

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. BALFOUR has laid his hand on a new batch of Irish "obscure notabilities," and they will, of course, take their due share of skilful and oakum-picking. In time to come, if there is a history published of the present time which has any truth in it, how the historian will jeer at these futile proceedings! Mr. Balfour's "plan of campaign" stamps him even among pedants as a helpless fool. What on earth does he think he will do to serve his cause by these prison batches? Two or three leaders sent to prison with much solemnity and show of judicial impartiality would have produced some effect perhaps,—and perhaps imprisoning twenty thousand Irishmen at once might have been a good stroke,—but to make the honour of imprisonment easy of attainment for the mere rank and file of the party, and yet not to make it so common as to deprive it of its honour, is surely the *ne plus ultra* of wooden stupidity.

The Liberal press and the Liberal meetings are still open-mouthed about the iniquity of treating political prisoners no better than "criminals," and we must agree once for all that political imprisonment should simply mean keeping troublesome people out of the way till such and such a crisis is over; and we agree to this on the grounds that it is of no use trying to "reform" a Nationalist or a Socialist; your problem with him is of the simplest. But here our agreement with our Liberal friends comes to an end; this has often been said in these columns, but one more word remains perhaps to be said. The clear insight that people are now getting into the fact that an English or Irish prison means *torture*, and the loud protest against the torture of political prisoners brings into clearer relief the distorted morality of decent modern society, which claims full permission to torture all prisoners who are non-political without questions asked.

The Caffre-queller, rider-down of unarmed and peaceable citizens, and "charming" lecturer on Jerusalem, our old acquaintance Sir Charles Warren, is beginning to get somewhat bemired. His old supporter, the *Daily News*, has discovered that though he is endowed with all the public virtues which make a man a monument hero, he is a military martinet and not fit for his place, and that if he had better go. It is not our business to crow over his accidental dismissal if he does go; the only triumph for us would be people coming to their senses, and dismissing him in disgrace as an organiser of rioters in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square—which is not likely to happen. But if he is dismissed we shall have to say that the bourgeois have not treated their champion well, but shabbily.

W. M.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, has found a place for him. "In my father's house are many mansions." Eastern Africa just now affords an opening, it thinks; such a master swash-buckler as the present guardian of the peace of London is perhaps rather thrown away in the present lull of English politics, and Ireland is at present tolerably well manned with that kind of humanitarian.

The results of Cardinal Lavigerie's preachments would seem to be already bearing fruit outside his eminence's own fold; since the English and Scotch missionaries on Lake Nyassa are endeavouring to stir up an Arab war with the intention of keeping the sore open till a new war can be stirred up, which will have as its ultimate aim the "opening up" of the whole Central African region and the reduction of the native races under the grinding and ceaseless despotism of capitalism, in place of the sharp but short sufferings of the slave-hunt.

For it is acknowledged by the most enthusiastic admirers of the present crusade, as evidenced by an article from this point of view in the *Daily Chronicle* (of August 31st), in which the writer significantly enough admits that the enslaved African once settled down to his new condition, sings as joyously and appears to enjoy life as much as when tilling his own field in freedom.

Bad as all slavery is, it is well known that under Islam its evils are minimised. The Mussulman slave is in a much better condition than the "free" fellow of Egypt, not to mention his "free" brother, working his way toilsomely towards the workhouse in the English fields, or indulging in all the refinements and pleasures afforded to him by the South Lancashire factory and its surroundings.

We cannot too often impress on our readers that this sham philanthropic business is but a matter of "two of a trade" finding the street too narrow for them. Propertyless labourers are a necessity for the English capitalist, and if he can help it he will not allow the Arab exploiter to use them up. They *must* be thrown into the labour world-market. It is again a case of the big capitalist working through others swallowing up the small working on his own account. Slave hunts are bad, monstrous and cruel; but once more the new crusade aims at transforming the local slave-hunts on a small scale into a gigantic slave-hunt in the interests of embarrassed capitalism. Our speakers and lecturers should understand this question so that they may be able to deal with the conventional prejudice which glorifies the noble deeds of the pioneers of "civilization." E. B. B.

The discovery that our Secularist friends have treated Mr. Bradlaugh shabbily is surely of the nature of the (non-existent) enormous gooseberry, and Mr. Bradlaugh himself disposed of it speedily. Meantime a person with any sense of humour cannot help being somewhat tickled by the spectacle of the enthusiasm of "the Respectables" for the man they once treated as an outcast such a very little while ago. It would be unfair to twit Mr. Bradlaugh with this sudden conversion, for he has never professed to be a Socialist; but it may have something to do with the discovery of respectability that an "Iconoclast" is not necessarily a Socialist, who is the true dangerous person.

Our comrades Cores and Reynolds are in prison for committing obstruction according to Nupkins. It ought to be quite obvious to those who, though not Socialists, are prepared to defend freedom of speech in England, that this is mere persecution for opinion. The "running in" of a Salvationist at the same time is a blind, and nothing more; the fact that the police witness at our comrades' trial was allowed unchecked to spin a long yarn as to what they said on the Church Plain, shows clearly enough that "obstruction" is a bare-faced excuse for attacking opinion. In my hearing at an obstruction case (at Marylebone I think) a London magistrate stopped a police witness who was running on in this way, and told him that the defendant was accused not of seditious speech, but of obstruction, and that what he said had nothing to do with the matter. W. M.

The Trades Union Congress has been opened, and is now in full blast. One of the great annual features is always the President's opening speech; a carefully prepared summary of the situation from a Trades Union viewpoint. This year though, Mr. Shaftoe is, so far as eloquence goes, by no means up to the level of his immediate predecessors. He is obviously abreast of the times. He and those who have spoken up to the present show plainly that our work is bearing fruit; almost all leading trade-unionists have got as far as the "labour electoral" kind of business; "they now cry aloud for a labour party," said Mr. Shaftoe. If they only get out of this stage as quickly as they have got into it, the "rev" is not far off.

The *Glasgow Herald*, of the 29th, reports a case heard at the Kilmarnock Sheriff Court the day before, in which a colliery manager was tried for a contravention of the Coal Mines Regulation Act. Through sheer neglect on his part a collier had been killed. Fined £5 or 21 days. On the same day, in the Glasgow Sheriff Court, a young woman was sentenced to 6 months' with hard labour, without option of fine, for resisting arrest when drunk and assaulting the police. Contrast the two cases, and the relative value assigned to a workman's life and the comfort of a moral-miracle, and you have the spirit of law'n-order well illustrated. S.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL AND THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

(Concluded from p. 274.)

G. J. HOLYOAKE, in his address declaring the Exhibition formally open, said, "The dignity of Labour" is the cant phrase of well-meaning but blind morality, used to reconcile workmen to unrequited industry. The workman is to have the "dignity," and capital the profit. Co-operators hold that there is no dignity in labour until labour is endowed with the right of profit.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the Festival, says Mr. Holyoake's temperate and moderate claim was not the least of his services to the cause. "It would have been impossible to say less, and to Englishmen, with their rooted suspicion of panaceas, it would have been in the highest degree imprudent to say more." The *Standard* has a different opinion of the moderate claim: "We cannot allow them to overrate the character of their achievements. There was a good deal of magniloquent talk about the 'emancipation of labour' which, though perhaps excusable under the circumstances, might with advantage have been left unsaid. The emancipation of labour—whatever that curious phrase exactly signifies—is in no sense secured by Co-operation. We are not aware that Labour in England is enslaved; but even if it is, Co-operation has not effected its liberation. What is more, all the Co-operation would fail in the attempt."

The *Standard* really should keep to history; it is off balance in the prophetic business. That Co-operation has done little yet to the emancipation of labour is true enough, as could be learned from the details given by the chairman of the evening demonstration (E. O. Greening). After figures of the whole of the Co-operative movement, he said, "Still, with all this success, their movement had hardly yet become more than a mere shopkeeping movement. They had only taken the first step towards the emancipation of the workers. In production they had invested, inclusive of loans amounting to £207,718, less than one million sterling, namely, £953,641, and this amount included all the workshops in the movement, whether they shared profits with the workers or not. With regard to the share profits of the workers, there were only forty-two profit-sharing societies, and the number of their members was but 7,089. The business they did amounted to £345,597, or about a third of a million, while the profits amounted to £16,326, or 15 per cent. of the capital employed. This meant that they had up to the present only shown the possibility of emancipating the working population, but as yet were only on the threshold of the question."

These are the words of one of the firmest, most loyal, and oldest Co-operators, speaking on an occasion of which he had every reason to be proud, it being his idea and bringing about, and trying to make out the best possible case for Co-operation. If this is the best that can be done in a half century, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Standard* are right; the emancipation of labour will never come by such co-operation. Less than one million invested in productive Co-operation, against all the hundreds of millions directed by private capitalists; only £113,493 of capital over which the workers have any direct control for their own benefit, against all the hundreds of millions which they have made and allowed to be monopolised to their own hurt. It seems hardly possible that the millions of labourers should have allowed themselves to be gulled and robbed into such a state, and it is absolutely certain that such will not always continue.

It is something more than pitiful, it is maddening, to think that eighty-eight years from Robert Owen's start at New Lanark, 7,089 should be the full tale of self-employing associated labourers; it is almost enough to cause some impatience at the progress (?) of Co-operation, and to make one accept even the *Standard's* prophet. That almost fifty years after the Toad Lane venture it should be possible for Judge Hughes to point out to the Bury people that £50,000 should be lying in the local banks and not a penny invested in productive work, should surely shame some loud-talking Co-operators. That fifty years from Ralahine there should be a population of five million men, women, and children Co-operators, of whom less than 1 per cent. are fed on Co-operative grown farm produce, is warrant to challenge W. R. Cremer's suggestion that the English Co-operators have all the common-sense.

These things justify at least one line in the Co-operative Ode by the Jubilee poet, "We come to-day in this our solemn mirth." Solemnness more than mirth is the feeling when one thinks of the slaves who make the matches of which Co-operative societies use some millions, helping to dividends of 20, 30, or 40 per cent. such as Bryant and May have paid. When Co-operative productive exhibitions contain exhibits of the hundred and one articles of daily use, which to-day are produced at the cost of blood, and sweat, and bitter tears, then will be the time to talk of "unqualified success," "but, ah, not wholly yet."

Until much more is done in the way of production; while it shall be possible for such a letter to be written as appeared in the organ of the Co-operators 25th inst., that 7s. per week is considered enough for a worker over eighteen years of age in a store where the dividend is 3s. in the £—to purchasers—Socialists are justified in suggesting that Co-operation to-day "is a mere scheme or policy of self-aggrandisement, due to two of its main institutions—interest and dividends"; and the writer in the *Co-operative News*, who criticises the Socialist Co-operative Federation, could easily be less hypercritical and more historically accurate than he is when charging the Socialists with borrowing from Co-operators, and attempting something "not intelligible" in "holding capital in common."

The writer of the particular article in question adopts such a supertone of patronage and tolerance, that one is rather doubtful which to treat him—whether to laugh at him for letting Socialists do as they damn please, or to pity him for his short memory. "Clear your eyes of cant" is good though old-fashioned advice, and worth recalling now. One of the very commonest bits of cant which comes out in dealing with the Co-operative movement is that about "British common-sense," or "practical sense," or "sound business capacity without any sentiment," and so, and so. Mr. Cremer in his speech at the Festival had to trot it out, to the depreciation of the French, whom he charged with want of understanding of Co-operative production—a statement which was almost point blank contradicted by the next speaker. Our writer, having complimented Socialists on turning aside from "barren disquisitions," holds that "it is surely a tribute to the practical sense and caution of Britons that Socialists in this country should be borrowing the methods of the Co-operative movement." By using the word "Britons" in one place and "Socialists" in the other the writer has possibly confused himself into the belief that he means something, but it is rather difficult to find what point there is in the sentence if the same word is used in both places; for the Socialists in question are Britons, and, strange as it may seem to the writer, there are Britons who are Socialists; wherewith the sentence comes to a statement that Britons pay a tribute to Britons' practical sense and caution.

The first item of the Socialist Co-operative programme of which much is made is the objection to pay interest. This is a large and debatable question; if Socialists can get capital on such terms they will be very fortunate and shall be congratulated on their good fortune. Our critic is very kind to us, but he is surely a little at fault in laying so much stress on the point by suggesting that Socialists have proposed anything very unheard of before. Large sums have been advanced before now without any stipulations as to interest, and probably will be again.

The next point dwelt upon is that all goods are to be "sold as near cost as possible," as though that was something quite Socialist, you know, instead of being one of the very first principles of Co-operation. "Co-operation is a scheme for obtaining honest commodities at wholesale prices, and eventually at the cost of production" (Dr. Watts, quoted in 'Manual for Co-operators, p. 127'). "They [the Co-operators] had introduced a system which made honesty in trade a necessity: a Co-operator who purchased for himself, who distributed for himself, who consumed for himself" (Lloyd Jones, Newcastle Congress, 1873) would surely be getting things pretty near cost price. These are two extracts taken haphazard, lying close to hand, which surely prove the Socialist in agreement with the Co-operator. Scores of other quotations to same purport could be given. The point of the objection made seems to be that "membership" gives no benefits whatever, and that therefore the society will have to be kept alive by the fire of enthusiasm only. The objection comes with a very bad grace from one of a movement which for many years depended on the same life-giving flame; which even now is not quite independent of it.

The same bad grace marks the objection that Socialists are over-sanguine in their ideas on production. All reformers are over-sanguine in the minds of those who prefer the ordinary rut; but surely a teacher of Co-operators can find something better to do than to re-preach and re-echo the croakers of whom there are always too many among the unthinking, without thinking men taking up the croak.

It is possible that the details as to management may have to be varied; that there is something not exactly the best as to voting; but seeing; the miles of discussion on voting and representation on the Wholesale Board, etc., etc., which the files of the *Co-operative News* present, it seems our critic protests just a bit too strongly that Socialists show no desire to profit by Co-operators' experience.

The whole gist of the objections and the differences are explained when the critic says "the average citizen cannot breathe the rarefied air of the mountains of sentiment." The bulk of the co-operative leaders have, like our critic, talked down a trifle too much to the commonplace and sordid, which was not what Robert Owen and his school did, which was not what Maurice, and Kingsley, and Ludlow did.

The money-grubbing Co-operators of to-day have the position they have, control the power they do, because in the early life of the movement the fire of enthusiasm moved men over dangers and trials where an extra penny of "divi" would have failed.

Robert Owen plus John Ruskin may yet prove factors of weight in the life of the workers of this land; and perhaps it may be permitted to hope "that our Co-operative friends will be charitably disposed to the shortcomings of Socialists, seeing they claim to have hopes of furthering the elevation and happiness of the masses of the people." Extreme optimism may be bad, but extreme pessimism is much more dangerous; this extreme pessimism has for years hampered the advance of Co-operative production, Co-operative distribution receiving all the attention. It is well to be wise in time; there is a spirit abroad to-day which hints that unless production is more attended to there will be something in the form of distribution in no way Co-operative.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?"

ANACHARSIS.

Under the present system the labor of women and children competes triumphs in the competition with the labor of men. The man must work for wages paid to the woman and the child, or join the grand army of tramps moving up and down the land.—Paterson *Labor Standard*.

## MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

## IV.

I don't like clergymen. My antipathy towards them does not spring from any sort of bigotry. It is true clergymen are not as a rule Socialists, but neither are Orangemen or Primrose League dames, yet I have rather kindly sentiments towards both. I never did like clergymen. When a child I always associated them with black beetles, and that peculiar fancy sticks to me still.

In my schoolboy days nothing gave me greater joy than to see a clergyman slip on a piece of orange peel, and spread himself frantically upon the pavement—especially on a wet day—while his hat darted down the street in search of a cart-wheel or a river. I believe I was even guilty of purposely dropping orange peel upon the pavement so as to bring about this occurrence. Sometimes even yet I have difficulty in repressing a disposition to do so when I see one of them waddling up the street.

Clergymen somehow don't appear to belong to the same order of beings as other men. They seem to be of a kind of special sex of their own,—a sort of compromise between very old women and very young men. I speak of average or typical clergymen; of course there are exceptions. I know some rattling good fellows, some of them good Socialists too, who have the misfortune to be clergymen. They are oases in the clerical wilderness, and I bless them!

Here are a few zoological and sociological observations regarding clergymen, which I beg leave to set down without malice. I intend them to form a kind of appendix in the reader's mind to the study of scientific Socialism.

Clergymen I find are publicly respected, but secretly despised by most people. They live long and have usually large families. They generally reside in the best quarter of the town, and prefer houses with a stout iron fence in front, and a high wall with broken glass on the top round their back gardens. They don't allow children to play on their door-steps, and generally keep a big black dog in their halls to frighten beggars away from their doors. They open their doors much sooner to a man with a silk hat than to a man in moleskin trousers. They generally invest their savings in concerns that pay high dividends. When they die they seldom leave any bequests to charitable or religious institutions.

If you take a sail in summer to any pleasant holiday resort, you seldom fail to find several clergymen on board the steamer, who have invariably discovered and monopolised the snuggest corners on deck to themselves. At the landing-stage you are sure to observe among the crowd of young ladies who are waiting to greet their friends on arrival, at least one gentleman—a clergyman.

In Wales and in the Highlands of Scotland, clergymen are always the first summer arrivals at the hotels—they are the harbingers of the tourist season. When the last clergyman departs, winter is surely at hand. In France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Norway, and indeed in every quarter of the globe where an atom of historic or picturesque scenery is to be found, the inevitable flat-sphered hats and black coats of these saviours of souls may always be observed undulating to and fro.

Clergymen are seldom to be seen out of doors in dirty weather. In winter, when most other varieties of men—including even the bloated landlord and capitalist—are affecting an interest in some business or other in the city, clergymen are generally snugly seated toasting their sanctified toes at their parlour fires. If they do venture out into the pitiless storm, it is to pay a visit to some interesting and well-to-do young lady friends who can discourse Mendelssohn's "songs without words" on the pianoforte, discuss the newest society novel, and retail the latest fashionable gossip.

It has been observed as a curious, but by no means inexplicable circumstance, that clergymen almost invariably marry the richest—even if they happen to be the ugliest—young, or for that matter, old, lady members of their flocks. We sometimes hear of a lord marrying a ballet-girl, a judge marrying a cook, a Royal Academician marrying a milk-maid, and similar freaks of nature; but clergymen have not trained themselves to mortify the desires of the flesh to such poor advantage. I have only known of two recent exceptions to this rule, one who married a mill girl, and another who married the fat widow of a village butcher. The former, however, turned infidel; and the latter, poor fellow, took to drink and died mad.

I have been told by the editor of a newspaper, that whenever he wishes a severe and unmerciful criticism upon the public utterance or behaviour of any local clergyman, he always employs the clergyman's nearest clerical neighbour to write the article.

Clergymen are not so bigoted in their belief in divine providence as many good people suppose. Once an actor had to take the part of a clergyman in a play. In the middle of a prayer which he had to make the theatre took fire; but with the view of allaying the panic amongst the audience he continued his prayer and was consumed in the flames. In real life when a church takes fire, clergymen stop their prayers and are outside the building before you could say Amen. Clergymen are very seldom roasted alive in this world—at least in Christian countries.

Clergymen have seldom scorched their fingers by holding the torch-light of freedom against the storm. Nor do they prominently figure in history as pioneers of progress. They pay their devoirs to popular ideas as they do to women—they prefer the dowagerly and rich to the beautiful and poor.

I have stated that it is not because clergymen are not Socialists that I am disaffected towards them. No, indeed! In fact, frankly speak-

ing, I don't want clergymen to become Socialists—at least to any great extent. They serve the cause admirably as enemies—they would spoil it as friends. Wherever two or three clergymen are gathered together, there, surely, are hypocrisy and humbug in the midst of them. The blacker the hosts of the enemy become with clerical coats, the nearer and the easier will our victory be.

May clergymen always have health and strength, and especially good lung power to denounce us vigorously! What they denounce lives, and flourishes; what they praise sickens and dies. That is the reason why I am strongly in favour of a State Church so long as the present system lasts. Their salaries must be maintained, else they will fall away like leaves in autumn. We cannot afford to lose them yet; if necessary we must increase their salaries to keep them at their posts, even if we have to reduce the number and salaries of our own paid agitators. We must consider after all what is best for the Cause.

Clergymen are admirable for debating with; they invariably get a bad defeat. Whenever I meet a clergyman in a railway carriage I use every stratagem to inveigle him into a discussion—especially if the compartment is full. This is a most excellent method of propaganda. It is surprising the converts one gains. Somehow, everybody—including even the clergyman's wife and eldest daughter—takes sides with you against him. If he appeals to a listener for confirmation of any statement, the listener professes not to have been paying the least attention to what he was saying and declines to venture an opinion. If a child begins to squall while he is speaking, no one attempts to hush it; and some one is sure to remark that the train is going dreadfully slow and is much behind time, just as he is proceeding to illustrate the critical point of his argument.

Yes, I say, heaven preserve the clergy! both the fat ones and the lean ones! Providence has sprinkled them plenteously upon our path, and we must avail ourselves devoutly of them. I mean to exemplify this teaching in my next.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

9	Sun.	1803. Trial of John Doran for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Dresden. 1864. Louis Lingg born. 1883. Swiss Workmen's Congress. 1887. Mitchelstown massacre.
10	Mon.	1797. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin died. 1803. Trial of Thomas Donnelly and three others for high treason. 1883. Trades Union Congress opened at Nottingham.
11	Tues.	1752. New Style Calendar introduced in Britain. 1823. D. Ricardo died. 1879. Communist rising in Colombia, South America. 1884. Trades Union Congress opened at Aberdeen.
12	Wed.	1793. Rev. T. F. Palmer tried for seditious practices. 1820. Twenty-two reformers tried for high treason, York. 1860. William Walker shot. 1886. Monument to Arnaud unveiled in Paris.
13	Thur.	1806. C. J. Fox died.
14	Fri.	1839. Dissolution of Chartist National Convention. 1843. Revolutionary movement in Greece.
15	Sat.	1613. Sir T. Overbury poisoned in the Tower. 1856. Address presented on Primrose Hill by Chartists to John Frost on his return from exile. 1865. Seizure of the <i>Irish People</i> . 1866. John Blake Dillon died.

*Death of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.*—Mary Wollstonecraft was born at Hoxton, of Irish parentage, in 1759. Her father ruined himself and his family by habits of intemperance, and from 1760 to 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft supported herself and helped her sisters by teaching and literary work. During this period she wrote her well-known "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," the main object of which was to show that "if woman be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge." In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft went to Paris, where she witnessed many of the scenes which she afterwards described in her "View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution." At Paris she formed a connection with Captain Finlay, an American who was there engaged in commerce; but after the birth of a daughter in 1794, she was deserted by Finlay and returned to London. Here, in 1797, she married William Godwin, the author of "Political Justice"; but after a brief spell of happiness she died in the same year at the birth of a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Shelley. Mary Wollstonecraft was a woman of undoubted genius, and filled with an intense and passionate desire to diminish the sufferings of the poor and oppressed. Her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," which drew on her a storm of abuse and calumny, is remarkable for its free and outspoken language and unsparing denunciation of social shams and hypocrisies.—H. S. S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

*Oliver Bond*—Born in Ulster about 1762; died in Dublin, Sept. 6, 1798. In business as a woollen draper, his energy and ability made him, while yet a very young man, one of the most successful and respected merchants in Dublin. When he joined the United Irishmen he flung the same energy and ability into their work and became one of their most prominent leaders and organisers. March 1, 1792, with the Hon. Simon Butler, he was imprisoned and fined £500 for reflections on the House of Lords. When liberated they were presented with congratulatory addresses. In 1797 he was exceedingly active in administering the oath and enrolling and arming men. The meetings of the Leinster Directory were usually held at his house (now 9 Lower Bridge Street). Here on Feb. 19, 1798, was passed the famous resolution, "We will pay no attention to any measure which the Parliament of this kingdom may adopt, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the entire and complete regeneration of our country can satisfy us." Through the treachery of Reynolds, Bond's house was surrounded on March 12, 1798, and fourteen members of the Directory seized. Bond was tried and convicted on July 24. It was mainly to save the life of one they loved so much that T. A. Emmet and the other State prisoners entered into their well-known compact with Government; but Bond only survived the commutation of his sentence five weeks, and then died suddenly in prison of apoplexy.—S.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN READ 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, 15 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, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

E. G. and G. P.—Unsuitable. Calendar.—Note on Ricardo held over.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 29.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Church Reformer Christian Socialist Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Telegraph Service Gazette Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) En Avant Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operario Gazetta Operaia Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—Il Democratico Messina—Il Riscatto Turin—Il Muratore
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Freiheit Der Socialist Truthseeker Volkzeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labor Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Chicago—Labor Enquirer	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune Austria Wien—Gleichheit Roumania Jassy—Municipal Denmark Social-Demokraten Sweden Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmö—Arbetet	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	

IS HALF A LOAF BETTER THAN NO BREAD?

THE idea of this question is a wide one. Why should we not go on to say that a halfpenny bun is better than no loaf? Why not argue that a crumb is better than nothing at all? In this way we may include among our gains the small results forced from parliament. We may be permitted to wonder, however, that the advanced reformer should plume himself as he does, on the measure which the alliance of the Tories has helped him to pass. It is so very short a time since the present Right Hon. Leader of the House of Commons brought up these same allies to defend even by force the petty bit of bigotry which the reformer thinks that he has now got rid of. The shortness of the time shows all the more strikingly, that they would be as ready as the other party to abolish the Church itself at a pinch. It can scarcely be that men who change sides so easily can be other than mercenary troops, who abandon this small outwork in the hope of having their former opponent's help to defend their real citadel, the fortress of legality and privilege. "Anyone, either with or without religion," will now be admitted among these mercenaries, if he be willing to "affirm or to swear his allegiance" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1888). What is this allegiance, to which the troops who muster at St. Stephen's Palace are to hold fast? It is a symbol of a belief in our now existing society, presided over as it is by a formal Defender of the Faith. This it is which drives our London police to bludgeon those who dissent from the orthodox creed, or the soldiers and emergency-men in Ireland to bring their battering-rams to bear on the homes and their bayonets on the bodies of our Irish fellow sufferers. The same excuse is made that has always been made by the persecutor: "You may hold what belief you like, so long as you do not preach it; if you wish to preach it, you must get the law altered." That is to say, you must get the law altered, without proposing to have it altered. There is no true liberty in such a state of things, and the oath has been commuted, not abolished. To affirm or to swear allegiance is tying one's mind and hands in the chains of bigotry, whether the idol before which we bow down be named Orthodoxy or Law.

There is a second case of commutation, with regard to which the advanced reformer himself has lately expressed his disappointment at a certain "Treasury Minute on Perpetual Pensions," in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Aug. 17, 1888. He allows the accuracy of the Minute where it says that to commute perpetual pensions at twenty-seven years' purchase would make a saving to the nation of about 19 per cent., but protests against twenty-seven years' purchase as too high; and he maintains that the "£12,000 of remaining pensions, etc.,

to individuals," which the Treasury proposes to commute, should be more like £60,000. If we suppose, however, that the twenty-seven years' scale were lowered, so that the percentage of reduction rose as high as 25 per cent., the saving effected even on the £60,000 would only be £15,000 a-year.

The article goes on to quote certain scandalous bits of history about the great Marlborough, Captain-General of the Forces of Queen Anne. These show that he "applied to his own use" over half a million of money, which he had got out of the army-chest, or squeezed out of the soldiers' rations. The hard name of "embezzlement" is applied to the great man's acts. But what of that? He was made Earl and Duke, and his embezzlement was condoned, was in short made legal. His heirs have the law neither more nor less in their favour than those others, who have managed and go on managing one way or another to filch away the land and the daily rations of the great army of workers. Take a glaring example in our railways. The reformer's article above quoted is followed by an American's "Grumble at English Railroads." The foreigner there says that for "less than a halfpenny a mile he is provided with first-class accommodation" in his daily transit to New York from a village some 20 miles therefrom. He goes on to wonder that any one with decent habits can travel in English local trains. As to express trains for long journeys he says, "I have a comfortable separate chair, good ventilation, and easy springs, . . . the use of a wash-room, nice closets or bath, . . . a good meal in the buffet-car or on my own seat; the whole road is smoother, and better laid than most English roads; all this with say the price of parliamentary trains, plus eight or ten shillings a-day for extras." Leaving out the extras, we may well ask how is it that this first-class comfort costs in England not a halfpenny nor the parliamentary penny a mile, but twopence or threepence? It can scarcely be the cost of the labour or materials, of which the first is cheaper here, if the picture drawn by our emigration agents of the paradise of the workman is to be trusted. It is not that; it is the monstrous laws made by the Parliament of monopolists in their own favour. By the side of these, Marlborough's mal-practices seem mere pettifoggery. But if the scandal of Queen Anne's time would, as the advanced reformer seems to think, justify us in abolishing the resulting pension, it seems to me that we should be equally justified in repudiating a very large portion of the whole railway debt. As a Socialist I do not propose this, feeling that under the present system every such change would be rapidly turned wholly to the advantage of the tyrant monopolist. I do not expect even the most advanced reformers to make the attempt, seeing the formidable laws behind which the various interests represented in Parliament lie entrenched. I can only hope that it is mere despair of getting the real loaf from Parliament that makes them seem contented with so small a crumb as the above saving of £15,000 a-year, and that despair may turn them to see that the solution must come from without, not from within Parliament.

C. J. F.

SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS.

THE laudable system of doing business in the Government departments shows to great advantage in the way they let out contracts for the goods required in the Post Office, for instance. In the Parcel Post department, a large number of baskets, of special construction, are used to pack the small parcels in. Well, a certain namesake of the Immortal Joe, one J. Chamberlain, a retailer of ironmongery and brushes at Newington Causeway, having some mysterious influence among the Government officials, manages to get contracts for various things (although he himself is only a shopkeeper) of which he has no technical knowledge, and then he hunts up the manufacturers of the articles required and sublets the contracts to them. Among other things, he secured the first contract for the Parcel Post hampers, and sublet it to various basket-making firms, on which they both got a handsome profit, the workmen only getting the regular trade union price for doing the necessary part of the business. The second contract was tendered for by the firms who had previously made them, but J. C. managed to get the biggest share of the contract, and he again sublet it for a rather low figure. This year another contract is out, and some of the firms feeling rather certain of being able to secure a share of it, made considerable preparation for it, and tendered for it at a very low figure, but the omnipotent J. C. managed to get the whole of the contract, much to the disappointment and loss of the firms before mentioned. Now this man has been practising the very worst form of sweating on this contract, he letting anybody make them who will do so at his price, which is 10s. 6d. for No. 3 hampers, the trade union wage for which is 8s. and material costs 5s., making 13s.; so that in order to meet his price one but very bad "scabs" would work on them. No. 1 baskets he pays 15s. for, the trade union wage of which is 13s.; stuff costs 7s. 6d., so that is 20s. 6d. This unscrupulous "employer" is allowed to take advantage of the slackness of work in our trade to sweat the scabs severely. Instead of the contracts being let to men in the trade, he by his influence in official circles is able to accumulate a fortune, without doing anything useful to the community, he being now about to retire on the profits of the sweating system.

I put this forward as a sample of the jobbery and corruption of Governments, for this man does not only contract for Tory Governments, but Liberal ones also, and for other things and departments besides the P. O.

I have put down the lowest actual cost of stuff and wages, without any other expenses; and I think, as he does this sort of thing in other crafts besides ours, trades unionists ought to interest themselves in the matter and look up the iniquities of the contract system, and put an end to the system of wage-slavery and profit-mongering which makes such things possible.

THOS. CANTWELL.

We are constantly reminded of the "high wages" paid to American workmen. High wages! What an insult! Are they paid one-fourth the wages they earn? And do they receive high wages? Answer, ye struggling toilers!—*Paterson Labour Standard*.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AMERICA is the home of capitalism *par excellence*. Even more so than England. Smart, cunning, unscrupulous, untiring, alert as American capitalists are, they are always on the look out for new departures for development and progress in the capitalistic sense. Improvements which it takes other countries ten or twenty years to introduce, are almost forgotten in America in a year or two. Given these characteristics it was inevitable that America was bound to arrive before every other nation at a crisis, at the verge of an economical revolution.

To-day the economic system of the United States is undergoing a tremendous change, a revolution whose end no one either can foretell or foresee. Economically the United States has been based in the past on the principles advocated by orthodox political economists. Orthodox political economists taught that it is best for a nation to put no legal or any other restrictions in the way of producing and distributing commodities necessary to maintain life, that the greater the competition is between the producers, as well as between the distributors, the better it is for the consumers, because only through unlimited competition the greatest possible cheapness could be realised. The result of this mode of procedure in matters economical has been—Prosperity, over-production, crisis, and stagnation. These four periods changed in constant rotation. In the early time of capitalism a crisis was only arrived at about every 25 years, but of late this space of time has been considerably shortened, so much so that to the eye of a person uninitiated in the mysteries of the capitalistic world, there appears to be at present but one long period of stagnation, of production, of dullness of trade.

The smart, cunning, plotting, and ever-calculating American capitalists have arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary for them to change their economic policy, or the workers, the class of people who suffer most from the terribly uncertain state of affairs now existing in the United States, might take it in their heads themselves to bring about a change, much to the disadvantage of their rulers and masters. One glance at the condition of either agriculture or industry will be sufficient to show the absolute necessity for a radical alteration of the economical basis of the United States.

*Agriculture.*—Years ago, at a time when international competition was not as yet developed to such an extent as at present, and the government of the United States had still unlimited tracts of virgin soil at their disposal, it was an easy task for the American farmer to have his products exported. But to-day the very same farmer is hardly able to make a living. Indian and Russian grain are his strong competitors, and the folly of unreasonably and madly exploiting the soil without consideration for the future, also shows disastrous results, and it is no exaggeration to maintain that about three-fourths of the farmers of the United States are so heavily mortgaged as to compel them to work for a money-lord instead of themselves. Nearly all the land worth having has been disposed of by the government, and new comers from foreign shores, trusting to be able to found a snug homestead, must content themselves to do job work on old-established farms. The railroad charges for grain from the place of production to the seaports are, to say the least of it, exorbitant beyond reason, and altogether the present position of agriculture could hardly be a more gloomy one.

*Industry.*—(1) There are momentarily in the United States, like everywhere else, more goods in the market than can be consumed by the buying power of the people. All the warehouses are filled from top to bottom, and a good many establishments have to cease producing because of "slackness of orders." (2) The importation of goods during the past financial year has exceeded the export by about 100 million dollars, this fact proving clearly that the exchange of commodities between the United States and foreign countries is in an unhealthy condition. (3) The army of tramps and unemployed workmen is constantly increasing. Authorities who on this point may well be trusted, agree that there are over 100,000 tramps and nearly one million unemployed in the country. The figures are not the "wild inventions of a red-hot revolutionist," but the estimates of capitalistic sheets, and a man as Conservative as Sam Gompers, President of the American Federation of Trades. (4) Capital cannot find easy employment.

It must be perfectly clear to everybody that a nation where such circumstances as just described do exist, is bound to bring about a sweeping change, is forced one way or another to remedy to a considerable extent these evils. We the revolutionists have a remedy, a good and sound remedy which might establish society on a correct and truly humanitarian basis—The abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution. But, very naturally, our capitalistic antagonists do not look with favourable eyes on our scheme, as under the system proposed by us their occupation and opportunity to fatten themselves on other people's labour would be gone. However, the American bourgeois are not quite as lethargic as for instance their English cousins, and so they very much intend, to judge from all appearances, to take the wind out of our sails. And right here, I believe, there is danger ahead! For if American capitalists do succeed with their nefarious plots, it would be but too natural that capitalists of other countries should imitate the given example. But it would be foolish on our part to pursue an ostrich policy, to refuse to recognise the coming danger, and to avoid discussing the necessary steps to be taken to prevent the success of the capitalistic conspiracy for fear "our enemies might learn something." In No. 133 of the *Commonweal*, comrade E. Belfort Bax has opened the discussion of one part of this conspiracy by asking the question: "What influence will the opening up of Africa to capitalism have on the Social Revolution?" and every true revolutionist must be thankful to him for having taken the initiative. It is no argument to say, "Ah! we might give a tip to our antagonists; because the capitalists—anyhow, they do over here—watch the development of events quite as closely as we the revolutionists are in the habit of doing.

The tactics the American capitalists are pursuing at the present moment to prevent a Social Revolution are of a two-fold nature:—(1) By building a Chinese wall round the United States through levying high prohibitive duties on all foreign manufactured goods, and through restricting immigration to a minimum; and (2) by concentrating the means of production and distribution in a very few hands, that is by the formation of Trusts.

We have already a high protective tariff, and all the twaddle about the introduction of free trade is hardly worth the paper it is written on, and it is nothing more nor less than an electioneering dodge on the part of the Republicans to discredit the Democrats. Nobody of any importance, with the exception, perhaps, of Henry George, is seriously thinking of even only advocating free trade. But what about Grover Cleveland's celebrated so-called free-trade message? one or the other reader of the *Commonweal*

may ask. Well, through the levying of exorbitant duties on foreign goods a tremendous amount of money—some say 400 million dollars—has accumulated in Washington, an amount of money nobody, strange to say, knows at the present moment what to do with; and in order to reduce at least temporarily this accumulation of the surplus, Cleveland and the Democrats propose to reduce the duty on certain raw materials; but a reaction against this policy is sure to follow. Blaine, James G. Blaine, the prince and champion of boodlers and in demagogic eloquence the Gladstone of America, has just returned from Europe, and he is telling the people over here—naturally only in the interest of the capitalistic gang—wonderful stories about the pauper labour of England, pauperised through free trade only; and I for my part am inclined to believe that the present agitation will eventually lead us to still higher details. A high protective, a prohibitive tariff, has no other object than the isolation of America as regards the exchange of commodities. The purpose of a restriction of immigration is of exactly the same nature. Of late we have had a committee specially appointed ostensibly to investigate the consequences and the character of pauper immigration. A great deal of noise has been made in all papers about this committee and the "startling discoveries" made. But of course no reasonable human being ever expected that American capitalists, or their representatives the members of Congress, could have the slightest sympathy with the victims of Italian or, for the matter of that, of contractors of any other labour. Contractor here stands for the middleman who furnishes cheap workers to enterprising capitalists. This investigating committee was inaugurated for no other reason than to produce in the minds of the American voter so strong a prejudice against the European workman, as to enable Congress to pass a law restricting immigration. The following paragraph, which appeared in the *New York Herald* of August 17th, will clearly prove that my interpretation of the capitalistic aim as regards immigration is correct:—

"The following letter, which has been addressed to Congressman Oates, of the Committee on Immigration, by a distinguished Southerner, one of the most conspicuous business men in the country, shows with what enthusiastic approval the *Herald's* crusade against imported pauper labour is regarded:

'Savannah, Ga., August 14th, 1888.

'To Congressman W. C. Oates:

'MY DEAR COLONEL,—For a long time I have been wanting to send you my warmest congratulations on your being on the Committee on Immigration. As president of a railroad for years I have seen how the unemployed have been increasing everywhere, and have regretted to see the fair opportunities of this country, which our own descendants will want, being wasted and thrown away on the paupers of foreign nations. And for the South I have always opposed foreign immigration. We want farmers from the Northwest, but no foreigners.

'I hope your committee will recommend radical legislation and you will find the whole country with you. As to how to make it effective you will be far better able to judge than myself. The only idea that has occurred to me is to put a heavy tax (500 dols., may be) on every arrival, and even if it were collected from our own citizens who go abroad for pleasure or profit, it would not be without reason or good result. It is worth more than twice that to be born in this country, and it ought to be worth half price to come to it; and people who have grown so rich among us that they can afford foreign travel might pay that much tax for the privilege. But the great practical difficulty about heading off immigration or anything else will be to keep undesired immigrants from getting in through Canada or through Mexico. However, I hope your committee will have some measures ready for this winter. You need not trouble to reply; I know how busy you must be. Yours truly."

And listen to what Mr. T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour and paid agent of Jay Gould to sell out the workers, has to say on the point in the *North American Review*:—

"To my mind the better plan would be to oblige every person who contemplates emigrating to this country to file a declaration of such intention with the American consul next to his place of residence at least three years before date of emigration. Make it the duty of the representative of the United States Government abroad to ascertain what the character of the applicant is, what his qualifications for citizenship are, and what his intentions are. Allow only those who come bearing a certificate from the United States consul to land."

This is even too strong a dose for the committee of investigation, who say they do not quite approve this proposition.

The American party of Jingoism in the United States, as yet small in numbers but already of great influence, has been in Convention some days ago in Washington, Detroit, and they inserted in their platform the following planks:—Restriction (regulation) of immigration; extension of time required for naturalisation to fourteen years (at present five years); and American land for American settlers. This is national enough if you like.

In No. 134 of the *Commonweal*, comrade Wm. Morris sums up the situation of immigration in America correctly by saying: "But at any rate you transporters of the British and Irish, you had better look out, for clearly this door is going to be shut against your troublesome people soon."

With the second part of the American capitalistic conspiracy, "The concentration of the means of production and distribution in a few hands, and the freezing out of competition," I intend to deal in a second letter sub-headed "Trusts."

Newark, N.J., August 21, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE DEVIL AS A LANDLORD.—A correspondent at Helsingfors wrote to the *Daily News* some time ago: "The following singular case is troubling the heads of the Finnish lawyers at present: A man died a week or two ago in Pielsjärvi, in the interior of the country, who was said to have led a bad and ungodly life. He had always been known to be well off, but nobody knew how he had gained his possessions. There were many strange stories afloat, but the one which was more credited than all the rest was to the effect that Huolarinen, as was his name, had, in his early days, been on an intimate footing with "Wihtahausu" (the "evil one"), with whom he had had several transactions of a commercial character. When Huolarinen's will was opened it was found that he had bequeathed all his landed property to the Devil. The family naturally protest against the will, and the question now arises how this ticklish matter is to be settled. Everybody seems anxious not to offend any of the parties concerned. There can be no doubt that the Devil is thus a landowner, by legal right, in Finland." On this the *Star* commented: "The Father of Evil has found his level at last. . . . It is said that the will is likely to be disputed. It will be a pity if it should be upset, for the world will then lose a most interesting opportunity of seeing whether the Devil himself can be a worse landlord than ——— Irish tenants please finish the sentence." Whereto we add that there are English ones to be heard from also.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The nut and bolt strike at Darlaston still continues, and is likely to till Christmas. The bosses are resolved to starve the men out.

Six hundred spinners at the Caldron Jute Works, Dundee, struck on Tuesday, 4th, for an advance of 10 per cent.

About 400 miners remain out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone. There seems to be no immediate prospect of a settlement. The majority of the men on strike have no other means of livelihood than what is obtained by systematic begging throughout the district.

**COLLIERY DISPUTE.**—The workmen of the London and South Wales Risca Colliery have struck against the price proposed to be paid for the cutting of a lower black vein seam struck there. The *Labour Tribune* says the men will receive support should the dispute continue unsettled.

**SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.**—A meeting of Holmes miners was held on Tuesday, Aug. 28th, to consider the practical working of the recent agreement, the employers complaining that the men were filling too much unproductive material. The men complained that they were being "crowded" for nearly the whole of 20in. conceded to the men in recent dispute.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF BOILER-MAKERS.**—A dispute which affects 2,500 men prevails in the shipbuilding trade of Liverpool. The boiler-makers demand an advance of 1s. 6d. weekly on time, and 5 per cent. on piecework. The men allege that the improvement in trade warrants an advance. At a meeting of the employers on Friday 31st, it was decided not to grant the demands of the men.

**TROUBLE AT MONTROSE.**—The workers at the Chapel Flax Spinning Mills, Montrose, struck work Friday, August 31st, owing to refusal of an increase of ten per cent. The firm employ over 1,000 hands, and only the foreman and 30 workers went in Friday. The employés wish to be placed on the same footing as the spinners in Dundee, but the masters contend that the wages in Montrose are ruled by those paid in Fife and Aberdeen.

**STRIKE IN THE GAS TUBE TRADE.**—About 100 men are on strike at Messrs. Jones, Russell and Sons, Crown Tube Works, Wednesbury, against a reduction of 15 per cent. The men have already submitted to a 10 per cent. and a 12½ per cent. reduction. Mr. Juggins, Secretary of the Midland Trades' Federation, speaking on Wednesday last, said the firm treated the men worse than dogs, and he believed that the strike would lead to more strikes, and would bring all the trade to see the necessity of combination. The strikers have joined the Trades' Federation.

**THE STRIKE IN THE CHAIN TRADE.**—A well-attended meeting of chain-makers on strike was held on Friday, in the Salvation Army Barracks, Grainger's Lane, Cradley Heath, Rowley Regis. It was announced that a large number of additional chainmakers had come out on strike for payment of the 4s. list of prices. A number of the employers were paying the required prices, and if the operatives would only be united they would all succeed in getting proper payment for their work. It was resolved to continue the strike at all factories where the 4s. list is not being paid.

**AN ENCOURAGING SIGN.**—Recently at a meeting of the Hull Free Library Committee, says the *Star*, there was a proposal to hire "sandwich-men" through a contractor, who asked something under 2s. a day. It is stated that the price paid to the men themselves would have been 1s. 6d. There were, however, working men and trade unionists on the committee who manfully stood up for these unskilled fellow-workers, and insisted that the men employed should be hired direct at not less than 2s. 6d. a day each. Here is one more encouraging sign of the increasing solidarity of the whole body of workers.

**TIPS TO PORTERS.**—Mr. Laing, the chairman of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company, is said to be a persistent breaker of the rules forbidding tips, and never allows a porter to handle his luggage without rewarding him; this has repeated in the ordinary Press as though it were a great virtue; but the *Railway Review* comments, Mr. Laing would have no conscience at all if he did otherwise, seeing that his company has the services of so many porters without paying them any wages, they accepting the position and donning the uniform of the company for the sake of the tips, notwithstanding the rule forbidding them.

**WHEEL TAPPERS' WAGES.**—Few will deny, says the *Railway Review*, that the position of a carriage examiner, commonly called a "wheel tapper," is an important and responsible one, for he not only has to tap the wheels, but is supposed to detect the slightest defect with anything visible in a very short space of time. On his vigilance and care much depends, and many disastrous accidents are averted. To one in such a position it would naturally be expected a fair wage would be given, but that is not so, as very few of them can reach over 25s. per week, while in many cases their wage is less. On the London and South Western Railway they can be found with only 18s. per week, a most inadequate wage for the responsible duties performed.

**SWEATING IN BREWERIES.**—In a letter to *Reynold's*, "A Working Brewer" gives the following particulars of the conditions under which men employed in breweries are compelled to work. The usual hours are supposed to be from six in the morning till six at night, and this for six days a week, which, deducting one and a-half hours daily for meals, make a total of 63 hours a week. This, however, rarely represents the actual time the men work; they are frequently made to work (owing to pressure of business and other causes, which help to enrich their employers, but do not put one penny extra into the pockets of the men themselves) until seven, eight, and even nine o'clock at night. The orders from head-quarters are imperative. Such and such a thing must be done before leaving off to-night; and done it must be, if the men wish to keep their situations. This extra work seldom commands extra pay. Again, there is always more or less work to be done on Sunday. The weekly wage has to cover this also. The ordinary workman in a brewery earns from 12s. to 20s. per week, and is usually allowed about three pints of beer daily; and men are not infrequently seen in breweries working from 70 to 80 hours a week for the miserable sum of 13s. The draymen, again, are infinitely worse off, although their services command more pay. These poor fellows are compelled to be about, night and day, in all weathers, without regular meals or sleep, frequently being in bed only four nights a week, and then, perhaps, for a few hours only. His letter ends with the query:—"Can any one of your many readers suggest a remedy for this deplorable state of things? A strike would only ruin the men, and there is no union among them, and hundreds would be found only too willing to jump into their places."

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.**—The August report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners reports that the Dewsbury employers, except two, have advanced to a standard of 7d. per hour. Halifax also dresses up.

The Hartlepool, Middlesbro', and Stockton branches have secured an advance of 1s. 6d. per week on shipyard work.

At Sunderland also the same advance has been secured, upon the decision of a Board of Conciliation without umpire.

At Bradford things are unsettled, and at Leeds the trade is on strike.

**LANARKSHIRE MINERS.**—A circular, proposing an agitation for an advance of wages, has been sent to the local secretaries throughout Lanarkshire by the secretary of the Stirlingshire Miners' Association. The circular says that at a mass meeting held Monday, August 27th, a resolution was passed requesting the co-operation of the men of Lanarkshire in pressing for an immediate advance in wages to the extent of 10 per cent. The reasons for making such a demand are well known to all, and would amply justify a demand for more than is now asked for. From every meeting held in Lanarkshire during this week deputations should be sent to employers asking for an immediate reply on the question, and, if unfavourable, action should follow to compel concession of the demand.

**EBBW VALE STRIKE.**—It was understood on Thursday, 30th, that the great strike of Ebbw Vale miners had been brought to a close. The men having waited upon the employers after a mass meeting of colliers, and announced that they would return to work on certain conditions, an amicable arrangement was arrived at, and it was expected that the men would go in yesterday; but in the morning a meeting, attended by about 1,000 colliers on strike, was held on the summit of a mountain at Ebbw Vale, and the men saying that there had been some mistake, repudiated the action of the committee, and decided not to return to work until the Ebbw Vale Company dispense with contractors in the mine, these contractors being regarded as middlemen. Thus the strike, to the surprise of every one, must be continued. It has now lasted more than a fortnight.

**CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.**—The Special Commissioner of the *Labour Tribune*, writing from Cradley Heath, says the pay of the chainmakers is wretchedly small. "I have made the most careful enquiries, and I find that even under the 4s. list the amount that can be earned, one week with another, is totally inadequate to maintain life decently. But under the prices that are now being paid it is simply amazing how the people manage to live at all. I know of one place where a man employs about 30 apprentices. Some of them are boys, but most of them are girls, and it appears that some begin at nothing per week, others get 2s. 6d., and others again get 4s. There are other places having ten or twelve apprentices, and the same, or similar, wages are paid. There are plenty of places where men cannot, however hard they work, make more than from 6s. to 8s. per week. A man will make—say 6 cwt. of chain, for which he will get perhaps 15s., and out of that he will have to pay 3s. for a blower, and find his fuel and repair his tools, and pay rent; and then he will have about 7s. 6d. left. But cases are frequent in which the net earnings of women do not amount to more than 4s. and 5s. for a week's work. As an illustration of what the people earn, I may mention that a man will make the chain which is used as a back chain for horses for 13d., including the swivel, which latter article an ordinary smith could not make alone at the price."

**TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The Trades Union Congress opened on Monday 2nd, at the Technical College, Bradford. The official programme, as now conclusively settled, is as follows, and is being discussed in the order named at the Congress, which, however, is empowered to add to it as it may think fit:—(1) the Employers' Liability Bill, 1888; (2) the infusion of steam into weaving-sheds; (3) the amendment of the law of limited liability; (4) certificates of competency for men in charge of steam-engines and boilers; (5) the desirability of increasing the number of factory and workshop inspectors; (6) the right of the relatives of deceased miners to be represented at coroners' inquests; (7) co-operation and its relation to trade unionism; (8) representation of labour in Parliament; (9) reform of land laws; (10) the proposed International Trades Union Congress; (11) report of the Parliamentary Committee on the vote of the trades on the eight hours' question. Bradford is not a stronghold of trade unionism. Some of the leading unions—such as the engineers, iron moulders, the stone masons, the carpenters and joiners, who have for many years past taken a leading part in the question of wages and hours of labour—have strong branches in Bradford. But those engaged in local industries—the worsted, and woollen, spinning, weaving, and other trades—have not hitherto been remarkable for their devotion to trade unionism. The Congress will perhaps have the effect of strengthening their organisations.

**THE LEICESTERSHIRE MINERS.**—The miners employed at the Ellistown No. 2 pit, for nearly six weeks have been on strike against a new method of payment proposed by the owners. The miners in the district have hitherto been paid by piecework at a fixed rate of 1s. 9d. per ton, but it appears that at Ellistown the coal is easier to win than at the neighbouring collieries, and therefore, at the same tonnage rate, other conditions being equal, the men employed there were able to earn larger wages than at the surrounding collieries. The Ellistown owners at last awoke to this fact, and came promptly to the conclusion that they were the proper persons to have the benefit of this favour of nature. Knowing, however, that an attempt to reduce the tonnage weight would be strenuously resisted by the whole of the miners in the district, and would almost certainly fail, they proposed that the miners should be paid by day wages instead of by the tonnage rate, and on the men refusing to agree to the change, the strike took place. In the columns of the local press, the employers maintained that they were anxious to procure a fairer distribution of wages than then prevailed, as under the tonnage system, some men secured very good wages, and others very bad. However, the supposed sufferers seemed quite averse to a change. It is gratifying to know that the men on strike received a good deal of support from the Leicester shoe and hosiery trades, and last week a settlement was agreed to whereby the men gained a complete victory.—J. B.

AMERICA.—August 21.

The furniture workers' co-operative factory at Baltimore has closed its doors.

It is intimated that the Chelsea (Mass.) co-operative factory will be sold before long.

At Courtland, Cal., 30 Chinamen struck for 1 dol. 50 cents. per day instead of 1 dol. 25 cents.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in Detroit, Mich. on the 17th of August to celebrate its 25th anniversary.

The strike of 1,400 of the brickmakers in Chicago is ended. The men have lost; 900 strikers have been re-engaged, the rest are without work.

The Order of Machinery Constructors is experiencing a steady growth, and new councils will soon be formed in Providence, Fitchburg, and Worcester.

The President has signed the bill granting the employés of the Government Printing Office a thirty days' leave of absence annually with full pay. A few hundred more conservative workmen will be the effect of this bill, that is all.

The window-glass factories in Pittsburgh will open October 8th, although a month later than usual. Postponement is not due to alleged menace of the Mills bill, but the fact that 200 new pots will be put in operation on that date and the production increased.

According to the report of the Department of Agriculture, the present average rate of monthly wages for farm labour in the United States is 18 dols. 24 cents. a month. The wages paid for farm labour is therefore an accurate measure of the general earning of unskilled labour.

The Bricklayer's Union of Chicago has just awarded the contract for what is to be the finest edifice owned by any one labour organisation in the world. The main hall, with its immense gallery, will have a seating capacity of nearly 4,000. When finished this investment will cost the union about 50,000 dols.

Acting under instructions from the International Union of Bricklayers and Masons, the strike which has been in progress in Fall River for several months has been declared off, and it has been decided to work ten hours per day instead of nine. This is a backdown on the part of the masons, who struck for nine hours per day at ten hours' wages.

The plant of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company at South Chicago is to be shut down for a time. Fifteen hundred men have been paid and laid off. The blast furnaces were unaffected by the order, and will continue in active operation. The cause of the unexpected turn of affairs is due to the lack of orders on the books of the North Chicago Company.

A strike of weavers is in progress at the linen mills in Fall River, and 2,000 looms are idle. It was caused by an order from the authorities requiring weavers to throw away the steel wire combs with which they remedy slight imperfections in the cloth, and use a comb made from the blades of defective card combers. A conference of the authorities was held, but the weavers prefer to consider themselves discharged.

A telegram in the American capitalist press says: "Since the hanging of the Anarchists, Mrs. Judge Gary has had on an average three servant girls a week. When Mrs. Gary secures a servant, the wits of the latter are scared out of her by the thrilling tales poured into her ears by the domestics employed in the neighbouring houses of dynamite plots, and the probabilities of being blown into eternity at any moment. All the intelligence offices have Judge Gary's name on their books, and all applicants for situations are sent there, though some of them do not stay more than a few hours." On reading this who can help remembering the words of August Spies: "Our silence will be more powerful than words can be!"

The Convention of Engineers, held at St. Louis in the middle of August, adopted the federation scheme, notwithstanding the protests of Chief Arthur and the conservative Eastern engineers. The scheme of co-operation is something like this: A grand advising committee is to be formed composed of two members from each of the four brotherhoods. When a grievance against a railroad is submitted and a conflict comes, a strike can only be ordered by a majority of the Advisory Board and a majority of the four brotherhoods employed on the line. Each of the brotherhoods will remain intact in its organisation, but will co-operate. This plan will be submitted to the Annual Convention of the engineers, firemen, switchmen, and brakemen, which takes place in a few weeks. H. F. C.

HELPING THE EDITORS.—Several of our friends aid us in completing our record of passing events in the labour world by sending us their local papers with each item of interest marked. We should be glad if provincial sympathisers especially were to follow this plan. If one person in each of the large centres would do so, we should be enabled to make the *Commonweal* far more effective even than it now is. We should also be glad to receive a specimen copy of any trade organ or labour paper which is not acknowledged under "Periodicals Received" on middle page. Trade unionists could further help by sending reports of their societies and other information.—S.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The third Congress of the National Federation of the Trades Unions (Chambres Syndicates) of France, will be held this year at Bordeaux, from the 28th of October until the 4th of November. All communications referring to the Congress are to be sent to comrade J. Dormoy, Rue de la Paix, at Montluçon (Allier Department). The second Congress, held at Montluçon in 1887, was attended by delegates of two hundred Syndicates; and from information already received, the Secretary states that the Bordeaux Congress will be visited by even a larger number of Trades' representatives.

Another Congress of the organised workers of France is to be held in October next, at Troyes (Aube Department) and all communications referring to that meeting must be directed to comrade G. Batisse, Secretary, 22, Rue de la Grande Planchette, at Saint-André, near Troyes (Aube).

Two new Socialist papers: *La Loire Socialiste*, at St. Etienne, edited by comrade Delmoires. Among its contributors are Felix Pyat, Benoit Malon, John Labusquiere, T. B. Dumay, etc. The other weekly, entitled *La Révolution démocratique et Sociale*, is published at Sedan (Ardennes Department).

*L'Homme Libre* (The Free Man) the daily organ of the Blanquists, has ceased its publication, but all its contributors have gone to the *Cri du Peuple*, which now becomes the official mouthpiece of the revolutionaries of the school of Blanqui. The paper, under the political leadership of our friend Edouard Vaillant, is edited by comrade Granger. Mme. Severine, the former editor of the paper, has withdrawn from it with all her friends.

"Republican" France becomes every day more reactionary, and has no longer to look on "imperial" Germany for tyranny and despotism. Floquet is aware that his last days of office are near at hand, and he now shows very well that his radicalism has only been humbug all through. Strikes are going on nearly in all departments, and Floquet, the friend of the workers, as he used at one time to call himself, orders the toilers to be arrested for mere trifles. We trust that the game he is now playing will soon be over.

### GERMANY.

To all Socialists who understand the German tongue, we would recommend the volumes of the "International Library," published by W. Dietz, at Stuttgart. The first series of this important library is just finished, and contains the following contributions to philosophical, economical, and social science: 1. The theories of Darwin, by Aveling; 2. The economical doctrines of Karl Marx, by K. Kautsky; 3. Creation and destruction of the world, by O. Köhler; 4. The agricultural question, by Kaboul; 5. Thomas More and his Utopia, by K. Kautsky; 6. Charles Fourier, his life and doctrines, by A. Babel; 7. Modern pauperism and modern overpopulation, by M. Schippel. The eighth volume, being the first of the second series, will be a popular history of the French revolution (1787-1804) by W. Blas.

The Socialists of Dortmund have issued a new paper, entitled *Westfälische Freie Presse* (The Westphalian Free Press). We wish the new workers' organ every success, and hope that it will live longer than the *Freie Presse* which was suppressed in virtue of the Anti-Socialist laws.

In various parts of Germany, wholesale arrests are announced of Socialists, who have all committed the same offence: secret conspiracy. It is very strange indeed that out of all these "conspiracies" there never comes anything which is worth noticing. If only one-tenth of these conspiracies occurred in France or elsewhere, the governments would already have been thrown to pieces. But we think that in Germany, most of these "conspiracies" are police-work, and nothing else. Some day or other, we hope the real "big conspiracy" will burst out there, and then it will be all over with William Hohenzollern and his confederates.

William Liebknecht has been elected a member of the Reichstag by the Berlin voters, instead of Hasenclever, who has gone mad, and is not likely to recover.

### BELGIUM.

*L'Avenir* (The Future), the organ of the Socialists of Liege, has resolved to appear three times a week, to begin with the month of October. It is published now twice weekly.

The *Reveil* of Seraing has stopped its publication, but in the same place another organ, which intends to struggle for the workers' interests, is about to appear; it will be entitled *L'Organe de Seraing*, and edited by Marquet and Bonvalet.

Comrade Bertrand, editor of the *Peuple* of Brussels, has in the press a work on "Co-operation and Socialism." V. D.

### FRENCH WORKMEN DELEGATES IN GLASGOW.

The visit of the French workmen delegates to the Glasgow Exhibition has been made memorable by their refusal to drink the toast of "The Queen" at a banquet given to them by the City Corporation. Quite a hubbub has arisen in the local papers over the affair. Their declaration that they were all Socialists and Republicans has, of course, excited additional comment, and to an extent advertised our principles.

On Friday evening the delegates were entertained by the joint Socialist bodier in Glasgow in the S.D.F. Hall, Market Street, Moses McGibbon (S.D.F.) in the chair. Comrade Adams (S.L.) read an address of welcome in the name of the Socialists of Glasgow, to which the delegates replied. Various toasts were then given and speeches made, the principal speakers being Mavor (S.L.), Mora (S.L.), Small (S.L.), Hutchens (S.D.F.), Curran (S.D.F.), and McCulloch (S.D.F.); and for the delegates, Philippe, Bailliet, Bestetti, and a resident member of the Commune, A. Felix. Dan McCulloch (S.L.) sang "The Poor of Wealthy England," Moffat (S.L.), "The Romany Lass," and Tom McCulloch "Annie Laurie," in memory of poor Parsons, which the delegates enthusiastically encored. The "Carmagnole" was sung several times at the request of gathering by the delegates, and the meeting, which was exceedingly lively and enthusiastic, concluded with vigorous cheers for Socialism and the Revolution.

On Saturday, an improvised conversation was held on the station platform, previous to the departure of the delegates, where a large number of Socialists had gathered to bid farewell to their French comrades. Cunningham Graham, M.P., arriving on the platform at the time, delayed his journey south till a later train, so as to converse with the delegates. Graham, who was asked for a speech, gave an excellent address in French, which the delegates warmly applauded. The "Carmagnole" was sung and several times repeated, Scottish comrades joining in the chorus. "A Man's Man for a' that" and "The March of the Workers" was also sung. Finally the train departed with deafening cheers for "The Social Revolution," "The Commune of Paris," and the "Workmen Delegates," while the little red flag of the delegates waved from the car window till the train was out of sight.

Altogether the visit of the delegates has been most stimulating to the Cause, and the hearty fraternisation of the workers of the two countries is a promise of what the Social Revolution will achieve for all countries. J. B. G.

### YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

We have received the following from our Yarmouth correspondent:—On Sunday, Sept. 2, about thirty members of the Norwich branch, and Samuels (of London), went down to Yarmouth to hold the demonstration against the police interference at public meeting. It had been announced in the previous evening's *Evening News* that Mr. De Caux, the magistrate at Yarmouth, had agreed with Mr. Brogden, the chief constable, that no meeting should be allowed. Seeing that this was an admirable advertisement, we were not surprised to see when we got to the Church Plain an enormous concourse of people, who behaved much better (considering the presence of the head constable and his minions) than we expected. In the twinkling of an eye, while Poynts and Samuels were discussing the technicalities of the case with the head constable, a large table made its appearance, 8 ft. by 6 ft., on which at once sprang comrade W. Moore, who was soon followed by Beare, Poynts, and Samuels. They were, however, not allowed to proceed until they had given their names and addresses to the police, the crowd hooting the police all the time. There was then no fewer than 6,000 persons present, who seemed very enthusiastic and sympathetic. It would take too long to write what was said, but Poynts referred to the previous prosecutions, and Samuels related the circumstance that Mr. Labouchere, M.P., had, after the Mitchelstown business, laid it down as good law that the police had no right to force their way into a meeting through the people; but the authorities were not so successful here, and did not provoke a riot. After passing a resolution (which about half the people held up their hands for, and no one against), we declared the meeting over. We disposed of our spacious platform, and scattered so as to get the people away; but they were now thoroughly excited and so we were obliged to leave them. The police were looking for some of our comrades, and unfortunately succeeded in arresting one, whose name is R. Riches. We applied for bail to be allowed for him, but we were sternly refused. We heard afterwards that altogether 23 names were taken on Sunday (not a bad catch), and these comprised Church Mission people, Salvationists, and Socialists. At the meeting held in Gordon Hall, after the Market meeting (where 6s. was collected), we collected the fares for Mowbray, Sutton, Syder, and Samuels to go to Yarmouth to give evidence in and watch the proceedings on behalf of our imprisoned comrade.

**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, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**FREE SPEECH FUND.**

Already acknowledged—£2 5s. Received—J. A. Morris, 10s.; T. R. W., 5s.; Regent's Park collection, 1s. 11d. Total, £3 1s. 11d.

**COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.**

Already acknowledged—£1 11s. 2d. Received—Regent's Park collection, 6s. 6d.  
F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

**REPORTS.**

**FULHAM.**—Owing to the bad weather we were unable to hold our Tuesday evening meeting. On Sunday morning, notwithstanding the rain, Mrs. Schack, Tochetti, J. Macdonald, and Turner addressed a fair audience. In the evening Tochetti and Maughan spoke to a good meeting.—S. B. G.

**REGENT'S PARK.**—In spite of the wretched weather, a small meeting was held here under the trees. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Parker spoke; 1s. 11d. collected.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday night, Leatham read lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism" to good audience. Discussion carried on at close by comrades Barron, Aiken, Duncan, Leatham, and Mr. Thompson, a visitor. Meeting of Branch held at 46, Marischal Street, on Thursday night, to determine policy to be pursued by representative at Scotch Conference, to be held at Glasgow, on Sunday, 9th September. With the exception of two dissentients, the meeting was enthusiastically in favour of political action, or at least agitation for it. Owing to rain no meeting held Saturday night.—J. L.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Sunday, 2nd inst., the members of the S.D.F. and of the S.L. entertained to luncheon the 16 French workmen who have been visiting the Glasgow Exhibition, and who have created quite a flutter among the bourgeoisie by declaring themselves all Socialists. Over 60 sat down, among whom were several of our German comrades from Portobello. The usual revolutionary toasts were drunk with great enthusiasm, and a number of speeches were made in French, German, and English. The Carnagole was sung by our guests in splendid style. This is the first time there has been an international gathering of workers in Edinburgh, who pledged themselves to do all in their power to sweep away the frontiers of all countries, and to unite the workers of every nationality for the overthrow of their common enemy, Capitalism.—J. H. S.

**GLASGOW.**—Good meeting held at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier being the only speaker. This was the only meeting held, as some of our comrades had to attend a meeting of miners held at Blantyre. The miners of Lanarkshire, encouraged by our indefatigable comrade Small, are again making an effort to organise. Friday night was a memorable one for Glasgow Socialists, when they and the delegations of Paris workmen mutually entertained each other, a fuller account of which will be found on another page.—D. M. C.

**NORWICH.**—Good meeting held on St. Catharine's Plain, by Mowbray and Reynolds, on Sunday morning. Meetings were held at Diss, North Walsham, and Market Place. In the afternoon a good meeting was held in the Market Place, awaiting the return of our comrades from the Yarmouth Demonstration. The meeting was addressed by comrades W. Moore, Samuels (London) and others, and over 7s. worth of *Commonweal* sold, and about £1 2s. during the day.—A. C. P.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Wednesday September 12, at 8.30, Rochmann, "Will Palliatives do Good?" Sunday, Sept. 16, W. Blundell, "The Trades' Union Congress."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid to do so by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochetti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 9, at 8 p.m., G. B. Shaw (Fabian), "The Old Social Order and the New." Sunday, September 16th, J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labor the true basis of Organisation."

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.  
**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.  
**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.  
**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.  
**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec  
**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.  
**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Speakers' Class. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Thursday, at 7.30, Yarmouth (Church Plain). Friday, at 8.15, St. Catharine's Plain. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

SCOTTISH SECTION S.L. (S.L.L.L.L.).—The General Conference of the members of the Scottish Branches will be held on Sunday next, at 84, John Street, Glasgow, beginning at 11 a.m. prompt.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SUNDAY 9.

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Walker
- 11.30...Regent's Park.....Nicoll
- 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...Fulham Branch
- 3.30...Hyde Park .....Nicoll
- 7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

Friday.

- 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

**EAST END.**

SUNDAY 9.

- Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Parker.
- Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Turner.
- Victoria Park ... .. 3.15...Brooks.
- Warner Place ... .. 8 ...Brooks.

TUESDAY.

- London Fields ... .. 8.30...East-end C'mittee.
- Mile-end Waste ... .. 8.30... "

WEDNESDAY.

- Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

FRIDAY.

- Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

SATURDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... .. 8 ... "

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.0; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 6.30.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.  
Wymondham, Sunday at 11.  
St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30.  
Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 91, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 2, Dr. W. E. Burton: "The Great Panacea."

At the Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, on Friday, September 14th, a Free Discussion will be opened by A. Marsh. Subject: "Work and Social Utility," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 8th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday September 8th, at 8 p.m. The second of a series of fortnightly debates will be held, the subject for discussion being "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?"

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**

- 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. . . . .
- Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- 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.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . . . . 1d.
- "All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
- "Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . 2d.
- Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . . . . 6d.

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