

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE CHATEAUX IN FLAMES.

WE are now about to deal with a subject which middle-class historians generally skip over with a few sentences, and yet it is one which might form a profitable study to any one who really desires to understand the history of the revolution. This is the revolt of the peasants, which immediately followed the fall of the Bastille.

I have already described briefly the misery which the country people suffered, a state of wretchedness mainly caused by the taxes levied by the king's government, the rents exacted by the lords, and for the tithes of the church. Most of these taxes were farmed out, that is, a rich man would pay a certain sum to the king's government, the church, or the lords, and then, in order to make his own profit, extort by means of his underlings as much from the unfortunate people as they could be compelled to pay. To wring these taxes out of the people, an army of 200,000 tax-gatherers was needed. It was also necessary to have cruel laws with the galleys, the gibbet, and the rack to back them up. Beneath the devouring march of these locusts, the country became bare and desolate, the peasants deserted their villages, land went out of cultivation, and the amount of cultivated land was yearly decreasing when the revolution broke out. It must not be imagined that the peasant was in the same position as our farm labourers; he was more like the smaller Irish tenants of the present time, working on a small farm with the assistance of his family, but ground to earth by taxes, tithes, and feudal dues. Then, again, they were bound to serve their king, the church, or their lord in the most humiliating fashion. Under the system of the *corvée* (forced labour) they could be ordered out to work on the roads at certain periods. In those days the roads were in a frightful condition, a quagmire of ruts and holes, and they were often forced out to slave on them, in order that the carriage of the lord, the *cortège* of the king, or his majesty's troops might pass with ease. To accomplish these useful services they were often obliged to go miles away from their little farms in a wet season, just when there was a chance to save their crops, and so the crops were left to rot in the falling rain. Often, too, the peasant's beasts of burden were taken from him to drag the baggage of the army, or of the lord, or the king, and the animals were frequently kept for two or three days at this task and turned loose at night by these people, who never dreamt of feeding them. What were they but the property of the common dogs, the vermin, the canaille, whom the proud noble ground like dirt beneath his heel? The game of his lordship, his deer, his hares, his rabbits, and his pigeons feasted upon the crops of the peasant, and woe unto him if even in defence of his crops he shot one of them. He could be fined in 100 livres for the first offence, 200 for the second, and be whipped and banished for five years for the third.

At this moment I might relate a little anecdote illustrating how the peasant resented this. A peasant was once asked what he and his class specially wanted. He replied, "The suppression of pigeons, rabbits, and monks." His questioner was astonished at this strange medley, and asked him what he meant. "Oh, it is very simple," replied the peasant, "the first eat the grain, the second the herbs, and the third the sheaves."

It was among the feudal rights of the nobles to harness the peasant like a beast of burden to a cart; or keep him up all night beating the ponds or marshes amid the cold damp unwholesome mists, so that the croaking of the frogs should not disturb the lord's luxurious slumbers. The lord could and did take by force the fairest women of the peasants to feed his brutal lust; and what appeal was there against his tyranny when all administration of justice was in his hands, or that of some underling of his to whom he had let it out for a consideration? Such was the damnable tyranny under which the people groaned. To read of it must explain to the densest understanding why the people of the country and town hated the lords, and what caused the "atrocities" of the Terror and the revolt which I am about to relate.

It must not be supposed that the people always bore this tyranny with calm patience. No; it provoked, as tyranny always does provoke, repeated acts of revolt on the part of the boldest of them. Many thousands preferred a life in open defiance to law and authority, to labouring like dumb beasts of burden for their lords. Others find-

ing it useless to try to get a living upon the soil, or thrown out of work in times of crisis, wandered all over France in the troops of starving wretches with which every highway was full, gaining their bread by threats or pillage from the rich. These were frequently so numerous that the rulers of provinces declared that it was useless to arrest them, as they had no place to put them in. Thousands of poachers in bands of fifty and sixty frequented the forests and game preserves, fighting desperately if attacked by the gamekeepers or troops, and sometimes putting them to flight. The smugglers of salt, upon which there was a heavy duty, marched in strong bands, and often fought their way through the forces of the Crown who opposed their passage. Even among the peasants who still remained upon the soil, secret societies were formed known as the "Jacques." They were rude bodies of the simplest form of organisation, having no central directing body; but aided by the other insurgents they made merciless war upon the lord, destroying his crops and his game, and sometimes killing their cruel tyrant. His corpse being perhaps some morning found cold and dead in his chateau, a knife through the heart, and a piece of paper round the hilt bearing the inscription, "This is from Jacques." Or perhaps the corpse of a lord was dragged from the shrubs at the bottom of a ravine, and still in his pocket was found the tell-tale scroll, "This is from Jacques." It was the hands of these men which scattered revolutionary leaflets, pamphlets, and caricatures among the peasants, representing the king, the queen, their favourites, the farmers of the taxes, lords and ladies, as vampires and ghouls sucking the blood and devouring the flesh of the people. It was largely owing to the work of these obscure propagandists, of whom we know little or nothing, for being unlearned they wrote no memoirs, that revolutionary ideas were spread far and wide, and that the people, when riots and insurrection broke out, knew whom to attack as the cause of their misery.

Still, the more determined men, who revolted either in secret societies, or as poachers, smugglers, or brigands, as the wanderers were called, were in a decided minority. The mass of the people, as the mass of the people has always done, bore their sufferings with a stolid indifference, caring only, as one of the writers of the time declared, to eat and sleep. "The inhabitants of the country," wrote d'Argenson, "are merely poverty-stricken slaves, draft cattle under a yoke, moving on as they are goaded, caring for nothing and embarrassed by nothing, provided they can eat and sleep at regular hours." The Parisians were particularly noted for their tameness under tyranny, and our own Arthur Young, not a revolutionist by any means, remarked upon this. "I saw," says he, speaking of the furious driving of the nobles, "a poor child run over and probably killed, and have been myself many times blackened by the mud of their wheels. . . . If young noblemen in London were to drive their chaises in streets without footways, as their brethren do at Paris, they would speedily and justly get very well thrashed or rolled in the gutter." Mercier declares that a squad of police of the time could easily scatter "platoons of five or six hundred men, at first greatly excited, but melting away in a twinkling of an eye after the soldiery have distributed a few shots and handcuffed two or three of the ringleaders." We have seen within recent years something very much like this in London; but let us hope that our people will redeem their character even as the French did in the first years of their revolution.

But the suffering grew at last too keen even for these men to bear with patience. From 1725 to 1789 there is at first in every ten or twelve years a year of absolute starvation. Then a crisis comes in every five years, and from 1785 to 1789 the years of starvation become almost continuous. The misery in these hunger years can scarcely be imagined. Taine states, on the authority of official reports, that one town, Rennes, two-thirds of the inhabitants were in a state of destitution. In two districts in the wine country 35,000 people were living upon alms. In a remote canton the peasants cut the grain still green and dry it in the oven, because they are too hungry to wait. It was impossible for the meekest of mankind to bear such misery with patience. In these years the peasants collect in the market towns, and, reinforced by those outcasts of society the tramps and the poachers, they storm the granaries and carry off the wheat. These revolts are at

first local, but in 1788 and '89 they break out all over France. In every province in France the grain stores are sacked, the convoys of corn are stopped on the roads and pillaged. The forests and game preserves of the lords are invaded, the game shot, trees cut down and the wood sold in open day. At the same time, rich farmers and lords are obliged by threats of sword and fire to give involuntary contributions to the relief of the poor. In the small and large towns the barriers are burnt where they collect the tolls upon food, and the toll-collector, the tax gatherer, the corn monopolist flee for their lives before a crowd maddened with hunger and desperation, and armed with clubs, pitch-forks, guns, and knives.

In the midst of the noise and tumult of these emeutes, which increase in fury when the news arrives of the fall of Necker, comes the joyful tidings of the fall of the Bastille and the overturning of the royal and feudal power. Up till now it has been the news of revolt in the provinces that has excited Paris; now the news from Paris adds fire to the fury of the provinces. In all the towns of France the news of the fall of Necker and the taking of the Bastille is accompanied by refusals on the part of the people to pay taxes. The young men sack the magazines of arms, and the troops, instead of defending law-n-order, join with the masses in the popular revolt. The same incidents accompany each insurrection. The burning of barriers, the driving away of monopolists and tax-gatherers, and other oppressors of the people; sometimes the fixing of the price of bread. At Chalellerault, in Poitou, the people fix the price of bread at 3 sols a-pound for themselves, but allow the bakers to charge the nobles 5 sols, as they can afford it better. Thus the revolution spreads throughout France.

D. J. NICOLL.

(To be concluded).

## PARIS CONGRESS.

### A DELEGATE'S REPORT.

THE first proceeding after the verification of credentials was the calling over the list of delegates, most of whom answered the roll in French, German, and English. The only incident worthy of mention during this tedious process was the applause with which the names of Peter Lavroff (Russia), Cipriani (Italy), and that of Dr. Adler the Austrian delegate (now sentenced to four months' imprisonment, to be undergone upon his return), and the Danish delegation, were greeted. These last had been sent at the last moment, the Danish Social-Democrats having altered their previous intention not to participate in the Congress. Several fresh adhesions during the sittings brought up the total of delegates to 407. The English representation, consisting of 21 at the outset of the business, was increased to 24 by the arrival of J. and R. Turner and F. Charles subsequently. The proportions of the English delegation from the Socialist League were: Council of two delegates; and branches nine in all. It is worthy of remark that Greece, Norway, Bulgaria, Roumania, Finland, Portugal, and the Czechs were represented. Scotland may properly be said to have been represented by Messrs. Keir Hardie, Ayrshire Miners; Ogilvy, Scottish Labour Association; Cunninghame Graham and Halliday. These, in conjunction with our comrade Wess of the Berner Street Club, were the other elements in the delegation from Britain.

The best part of two days was wasted in a useless discussion promoted by the Italian and Flemish delegates in favour of a fusion with the other Congress, which ended as described in my fellow-delegate's (Morris's) report. The reports of various nations and trades consumed the time until Saturday morning, when the proposals in favour of international legislation, eight hours per day, regulation and inspection of factories, and other "stepping stones" were brought forward. The League delegates held a special meeting to discuss their attitude towards these proposals, and as there was a diversity of opinion as to the course we should pursue, it was left to the discretion of each delegate to vote as he pleased.

The position occupied by myself, and some others of the delegates, in regard to the question of seeking the aid of Parliament for the reduction of the hours of labour, was that it should be achieved by strikes, combination, and by custom, for the reasons given in Merlino's amendment:—

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

The reading of the reports occupied several hours, during which it was necessary to sit in a cramped position and listen to them in French and German before the English translation was reached. This made it a wearisome task, the irksomeness of which was increased by the several presidents and prominent members of the bureau, who took little or no trouble to secure order for the English translations. Many valuable portions of the reports and names of the speakers in several cases were inaudible to me on this account. Mrs. Aveling laboured hard and conscientiously at a very hard task, but had to solicit the aid of your delegates' lungs to assist her in obtaining anything like silence for her explanations. I must say, as against the French character for courtesy, that the local Parisian delegates were as a group the most discourteous in this particular, and were several times rebuked from the platform for it.

The portions of reports which I think most noteworthy are those of the Parisian Waiters, French Seamen, German Westphalian Miners, Berlin Women Workers, Swedish, Danish, and Austrian delegates. Comrade Clara Zetkin, of the Berlin Women Workers, roused the Congress to enthusiasm when she said that the capitalist had destroyed women's place at home and forced her into the market as a producer, only to widen her ideas and create another enemy who would strive with energy for the overthrow of capitalist domination. She said that little thanks were due to the men for women's awakening, for they have held that women's place was at home as a domestic slave. The women would never return to that condition; but, in opposition to the middle-class agitation for so-called Women's Rights, which simply means to put women in antagonism to men and use them as competitors in the wage-market against them, they women Socialists, disregarding the question of sex in economics, would work with men on a basis of equality for the social revolution.

Dr. Adler, Austria, in giving his report, stated that in Austria labour legislation was theoretically perfect. Regulation of factories and of child and female labour existed on paper, yet men, women, and children are overworked and the laws disregarded. In a speech full of satire he ridiculed this state of things, and said that for his participation in the tram strike of Vienna his paper, the *Gleichheit*, was suppressed and himself condemned to prison; that in all Austria there are only fifteen inspectors to see to the enforcement of labour laws.

The delegate of the Parisian Waiters' stated that they had to work from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m., and often longer; that they often had to pay the managers of the Bureau de Placement, or place farmers, 60 fr. to 100 fr. to secure a place, and then were frequently dismissed upon the smallest pretence, the employer and the bureau sharing in the plunder of the guarantee. They were obliged to be civil to all, and even when insulted to say "Thank you." Hitherto they had been counted as of no moment, but now that they are organised every other section of industry recognised them. They were heartily in sympathy with Socialism.

The delegate of the German Miners' recited how the miners had been treated by the authorities in their late revolt, and how many had been imprisoned for simply organising; of their interview with the German Emperor, whom, by the way, he designated "the devil"; and said, in conclusion, that the upheaval had been made without Socialist influence against intolerable conditions, but henceforward the miners would work with socialistic aims.

Sweden was obliged to seek a Swede resident in Paris as her representative, because just now there are four editors of Socialist papers in prison, and exceptional laws on the German and Austrian pattern are being passed against the Socialists.

Bohemian Socialists were also under the same difficulties; no combination was allowed, and just recently in one year 340 persons were arrested on suspicion, some condemned to one year of imprisonment for a paper that had ceased to exist, some to three or four months, and only 110 acquitted after being detained weeks without trial.

The delegate of the French Seamen detailed the hardships his constituents underwent, tied up by the hands to the rigging or placed in dark cells, and overworked and half starved. He appealed to the Congress for its sympathy and aid on their behalf.

Christensen, of Denmark, gave his report, and spoke of the rapid strides the movement was making in that country, and of the persecutions to which the Socialists were subjected.

Ferroul (Deputy) asked to be allowed to speak, and having obtained permission he delivered a powerful speech against Parliamentaryism.

The English report was given upon anti-Parliamentary lines by comrade Morris, and after a deal of pressure had been exercised upon the bureau.

Keir Hardie gave us a trades' union report, at the conclusion of which he went out of his way to declare that no person in England believed in other than peaceful methods to achieve amelioration of conditions, a statement that was protested against by myself and other delegates. Hardie's speech was carefully, very carefully, translated into German by Liebknecht, who in the course of it added comments of his own to demonstrate the difference between Morris and Keir Hardie.

The subsequent sittings of the Congress were devoted to the factory legislation before mentioned, and a resolution sent in on behalf of the League by Morris was added, I believe, to the preamble of the first resolution.

I then essayed my prentice hand in the belief that the wreckage caused by competition deserve as much attention as the organised workers, and therefore sent in the following resolution:—

"The Congress recognising that the monopoly of the means of life, viz., land and instruments of production, by landlords and capitalists is the cause of poverty and degradation amongst the masses, and seeing that the mass of unemployed caused by monopoly have only the choice of either starvation wages, brutal charity, theft, or rebellion, we view with disgust and horror the hypocrisy which establishes a code of morality and honesty, buttressed by religion, and yet condemns multitudes to pauperism, prostitution, and crime; the Congress having for its aim and object the extinction of poverty by the abolition of monopoly, declares that the monopolists who enforce judicially penal law are themselves the greatest criminals, and whilst extending our sympathy to prisoner, prostitute, and pauper, made so by injustice, we strengthen our resolve to overthrow at the earliest moment the fraud called Modern Society."

Considerable trouble had to be taken to get it read to the Congress, after which it was, I believe, consigned to limbo. No attempt was made to translate it for the convenience of the delegates, nor put it upon the order of the day.

In conclusion, I must say that the Congress was disappointing from a revolutionary standpoint, badly organised, and little more than a prelude to the Governmental one about to be held upon labour legislation. Discussion upon the anti-Parliamentary and Anarchical positions was barely tolerated, and ultimately, forcibly suppressed. Let me say that as a demonstration of Internationalism broadly, and not noticing details, the Congress was a success; but my advice to English Socialists is, in view of a convocation to another one to be held in the future, to insist upon organisation, such as the printing of the order of the day, proper translations, and above all, sound revolutionary doctrines in favour of ALL and not sections of the proletariat. F. KIRZ.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 17, 1889.

11	Sun.	1868. Students' demonstration at Paris.
12	Mon.	1530. Capitulation of the Florentine Republic. 1789. National Convention proclaimed; statues of the king pulled down. 1793. Peart and Belcher convicted of selling Paine. 1839. "National Holyday," beginning of "sacred month" resolved on by Chartist Convention; serious disturbances in many parts of the country; demonstration on Kennington Common.
13	Tues.	1792. Louis Capet (Louis XVI) and his family conveyed to the Temple. 1812. Food riot at Sheffield. 1845. Labour riot at Dunfermline. 1881. E. J. Trevelyan died. 1882. W. S. Jevons drowned. 1888. Benjamin Flotte died.
14	Wed.	1794. Trial of Robert Watt for high treason. 1817. Public meeting at the London Tavern to consider Robert Owen's plan for relieving distress. 1839. Trial of Chartists at Chester: George Thompson, gunmaker, of Birmingham; Timothy Higgins, of Ashton; James Mitchell, beerseller, of Stockport; and Charles Davies, of Stockport, imprisoned for eighteen months. 1884. Nihilist explosion at Kazan. 1886. French workmen delegates in London.
15	Thur.	1787. "Exile" of the French Parlement to Troyes in Champagne. 1797. Trial of John Binns, labourer, at Warwick, for "seditious words" in a speech delivered at the "Swan," Swallow Street, Birmingham, March 11, 1796, as a delegate of the London Corresponding Society. 1799. Robert Owen enters into possession of New Lanark. 1839. Trial of Rev. J. R. Stephens for "inciting to riot" at a Chartist meeting at Hyde on 14th of previous November; eighteen months' imprisonment. 1842. Trial of George Jacob Holyoake for blasphemy. 1843. Great Repeal demonstration on the Hill of Tara. 1886. Socialist demonstration in Brussels.
16	Fri.	1678. Andrew Marvell died. 1788. Proclamation that Treasury payments be henceforth three-fifths in cash, two-fifths in paper—in other words, that the French Treasury is fallen insolvent. 1819. Peterloo massacre. 1839. McDonall sentenced to twelve months' and Bradley to eight months' imprisonment for seditious speeches at Chartist meetings. 1851. Lopez garotted. 1878. Execution of Mezentzoff at St. Petersburg. 1886. Workmen's Party Congress at Mons.
17	Sat.	1816. Disturbances among the weavers at Preston caused by reduction of wages. 1842. "Seditious" placard issued by Chartists at Manchester.

### HOW SHALL WE EDUCATE THE RICH?

THE deplorable ignorance of the wealthy and well-to-do people on questions of social and political economy, and the condition of the masses surrounding them, calls for a remedy. How shall we educate the rich? is a question of quite as much importance as How shall we take care of the poor? It is suggested that the working classes shall organise missionary societies and publication societies for the purpose of working among the "better classes," and teaching them at least the rudiments of social science and attract their attention toward the condition of the masses. A series of tracts or publications on the labour problem that could be comprehended by undeveloped intellects, that would gradually prepare them to receive more comprehensive instruction; the preparation of lay preachers with a genius for imparting knowledge in the A B C of economics; the establishment of Sunday and evening schools, somewhat after the style of the "sun set" club or the economic conferences, where the ignorant rich might be gathered together to recite from a catechism of political economy and social science, or where the advanced students might give them instruction,—all of these methods could be adopted with more or less good effect, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of them would prove to be a remedy. It is difficult to inoculate individuals whose sole object for a quarter of a century has been money-getting, with no ideas except money-getting. A man whose brains is carried around in a pocket-book or deposited in a bank vault is not the right kind of material for a movement the foundation of which is intellectual development.

It is a fact that ought to be startling to the moneybags of the country that the working man is to-day better educated and much better qualified to discuss economic or political questions than the man who employs him, and that the only difficulty in the way of a peaceful solution of the labour question is the lamentable ignorance of the rich or capitalistic class.

Chicago Knights of Labour.

Miserable fallacy, that high morality and refined sentiment can grow out of harsh social relations, ignorance, and want.—George Eliot.

The policeman who in the late New York street-car strike shot and killed a striker has been given a medal by public admirers, Col. Elliott Shepard fastening it to his coat-lapel.

An editorial in the *Home Journal* opens thus: "The text of the little sermon we intend preaching is taken from the news column of a metropolitan journal and reads as follows: 'It was an open secret that some members of the congregation were desirous of having the pastor removed on account of his democratic disposition and inclination to be friendly with all classes, which was considered undignified.'"

## THE MARSEILLAISE.

Translated by J. A. ANDREWS.

CHILDREN of freedom, rouse to action!  
The day of glory now is here!  
Against us Tyranny's dark faction  
Their bloody battle-flag appear!  
Mark, far and wide in every region,  
The raging of their furious bands—  
How loved ones, next your very hands,  
Fall slaughtered by their murderous legion!  
To arms against the wrong!  
Array your vengeful throng!  
March on! march on! till tyrants' blood  
Shall soak the fields along!

What cunning scheme are they propounding,  
These traitors, slaves, and kings forsworn!  
For whom these snares our steps surrounding?  
These fetters forged for many a morn?  
Comrades, for us! Oh! cursed knavery!  
What burning feelings it should bring!  
'Tis us these wretches dare to sing  
Of forcing back in bonds of slavery!  
To arms, etc.

What! shall we have the law dictated  
By strangers at our own fireside?  
And us, rebellious, decimated  
By hiring troops, for gold that ride?  
Great God! are hands in chains that languish  
Our necks beneath the yoke to bend?  
Shall these vile despots longer blend  
Our lives and destinies with anguish?  
To arms, etc.

Quake, tyrants! quake! Ye treachery-brewing,  
By friends and foes alike abhorred,  
Tremble! your works of foul misdoing  
At last shall have their due reward!  
Against you all men's hands grow strengthened—  
Ay! should our youngest heroes fall,  
The earth her dead to life would call,  
Your term of crimes should not be lengthened!  
To arms, etc.

Comrades, as generous warriors, harden  
Or spare, at need, your vengeful blows:  
These sorry victims deign to pardon  
Who dolefully our path oppose;  
But bloody despots gorged with plunder,  
And traitors who betray our force,  
These tigers who without remorse  
Would tear their mother's breasts in sunder.  
To arms, etc.

When our first-born of Freedom perish,  
We too shall be upon the plain!  
Their dust beneath us we shall cherish,  
And there their spirits will remain!  
More proud within the self-same hollow  
To sleep, than to escape their grave,  
We the sublimest joy shall have—  
To well avenge them, or to follow!  
To arms, etc.

O sacred love of home, inspire us!  
Guide and sustain our righteous zeal!  
Liberty, Liberty shall fire us,  
And fight among us for thy weal!  
Beneath our flag, see Victory glowing  
Where'er thy pleading accents call,  
And to thy foes, the while they fall,  
Thy triumph and our glory showing!  
To arms, etc.

THE EIGHT HOURS QUESTION.—The working classes—those at least who know what they do want—do not want a legal declaration of the time they are to be allowed to work for a master; they want absolute freedom to work for themselves independently of all masters. If with such freedom they can satisfy their needs by working three hours, they do not want to work five more hours for a master. Nothing short of this freedom will solve the labour problem, and all eight hour restrictions are political dodges and political tinkering. They are mostly appeals by designing politicians to the ignorant members of the working class, and those who can be blinded and pacified by such reforms as their masters in Parliament care to give them. Those who desire that wage-slavery shall follow chattel-slavery into oblivion will not be blinded by any such foolery, for they know that Factory Acts and Eight Hour Bills do not touch the real issue, that they leave the real cause of industrial slavery untouched.—*Australian Radical*.

FEDERATION OF YORKSHIRE SOCIALISTS.—A meeting of delegates of the Yorkshire Socialist societies was held at Leeds, after the demonstration at Vicars Croft on Sunday July 23, at which the following resolutions were carried: (1) That this meeting of Yorkshire Socialists considers that the time has arrived when a federation of Yorkshire Socialists is advisable." (2) "That a secretary be appointed to carry on the work of the Federation"; and that F. Corkwell be appointed secretary. (3) "That one penny per month per member be levied for the purpose of defraying expenses incidental to the work of the Federation." (4) "That a conference of Yorkshire Socialists be held half-yearly; and that the next conference be held at the Leeds Branch, date to be near Christmas." After the conference, a resolution was passed condemning the action of the German Government in regard to the Silesian miners; and also pledging those present to collect funds for the relief of the families of the miners. Cunningham Graham accepted the position of treasurer, to whom funds may be addressed at 13 Paternoster Row, London.—F. C.



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

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

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 7.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Volkzeitung	<b>ITALY</b>
Brotherhood	Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Church Reformer	Nationalist	<b>SPAIN</b>
Justice	Twentieth Century	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Elector	Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Labour Tribune	Investigator	Lisbon—A Revolta
London—Freie Presse	Chicago—Knights of Labor	O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	<b>GERMANY</b>
Railway Review	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Social Demokrat	Die Wahrheit	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Worker's Friend	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Unity	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>DENMARK</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Pacific Union	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
Hamilton—Radical	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>SWEDEN</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Malmö—Arbetet
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Proletariat	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	<b>WEST INDIES</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Cuba—El Productor
New York—Der Sozialist	<b>BELGIUM</b>	
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker	

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Grand Old Parties are preparing already for their next great fight. On the one side and the other the war-drum is being vigorously beaten and all available forces are being drawn out in array. Two of the war-leaders of the younger braves have been "making palaver" during the past week, and encouraging their men for the coming battle. Prof. Stuart laid before the National Liberal Club the other night his own particular views upon the situation, and the programme which he and those who act with him have drawn up for their future guidance. Not a wildly revolutionary programme, looked at with Socialist eyes, but a very striking exemplification, nevertheless, of the way in which things are progressing.

All serious Socialists take heed—or should if they do not—of all the more important events in the political world, and have therefore, one would fain hope, already examined this speech for themselves. Also the one in which Lord Randolph Churchill, having stolen a good deal of the Liberal thunder, managed to let it off before its more legitimate owners got a chance of doing so. They do not need, therefore, that all the items of both programmes should be re-stated here; or that they should be reminded that the thunder, such as it is, came originally from a Socialist arsenal—though in the hands of its present operators it cannot be said to sound like it!

One thing, however, they may be profitably warned of, for it never fails to come upon people as a fresh surprise. That is, that as the General Election comes nearer and nearer, as the bulk of the people give themselves up to the electoral delirium, and the confusion heightens, the revolutionary movement will seem to die down amid the clamour, and remain comparatively dormant until after the elections are completed. Wholly unreal and transient as is this dying down of the movement, it has on each occasion of its recurrence been responsible

for the disheartening of many good workers, and the leading astray of many half-converted enquirers.

Yet it would not be difficult, one would think, for even a cursory examination to reveal that the movement is neither dead nor sleeping, but obscured, and partly hidden from sight and hearing, by the dust and noise of the parliamentary conflict. But there are some who are always laying themselves open to the rebuke: "O, ye of little faith!"

The worst among these weak ones are not those who are disquieted only when actual peril seems to be upon them, and their comrades appear to be dull and dilatory in the face of it. Far more mischievous are those who scent imaginary dangers afar off and who curse and wail in chorus over the probability of either Radical or Tory going in for "palliative measures" and so "retarding the Revolution." This ignorant and cowardly cry is now being raised over the "new Liberal" proposals, and the "new Tory" adaptation of them. One would think that the Revolution was a delicate mechanical construction on a special plan, which a profane hand might wreck or turn aside, instead of what it is, a mighty universal movement, undivided and resistless, taking a myriad shapes and working in a myriad ways, but all in one direction and to one end.

Last week the Deputy Coroner for Westminster held an enquiry into the death of a coach-painter, who had been found dead in bed:

"The doctor who made a post-mortem examination stated that the man died in a small back kitchen, amid the filthiest surroundings he had ever seen. The walls were wet, and in fact the place was utterly unfit for human habitation. Just outside the window, and within a space of about half the size of the table the jury were sitting round, were a water-closet, a dust-hole, and the water supply for drinking purposes. The room ought certainly never to have been occupied. The deceased's body and the apartment itself were in such a horribly neglected condition that witness's clothing was affected. The room, which measured 10 ft. or 12 ft., was so dark that when he entered he almost trod on the corpse."

That is one case out of—how many? There are thousands upon thousands of such cases which never come to light, not in London alone, but in every city in the civilised world. There is also the teeming misery that is only not quite so horrible in its degree, but is infinitely more terrible in its extent. The utmost effort of the good people who seek to palliate such a system as that which produces these things can achieve little of that which they aim at; but it can do much else of which some of them never dream.

Whatever is done or attempted to be done in any direction by any one on behalf of the proletariat is of good effect, though in a far other direction often times than that intended. It is for us to keep steadily on with our educational work, so that when anything shall be done by the proletariat on its own behalf it shall be done well and once for all. To fully carry out our work requires that we expose from time to time the futility of tinkering with a time-worn and outgrown system. It does not require that we regard those who disagree with us as deadly enemies, and waste our time and energy in opposition and abuse. Better work, our own work, has the first claim upon us, needs all our strength, and we can only neglect it at our peril.

S.

That sinister organ of the bourgeoisie, the *Daily Telegraph*, in a recent article anent the closing of Millbank Prison, styled its inmates "felonious drones." Its columns have been filled for days with lists of the presents given and received by persons who have never done a day's useful work in their lives, the occasion being the marriage of a pair of drones from among what Lord John Russell once in a lucid moment termed the felonious classes.

The same journal has made the "Weeds of Whitechapel" the subject of an essay, wherein the poor are sternly censured for early marriages and the begetting of children they are unable to support. In its other portions it strongly supports the demand for additional royal grants, and thereby sustains the position taken up by Boycott Smith in the House—that the Prince of Wales is under no obligation to support his own family. So the semitic patriot of Fleet Street censures the "weeds" and applauds royalty for exactly the same thing, viz., casting their burdens upon the community. Levy should try, at least, to be consistent.

There is a movement on foot by Tory-Democrats to ameliorate, by shortening the hours of labour, housing of the poor, etc., the conditions of town workmen. Lord R. Churchill's speech is a straw in that direction. Like some people who wave the red flag, he would "house the people in great buildings suitable to the class who would inhabit them," somewhat on the principle that well-fed cattle provide the best meat. They would round off the acute corners of the present system and make it tolerable with a view to its preservation. Socialists who are not concerned about that may think that the people, instead of being herded in parish-built barracks, would be better settled as free Communists, say, for instance, upon the Marlborough or Salisbury estates. The quarrel between land-robber and capitalist dates from the rise of the middle class into power at the expense of the feudal aristocracy. Working folk who desire complete emancipation, and not to be slaves, however well fed, will, whilst taking all that may be thrown to them by the contending parties, not forget the cause of the quarrel, nor neglect to prosecute their object, the overthrow of both landlord and capitalist. When will the *Labour Elector* vary the monotony of its attacks upon Liberal capitalists by some facts and figures relating to the Tory landed aristocracy? F. K.

## CHARITY.

It is a saying of Carlyle's, that no institution or custom can pass away from mankind until they have sucked from it all the experience, however sweet or bitter, it can yield. Is it not time, then, that Christian Charity be overhauled, its nature analysed, and all the lessons learnt that it can teach? When Socialism shall be established the noise of the singing of jingling hymns will cease; the smooth pictures labelled "Charity" in our galleries will have lost the sentiment that makes beholders say "How pretty!"; and future annotators of Shakespeare's plays, reading the line "Give me a little earth for charity," will make learned notes on the then forgotten custom of "eating dirt" before rich and charitable patrons, so prevalent in this great era of funkeys.

Never were there such opportunities as now for the study of this virtue since the time of the Apostle Paul, who discovered it and catalogued its merits. Had he but lived in our day, how many a seeming paradox he might have explained away by examples drawn from the rich and noble among us! What class before has understood so well, and so well acted up to, the dictum that "Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, it profiteth me nothing"? The wealthy, desiring above all things *profit*, seldom *give*, but prefer to *lend* their goods to the poor; thereby combining charity with five per cent., and winning the sweet consciousness of lending unto the Lord.

"Charity endureth all things," saith the apostle; and so in truth do the professors of Christian charity to-day. The poverty of the working classes, and all the misery and degradation that follow in its track in this world (not to mention the next),—this the wealthy know; yet, spite of their sorrow and lamentation, endure; doubtless because they find their acts of charity, like Epps's cocoa, "grateful and comforting" to their souls. For, "believing all things" (as St. Paul says charity does), they even believe that their state shall endure for ever, and that as there always have been, so there always will be, rich and poor, in order that the former may be charitable to the latter. And truly, were it otherwise, how could a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven? Happily, the presence of their poorer brethren enables the wealthy to solve that difficult problem; and not alone their occasional alms-giving, but much more their "kindness" (another attribute of charity) in allowing the poor to work for them, opens to them the gates of the golden city; and of the seed sown on the good ground of the proletariat, they reap an hundred-fold.

"Charity hopeth all things." "Charity covereth a multitude of sins." Yea, has it not, for the time, covered the sins of the greedy, grudging people, and led our gracious Queen herself to "hope" that her loyal Commons will bestow upon her royal grandchildren the wherewithal to practice this glorious virtue? Surely the loyal Commons will grant her request, knowing how much more blessed it is to give than to receive. And surely, too, will she "endure" with all long-suffering, if she but gain her desire, the attacks of those Radical journals, such as that halfpenny *Star*, who laugh and sneer, who call her children paupers, and print cartoons with scurrilous text, making her out to be herself an object of charity.

A few days ago I heard a pretty thing about a little bee, and as it may contain a valuable moral for such uncharitable persons, I will repeat it; the more gladly, since it does not for once introduce that unhappy simile about the working bees and the drones, wherein the discontented find so much delight. A good spinster lady was relating in my hearing a sermon she had heard, in which the preacher spoke of charity. In Rome, he said, there was a beautiful picture having the name of that virtue for its title. It represented a boy holding in his fingers a poor bee that had lost its wings, and this good child was trying to feed it with some honey. So touching an incident! For, of course, such a kind little boy could not be suspected of having first divested the poor insect of its wings. I grieve to say that I heard this possibility suggested, surely by some person who had forgotten that "charity believeth all things;" and a wicked Socialist who was present muttered (but under his breath) that, had the youth done so, the picture would have exactly represented the modern charity, which grips the worker tight, deprives him of the means of getting his own living, and then feeds him with the stolen produce of the labour of other workers. But he dared not say it aloud, and as the base suggestion of cruelty was repudiated the little tale retained its innocent charm; and I came to the conclusion that until the lesson of that beautiful picture is understood of the people, charity, even as St. Paul says, will indeed never fail, but will endure as a living custom to demonstrate the truth of Carlyle's philosophy. G. STURT.

**PATRIOTISM.**—The editor of the *Chicago Knights of Labour* comments as upon a matter referred in a recent note of ours:—

"We have received what purports to be a protest by the 'British American Association of Boston' against the appointment of Patrick Egan as Minister to Chili. We don't know anything about Mr. Egan, except that he is an enthusiastic Irishman. He may or may not be a fit person for the place, but we think if these British American, Irish American, German American, Scandinavian American, Canadian American, Hebrew American, and all other American Associations with a foreign prefix, were absorbed by a genuine United States American Association the country would be fully as well off. No man can serve two masters, and as long as the members of these various associations with foreign names acknowledge a fealty to foreign countries they have no right to ask for any of the privileges of American Citizenship."

We go further, and say that they have no right to be considered anything else than reactionary nincompoops. While they are quarrelling over who they are, the capitalist is settling what they are, and what they shall be, too, until they get a little more sense

## IN A CATHEDRAL.

SUBLIME yet simple, delicate yet vast,  
O flower of faith! what mastery had they  
That wrought this miracle! what power to pray  
Possessed the congregations of the past!  
Yet now, more dread than armed iconoclast,  
Or ever-gnawing tooth of slow decay,  
Despair and doubt like spectres here display  
A cold and empty sepulchre at last.

Will worshippers again be gathered here  
In that new world wherewith time travaileth?  
How will their hearts, grown strong and free from fear,  
Confront the mysteries of life and death?  
No man may prophesy; but this is clear—  
There must be union, and there must be faith.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## NOTES ON THE LEEDS LABOURERS' STRIKE.

THE builder's labourers in Leeds were getting 6d. an hour for their labour some few years ago. At that time they had a Union, which they foolishly allowed to collapse. No sooner had their Society ceased to exist than the masters struck a halfpenny per hour off the men's wages. This, however, failed to unite them together again, and in a little while another halfpenny deduction was effected.

About five weeks since some labourers, who met in Vicar's Croft, were discussing their grievances rather aimlessly when comrades Sweeney and Paylor, who happened to be present, took the matter up and urged the men to form a Union. It was then and there agreed to call a general meeting on the following Sunday. This was done, and our branch took the affair in hand. Our speakers exhorted the men to combine, and so favourably was the advice received that in the afternoon a meeting was held at our branch rooms, where a committee was elected, which had scarcely sat once when it decided to strike for a halfpenny per hour advance. A general meeting of the men was called, at which the committee's decision was unanimously and unhesitatingly agreed to.

The strike has now (Monday) reached the fifth week, and those still out are determined. Scarcely a day has passed since the commencement of the struggle without some employers sending in notes of surrender. A number of large contractors are holding out stubbornly, but no more stubbornly than are the men. Every day large numbers of the strikers meet at our rooms to arrange "pickets," and look to the general work of the Union. Occasionally a drove of black sheep (mostly strangers) are brought off a job to the great rejoicing of the faithful. The bearing of the men is excellent. Assiduous collecting and levies on those who have got the advance are working wonders. Last week £100 was paid to the strikers, and this week as much more will be needed. There are now about 150 men on strike, and we know that the few masters who have refused to give the advance must either give way soon or throw up their contracts.

Such is the present position of the strike. The resolute attitude of the men from the first, the comparative absence of "scabs," and the successful conducting of the struggle have won the admiration of skilled workmen, whose unions, though generations old, have never carried through so unanimous and uncompromising a strike.

Meantime, the builders of Leeds must be sitting on thorns and brambles. Leeds grows apace. Houses seem to shoot up like mushrooms, and one day (not a distant day) they will as suddenly tumble about the ears of their inhabitants if the big winds of the North are in anything like usual form. Labour is cheap, and materials too are cheap; cheap as dirt, for that is precisely what they are. The dredgings of the filthiest river in creation are used by these model builders for artisan's dwellings. Condemned hovels are reduced to a rubbish heap, and thrifty Jeremiah makes himself a profit by converting this unwholesome refuse into mortar for brick-sticking.

While these typhoid-traps have been elaborately and extensively laid out, rents have consistently maintained their high reputation. Property has sold well, and contracts for buildings are at present plentiful enough to keep the builders of Leeds busy for two years. The longer, therefore, these large contractors hold out against the men the worse it must be for them in the end. T. M.

**CHICAGO FACTORY-HANDS.**—A recent canvass by the factory inspectors of Chicago, Ills., showed that there are 28,077 concerns in that city employing 244,038 in industrial lines. Of these 199,100 are males, 44,938 females, 2,040 boys, and 762 girls.—C.

**THAT NEVER LET UP.**—While there are hundreds of passive labour reformers in each craft—men who give a tacit acquiescence to union principles, pay dues, and attend meetings—yet the active workers, those who keep the spirit of organisation alive, do the thinking and planning and hustling—these, as you know, can be counted with a very few figures. I suppose this is equally true of fraternal, benevolent, and other organisations; yet where a man's bread and butter is concerned one would naturally expect something different. Now, many of these active workers are less able to do what they are doing than many of their associates. Then, why do they give time and often money to a cause where they are reasonably certain to get more kicks than pennies, not only from the outside world, but from those they are trying to serve? To tell you frankly, I don't know, and I don't believe they know themselves. There are probably a hundred who contribute the motive power of the labour movement in Boston. I think I have heard five of them say, in effect, "I'm going to let up on this business. I can't afford it. Let somebody else do some work." But they never do let up. He has enlisted for life, and in spite of his grumbling you find him in harness year after year. His labour reform ideas have become, at least, a part of his religion, and he tugs away, caring less and less as time goes by what people say or think about it.—*Boston Labour Leader*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The Union appears to be running on the lines it has chalked out for itself, the gaining of some slight concessions from the managers and directors of the various companies. Mr. Gayner, the manager of the West Metropolitan, has dropped his old practices. The men are no longer to have the secret spy dogging their footsteps as a prelude to their dismissal if they should happen to belong to the Union. Nay, in an interview with the secretary of the Union the other day, this worthy manager professed himself quite shocked to hear that there were some men who had worked for 14 hours a day without any relief; he was in no way opposed to the Union, had no objection to engaging Union men; he would see whether the hours of the men could be improved, and would consider the question of reinstating discharged men. Public exposure in the pillory of the *Star*, which has fought the battle of these men with vigour and courage, has evidently brought Mr. Gayner to his senses.

The men employed upon the Woolwich and South-Eastern Tramway Company have been given something better than promises. The drivers and conductors have gained an increase of 1s. 6d. a week each, and the horse-keepers 1s. a week.

### Reduced Dividends of Tramway Shareholders.

The shareholders of the London Street Tramway Co., noted for the usual bad treatment of its employes, are intensely dissatisfied at the lowness of their dividends. According to the *Star*, one gentleman wanted to know what they meant by the reduction of dividend from 9 and 10 per cent. to 5. Another hinted that the directors were providing their relations with comfortable little jobs in the company. We are glad to hear their dividends are going down; and if the public will only mark their sense of their treatment of their unfortunate men by leaving their cars severely alone, they may disappear altogether.

### Poor Mr. Shipton!

Mr. Shipton has come another cropper. The Leather Workers' Society at its quarterly general meeting, has repudiated and condemned the action of the Committee of the London Trades' Council in their attempt to bolster up Shipton over the Sugar Bounties question. Though the terms of the resolution were only directed at the Committee of the London Trades' Council, yet, as the seconder of the resolution was careful to explain, "it was Shipton that was really aimed at." The resolution was carried unanimously amid enthusiastic applause. In the course of the proceedings, a delegate asked why Mr. Shipton did not take proceedings against those that had impugned his honesty? The reply was that Mr. Shipton had said that he would consider the matter. "He'd better stick to considering!" was the rough and unkind response of another delegate. It is clear that Shipton, like Broadhurst, is doomed. The sad fate of these poor people should serve as an awful example to others who in future may be inclined to follow their example in exploiting the workers for those colossal frauds, the Liberal and Tory parties.

### The Eight Hours Question.

The writer of the notes which appeared in our political contemporary the *Labour Elector* should give himself pause, and reflect upon the old adage *re glass houses*. In a reference to the comments which appeared in the *Commonweal* of 27th July, he asks if the writer of the comments, D. J. Nicoll, ever worked as a factory hand for 9½ hours per day. It is quite true that I have not done so. Is it to be understood that no one who is not actually a factory worker is to be allowed to express opinions upon labour questions? If so, what position do Messrs. Champion and Maltman Barry occupy?

### Cowards and Traitors.

The *Labour Tribune* says: "There has been a dispute in the cogging mill of the Parkgate Steel Works, the furnace men refusing to work at the price given. They all gave notice, which terminated on Saturday last. I understand that two of the men, who are now unionists, offered to do the work of four men at the same price." Traitors like these who sell their own class should be made an example of. They want kicking, and kicking hard.

### Derbyshire Miners.

Although, as I said last week, the men are very disorganised in this district, yet the tyranny of the mine-owner is beginning to have the effect of driving the men into rebellion. They are finding out, that although they have to some extent shared in the advance gained by the Union miners, yet they are constantly being cheated out of their small advantages. The five gentlemen managers refuse to treat with or recognise the Union. At the Swanwich (Monwood's) Collieries, the men received an advance of a ¼d. a ton, owing to the Union secretary, Mr. Haslam, writing to the manager; but the manager never condescended to answer the letter. At the same collieries the men also assert that although the masters pretended to grant the advance demanded, yet it has never been put on anything but coal-getting. Another grievance is that the men are now compelled to make two refuge holes for the price paid for one previous to the New Mines Act, 1887. Similar complaints come from other collieries, and it is not surprising to hear that the spirit of revolt is spreading among these oppressed and downtrodden men.

### Slave-driving on the Channel Steamers.

On the Channel steamer "Brittany," plying between Newhaven and Dieppe, which recently sustained an accident and drifted for hours in mid-Channel, the seamen worked forty-six hours at a stretch. On the "Normandie" in the same service, twenty-one hours has been quite common, no extra remuneration being given. Quite naturally, the men, having so little use for their bunks, make a little by letting them to the third-class passengers. It was a pitiful sight to see the seamen striving to get a few moments' sleep as they sat or leaned about. The Seamen's Union should bestow some little attention on this portion of the coast.—F. K.

### Strike of Carters at Glasgow.

Three thousand Glasgow carters are out upon strike. Their wages have been at 24s. a-week, and they ask that they shall be raised to 26s., demanding also that they shall be paid for overtime after six o'clock at night. While a meeting was being held on the Infirmary Square, the drivers of a number of lorries down the High Street were hooted, and in one or two cases attempts were made to loosen the harness. The fight promises to be a hot one.

THE DURHAM MINERS have decided by a majority of one to accept the masters' offer of 10 per cent. advance. The threatened strike is thus averted.

WAGES IN THE BUILDING TRADE.—These are said to be the "fair" wages of the different workmen employed in the London building trade: Bricklayers, 9½d. and 9d. per hour; carpenters, 9d.; scaffolders, 6½d. and 6d.; navvies, 6d.; bricklayers' labourers, 5½d. What are the "unfair"?

THE STRIKE IN SOMERSET.—The Somersetshire men have been well supported throughout England and Wales. This has rather astonished the employers, who have made an offer of an advance of 5 per cent. on the 2nd of September and a further advance of 5 per cent. when the price of coal goes up again.

STRIKE IN THE FLAX-SPINNING TRADE.—The machine-boys in the employment of Messrs. Robert Stewart and Son, flax-spinners, have struck for an increase of wage. 40 men engaged in the drawing department have thrown in their lot with the boys and as the trade is now brisk, it is expected that the demand of the strikers will be conceded.

BOYCOTTED BUTCHERS.—At Murton, a northern mining village, the butchers have been boycotted by the miners' wives. The women held a meeting, at which the rapacity of these dealers in flesh was strongly denounced, and it was generally resolved to boycott any butcher who wanted more than eightpence a-pound for prime joints. The women have appointed pickets to wait upon the butchers' carts as they enter the place, and they have determined to boycott any woman who bought meat till prices were reduced. It is evident that butchers will have to cheapen their meat or lose popular custom. We recommend the example of the Murton women to their sisters in country or town. The poor could help themselves considerably in this way.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

*La Révolte* publishes a letter of Spanish Anarchist groups, dated Barcelona, July 19, in which an international Anarchist conference is proposed to be held at Paris, Salle Florel, on the first Sunday in September. The Anarchists of Paris have agreed to this proposal.

Comrade Tortelier was arrested in Paris just a day or two before the opening of both Congresses. He had been sentenced to a month's imprisonment, and the police chose this moment, of course, to hinder that Anarchist propaganda should be made at the Congresses. It need hardly be said that this was done, notwithstanding Tortelier's forced absence, by comrades Montant, Faure, Merlino, and others.

*Le Socialiste* of Montluçon is now replaced by a new paper, *Le Travailleur* (the Worker) published at Montluçon and Commentry since 14th July. This new "Republican Socialist" organ, as it is called, contains a curious mixture of opinions. Marxists and Blanquists are quoted as contributors. The leading article, signed by J. Guesde, concludes, "You are all . . . only a parliament of murderers," but the bulk of the rest of the paper is filled with a "Chronicle of Electioneering," "Our Candidates," etc.!

### SWITZERLAND.

This "free" country is degrading more and more, and although we resent the impudence of the oppression exercised on her by Germany and other countries, it is not possible to be in sympathy with a country which wants to paralyse the most reactionary assaults by acting still more reactionary quite on her own behalf. Thus again the French Anarchists Niquet, Phillipot, Bordat, and several Russian refugees have been expelled from Geneva. The Government of Geneva is reported to have resolved to refuse the permission to reside at Geneva to all Russians who are not in possession of official passports, etc. Also the Federal Council of Berne is now considering a new extradition treaty with Austria, by which the extradition of political "criminals" would practically be handed over to the arbitrary of the Swiss authorities in every single case. We read of meetings of protest and of the intention to submit the question of the new Federal procuratorship to the direct vote of the people, but nobody expects any results from this.

### SWEDEN.

On June 29 J. M. Engstroem, one of the founders of the Stockholm Social-Democratic Club, and one of the first pioneers of Social-Democracy in Sweden, died at Stockholm.

It has been resolved recently that *Social-Demokraten* of Stockholm (formerly bi-weekly, now a weekly paper) shall be published daily from Dec. 1. Also *Arbetet* of Malmo (now published thrice a-week) prepares a daily edition. The Swedish movement is hardly ten years old; it has, however, scarcely left the limits of a suffrage agitation and of trades-unionism, which, together with the economic conditions as shown by the recent strikes, the Government prosecutions (the editors of all the four papers are now in prison), and the weak character of Social-Democracy there (see the resolutions of the Stockholm Conference of 1889), explains the rapid numerical growth of the party there. Daily Social-Democratic papers, by the way, are now published in France, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and the United States.

### RUSSIA.

In *Arbetet* we read, without a reliable source being given, that Tchernyshevski has now been pardoned altogether and allowed to live at Saratov, where he chose to go to. If this is true at all, it opens a sad prospect as to the present state of this once so brilliant writer and Socialist; for nobody ever heard of any act of "grace" of the Czar, and thus we must assume that he has been so ruined during his twenty-five years' imprisonment and banishment that the Czar is no more afraid of him. Recently a report on a real butchery done to political prisoners in Yakutsk, Siberia, was published in *Svobodnaja Rossija* of Geneva, and ought to be translated into English.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

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

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

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

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

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

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

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—Hoxton Church—Thursday night a large meeting held, Cores and Mowbray speaking; 7 *Weal* sold. *Gibraltar Walk*—Friday night a good meeting, Cores and Mowbray speaking; 13 *Commonweal* sold. *Mile End Waste*—On Saturday, Mowbray, Cores, and Hicks addressed large meeting; 21 *Commonweal* sold. *Leman Street*—Sunday morning, Mowbray spoke to good meeting; 13 *Commonweal* sold.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Sunday evening on the Green, Mrs. Lahr, Cores, and Mowbray addressed good meeting; fairly good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 11d. collected for propaganda.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday morning, F. Kitz addressed a good audience, giving illustrations of Paris life; 4s. 2d. collected for one of our comrades, who is now undergoing one month's hard labour for refusing to obey the order of an Irish policeman; good sale of *Commonweal*.—S. G.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, Saint, Lyne, sen., and Lyne, jun.; 34 *Commonweal* sold. Our meeting was held at St. Ann's Road instead of William Street; speakers were Maughan and Dean; choir sang. A fine meeting was held at Cambridge Gardens; speakers were Dean, Maughan, Saint, Lyne, sen., and Crouch; 13 *Commonweal* sold, and 1s. 4d. collected. We sent a scouting party to Archer Street but the Methodists never turned out, and I may state that the answer given to Graham's question in the House of Commons by the Home Secretary was far from correct. It seems that any excuse is good enough for them.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Hyde Park on Saturday; speakers were Cantwell, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson (S.D.F.); warm discussion was initiated by some members of the Irish National League concerning the action of Irish members on the royal grants. A fair meeting on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; Nicoll and Cantwell spoke. Also good meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, addressed by Nicoll, Cantwell, and Mrs. Lahr; *Weal* sold well.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 29th, Kropotkin's "Appeal to the Young" was read and discussed. At Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan and Leatham addressed a fine meeting; questions at close and good sale of literature. On Sunday night same speakers addressed a meeting in same place.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier addressed a good audience on Green. At 5.30, Glasier and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll to a large crowd. At the conclusion Glasier was "heckled" by two persons, both of whom professed sympathy with "some of our principles"; one objected to our comrade denouncing Christians and clerics as mostly hypocrites and thieves, and advised Socialists that the first thing to be done is to burn down all the publichouses! His companion objected to become a Socialist because of some bloodthirsty Anarchist speeches, which he said had recently been delivered in London. Our comrade's replies met with the approval of the audience. We omitted to state in our report of last week that comrade Andreas Scheu—who was here on business—met a number of our members in the committee room and gave a stirring address.

**LEEDS.**—Two fine meetings last Sunday in Vicar's Croft. In the morning at 11 a.m. we had a meeting to jubilate over the complete victory of the labourers lately on strike, and to advise the men to stick to their Union for the purpose of still further ameliorating their condition. In the evening another meeting was held in the same place, when Maguire gave an excellent address on the "Principles of Socialism," assisted by Paylor, Corkwell, Sweeny, and Hill.—F. C.

**LEICESTER.**—On Sunday morning, Barclay spoke on "Socialism: what, why, how?" In the evening, "Definitions of Socialism, and comments on them," Hyndman, Joynes, Prof. Ely, Annie Besant, and J. S. Mill, etc., were cited. There was a lengthy discussion; literature sold, 2s. 1d.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—The tram strike, in which we were taking an active part, has for the present come to an end by the directors of the company granting the men's request. We had called a meeting for Sunday to urge the boycotting of the tram company unless the men were better treated. But as the movement has practically collapsed, we held in Stevenson Square on Sunday a large Socialist demonstration, Prince, Baillie, and Parkinson speaking to an enthusiastic meeting. 40 *Commonweal* sold, and 2s. 1d. collected. On Sunday night Strange and Stockton addressed a meeting on Chester Road. At Middleton on Saturday night Baillie and Stockton spoke to a fair audience; 20 *Commonweal* sold. We have been assisting the cap-makers—men, women, and girls—to form a union, which is very much needed in this industry, where sweating is the order of the day. Baillie and Strange have spoken at two meetings, urging on them the necessity of organisation and showing how to do so; the work is now progressing favourably.

**NORWICH.**—On Wednesday a large meeting was held at St Faiths, where Poynts, McCormack, and Darley spoke. Saturday evening a good meeting held on the Haymarket; slight opposition from a religious friend. Sunday morning McCormack spoke at North Walsham; in the afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market Place; McCormack opened, followed by J. Turner (London), who delivered a capital address. In the evening another good meeting held in the Market; audience very attentive; good sale of literature.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Sneyton Market on Sunday morning Peacock and Proctor spoke; collection for Club funds realised 2s. 6d. In the evening, in Great Market, Rooke presided; Peacock, Whalley, and Proctor spoke to large audience; 3s. 11d. collected for School Board fund.—P.

**YARMOUTH AND CHELSEA.**—Reports arrived too late through misdirection. Please send them to Editor in future.

Joseph Waddington writes and complains, as the mover of the amendment at the demonstration at Stevenson, reported in our issue of July 20, that the report is incorrect re his amendment, as the amendment was never put by the chairman to the meeting.

# LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (3-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday August 11, at 8.30, Members' meeting; important business. Members are earnestly requested to turn up, as our terms of occupation of this hall has expired.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 11, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday Aug. 15, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 16, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. **North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.

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

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

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m. **Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock. **Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. **Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. **Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday, Hall open from 8 p.m. **Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. **Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 10.

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

### SUNDAY 11.

11 ..... Latimer Road Station .....Tochatti, Lyne jun., and Saint  
11.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels and Presburg  
11.30..... Elbelbrook Common .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane .....Mainwaring  
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann Road .....Maughan, Crouch, and Dean  
11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street .....Turner  
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green .....Branch  
11.30..... Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
7 ..... Clerkenwell Green .....Brookes  
7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch  
7.30..... Chelsea—Town Hall .....Samuels and Presburg  
7.30..... North Kensington—Cambridge Gardens .....North Kensington Branch  
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street .....Discussion. Kitz  
7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church .....The Branch

### TUESDAY 13.

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

### WEDNESDAY 14.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment .....Samuels

### THURSDAY 15.

8 ..... Ossulston Street .....Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15..... Hoxton Church .....Mowbray

## PROVINCES.

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

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

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

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

A discussion on "Communist Anarchy" will be opened by J. Blackwell at the Britannia Coffee House, Prebend Street, Packington Street, Essex Road, on Friday August 17, at 8.30.

**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro Street, Saturday August 10, at 8 p.m., J. O'Gorman (Dublin Socialist Club) will lecture on "The International Workers' Congress—What it Meant." Attendance of trades-unionists particularly requested.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday August 11, at 8.45, Mr. W. Townshend, "Babes' Conspiracy for Equality, and its daring attempt to uproot the great wrongs of mankind." Translated from the French, with notes, by Bronterre O'Brien.

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