, recommended him, if he respected the job he had got, "to leave the Union alone." Volumes could not say more; but what can the men expect, so long as they submit patiently to these tyrants?

Revolt of the Compositors.

The London Trades Council is receiving kicks in the rear from every side. The London Society of Compositors is the last to go for it; this revolt is, perhaps, the most important of all, as it means the rebellion of one of the largest and the most intelligent bodies of workmen in London. Well, they have decided at their quarterly delegate meeting to sever their connection altogether with the London Trades Council, which appears, upon the statement of Mr. Newstead, one of the Society's delegates to it, to be a bogus affair; he said that "only the adhesion of the compositors gave it any standing. The carpenters and joiners would have nothing to do with it, nor the other large and real trade unions of London. It was comprised of little tin-pot societies. Societies were entitled to one delegate for every hundred, or fraction of a hundred, of their members, and the result of this was that the compositors' delegates were out-numbered by delegates who only represented little societies that numbered five-and-twenty." After passing their resolution, severing their connection with the Trades Council, it was almost unanimously passed that "the two representatives sent to the Dundee Trade Union Congress shall vote against the election of Messrs. C. Shipton and H. Broadhurst, M.P., on the Parliamentary Committee." How are the mighty fallen! But what will become of the Parliamentary Committee when its two chief pillars are withdrawn? That august body will not be able to hinder and obstruct the international union of workers. It will be taught for the future a useful lesson of humility.

Mr. Shipton Again.

The committee of the Hanover Square Branch of the Amalgamated Society of House Decorators and Painters, of which Mr. Shipton is a member, has summoned that worthy gentleman before it, to answer for violating the rules of the society by making false and libellous statements against the members of his branch. They have decided that if Mr. Shipton does not issue a correct statement about what occurred at the Hanover Square Branch on February 22, 1889, and apologise to all the branches for "the lying report he made at the Paddington Branch on March 9," he shall be expelled the society. Never mind, Shipton! no doubt Peters and Kelly will find you a job in the "sugar business."

The Somersetshire Miners.

The men have decided to refuse the miserable terms offered by the employers last week of a 5 per cent. advance at once and another 5 per cent. when trade shall improve. The men have decided to take nothing but the 10 per cent. they have demanded. Great enthusiasm is shown among the men, and at the meeting where the master's terms were refused original songs on the subject of the strike were sung by the miners. The conflict is a lively one, and several men, women, and boys have been summoned for intimidation. A certain animal of the rat species, Walter Bowns, who had received non-union pay (5s.) on Wednesday and meanly went to work on Thursday, met with "a slight accident," and summoned three men, one woman, and two boys for intimidating him. Penalty, £5 in each of five cases, or two months. The people are making an example of the scabs in another way; they have boycotted them. In several chapels last Sunday (says the correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*) the audience rose almost *en masse* when certain people went to preach, and in one instance not only the congregation stayed away, but the choir and the organist. The advice to let these people alone was given because the neighbours dared not speak to them, and it was dangerous even to look at them, for fear of being prosecuted for intimidation. The writer goes on to say that "even this does not please the owners." No, and if all other workmen showed the same pluck as the Somerset men it would please "the owners" still less.

The Strike in the Fur Trade.

A very interesting strike is now in progress in the East of London. For some time our good comrades of the International Club in Berner Street have been very busy in forming trade unions among the sweated workers, and the strike in question is one of the first battles of one of their newly-formed trade unions. H. Koenigsberg, fur-manufacturer and cap-maker, of 25 Commercial Street, is one of the employers who has a reputation in the East-end for making the most of those he employs. According to the appeal issued by the workers, who are now on strike, "One hundred and fifty-four workpeople employed by the above firm have been expected to work from eight in the morning till ten at night. The girls have had to remain at the place from eight to eight on some days, and on others from eight to ten. As invariably happens, these terrible long hours have had their corollary in reductions of wages. A couple of months ago the men combined in demanding shorter hours and got an hour knocked off their daily slavery. In the basement of the building, where a number of men worked, was a black hole. He refused to make it better, so Mr. Lakeman, the factory inspector, called on the proprietor to make some necessary alterations. They were not made as directed, and the consequence was that Mr. Lakeman had the alterations

made and charged the firm with the costs. Mr. Koenigsberg then refused work to the men who had signed the document by which shorter hours were demanded. But in the meantime a union had been formed, and the men successfully resisted this piece of tyranny. They next resisted an unjust and altogether illegal deduction of a penny a-week from their wages. The master retaliated by refusing work to three of his men except at a further reduction in price. Then the whole shop went out on strike on Bank Holiday morning. The men demand fair distribution of the work; they decline to pay penny fines; they ask that the workmen who in the course of the dispute have left shall be taken back; and they demand a revision of the scale of prices." We are glad to hear that English girls employed by the firm have joined with the Jewish men in the struggle. Any subscriptions to aid the strikers may be sent to S. Levy, Secretary of the Strike Committee, 106 Sclater Street, Bethnal Green, E. N.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 24, 1889.

18	Sun.	1746. Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock beheaded for rebellion. 1789. Declaration of Rights of Man at Versailles. 1839. Chartist church parades at London, Norwich, and Manchester. 1848. John Martin sentenced to ten years' transportation.
19	Mon.	1780. Beranger born. 1876. Fenians, escaped from Western Australia, arrive in New York.
20	Tues.	1854. Schelling died.
21	Wed.	1798. Michelet born. 1844. Monument begun at Edinburgh to Muir and others. 1849. Kossuth, Bem, Andrássy, and other Hungarians, escape into Turkey. 1867. George Druitt, M. Lawrence, and John Anderson sentenced for picketing during tailors' strike.
22	Thur.	1642. Great Civil War begins. 1861. Richard Oastler died. 1867. Thirteen more tailors sentenced for picketing during strike.
23	Fri.	1305. William Wallace murdered. 1789. National Assembly decrees toleration for all religions. 1793. Proclamation of the levy in mass; "France risen against tyrants."
24	Sat.	1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. 1774. Turgot made Controller of Finances, France. 1788. Necker recalled from Switzerland to be "saviour of France." 1789. Liberty of French press decreed. 1849. Henry Hetherington died. 1887. National League proclaimed.

ARE LABOURERS FREE MEN?

The editor of *Belfast Brotherhood*, visiting recently an Irish town where his paper has a pretty extensive circulation, found his way to the meeting-place of a newly-formed society, having for its object the strengthening of the position of all working people (unskilled as well as skilled) in relation to their employers. He introduced himself to the secretary, who was as courteous as could be, gave him full information about the principles of the society, and told him that it had already nearly 400 members. But the secretary and other members besought him that he would publish no particulars in his paper, nor communicate any to other papers, concerning the society. The editor naturally asked, Why not? would not some publicity help the society on? must not the mass of workers be informed of the existence of the society before they could be drawn into its membership? And this was the drift of the answer he got—"We should all get the sack." These men were afraid that if their employers came to hear of this infant-organisation they would strangle it at once by dismissing all who joined it. They dreaded lest publicity should result in their being deprived of their means of subsistence—in their being brought with their wives and their children to utter destitution and starvation. And so the society must be kept secret until such time as it gains sufficient strength to resist an organised attack on the part of employers of labour.

Now, are working-men free?—especially working-men of the class to which the bulk of the members of this union belong, labourers, as distinguished from tradesmen? They are slaves, and they will be such until they combine in a mass—until they secure the strength that is in union. The whip that the landlords and capitalists—the rich classes—wield to bring the poor to submission is the power to starve them, to shut them out from all opportunities of earning their bread. They control the means of production. This whip must be wrested from their hands if the workers are to be free. Justice demands it. Combination can do it.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 2, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

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

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, and St. Georges East, to end of June. Manchester, to end of July. Leicester, to end of August.

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

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, August 20, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk" to Working Men, is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 18, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the 'Weal.

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Saunders, 1s.; M. M., 1s.; H. H. S., 1s.; W. W., 1s.; and Seglie, 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Hoxton Church*—On Thursday, Mowbray and Kitz addressed very large meeting; 13 *Commonweal* sold. *Mile End Waste*—On Tuesday, Cores, Harding (Peaceful Anarchist), and Turner spoke; 'Weal' sold out; on Saturday, Cores and Hicks were the speakers; 12 'Weal' sold. *Leman Street*—Sunday morning, Cores and Turner addressed the meeting; *Commonweal* sold well. *Battersea*—A fine gathering addressed near the "Prince's Head"; *Commonweal* sold out, and five names given towards a branch.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, jun., Maughan, Crouch, and W. Morris; 40 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected. A fair meeting held at St. Ann's Road; speakers were Crouch, Lyne, jun., and Maughan; choir sang; 8 'Weal' sold. A good meeting at 8 p.m. at Cambridge Gardens; speakers were Dean, Crouch, and Maughan; 9 'Weal' sold and 8½d. collected.

NORTH LONDON.—Good meetings held at our usual stations by Cantwell, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson; 81 'Weals' sold.

STREATHAM.—On Sunday evening, August 3, Gregory and Moore spoke to a large audience at the Fountain. On the 11th, Gregory and Kitz conducted a good meeting; 30 *Commonweal* sold. Friends and sympathisers in this neighbourhood will please note that we meet until further notice at the Leigham Arms, Wellfield Road, every Wednesday, for the enrolment of members.—J. C.

ABERDEEN.—On Sunday, August 4th, while Leatham was addressing a meeting in Castle Street, the superintendent of police, accompanied by a squad of his men, walked up and ordered him to stop. Our comrade gave way, but determined to fight the question on another occasion. A perfect storm was raised in the local newspapers against the police, and when we turned up at the place of meeting on the following Sunday an immense crowd was there. The Rev. Alexander Webster first addressed his usual weekly meeting for Unitarian propaganda, speaking on "The Socialism of Jesus." When he had finished, our platform was brought out, and Leatham addressed a crowd of some three or four thousand people; many more looked on from a distance. A hearty reception was accorded to our comrade, who spoke for some considerable time; questions were invited at the close, in order to give the police a more complete opportunity to "work their will." Comrade Duncan concluded the meeting with a short speech. The meeting passed off quietly, the police being thoroughly defeated.—L.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 2 o'clock Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock Gilbert, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed a large audience at Paisley Road Toll. At the same hour Glasier addressed the Young Ireland Society, where his denunciation of the reactionary tactics of the Irish Parliamentary party, and his advocacy of an international union of the workers to achieve Socialism met with hearty approval.

LEICESTER.—Sunday last F. Charles arrived very opportunely, and gave a stirring address in Russell Square. In the evening Charles commenced an address on "The Labour Question" in Humberstone Gate; good audience. Charles addressed meetings again in Russell Square on Tuesday evening, and at Ansty, a village five miles from Leicester, on Thursday. 5s. 2½d. collected. Literature sold, 2s. 6d.—A. G.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning at 11 o'clock a meeting was held in Vicars Croft. Our speakers, Maguire, Sweeny, Corkwell, Paylor, Braithwaite and Hill had a very attentive hearing from a large audience. No meeting at night, owing to weather.—F. C.

MANCHESTER.—We visited Heywood on Sunday night. A meeting was held, and addressed by Stockton and Bailie. Twenty-four 'Weals' sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday afternoon Leonard Hall, Prince and Barton spoke to a fair audience; twenty-four 'Weals' sold, and 1s. 3d. collected. In Chester Road, at night, a large meeting was addressed by Parkinson, Marshall and Barton. Some opposition was evoked by a "Christian," who said we should first find Jesus. Marshall ably replied to him. 'Weals' sold out.

NORWICH.—Saturday last a good meeting was held on the Haymarket, addressed by McCormack and Mowbray (London). Sunday morning a large meeting was held in Market Place, notwithstanding an opposition meeting by the temperance party. Sunday afternoon a very large meeting was held in the Market; speakers were McCormack and Mowbray, who made an able reply to the recent attack on us in the columns of *Daylight*, delivering a long and severe criticism upon the article, and was frequently applauded by the audience. In the evening another good meeting was held; Mowbray and McCormack both spoke; good collections and sale of literature.

YARMOUTH.—A good meeting was held on the beach on Monday afternoon, addressed by Turner and McCormack. On Tuesday evening Tochatti gave a good address. Several songs were sung by Mrs. Tochatti. Literature sold well. Tuesday evening Barker, of London, Mrs. Tochatti, Thomas, of Ipswich, and Reynolds held a good meeting at Belton; Mrs. Tochatti sang several songs. Friday evening meeting at Colman's Granary. Saturday night good meeting in Market Place; our Blue Ribbon friends were there with the harmonium, but we got their audience, the people joined heartily in our songs. Sunday morning Reynolds addressed the meeting, and in the evening Annis opened, followed by Tochatti, who spoke on Objections to Socialism. Literature sold well. Good collection.—C. R.

SALFORD.—On Sunday Leonard Hall addressed a splendid meeting in Oldfield Road at night. Subsequent organisation of Salford gasworks men.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—Proctor presided in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Peacock and Snell speaking. In the evening good meeting, Rooke presiding; Peacock and Proctor spoke. Collections of the day realised 4s. 10d.—P.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, August 10, J. O'Gorman, who had attended the Possibilist Congress, in Paris, as the delegate of the Dublin Branch of the International Glass Bottle Blowers, lectured on the "International Congress," giving an account of its proceedings day by day. An interesting discussion took place, the speakers being Toomey, Cree, and Hamilton.

MIDLAND SOCIALISTS.—On August 5 the annual-trip took place to Ambergate. Some fifty comrades turned up, chiefly from Sheffield, Chesterfield, Leeds and Leicester. The morning was very wet, obliging us to take shelter in a chapel schoolroom. An informal conference was held, at which it was decided to hold the next gathering in Nottingham, on the last Sunday in June next year, by which time it is hoped we may be in a position to form some federation for the Midlands. We were able to have an enjoyable walk in the afternoon, the sun having been coaxed out by our singing.—R. U.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday August 18, at 8.30, A. Brookes will lecture on "Discord, Monotony, and Harmony."

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. *Hammersmith.*—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 18, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 22, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 23, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. *North Kensington.*—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up. There will be no outdoor meeting at Cambridge Road Sunday at 8 p.m., owing to members of Branch paying the Merton Branch a visit.

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

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

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

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

Norwich.—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 17.

- 7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch
- 8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church
- 8.30..... Mile-end Waste

SUNDAY 18.

- 11..... Latimer Road Station
- 11.30..... Belbrook Common
- 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane.....
- 11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann Road.....
- 11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street
- 11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green
- 11.30..... Regent's Park
- 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch
- 7..... Clerkenwell Green
- 7..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park
- 7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street
- 7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church

TUESDAY 20.

- 8..... Fulham—back of Walham Green Church
- 8..... Mile-end Waste

WEDNESDAY 21.

- 8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment

THURSDAY 22.

- 8..... Ossulton Street.....
- 8.15..... Hoxton Church

FRIDAY 23.

- 8..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m. *Edinburgh.*—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3. *Glasgow.*—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. *Leeds.*—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m. *Leicester.*—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m. *Manchester.*—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30. *Norwich.*—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: North Walsham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Friday: St. Catharine's Plain, at 8.15. *Yarmouth.*—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

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

LIVERPOOL.—Socialists willing to join a Branch of the S. L. in Liverpool should communicate with W. H. Chapman, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley Street.

A discussion will be opened by Mrs. Wilson on "Names and Opinions," at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Fackington Street, Essex Road, Islington, on Friday August 23, at 8.30.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick Street, Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 18, at 8.45, Mr. W. Townshend, "Babes' Conspiracy for Equality, and its daring attempt to uproot the great wrong of mankind." Translated from the French, with notes, by Brontarre O'Brien. Second lecture. Ladies admitted.

WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

LONDON.

PUBLISHING OFFICE: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

N.

Gee, 56 High-street, Islington
J. W. Miller, 76 Holloway-road
Watson, 76 Hoxton-street

N. W.

Clark, 63 Malden-road
Wright, 167 Kentish Town-road
Petherick, 29 Osnaburg-street
Gibbs, Lisson grove
Wilson, 24 Highgate-road
Meek, 132 Drummond-street

S. E.

Johnson, Cross-street, Blackfriars-road
Drew, 52 Friar-street
Smoothy, 87 Webber-street
Racock, 100 Blackfriars-road
Voss, 115A Blackfriars-road
Hitchcock, 292 Waterloo-road
Ketteridge, 117 Broad-street
Curwood, 4 Newington-causeway
Wirbatz, 18 New Kent-road
A 1 Corner, 103
Hammond, 21 Standard-street
Hill, 130 Great Dover-street
Pace, 122 Old Kent-road
Watson, 321
Newsagent, 552
Harrison, 621
Wilkinson, 375 St. James-road
Clayton, 12 Clarence-place, Deptford
Chambers, Deptford-bridge
Mears, 328 Walworth-road
Buise, 43
Hasken, 5 Trafalgar-street, Walworth-road
Ellison, 34 High-street, Peckham
Williams, 25 Queens-road, Peckham
Chambers, 18 Church-street, Greenwich

S. W.

Stowe, 103 Pimlico-road
Tims, 338 Battersea Park-road
E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie-street
Head, 290 York-road, Wandsworth-end
Plumpton, 41 York-road, Battersea-end
Baker, Church-street, Croydon

E.

Schweitzer, 43 Commercial-road
Eades, 219 Whitechapel-road
Kerby, 118
Hoinville, Triangle, Hackney
Huckling, Bishops-road
Thoday, 443 Hackney-road
Daniels, near Shoreditch Church
Hammond, Goldsmith-row
King, 68
Bouchard, 157A
Bevis, 4 Old Ford-road
Platt, Bonner-Street, Bethnal-green

E. C.

Cason, 64 Leonard-street
Fowler, 166 Old Street
Wilkins, Leather-lane
Trigg, Clerkenwell Green
Fox, 48 Penton-street
Forder, 28 Stonecutter-street
Simpson, 7 Red Lion Court
Reeves, 185 Fleet-street
Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet-st.
Farrington, Fetter-lane
Brandon, Wine Office-court
Appleyard, Poppins-court
Hurlstone, 5 Bath-street

W.

Wilson, 620 Harrow-road, Queens-park
Hebard, 49 Endell-street
Gardner, 32 Lexington-street
Loffmagun, 17 Caruaby-street
Stocker, 30 Berwick-street
Bard, 20 Cleveland-street
Kates, 51
Manly, 113
Goodblood, Foley-street, Cleveland-street
Ascott, 59 Upper Marylebone-street
Haffendon, 3 Carburton-street
Hanstein, 51 Charlotte-street
Farley, 6 Charlotte-street
Hoffman, 13 Francis-street
Smith, 2a Chapel-street, Edgware-road.

W. C.

Anderson, 15 Grays Inn-road
Jones, 9 Little Queen-street
Varley, 24 High-street, St. Giles
Nye, Theobalds-road
Vernon, 40 Lambs Conduit-street
Hanraham, Little James-street
Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road
Stubbs, 33
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

*And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations
of the Socialist League.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . 1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. . . 3d.
Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . . 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . 1d.
True and False Society. By Wm. Morris. . . 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . . 1d.
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . . 2d.
Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . . 6d.

SPECIAL PRICES FOR REMAINDERS.

ALL FOR THE CAUSE.

By W. MORRIS, with Music by E. B. BAX
Threepence.

AIMS OF ART.

By W. MORRIS. On good paper.
Twopence.

The above will be sent on receipt of stamps by Secretary, *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

ARBEJDEREN

("The Worker")

DANISH SOCIALIST WEEKLY.

Edited and published by NICOLAJ PETERSEN and GERSON TRIEB.

Subscription 3s. a-year.

Nansensgade 28A, Copenhagen.

THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity
New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

Organ of the Australian Socialist League.

May be had at the *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

1½d. per copy; 1s. 6d. per quarter, post free.

WORKS BY

JOHN BEDFORD LENO

"THE BURNS OF LABOUR."—*Athenæum*.

Drury Lane Lyrics. Fcap. 8vo, cloth. 3s.
The Last Idler, and other Poems. Fcap. 8vo, cloth. 3s.

Kimburton, A PICTURE OF VILLAGE LIFE.
Second and Enlarged Edition. Paper Cover. 1s.

The marvellous success of 'Our Father,' 'Bet Graham,' 'Poor Bill,' 'Kimburton Fair,' etc., etc., forming part of the above work, as recitals, at St. James's Hall, London Clubs, etc., caused the first edition to be speedily exhausted.

REEVES AND TURNER, 196 Strand, W.C., or of the Author, 76 Drury Lane, W.C.

SOCIALIST LEAFLETS.

Single page, 8vo size, 2s. per thousand.

Why be Transported?
"Down with the Socialists!"
The Cause of Prostitution.
The Workers' Claims and "Public Opinion."
Tramcar Slavery.
Shall Ireland be Free?
Ireland a Nation.
Songs for the Workers.
The Skeleton or Starvation Army.

Single page, 4to size, 3s. per thousand.

To Working Women and Girls.
Strikes and the Labour Struggle.
The Liberty and Property Defence League.
The Doctrines of the Communists (2 leaflets).
Labour is the source of all Wealth.

2 pages 8vo, 3s. per thousand.

What Socialists Want.

4 pages 8 vo, 4s. per thousand.

A Straight Talk to Working Men.

These Leaflets, at prices given above, can be had from the *Commonweal* manager in any quantities by Branches, members, or sympathisers, for distribution, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

DER ARME TEUFEL.

EDITED BY ROBERT REITZEL.

Offices: 6 Champlain Street, Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.

Subscription, 2 dols. 50 c. yearly.

JUST PUBLISHED.

THE LIFE OF

ALBERT R. PARSONS.

290 PAGES, BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED.

Telling the Story of his Life, partly from his own pen, so full of startling incidents, ending with the tragedy of Nov. 11, 1887.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM

JOSEPH GRUENHUT, GEN. W. H. PARSONS, GEN. B. F. BUTLER, CAPT. W. P. BLACK, WM. HOLMES, LIZZIE M. HOLMES (SWANK), LOETHROP WITHINGTON, and others, make this one of the most interesting books of our time.

Price (Postpaid) 6s. 6d.

Address—MRS. PARSONS, 785 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.

ESSAYS IN MODERN SOCIALIST CRITICISM.

BY ERNEST BELFORT BAX,

Author of 'Jean Paul Marat,' 'Handbook to the History of Philosophy,' etc.

Uniformly bound in red cloth, cr. 8vo; each 2s. 6d.

Second Edition.

I.—THE RELIGION OF SOCIALISM.

"A rather deep but intensely interesting treatise on the fundamental principles of Socialism, as entertained by the leaders of the movement at the present day."—*City Press*.

"Mr. Bax is by far the ablest of the English exponents of scientific Socialism."—*Westminster Review*.

"Mr. Bax is a thoughtful man, and is always ready to follow his opinions to their most startling consequences."—*Contemporary Review*.

II.—THE ETHICS OF SOCIALISM.

CONTENTS:—The New Ethic—Revolution of the Nineteenth Century—Criminal Law under Socialism—Concerning "Justice"—The Morrow of the Revolution—On Some Forms of Modern Cant—Men versus Classes—The Curse of Civilisation—The Will of the Majority—"That Blessed Word"—The Odd Trick—Doctor Faustus and his Contemporaries—Immortality—A free Fantasia on Things Divine and Human.

Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co., Paternoster Square.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London.