

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

BARON BRAMWELL, the champion of the Liberty and Property Defence League, it seems, defends the present system of robbery on the grounds that the chief business of any community is to increase its "pile" at the expense apparently of every other consideration; a theory which would lead to some curious consequences if acted up to without remorse or compromise, but which no doubt is a convenient one to those who may happen to be on the right side of the hedge—rich men that is.

The others, those who are not rich, *i.e.*, the vast majority of the population will hardly, if they think about it, agree with this theory of "the whole duty of man." They will be apt to say, "However the 'pile' of the whole country increases, though we are richer per head than other countries, though we are so much richer as a country than we were 500 years ago, yet this increase of the 'pile' of the country has done us no good, we are just what we always were, labouring men, without property and without hope."

To unprejudiced people who can use their senses, it is clear that life in a poor country is much more happy for a poor person than in a rich one; *e.g.*, the peasants of Norway and of Greece are far better off than those of England or France; better off in all ways, but especially in self-respect, simply because class society has not reached the same pitch of perfection as with us. I remember when I was in Iceland, whose poverty is deeper than most English people could conceive of, being much struck with this. In conversation with my guide, an intelligent and well-read man, I could not make him so much as understand the difference of classes in civilisation; and I say without hesitation that in that wretchedly poor country the people generally are happy, because they have not a trace of the degradation which our inequalities force upon the poor of a rich country.

My Lord Bramwell, the truth is that no one in a poor country is rich enough to own slaves; and you are such a fool as to think that the ownership of slaves is necessary to the happiness, dignity, and elevation of character of a civilised man. Once more, what do the slaves think about it?
W. M.

By copies of the *North British Daily Mail* and *Glasgow Daily Mail* received from a correspondent, I see that there is still a rather warm controversy going on over the visit of the French workmen delegates to Glasgow, and their protest as to the loyal toasts. From this it appears that there was an agreement between the givers of the spread and the workmen that neither the Queen or the President should be toasted, and that the loyal humbugs broke the agreement, and tried to sneak through their little bit of kow-towing before they could be stopped; whereupon the protest. Several other things have come out as to the way the spread was prepared, and the "anything-good-enough-for-workmen" spirit displayed, and have aroused much feeling among the working-classes of the city. Oh, that our masters would always thus misbehave!
S.

The Small Farm and Labourers' Land Company has recently issued its report for the year ending Lady Day, 1888. This company has been in working for about three years. Its published purpose was to encourage a desire for the acquisition of land among the labouring classes. The *Financial News* of 29th ult., in noticing the balance-sheet, gives great praise for the exceedingly careful way the company is managed. The praise may be deserved as to cost of management, but when the *News* goes on to say that the result of the years' work is a proof of the bad times from which the landed interest is suffering, it is time to protest.

Although it may seem contradictory, the report has no bearing on the question. The Small Farms question, the Bad Times question, and the Landed Interest, although factors of one great sum are factors that have no common denominator, most certainly the company in question is not the common denominator. This can be seen from a few of the figures given. For 11½ acres and cottage in Cambs, the

lucky (!) tenant proprietor pays just £90 (!!) per acre; or, throwing off £200 which would build a really good house, £72 per acre for the land only. For 150 acres near Chippenham, Lord Lansdown has agreed to take £4,500, *i.e.*, £30 per acre. At these prices whoever may suffer, it will certainly *not* be the landed interest.

It is reported that Mr. Crocker, a Californian millionaire, just before his death recently, said as the result of a tour in Europe, that he would not give twenty years' purchase for any piece of property in the civilised world. A number of landowners are coming to the same notion and the Small Farms and Allotments dodge, simply means a process of unloading land in favour of something more portable. Lord Wantage gained great kudos for his philanthropy a year or two back in getting rid of some land which is out of the way of any possible market or means of transport. Added to the excess rents which are being charged in some parts, the Small Farms movement is hampered by the legal complication which is being wound about the attempt to put labourers back on the land. Long, wordy, technical agreements, and excessive charges and stamps, and then the cry is "Farming don't pay!"

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is on the whoop again about Africa, and in the course of an article on the 31st made a suggestion which for unadulterated damn wickedness, even the *Pall Mall* hasn't equalled for some time. It suggests that the difficulty about Sir Charles Warren should be solved by promoting him to the position of Warden of the Marches of the Upper Zambesi. This is how the *Pall Mall* gives itself away every now and again, and it can only be explained by the American moralist, "That human natur's a strange onery sort of a cuss." If the column and a-half on the front page of the *Pall Mall* is always done by the same lump of human natur' the moralist is proved right.

There should be no difficulty about what to do with Warren. In a state with any decent approach to even-handed justice there would be no difficulty; he would simply be put upon trial for the murder of the men Linnell, Curwen, and Harrison, and the question of his promotion could be safely left to the jury—with the sure and certain hope of a speedy ascension. Remembering the instances in history where long delayed justice has at length caught bigger criminals than even Warren and Balfour, there is some ground for hope yet.

When, however, instead of this it is coolly suggested that this bludgeoning brute shall be transplanted to Africa, so that, unchecked by even a *Pall Mall Gazette* publicity, he can develop his brutal tastes by bludgeoning the unhappy African—for his ultimate good of course, it is time to kick out. "The treasures of the land of Ophir" seem to have entered into the dreams of the *Pall Mall* "forwardist," and that these "treasures" should "pass to other owners" fairly puts him on his ear; to justify his lust after these treasures, of course the usual bosh is trotted out about "our allies and protégés being destroyed by confidence in our word." Allies and protégés to the infernal gods. Two or three rum-dealing missionaries, a magnified "drummer"—*i.e.*, commercial traveller—subsidised by a few capitalists "to explore in the interests of science," in reality to find new areas for exploitation, and there is the whole secret of our whole foreign "forward" policy; there is the whole secret of the never-ending "capitalist's wars," of which Ruskin has written in such burning scorn.

This game seemed all right when England was the only country playing at it; but now when Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, "even little Belgium," want to take a hand in the rubber, the position is quite different. Rival traders to outpace one another stir up dissension among rival tribes of natives so as to hamper, and if possible exterminate the rival expedition. The local frictions are sent home to the respective Governments, and a wrangle between two Resident Agents or Consuls becomes a national quarrel, as between France and Italy at the present moment; as has been between England and the Dutch, England and the French, the German, the Spaniard, and the American; until to-day England is the Ishmael of the world, and the march of civilization is impeded by the ever-increasing load of cannon and ironclads.

And what has this system at last brought us to? An Empire on which the sun never sets, and on which for millions it never rises, which spreads over eight and a-half million square miles, and has within its own native borders as much barbarism as can be found in any place where it has taken its so-called civilization, which contains in its own chief city more poverty, misery, suffering, and hideous sin than over the cities of the plain in their worst wickedness dreamt of, "Shudders hell through all its regions."

To add to this great, this unwieldy State, is what the *Pall Mall Gazette* is screaming for. To take the poor African under our wings more closely than has yet been done, put the military bully who has for months been playing the tyrant of London, in possession of more power and bigger pay, and all shall be well. "History is clarified experience," says Lowell. If fools would only learn from history—why, then they wouldn't be fools, of course; and this, by the way. But in history is somewhere related how a man was about to depart on an expedition which was to minister more to his own ambition than to the common weal. He didn't go. The man who pointedly and practically protested against the filibustering expedition was imprisoned and threatened with torture, but overcame his judges on that point, and from one of the poems addressed to his honour the following is an extract:—

"I would have posterity to hear
He that can bravely do can bravely bear.
Tortures may seem great in a coward's eye;
It is no great thing to suffer, less to die.

Farewell, undaunted stand, and joy to be
Of public service the epitome.
Let the duke's name solace and crown thy thrall;
All we for him did suffer, thou for all!"

T. S.

WHAT HAS MR. GLADSTONE DONE?

It is recorded of a certain French king, that when he was lying sick and popular grief showed itself very strongly, that he ejaculated, "What have I done to be so loved?" The same question must often present itself before the mind of an eminent statesman of the present day. Surely, he must ask himself, when mere mention of his name is received in public with bursts of rapture: "What have I done to deserve this?" It may be just as well that we should set ourselves to consider this important question: What has Mr. Gladstone done for all his unparalleled popularity? It is likely that if we asked it of one of the audience in a vast political meeting who had been applauding with all the power inherent in the feet and lungs of a member of the British proletariat, the mention of the great man's name, that we should not get a very intelligible answer. Probably, however, this member of the British proletariat would at once throw himself upon a popular catchword, and murmur softly something about Mr. Gladstone being a Grand Old Man, and after a bit, he might add something concerning his friendship for the working classes. Well, let us examine both these reasons for Gladstone-worship, and endeavour to ascertain their exact value. We may admit at once that Mr. Gladstone is a Grand Old Man; but, is that any reason for his extreme popularity? I don't know that grand old men are so very uncommon among the English middle class, who leading lives of healthful ease, with but little trouble or anxiety, frequently under these favourable conditions retain comparative youthfulness and vitality to a very advanced period in life.

Nor is it after all Mr. Gladstone's splendid vitality as evinced in his tree chopping, post-card writing, and speech making proclivities that makes him popular. It would be quite possible for Mr. Gladstone to display all these various gifts and yet be unloved by the masses; and let us clearly above all things understand what Mr. Gladstone's popularity really is. It is not a popularity merely grounded upon admiration of his abilities, or his good nature, or any other popular quality. The people love the great leader of the Liberal party because they trust him, because they believe in him, because they think that his heart is with the masses in their struggle against the great ones of the earth. Benjamin Disraeli was popular, but the people never expected anything from him. They only admired his dash, his craft, and his ability. Randolph Churchill is popular even with the Radicals who hoot his name at public meetings, but only because they admire his cheek and audacity, and enjoy the amusement he affords them when he upsets the potent (?), grave, and reverend signiors of his party; but no one hopes that he will ever set his little finger to heavy burdens that bear down the backs of the toilers. Gladstone's popularity differs from others in the great element of confidence and trust; but what foundation have the people for their confidence? On considering the question by the light of past and present events one is forced to admit, none whatever.

Let us leave this question for a moment to glance at another side of the subject. While he is popular with masses, Gladstone is hated by classes, who rejoice openly because his life must now be confined in the ordinary course of events to a very few years. What is the reason for this? If we study Mr. Gladstone's career, we can only come to one conclusion, that he is hated by the rich because he is beloved by the poor. It is not so much the man that is feared as the force that is behind him; a force which the classes recognize as naturally revolutionary, and which they fear may so act upon the impressionable temperament of the Grand Old Man, that the people may drag him with them along the path of revolution, hurling him as a battering ram against the rotten buttresses of modern society.

If these people were capable of thinking they would see what an utter fallacy their dread is grounded upon; neither by word or deed has the Grand Old Man ever proved himself to be the friend of the people, unless the occasional mock-heroic burst of unmeaning rhetoric common to the most ordinary political impostors, who, however, not possessing Gladstone's ability cannot make their flight of fancy so brilliant and dazzling, may denote the popular champion. I would ask the indignant Radical, who may be offended by my frankness, to pause before he condemns. Let him think; let him consider what desperate cause where feeble right was ranked against almost unconquerable might has Mr. Gladstone ever defended? Is he not on the other hand, as he himself admits, an "old parliamentary hand?" That is in plain English an artful old politician, who delights to walk with Truth when she has her silver slippers and is on the sunny side of the street.

Again, let our Radical friends ask themselves another question, how many even of those minor measures to give the working man even the scantiest portion of what is his by right has Mr. Gladstone promoted? Nay, let us ask ourselves again, have we not invariably found that when the "Old Parliamentary Hand" has found himself in office that he has forgotten the promises that he made when out? His Radical supporters have carried him to Downing Street with a cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," and have held out their hands for these good things to be showered upon them. What have they received? Instead of Peace, War; for Retrenchment, Increased Taxation; and for Reform, Coercion. "But this is an old story," our Radical friends may exclaim, "those were the days in which wicked Whigs had exclusive domination in the Liberal Party; but now we have changed all that. Now the Whigs are only to be found in their proper place in the Tory ranks. Mr. Gladstone has thrown off his Whiggish encumbrances and stands in the light of day, an earnest Radical, boiling over with fervour in the defence of oppressed Ireland, to whom he longs to extend the benefits and advantages of Home Rule."

This is all very well, but it would be well for us to remember that even his boasted Home Rule Bill was accompanied by another measure which did not correspond nearly so well with popular taste. Have our Radical friends forgotten the Land Purchase Bill which many of them found a very bitter pill to swallow? Have they forgotten that the Grand Old Man proposed to buy the Irish landlords out at a price far above what is now the actual market value of the land? We know now only too well, for the Bodyke and Vandeleur evictions have proved it to us with startling force, that it was a price that Irish tenants would actually be unable to pay. Therefore the cost of filling the pockets of idle and rapacious Irish landlords would fall upon the already overburdened shoulders of the English workmen, and would only have ended in stirring up feelings of antagonism between two groups of workers whose interests should lie in the same direction—the expropriation without compensation of all the idlers who live upon their labour. If the Land Purchase Bill is an example of William Ewart Gladstone's friendship for the masses, the people may well cry out to be delivered from their friend.

But this is not the only proof of friendship that Gladstone has given to the English workers. Have you Radical workmen already forgotten Bloody Sunday? Do you still remember that glorious day when Warren's butchers struck you down like sheep for daring to march to a place where you had held meetings for generations? Have you forgotten your dead comrades bludgeoned to death, for claiming what was once thought the most elementary right of an Englishman—the right to say the thing he would? But who was it who pronounced an apostolical benediction upon the murderers in blue? Who was it who could find no fitter name for them than that of "our admirable police?" Who is it that even now walks out of the House of Commons whenever the question of the people's claim to Trafalgar Square comes up? Who, but William Ewart Gladstone—the lover of the people—the friend of the masses—the Grand Old Sham?

William Ewart Gladstone is the incarnation of Whiggery. The Whig party has always been an organized hypocrisy, wooing the people with fair words and siren flattery when they could obtain the good things of office by their means, and to desert them in the hour of danger and difficulty. This has always been their policy, and Mr. Gladstone has only logically carried it out in the matter of Trafalgar Square. But let me ask for a moment, is it fair-weather friends, like Mr. Gladstone and his party, of whom the British workman is in need? Does he require only soul-inspiring rhetoric or honey-sweet words for his sustenance in this "vale" of human misery? If so, let him stick to the great Liberal party, and he will obtain exactly what he requires. If he wants to be humbugged, he can there enjoy that inestimable pleasure to his heart's content; but let him not run away with the idea that he will ever obtain anything more than a plentiful diet of words, and "fill his belly with the west wind," for if he does he will be grievously disappointed.

But we have not yet discovered the source of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable popularity, and if we seek a good reason for its existence we shall be certain to fail in our quest. Its real reason-of-being can only be accounted for in the same way as the craze for various patent medicines, which although possessing few virtues, are yet believed in by a credulous public, because they are so extensively and respectably advertised. As it is with Pears' soap, Holloway's pills, and Mother Seigel's syrup, so it is with the Grand Old Man. The proprietors of these medicines spend thousands in advertising them in every newspaper. The Grand Old Man is more fortunate; he is widely proclaimed as a sovereign remedy for social and political ills by every Radical paper and platform orator for—well, a reasonable consideration; they

live by the Grand Old Man, and the Grand Old Man lives in public fame by them. So they are all at it; the people are stunned with a din of voices all proclaiming his manifold virtues; the big drums of these enterprising showmen are always beating, and our ears are wrung with the shrieking testimony. No matter how advanced a Radical speaker may be, he must praise Mr. Gladstone, or he would soon find that the caucus would have nothing to say to him, and his chance of a seat in Parliament would perceptibly diminish. I spoke sometime ago about the promises which Mr. Gladstone has made, and has not found convenient so keep. But here let me not be unfair, Mr. Gladstone has made few promises to the masses; that is all done for him by his faithful henchmen the Russells, Bradlaughs, and Laboucheres of the party. It is these who are always beating the drum and calling on the public to enter the show. "Walk up! Walk up! There is no deception! A Grand Old Man in a remarkable state of preservation will solve the social and political problems in a few minutes if you will have patience and wait!" The workman has waited and is waiting, but little comes of it. He begins to doubt the omnipotence of his idol. He begins even to lose his belief in the loud-voiced showmen. It seems to him that after all Mr. Gladstone may not be the Christ of the modern Democracy, and that if the people need salvation they must find it for themselves. They are tired of trusting to oily-tongued politicians. They are sick at heart with promises made only to deceive, and they are recognizing at last that although Mr. Gladstone may be a very nice old gentleman, with a most estimable private character, yet after all he is only a middle-class politician, a bourgeois, and a philistine, devoid altogether of the ardent sympathy for the toiling millions that his supporters would ascribe to him.

D. J. NICOLL.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1841. Chartist Riot at Monkwearmouth. 1845. Thomas Davis died. 1868. Spanish Revolution.
17	Mon.	1740. Major John Cartwright born. 1819. Seven persons imprisoned for selling Carlile's <i>Freethinker</i> . 1848. Revolt at Frankfurt. 1871. Fourth General Congress of the International met in London (17th-23rd). 1872. Joseph Johnson died.
18	Tues.	1685. Bloody Assizes begin. 1797. Hoche died. 1867. Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, and death of policeman Brett.
19	Wed.	1803. Trial of Robert Emmet for high treason. 1820. Joseph Waddington tried for seditious libel. 1831. Russell's Reform Bill passed the Commons. 1849. <i>Neptune</i> arrives in Simon's Bay.
20	Thur.	1798. Trial of D. Black and J. Paterson for sedition. 1803. Legal Murder of Robert Emmet. 1870. Italians troops enter Rome. 1885. Dod Street Meeting; 20,000 present.
21	Fri.	1792. Louis XVI. dethroned.
22	Sat.	1792. Proclamation of French Republic; <i>L'ère Républicaine</i> begins. 1862. Lincoln threatens abolition.

Death of Thomas Osborne Davis.—Born at Mallow, October 14, 1814; died in Dublin, September 16, 1845. With John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, now the sole survivor, Davis founded the *Nation* in 1842, when the more ardent spirits among the repealers were dissatisfied with O'Connell and the demoralising influence of the policy he taught. Thenceforth as a political writer and poet, he continued to his premature death to be the chief of the "Young Ireland" party, which wielded an enormous power over the Irish democracy. His industry was miraculous, and he toiled with the same unremitting ardour at anything that came to his hand which he thought would benefit the people. In this way he at last exhausted and broke down a splendid constitution, and died of fever before he was 31. The *Nation* said of him truly: "The characteristic features in the public life of Davis were a simple spontaneous truth, that scorned all subtleties, personal or political, and counted candour the soundest policy; an absolute unselfishness; an earnestness that nothing could abate or dishearten; and an industry that has had no parallel in the history of young men of this country."—S.

Death of Joseph Johnson.—Died September 17, 1872, aged 80. Fifty years before had been an active associate of Hunt, Cobbett, and Bamford; underwent two years imprisonment for his part in Peterloo. Ten years later he, however, refused to join in the reform agitation, and was known as a rather eccentric sort of a Tory for the rest of his life.—S.

Robert Emmet.—Born in Dublin, 1778; hanged there September 20, 1803. During a brilliant college course at Trinity College, he not only exhibited great aptitude for scientific and other studies, but also in the debates of the Historical Society spoke so eloquently on the rebel side that old and known orators were sent by the Fellows to try and counteract the effect he produced. He became a United Irishman, travelled on the Continent, studied military matters, and interviewed Napoleon, who gave an assurance of his intention to invade Ireland in 1803. In 1802 Emmet returned to Ireland, and made great preparations for a rising in the following summer. He had about £3,000 of his own, and £1,400 advanced by a friend; with this he established depots of arms, etc. Owing to an accident, the rising which he had intended for August took place in July. It was hopeless from the first, as nearly all arranged risings are, and he was soon arrested, tried, and hung. He might have escaped to France, but for his own folly in refusing his last chance in order to see Sarah Curran, his sweetheart, who was the heroine of Moore's "She is far from the land," but who was "happily married" little over a year after Emmet's death! His speech before sentence was a remarkable piece of sustained eloquence, and on the gallows his last words were: "My friends, I die in peace, and with sentiments of universal love and kindness to all men."—S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

Death of David Ricardo.—This eminent economist died at the age of 51, after accumulating a fortune of £700,000 on the Stock Exchange. Yet he failed to analyse, or to explain with any accuracy, either wages, the rate of interest, or mercantile profits. His name is indissolubly associated with the economic "law of rent," discovered by Anderson in the eighteenth century, but independently

re-discovered about 1817 by Malthus, Sir Edward West, and Ricardo, and first exhaustively explained by the latter. This law, which expresses scientifically the necessary exclusion, under a system of private property in land, of the mere wageworker from the advantages of all but the worst land in use, is in reality the economic basis of Lassalle's "iron law of wages," and of Socialism itself. The second great economic achievement of Ricardo was the "law of comparative cost," which forms the basis of the determination of international prices, and the fundamental support of Free Trade. This law explains the frequently occurring paradox of a nation importing (and that profitably, not only to the merchant but also to the whole community), of commodities which could be produced cheaper and at less labour at home. Ricardo's third great economic doctrine, the law of exchange value (the "cost of production" theory), has now been abandoned by economists, either (as by the Jevonians) in principle, or (by the rest) practically in its application, by the admission of any number of disturbing influences and exceptions, and notably by the concurrent recognition of the influence of the law of rent. Ricardo was a purely analytic economist. His human beings were absolute abstractions, and indeed mere "catalectic atoms." His exposition, too, is always severely condensed and abstract, so that most of those who oppose or condemn him, may be discovered merely to have misunderstood his meaning.—S. W.

THE LANDLORD.

WHAT boot your houses and your lands?

In spite of close drawn deed and fence
Like water, 'twixt your cheated hands,
They slip into the graveyard's sands,
And mock your ownership's pretence.

How shall you speak to urge your right,
Choked with that soil for which you lust?
The bit of clay, for whose delight
You grasp, is mortgaged, too; Death might
Foreclose this very day in dust.

Fence as you please, this plain poor man,
Whose only fields are in his wit,
Who shapes the world as best he can,
According to Truth's higher plan,
Owns you, and fences as it fit.

Though yours the rents, his incomes wax
By right of eminent domain;
From factory tall to woodman's axe,
All things on earth must pay their tax,
To feed his hungry heart and brain.

He takes you from your easy chair,
And what he plans that you must do;
You sleep in down, eat dainty fare,—
He mounts his crazy garret stair
And starves, the landlord over you.

Feeding the clods your idlesse drains,
You make more green six feet of soil;
His fruitful word, like suns and rains,
Partakes the season's bounteous pains,
And toils to lighten human toil.

Your lands, with force or cunning got,
Shrink to the measure of the grave;
But Death himself abridges not
The tenures of almighty thought,
The titles of the wise and brave.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"AFRICA."

Your correspondent Robert Grierson quite misses the point of Bax's contention (so far as I understand him); and to such as are in constant touch with colonial and "new country" exploiters and exploitation, the statement that the "Social Revolution" may possibly be postponed for another century in consequence of the opening up of new markets is quite possible and very probable. Of course a great deal depends on what one means by the "Social Revolution." To many of us the revolution is *now* present, the battles being fought in office, factory, and mine, far away from any organised nominal "activity of Socialists" "in Europe and America." I think that some of our comrades are in the habit of thinking that a great uprising of the people will occur "some day"; and they then return to their life and participate in the beer and skittles, sometimes as players in the game watching "Fortune's" ball, and sometimes as onlookers, with parched throats and empty stomachs, looking with anxious eyes for "some day," but not unwilling to join in the game of skittles if the opportunity occurs.

By all means let a note of hope prevail, but not of triumph; for the work of making the world into an organised whole, instead of the chaotic condition in which it now is, is too great to waste time in triumph over what is after all only an outcome of the evolutionary movement in which we are involved.

It appears to me, generally speaking, that if a number of our comrades could work in amity and unity, much could be done to alter our surroundings; it seems that while we are asked by your correspondent to "triumph," we are also invited to subscribe for the benefit of one of our members who has been out of work. Is it not possible that there may be some means adopted whereby those of our comrades out of work could be taught or assisted to work by those who are in a position to do everything by co-operative effort?

TAUSIN.

LABOUR AND WAR.—Out of every 1,000 recruits inspected in 1886, 634 were labourers, 156 artisans, 121 mechanics, 57 shopmen and clerks, 12 were professional men, and 20 were boys under 17.—*Arbitrator*.

WANDSWORTH UNION.—The friend who sent us the note as to the ill-treatment of paupers here, now writes that affairs have been mended somewhat through the attention drawn to them. If they again worsen he will let us know.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. 1, 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.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 12.

ENGLAND	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Bradford Observer	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	El Productor
Freedom	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice		Cadiz—El Socialismo
Labour Tribune	FRANCE	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Norwich—Daylight	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	
North British Daily Mail	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
NEW SOUTH WALES	Le Coup de Feu	
Hamilton—Radical	En Avant	GERMANY
	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA		
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	AUSTRIA
Madras—People's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Wien—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES		Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
New York—Freiheit	BELGIUM	
Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	ROMANIA
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	Jassy—Municipal
Alarm	Antwerp—De Werker	DENMARK
Boston —Woman's Journal		Social-Demokraten
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY	Malmö—Arbetet
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	
	Cremona—Il Democratico	WEST INDIES
	Florence—La Question Sociale	Cuba—El Productor
	Torino, Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	

CIVIL (?) SERVANTS.

In all ages and in all countries the "Jack in Office" has been a subject for oburgation, satire and scorn; there can be little doubt but that they have deserved it. It has constantly to be impressed on the servants of the State, that they are paid by the State, that, in theory at least, they are not the masters. In practice we all know that too often the servants of the State are servants only on pay day, and masters all the rest of the time.

The Army and the Navy are on a quite different footing to that part called the Civil. Nobody to day looks upon the Army and Navy in any other light than a class outside society, paid by a blood tax to assist the rights of power and despotism only; pledged and sworn and drilled to murder father, mother, or brother at any moment without question.

Of late we have seen in the Police a rapid development from a "civil" to a "military" force. It is an exceedingly interesting study to watch the bringing about of the change. First appear a few apparently quite innocent rules and regulations concerning the premises graced by our "servant," next a few rules as to our conduct towards our "servants," more important is the next step which will vary the conduct of our "servants" to their employers. This is brought about by the immediate heads of the department in question taking some steps and making some regulations which make broad distinctions between the servants as a body and the general body of citizens; this tends to a class feeling, which rapidly grows, and soon it is time for the general body of citizens to expect trouble.

It will be found that each new set of rules and regulations is more and more autocratic and despotic, especially those which concern the internal affairs of the body of servants themselves, that they are deprived of privilege after privilege until they lie helpless at the command of some superior.

This has been the course of events in our regular army; it is going on in volunteer, army, and the militia; particularly in the volunteer force.

In the police force the above order of events has been marked of late years. A constantly increasing strictness of discipline so that to-day the rank and file of the force are treated absolutely as automata, with hardly a single civil or citizenship right. For the merest trifle of breach of discipline a man's home can be broken up, all his arrangements upset, right of promotion set aside, and set down in a new district, a stranger, and in the eyes of those native to that part an interloper, a spy, and therefore friendless, and therefore more amenable to the persons above him, which is the point aimed at.

Even under our London School Board there has been a growth of autocracy which is bodeful.

At our Parliament house can be found some droll proofs of in how strange a fashion servants can come to treat their paymaster, of how public servants treat the public.

To get into the portion reserved for the public is a task; to submit to a long stay there is a greater. If you stand up you are ordered to sit down; if you dare exhibit the corner of a newspaper you are to put it away; if seen making notes you are forthwith hauled out by a lackey ornamented with a brass chain and a fire insurance sign off the front of an old house.

George Jacob Holyoake a year or so ago made public complaint of the difficulties of approaching a Member of Parliament while on duty. Lazy, dishonest members, anxious to avoid any calling to account by indignant constituents, have set up a vexatious series of barriers around their national club-house, so they should not be troubled or reminded of their neglected duties. They however, like all the other servants, suffer in time; having annoyed and insulted the general public and minimised their rights, presently Nemesis appears. Thus M.P.'s having denied right of easy access to themselves and their workshop now find some of their rights cut down at the will of a dyspeptic irresponsible Speaker, or a brutal majority. The police have less civil liberty than five or ten years ago; the army has none; M.P.'s are losing theirs.

The Post Office is the department which, strange as it may seem, can exhibit some of the most striking proofs of the insolence of public servants. For years complaints have been regularly made of the preposterous regulations insisted on, one of the latest being that it was not allowed to correct an address on a post card. Insolence may seem a strong term to employ, but I should be glad to know of any other with which to stigmatise such a notice as one issued by the Post Master General in connexion with the Parcels Post, and dated April, 1886, wherein it is stated that he will "voluntarily and as an act of grace" give compensation for loss and damage, etc., etc. "Act of grace," forsooth; by my halidame the knave doth protest and promise too much. Where in thunder is the grace I'd be glad to know? Paying the taxpayer out of the taxpayer's own funds for damage done by his own servant. "Not in consequence of any legal liability, but voluntarily, and as an act of grace." By Jove, it fairly tries one's patience! The cool insolence of such an address from a highly-paid servant of the public, prepares one, however, for some high-toned action when dealing with the lower servants.

It is well known that the Post Office service has for a long time past been a seething pit of discontent, which is prevented expression by rules and regulations which form a veritable cast iron gag on each sufferer who is denied even an audible groan by way of relief. The state of submission to which a large body can be brought by a despotic tyranny built up of an immense number of infringements on individual liberty can be roughly estimated from the following, which is one of the latest example, "Civil" Service *in excelsis* :—

THE DREDGE TESTIMONIAL.

"The Postmaster General's attention has been called to a printed appeal which appears to have been very generally circulated inviting Subscriptions to a testimonial on behalf of Dredge, a dismissed Postman, this appeal purporting to be signed by the Postmen Lawrence, Bell and Hinton. These three men having been called upon to explain how they came to put their signatures to a document reflecting in improper terms on the Head of the Department, have given their assurance that the appeal was prepared by Dredge himself, and that they had nothing to do with its preparation; that they had not so much as read it until after it was circulated; and that had they been aware of the terms in which it was couched they would not have allowed their names to appear at the end of it. They have, further, expressed their deep regret that they should have consented to let their names appear, now that they see what unauthorised use has been made of the permission. The Postmaster General thinks it right to make it known that except for this assurance and expression of regret he would have felt constrained to mark his sense of this breach of discipline by dismissal from the service. He has now under consideration what steps should be taken to deal with an offence which cannot under any circumstances be allowed to pass unpunished."

It needs a really first class artist to do this delivery justice. Picture "these three men" on their knees, protesting their innocence, and promising to be good boys in future. Picture the Postmaster-General or his underling the gospel-spouting Blackwood graciously unbending and accepting the expression of regret; and picture him "still considering what steps shall be taken," when his boots have been sufficiently licked. THOS. SHORE, junr.

THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT YARMOUTH.

ONE result of the meeting reported in last week's *Weal* was the trial on Friday before the local Nupkinses, of 38 persons, in batches, as they belonged to the Socialists, Salvation, Blue Ribbon, and Church Armies. Mr. Dill, who defended the members of the three armies, offered a compromise, by which the cases were adjourned, and it was agreed that no meetings should be held on the disputed spots for a week to enable some workable understanding to be arrived at with the authorities. He strongly urged this arrangement should not apply to the Socialists, as their objects were different, but the magistrates finally agreed otherwise, and adjourned all the cases.

Last Sunday our comrades from Norwich, accompanied by W. B. Parker (of London) went to the contested spot, and finding large crowds of people waiting for them, they formed a big procession, and held a very fine meeting on the beach, where being interfered with by the police, a fisherman offered them his boat, from which they spoke. On their return to Norwich, a special collection amounting to 24s. was made for the purpose of buying a suit of clothes to present to Cores on his release from prison in another fortnight.

ABREAST OF THE TIMES.—The Roman Catholic priests of the Argentine Republic are said to be on a strike. The government issued an order lowering the rates for masses, marriages, burials, and other ecclesiastical functions, and the priests determined to resist this encroachment upon their income and prerogatives, so the churches all through the republic are closed, and even the ringing of the bells is stopped.—*Chicago Engineer*.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

Trusts.—The orthodox theory about the eventual gradual evolution of the next revolution in society may be shortly summed up like this: Competition will become fiercer and fiercer; all the markets will be overstocked with goods; employment will become scarcer and scarcer—partly through what is called over-production, and partly through the development of machinery—and consequently the purchasing power of the people at large will be reduced to a minimum; the small establishments will be crushed to the wall; the discontent of the people will get stronger and stronger, and ultimately quite unrestrained, till at last, through one long pull, one strong pull, in one mighty movement all the discontented will unite and bring about such an upheaval which will finally settle the capitalistic system.

This theory would be quite correct if our antagonists, the bourgeois, were to act absolutely without reason and according to the maxim "Après nous, le déluge"; but this assumption, which I also once entertained in the inexperienced and happy-go-lucky period of my youth, I am afraid is not entirely infallible. The small-fry, the unintelligent of the bourgeois class may do so, but certainly the big fish are not so stupid as all that. In the bygone times the dangers arising through the consequences of competition to capitalistic society were comparatively small, and therefore the preventatives to be taken could also be of a paltry nature. The safety-valves of bourgeois society—workhouses, useless employment of the unemployed, hospitals, dispensaries, bread and soup tickets, five per cent. philanthropy, and so forth—largely answered their purpose. But things have changed, and now competition itself must go. This can only be effected by creating monopolies or through Communism. The last possibility is naturally for capitalistic society out of question. However, competition is the great idol of the bourgeois class, as a class; they have taught so long that only benefits can be derived from it to society, that they believe it themselves—as a class only, of course. The most cunning, the scheming, in fact the cream of the capitalists, see and recognise the folly of the competitive system, and are afraid of the end it is rapidly leading to, and they want to create monopolies. Now the great secret is to form a combination devised for the purpose of relieving the created monopoly from the charge of being a monopoly, and from the charge of any breach of the conspiracy laws passed by the various States, or of ostensibly being a combination to regulate or control the price of production and distribution of any commodity. And all this has been done through the trust. An analysis of the nature and the character of the trust will prove this. The trust is a combination of all the manufacturers or the distributors, or of both, of one commodity, to be controlled by a central body. The best example is the Standard Oil Trust, the oldest and best organised organisation of its kind. The facts I give about this combination are principally taken from published investigations made by a Mr. Bacon, member of Congress and chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

The Standard Oil Trust is an organisation not incorporated but formed by a voluntary agreement between the stockholders of various corporations. These corporations really divide themselves into two classes—first, the corporations which deal with the transportation of the oil; second, the corporations which deal with the refining of the oil and the sale of the refined product. From the testimony given before the Committee on Manufactures, it appears that there exists a certain number (about a hundred) of corporations organised under the laws of different States and subject to their control; that these corporations have issued their stocks at the time of their formation years ago to various individuals, the stockholders, who now hold the stock as their property; and that these individual stockholders of the different corporations have surrendered their stock to the trustees appointed in an agreement creating the trust and accepted in lieu thereof certificates issued by the trustees named therein. *The agreement provides that the various corporations whose stock is surrendered preserve their identity and carry on their business as before. The duties of the trustees—the central body—are nominally restricted to the receipt of the dividends declared by the various corporations and the distribution of the aggregate of them to the holders of the trust certificates, pro rata; but de facto the central office controls and regulates the entire business of all the different corporations. It will be observed that through this devilish arrangement the different corporations to transport, to refine, and to sell the refined oil do exist separately, carry on their business apparently independent, and distribute dividends to their shareholders, and yet that at the same time the whole business of transporting, refining, and selling oil is in the control of a few individuals, called the trustees, forming the Standard Oil Trust! It is a monopoly and yet not a monopoly, exactly that what the clever amongst the capitalists dreamed to be an ideal concentration. Hardly a day passes without that we read of the formation of a similar trust in some other article. A few details will show the grandeur of the Standard Oil Trust. Neither of the corporations connected with the trust has anything to do with the bringing of the oil to the surface. Their control over it begins, however, the very moment it leaves the earth, because they own all the local pipe lines. Whenever a well is bored and oil struck the owner of it constructs a small wooden tank, into which the oil is run and pumped from the well. He then notifies the officer of the corporation that has control of the local pipe line to his well—and there is such a pipe to every considerable well in the oil region. Those small pipes are brought down and gradually emerge and finally come together at a point where the oil has either to be put upon the railroads or put into the through pipe line. These through pipes conduct the oil to the seaports, and have been built with a cost of two million pounds. All the local pipe lines and the through pipe lines belong to corporations connected with the trust. Under present arrangements the Pennsylvania Railroad takes 26 per cent. of the oil and the through pipe lines the balance to the seaports. The transporting companies charge 50 c. a barrel transportation charges, and the cost doesn't exceed 20 c. The probable desire of competition of the Pennsylvania Railroad people has been stifled by giving them a quarter of the transportation of all the oil produced. This is only a description of the business of the transportation corporations connected with the Standard Oil Trust; the refining and selling corporations are equally well organised and gigantic.*

The latest development of the business of the Standard Oil Trust arose out of the formation of an association in Pennsylvania among the well owners calling themselves oil producers. They formed an organization early in 1887, whose officers stated that the organization was formed against the Standard Oil Trust, to protect themselves against it, and that they expected to overcome or alleviate the monopoly which the Standard Oil Trust had secured in the transportation, refining, purchase and sale of petroleum, by refining and marketing their own product. That organization first attempted to get some legislation from the State of Pennsylvania which would enable

them to have their oil delivered from the pipe lines at such points as they might elect instead of at the seaboard. They failed in that, but they continued their organization with the idea of starting independent refineries and building an independent pipe line. They found that that was going to take a good deal of money, and they appointed a committee to confer with influential people in the Standard Oil Trust. At that conference the position taken by the representative of the Standard Oil Trust was that the low price of crude oil, which the witnesses asserted was less than the cost of getting it to the surface of the ground, was due mainly to the fact that there were stores of surplus oil, amounting to about thirty-one million barrels, in the pipe lines and tanks of the pipe line companies, for which certificates had been issued, while the actual production by the wells was about equal to the demand of the markets of the world. It was suggested to the well owners that the way out of the difficulty was to stop the production of oil until this large accumulation had been disposed of.

The committee went back to the Oil Producers' Association and discussed the matter, and finally went to the Standard people and made a proposition which was based upon the argument that if they shut off their production of oil the Standard people, owning the accumulated stock, would reap the benefit of the increased price, and that they should be willing to share that with the owners of the wells, or no such arrangement as they proposed could be made. As the result of these negotiations the Standard people, asserting that they owned 10,000,000 of the 31,000,000 barrels, agreed to put up for the Oil Producers' Association certificates for 5,000,000 barrels of the accumulated oil, to be sold during the year after the signing of the papers, and the difference between the then price of crude oil—sixty-two and a half cents a barrel—and what the 5,000,000 barrels sold for, less storage, insurance and assessment charges, was to be paid over to the well owners and distributed among them pro rata. This upon condition that the well owners should reduce production at least 17,500 barrels a day, and as much more than that as they could up to 30,000 barrels a day. The committee of the Oil Producers' Association took that proposition back and it was accepted and a formal agreement was drawn up, which was circulated among the well owners, and before the 1st of November, 1887, they had procured signatures of well owners agreeing to reduce the production of their wells each one by a certain number of barrels and aggregating about nineteen thousand barrels a day. This reduction has probably increased, because by the very process of shutting in the wells clog up and do not produce as much oil as they would if kept working to their full capacity. The market price of oil advanced very rapidly.

After this arrangement had been made of course the amount of labor needed in the oil regions was very considerably diminished, and the expert men there whose business it was to clean out wells and dig wells had no employment. They were inclined to be rebellious about it, and thereupon a further arrangement was made by which the Oil Producers' Association set aside 1,000,000 out of the 5,000,000 barrels that they had an interest in, and the Standard Oil people set aside another 1,000,000 barrels to be sold, and the proceeds over and above the sixty-two and a half cents a barrel to be devoted to paying the wages of the unemployed labourers. This labor is organized into what is known as the Well Diggers' Association, having lodges in different parts of the oil producing country. That association, or the members of it, agreed to refrain from work for the members of the Oil Producer's Association or for anybody else in consideration of their being paid their wages at a fixed price from the treasuries of their lodges.

The money to meet these payments was provided by the Oil Producers' Association, and they were reimbursed from the sale of the 2,000,000 barrels of oil. There were members of the Well Diggers' Association on the stand before the Committee on Manufactures, and they testified that they had done no work and did not propose to do any except as they were permitted to do by the Oil Producers' Association, and that they had been paid their wages as agreed upon from the money furnished by the Oil Producers' Association.

To recapitulate. The end purpose of a Trust is:—First, to create or carry out restrictions on trade; second, to limit, to reduce, or to increase the production or prices of commodities; third, to prevent competition in the manufacture, making, sale, or purchase of commodities; fourth, to create a monopoly; fifth, to regulate wages and working men's associations; sixth, to get the cheapest freight: and all this is effected not by ruining through cut throat competition rival establishments, but by combination of the different enterprises. This development of capitalism suggests to me the possibility of a feudal-capitalistic system, when all the means of production and distribution are in the hands of a few leading Trust-lords, who might arrange all things according to their own liking—the workers being absolutely at their mercy. And here lies the danger!

But there is no reason for pessimism. Just on the contrary. The cunningness of our opponents ought to instil us with new energy, new devotion. One thing, however, is absolutely necessary—the overhauling of our present mode of propaganda and organization, and to see whether under these changed circumstances they are equally effective. And I hope that my articles have given cause for this.

Newark, N.J., August 28, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

LONDON PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London on Saturday 25th, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, was 91,242, as compared with 88,794 on the corresponding day of last year, 86,877 in 1886, and 85,155 in 1885. The vagrants relieved on the same day numbered 1,027, of whom 805 were men, 200 women, and 22 children under 16 years of age.

SOME EMIGRATION STATISTICS.—The immigrants who entered the United States during the year which ended on June 30 last numbered 539,818. Germany sent 107,624; England and Wales, 83,132; Ireland, 73,238; Sweden and Norway, 72,915; Italy, 51,075; Russia, 33,407; Austria, 25,884; Scotland, 24,396; Hungary, 19,927; Denmark, 8,981; Switzerland, 7,737; France, 6,427; the Netherlands, 5,845; and Poland, 5,826.

PROPHETIC!—On June 27, 1798, the state of Ireland was debated by the Lords with closed doors. The Earl of Bessborough moved that an address be presented to the king, imploring him to use measures of conciliation and to employ persons in the administration of the country who would possess the confidence of the people. Against the rejection of the motion Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, protested, among other reasons, "Because I hold that when an Irishman is tortured, an Englishman is tortured; for the same men, who in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, can dare to put to torture Irishmen, will not hesitate, when they think it expedient, to put Englishmen to torture also."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The strike in the shipbuilding trade in Belfast still continues. Efforts are being made by the mayor and others to effect a settlement, but without success so far.

Glasgow tramway servants complain of having to work eighteen hours a-day, at pay which gives about 2d. per hour. Mr. Duncan, the manager, is an office-bearer in the Church of Scotland, and is supposed by a complainant to be in ignorance of how the men are treated.

The employés of Chapel Flax Spinning Works, Montrose, who are at present on strike for a 10 per cent. increase of pay, resolved at a mass meeting, 4th inst., to resume work next day on the assurance of the employers to consider the grievances complained of.

The strike in the gun-lock trade at Darlaston, which has lasted three weeks, has terminated in favour of the men, who demanded an advance of 2d. per lock, making the price for filling store locks 7d. each. Even at this price the operatives, it is said, are not able to earn more than 10s. to 12s. per week.

Between five and six hundred spinners employed in the Caldron Jute Works, Dundee, came out on strike 4th inst., for an advance of wages. They were lately allowed an increase of five per cent., and they now declare that the improved state of trade warrants an additional increase of five per cent. being given.

COLLAPSE OF A COLLIERY STRIKE.—The workmen at Cymner Colliery, Rhondda Valley, having been on strike for over four days, resolved at a meeting held yesterday to refer to arbitration the dispute between them and the managers as to the thickness of a recently-discovered seam, claimed by the men to be seven feet, and by the masters five feet. They also agreed to return to work on Monday on fortnightly instead of daily contracts as heretofore.

COLLAPSE OF THE BIRMINGHAM MALLEABLE NAIL STRIKE.—The strike of malleable nail founders in the employ of Mr. Frank Shaw, of Glover Street, Birmingham, has collapsed, owing to Mr. Shaw having decided to transfer his business from Birmingham to the Eagle Ironfoundry, Dudley Port. Most of the workpeople engaged at Glover Street have removed to Dudley Port, but none of the strike hands have been re-engaged. The new works are very extensive, and when in full operation will find employment for 300 operatives, as compared with 80 in Birmingham.

THE FEATHERSTONE STRIKE.—The miners out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone, near Normanton, are reported to be very fairly supported by the public. There are about 800 to 400 miners and their families to be provided for, and a weekly appeal is made to the public, and the funds are divided amongst the men. This fund is all that the great majority of the miners have to resort to. As to the dispute, there seems little probability of an early settlement, for the men still refuse the scale of prices which the owners offer as a basis of settlement.

L. C. and D. RAILWAY SERVANTS.—A correspondent writes to the *Railway Review* deriding the statement in a previous number that the servants of this company are on the point of agitating for less hours and an increase in their pay. He evidently regards them as much too "lowdown and omery" to do anything of the kind; and says: If the editor came and inquired for himself he would find at the Victoria terminus plenty of porters working for what they can get out of the travelling public. The same thing occurs at the City end. Another thing to be found at Victoria is that guards volunteer to work the cheap Ramsgate trains on a Sunday, when it is their Sunday off duty, for what they can get out of the travelling public and no pay from the company; they will offer their services free for about fifteen hours!

STRIKE OF RATHMINES SCAVENGERS.—The Commissioners of Rathmines last week made a regulation which has given umbrage to a number of scavengers in their employment. They require their scavengers to wear a metal badge similar to that worn by the employés of the Corporation. The men protested against this order, and some thirty-five carried their objection so far that they knocked off work rather than don the badge. This occurred on Friday, but Saturday some of the strikers went back, and the Commissioners have replaced the absentees by other men, for there is no lack of labourers in the township willing to take employment wherever they can get it under any conditions. The scavengers were not asked to put on the badges, but an official stated that the Commissioners will enforce their new regulation.

MIDLAND COUNTIES MINERS' FEDERATION.—The monthly meeting of the above federation was held at the Coffee-house, New Street, Birmingham, on Monday. Mr. E. Edwards (Burslem) presided. The meeting took into consideration the attitude of the Netherseal Colliery Company towards their workmen re the question of "Billy Fairplay," and they unanimously agreed to support the men in their struggle. The action of the West Cannock Colliery Company in attempting to reduce their workmen at No. 4 plant pit was discussed at considerable length, and the Secretary explained the course taken to settle the same, when the federation decided to assist the men by drafting them away for work or supporting them at home. The meeting further resolved that the present was an opportune time to press for an advance in wages, believing that the state of trade and the present lowness of wages warranted such a course, and strongly advised all districts in the Midlands to press for the same with the coming winter trade.

COTTON TRADES' STRIKE.—The strike of some forty strippers and grinders employed at the Atlas Cotton Mills, Bolton, against a change in the system of weighing the cotton, threatens to end in the closure of six mills belonging to the same firm. The card-room hands, siding with the strippers, struck work Wednesday, 5th, and the spinners were instructed in consequence to close work as they finished their set. The principal of the firm says the action of the card room hands will ultimately lead to the closing of the whole of the mills for an indefinite period, with a weekly loss of wages amounting to £1,053. The closing of three mills, thus throwing 1,400 hands idle, is somewhat endangering the peace of the town. In opposition to the decision of the society, several of the cardroom hands have refused to strike, and last evening as they left the mills were confronted with a mob numbering some thousands, who assumed a most threatening attitude. The police were called to their assistance, and they had to be escorted home, the mob following all the way and loudly hooting.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

Two Anarchists, Lucas and Saulnier, have been tried before the Court of Assize of the Seine Department, for having fired at comrade Rouillon whilst he was placing a wreath of flowers on the common grave of the Communists slain in the Père Lachaise cemetery during the month of May, 1871. Rouillon has not been injured at all, but two other men were dangerously wounded. Strange to say, Lucas got five years' imprisonment, but Saulnier, who has confessed that he excited and provoked Lucas to the stupid deed, has been acquitted. We should not at all be surprised to hear one day or other that one at least of these Anarchists is an *agent-provocateur*, or what Puttkamer used to call a "non-gentleman."

The strike of the carpenters and cabinet-makers at Paris has resulted, as could not otherwise be expected, in the defeat of the workers; but, as *La Révolte* justly observes, even those strikes have one good result, viz., that they make the workers become acquainted with the idea of a general strike, and so prepare them for the big struggle which is about to begin.

All the hosiers of Troyes are on strike, and have resolved to combat the tyranny of their masters to the utmost of their power. At the time when the toilers of Charleville, of Vierzon, of Cholet, and of Paris were striking, their fellow-comrades of Troyes have always been to the front of the helpers and supporters; now they hope that the workers everywhere will show towards them their spirit of solidarity. The Socialist papers of Paris have made a warm appeal to the toilers of France on behalf of their brethren of Troyes, and it is to be hoped that their appeal will be listened to and answered accordingly.

The railway workers of the line from Brive to Limoges also have stopped their work; they ask an augmentation of their wages. The navvies are paid 2½d. an hour, and claim from 3d. to 3½d.; the masons are paid 3½d. an hour, and ask from 4½d. to 5½d.; the carpenters who earn 4d., claim to be paid at 5d. an hour. The contractors refuse to increase the wages of their men. The strikers, who are very quiet, receive some assistance from the philanthropic establishments of Limoges, and from the economical "soup-kitchens" of the town, and up to the present moment the inhabitants fully sympathise with the men on strike.

BULGARIA.

A new Socialist paper, entitled *Christopotoff*, from the name of a celebrated Bulgarian revolutionist, has appeared last week at Sofia. The "authorities" quickly issued an order for the arrest and imprisonment of all the contributors and the publisher of the paper, and so it was at once done to death. At the same time, a very interesting discovery has been made in that model land. Among the *brigands* that infest the mountains and forests of the country, and several of whom have lately been caught, are two members of the Bulgarian Legislative Assembly! The Bulgarian Skouptchina must be a nice kind of Parliament.

BELGIUM.

Comrade Oscar Falleur has left Liverpool on the 3rd of this month *en route* for America. Before leaving Europe he went to France for a fortnight, as he wished to bid farewell to some relatives of his living at Trélon, in the Nord Department. The Belgian secret political service at once informed the French Government of Falleur's dark design, and the Paris Minister of the Interior caused the following stupendous letter to be sent to the Prefect of the Nord Department: "République Française.—Monsieur le Préfet, I think it my duty to forward to you the following details, which may be useful: Oscar Falleur, the Belgian Anarchist, sentenced to hard labour and imprisonment for life in consequence of the riots of 1886, conditionally set free by the Minister of Justice, and authorised to provisionally remain in Belgium, provided he should not make Socialist propaganda, has just been expelled from his native land because he has mixed himself up with the Socialist Glass-blower's Union. He has been ordered to leave Belgium or to return to prison. He left Lodelinsart on the 15th inst. in order to go to Trélon (France), a small town near Maubeuge, where big glass-blower's establishments happen to exist. He will stay there for three weeks, and is likely to put himself into communication with his confederates. I have the honour to be, etc., xx., General Controller of the Police."

The Prefect of the Nord Department at Lille, transmits dutifully this letter to his colleague, the sub-Prefect; YY, at Avesnes, who sends the same to the Maire of Trélon. This Maire, having very carefully watched the movements of the dangerous Socialist, has now forwarded his report to his chiefs. It runs as follows: "I, the undersigned, Maire of Trélon (Nord), hereby declare that M. Oscar Falleur has sojourned in this town from the 15th of August to the 2nd of September, and that *his presence has not caused any disorder*. M. Falleur's behaviour always has been a good and regular one."

That is a piece of the ridiculous machinery by which Socialists sometimes are annoyed, and the Governments entertain whole armies of officials to perform such functions.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The organ of the Austrian compositors and printers, *Vorwärts*, published at Vienna, has been confiscated by the police nuisances. Even trade papers are no longer safe in that country of bigotry and re-action. In the same capital, a lecture on "The Relations between Socialism, Science, and Art" was not allowed to be delivered, on the ground that such lectures are most dangerous to the safety of the State. On this point we can easily agree with the so-called authorities, for such lectures certainly are dangerous; but the interdiction of lecturing will not make Socialism less dangerous to the State. So we Socialists are always winning and the State is always losing, and that will go on until the State shall have nothing to lose, having passed away altogether. And that is the fun of prosecution.

A considerable number of Socialists have been favoured at Prague and Reichenberg with police visitations; these gentlemen were in search of "Anarchist" literature, they having been "informed" that a great amount of leaflets were about to be spread all round and even posted on the walls. But, strange to say, the Socialists did not know anything whatever of the matter, although a very few leaflets were really posted here and there at street corners at the very moment when the house visitations began. Our friends there are strongly of opinion that this is a new departure in the methods of prosecution, namely, that the police make themselves revolutionary leaflets and post them on the walls, in order to have a pretext of entering the houses of our comrades. Several Socialists in consequence thereof were arrested, the gentlemen having found some pamphlet or other or some forbidden paper in their possession.

ROUMANIA.

An officer of the Roumanian army, comrade Chineru, from the Norohoi district, near Tassi, has just been sentenced to one year of imprisonment because of his incessant revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and peasants. It is a fact worth noticing, that the little Roumanian army is completely permeated with Socialist ideas. The government are no longer confident in their stock of common laws to prevent the spread of the revolutionary movement, and it is said that during the next Session of the Legislative Assembly they intend to bring in an exceptional bill against Socialism. In the meantime, at any rate, a new Socialist organ is about to be published, entitled *Lucratorul* (The Worker). It will be written by manual workers only. A few days ago the specimen number of another paper has also come to light, which is likely to do good service to the Cause. It is entitled *Glasul Tavanului* (The Voice of the Peasants), and is to be issued as a weekly. Go ahead, Roumania!

The engineers, iron and wood-workers of the Roumanian railways at Bucharest, and those of Galatz and Turn-Severin, are on strike. At the present time one thousand men have left work, and the number of strikers is expected to increase. The worker's claims are the following: (1) Exact settlement of the price of piece-work; (2) Twenty-five per cent augmentation of their wages; (3) Extra hours (the normal day to be of 10 hours) to be paid at 50 per cent above the regular price of wages; (4) All fines to be entered in the relief-fund for invalid workers; (5) Railway free tickets, to be had four times a year; (6) Diseased workers to be attended to at railway company's expenses; (7) The wages to be paid regularly twice a month. These claims, lodged in a memorandum signed by 640 men, were addressed to the directors, but they at once declared that they refused to take any notice whatever of its contents. They also refused to listen to a deputation of the workers. The Government, stupid as all Governments are, immediately proceeded to send soldiers and *gendarmes* to the district where all these strikers live, and ordered in their usual way to settle the question by provoking the workers. But in vain. The Strike Committee appeals specially to the Austrian and German toilers not to come over to Roumania and accept work there. That is of course a matter of international solidarity. The Roumanian Socialist party being very young, they further state that they are in need of funds, and those who are in a position to help may send their subscriptions to the editor of *Gleichheit*, vi., Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, Vienna, who has accepted to forward them to our Roumanian friends.

ITALY.

ROME.—The Roman police manage to "keep the dull times off" for the *Emancipazione* with considerable faithfulness and regularity. Here, for instance, we are apprised of another confiscation of one edition which was devoted to the subject of Pietro Barsanti, the anniversary of whose execution in 1870 was celebrated the other day in Rome. And yet again two more recent confiscations for which the police refuse to give any reason, making three out of four numbers thus treated. The "Revolutionary Republicans" (which we believe is their correct title) of this city naturally bow to the Crispinian rule with a very bad grace, chafing and murmuring under it ceaselessly.

Although months have passed since the crisis in the building trade here, conditions are little bettered, and hundreds and hundreds of men are still without employment. A meeting is shortly to be held under the auspices of the Builders' Society and other associations, to discuss the subject and protest against those *mistificatori* who in times of depression come with fair promises to the workers, taking advantage of their distress and also of their credulity.

THE ROYAL JOURNEY AGAIN.—On visiting the town of Forli, King Humbert expressed a desire to inspect a working-man's house chosen hap-hazard. The choice "happened" to be a happy one, and his high and mightiness expressed himself loudly pleased and charmed with the decency and cleanliness of the little household. The good wife listened with surprise and impatience, and muttered as the party left, "But do these kings think the people are just so many pigs?" The writer is reminded of a little scene that took place on the threshold of a very noble dwelling in London, where some meeting was being held "by gracious permission," etc., etc. One of our Socialist friends had occasion to attend, and was requested in grave accents by the flunkey in charge to "Wipe your feet, please," as if no one under a duke understood the use of scraper and door-mat! The dullness of the meeting was entirely retrieved for our friend by this timely incident, which acted as a fresher or appetiser to the feast of reason and flow of soul that followed. The one word of sense we have read in all the Italian papers about this mock show of royalty, is uttered by a writer who rebukes the Socialists for making such a to-do about it.

RAVENNA.—Some arrests of Socialists have been made here and at Russi, in consequence of some anti-Monarchical demonstrations on the occasion of the king's visit. The public seems to be if not hostile to, at least half-hearted about the monarchical display. There is a good deal of curiosity, but not too much cheering.

VARESE.—The Society of Workers in this town have lately celebrated the third anniversary of their existence in a meeting and social reunion of a pleasant nature.

The 4th Congress of the Italian Labour Party was held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th inst., at Bologna. The subjects discussed were of the usual nature, but we have received no particulars of the proceedings as yet.

COMO.—On the 26th of August, a Congress was held by the workers in the province of Como; 150 delegates were present, representing 9,960 members of the body, and the Labour Party on invitation sent three delegates. The scope of the Congress was to discuss the *organisation of labour*, system of resistance, and the attitude to be maintained at political and administrative elections. It is needless to say that the latter question was discussed with much ardour, one delegate alone fighting for the necessity of abstention from political agitation.

MARIANO (BRIANZA).—The women employed in the silk factory here earn 80 *centesimi* a-day, working 15 hours. Last month they rebelled against this and struck, but not for long, as they were put down with a good deal of brutality by the authorities.

The *Riforma* publishes the text of telegrams recently exchanged between King Humbert and Signor Crispi, referring to the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes. Everything will now be all right!

The Wood Turners at Hamburg, on September 3rd, struck for a reduction of hours to 9½ daily, and an increase of wages to 20s. per week. Hope no English workers will go over. One of the masters has told his men that it makes no difference to him, as he can obtain all the men he wants from London.

MAN'S INHUMANITY.

A JUDGE at Schoharie sent two tramps to the Albany penitentiary for six months each. That is Right. Every one of them ought to be taken in and put at hard labor for a year. Keep them breaking stone, if there is nothing harder for them, and feed them on bread, a little meat once a day, and water—plenty of water, but not too much meat and bread. There is no excuse for a man being a tramp, not the least, and it is impossible for a judge or jury to err on the side of being too hard on them.—*Rochester Herald*. Every man who has to leave his house to search for work, if he is too poor to pay his railroad fare, is called a tramp, and is subject to the penalties of the tramp law. The above paragraph fitly describes the feeling which exists in society circles, when the poor unfortunate wage-worker has to take the road to find work that he may live. Hundreds of wage-slaves are discharged from their work through no fault of their own, their wages have been small while working, so they could not save much to help them in times of depression. There are many men to-day in good circumstances who some time or other in their lifetime have had to tramp from town to town seeking work. The wise-acre who wrote the above extract says: "There is no excuse for a man being a tramp." No excuse? What is a man going to do after being discharged from his work, and he cannot find any in his neighbourhood; he must go or starve, and when he finds himself outside of his own locality society dubs him a tramp. It is the cruel system of competition which makes tramps. The difficulty which men have to contend with in procuring employment breaks up hundreds of men; they become dispirited and lose self-respect, and finally sink down to be a regular vagrant. There is no discrimination with society when speaking of the wandering wage-earner. They are all tramps, and ought to be put in prison because they are poor. Poverty to-day is a crime in this free republic, made so by society, who have become rich by oppressing the wage-earners. Getting machines to do the work of men, and driving out of the factories thousands who go around "begging their brothers of the earth for leave for them to toil." The straws show us which way the wind blows. We must see to it that we ourselves must combine to stop the cruel system of hindering a man of the means of existence and happiness. There should be no "out of work" when a man is free, able and willing to do it.—*Union*.

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.

Propaganda Fund.—C. Walkden, 10s.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley (six weeks), 12s.; P. W. (six weeks), 3s.; C. J. F. (six weeks), 15s.; K. F. (six weeks), 6s.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Victory at Yarmouth is now almost assured, but it has proved a very heavy financial drain upon the branch, and subscriptions, however small, are urgently needed, and should be sent to F. Charles, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Already acknowledged—£3 1s. 11d. Received—Collections: Regent's Park, 2s.; Victoria Park, 2s. 10½d.; Berners Street, 8s. 5d. Total, £3 15s. 2½d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Maughan, Bullock, Beasley, Groser, and Ashborne addressed a good audience. On Sunday morning, Tarleton and Mrs. Schack addressed a very good meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, Maughan, Groser, and Sampson (S.D.F.) spoke. Some opposition, to which Sampson and Groser replied.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting Sunday morning on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Eden (S.L.) and Walker (S.D.F.) In evening, at same place, Walker, Kitz, and Eden addressed a large and enthusiastic audience. Slight opposition by Salvationist easily disposed of by Walkden. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—E.

ABERDEEN.—Leatham lectured at weekly indoor meeting on the 3rd inst. Small meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, at which Aiken presided and Barrow spoke.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, a Conference of members of the Scottish Land and Labour League and the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, took place in the rooms. A general agreement as to the future relationship of the branches to one another and the League was come to, the points of which will be sent to the branches for ratification. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road. After Pollock and Glasier had said a few words, comrades J. Smith (Edinburgh) and James Leatham (Aberdeen), who had come to the Conference, addressed the meeting. Leatham was unfortunately interrupted in the middle of an excellent address by the arrival of the Salvation Army, who occupy the ground after 6 o'clock.

NORWICH.—Thursday last, good meeting was held at Yarmouth by comrades Poynts and Beare. Friday, meeting on St. Catharine's Plain by Reynolds and Morley. Sunday morning, meeting held at Wymondham by comrades Adams and Barker. Comrade Parker (London) addressed a good audience in the Market Place. In the afternoon a good meeting was held by comrade Morley and Mr. Burgess, who spoke in support of Free Speech. In the evening our meeting was a very large one, addressed by comrades Mowbray and Parker; the latter comrade spoke for some considerable time, the audience being very pleased and enthusiastic with his address. After meeting we adjourned to the Gordon Hall, where comrade Parker and several others rendered some capital songs and recitations. Collected during the day, £1 13s. 4d. Sale of *Commonweal*, 7s.—S.

EAST END PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.—A debate was opened on Saturday evening, at Berner Street Club, by H. Davis, on "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?" A very interesting discussion followed. The hall was packed, 8s. 10½d. collected.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—Tuesday last, the unemployed met in Hyde Park, at 2 o'clock, in large numbers. McCormick arrived at 2.30 with red flag. In his speech, he asked why people should starve, while there was plenty of bread in bakers' shops. Three inspectors came forward and arrested him. A member of the Socialist League spoke, followed by Springfield and others. The procession to Clerkenwell was started at 5 o'clock, headed by Springfield, who carried the red flag. When outside the Park, the police, horse and foot, charged and took the flag after a sharp struggle, amid the shouts of the crowd, of "Have you caught 'Leather Apron?'" The crowd marched back to Hyde Park, and held a protest meeting, at which strong resolutions were passed condemning the action of the police.

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. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, September 16, at 8.30, W. Blundell, "The Trades' Union Congress." Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday evening, J. Turner, "Socialist Co-operation." 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.—Kelscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 16, at 8 p.m., J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labour the True Basis of Organisation." Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton. London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney. 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. Special Meeting on Friday September 21st. 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. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy. Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—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. Galloway and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Galloway 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, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8.30, Educational Class—subject, "Liberty." Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.—On Monday September 24th, a Special Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall by comrades and friends, commencing at 8 p.m., to clear off the debts in connection with the late prosecutions at Yarmouth. Admission 3d. each. 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.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 16.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...Macdonald
11.30...Regent's Park ...Parker
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...J. Macdonald
3.30...Hyde Park ...Parker & Brooks
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park
...Hammersmith Branch

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway ...Burns

Tuesday. 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.
Friday. 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker
EAST END.
SUNDAY 16.
Mrs. Schack.
Nicoll.
Mrs. Schack.
Mainwaring.
TUESDAY.
East-end C'mittee.
WEDNESDAY.
Broadway, London Fields 8.30...
FRIDAY.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...
SATURDAY.
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.
North Walsham, Sunday at 11.
Diss, Sunday at 11.
Croswick Common, Sunday at 3.
Yarmouth, Thursday at 7.30.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 16, at 7.45, J. F. Oakeshott, "The Coming Democracy."
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 15th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.
UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Tuesday, September 18, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "The Social Problem." Monday September 24, at 8, Harold Cox, B.A. (Fabian Society), "Trades Unionism and Co-operation"
EAST END PROPAGANDA.—Instead of the usual fortnightly discussion next Saturday week, the 22nd, a special entertainment is being arranged for on behalf of the Free Speech Fund. It is hoped all will do what they can to make this a success. Further particulars next week. Our Jewish comrades have also recently had parades on Sunday mornings, at 11 o'clock, down Petticoat Lane, to sell their paper The Workers' Friend; but as they have been very badly illused there, it is hoped all English comrades who can spare the time will accompany them next Sunday, and take the opportunity of selling the Commonwealth, Freedom, and other English literature, which can be obtained of J. Lane, 38, Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green Junction, and thus help in protecting them, and showing they are not Jew sweaters and enemies, but fellow workers for the complete Emancipation of Labor, and also give practical expression to our International sentiment.

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. Bijuou 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.
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CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURE.
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BURKE ON THE EVILS OF ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS. 1s., post free.
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