

THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE events of the Great Strike, the pushing forward of the lower part of the "lower orders," coming as a sequel to the agitation of the last six years in England, have much impressed the minds of that part of the public which thinks at all. Socialism, once a mere word to them, then a foolish fad, then a bugbear, bearing with it confusion and violence and nothing else, is at last presenting itself to them as a possible change in society which their own eyes may see, and which will perhaps be bearable to them.

Good so far. But what do they mean by Socialism, these well-to-do people who are beginning to think that it is coming and that it will suit them pretty well (as indeed it will, but scarcely in the way they think)? Doubtless if questioned on the point as to what they expect from Socialism, they will answer with a phrase or two like this from the *Pall Mall Gazette*: "From the point of view of political economy, Socialism means the collective instead of the individual administration of capital, rent, and interest."

Yes, yes; but what does the "collective administration of capital, rent, and interest" mean? I suspect to the *Pall Mall* writer, nothing at all; and that when he comes to find out that it means the abolition of private property, he will cry off his Socialism—if he can.

In fact, his jubilant satisfaction, shared no doubt by many of the cultured classes, at the aspect of things at present, rather shows what a very limited idea he has of the coming new society. He echoes Sir William Harcourt's humbug, "We are all Socialists now!" Are we indeed? Well, I must say in that case we need not have taken the trouble to become Socialists; since the days are still so hard on the workers that it is considered a great victory for them when the hardest worked people in London can screw a very minute gain out of their masters, who are still living in luxury earned by the employment of doing nothing; while the slums in all our big cities are just as bad as they were ten years ago, and there is no prospect of their being bettered perceptibly by our present masters in the next ten years. We may be preparing the kingdom of heaven on earth, but I think I can bring many credible witnesses to prove to the most sanguine that it has not reached them yet.

Again, if we are all Socialists now, how does it come that we of the well-off are not holding mass meetings, and appointing committees to look into the best method of relinquishing our privilege in favour of the disinherited? Surely if we have acknowledged the tremendous truths which modern Socialism has laid open to us, we ought to be busy acting on them, unless we are prepared to brand ourselves as the feeblest curs yet told of in history.

Our *Pall Mall* friend quotes Sidney Webb to show that we are all Socialists in his well-known platitudes about the individualist City Councillor enjoying the advantages of Socialism without knowing it, and miscalling Socialism all the time. Of course our Fabian friend knew very well what a piece of claptrap he was putting forward, and that what the City Councillor was really saying went rather in this way: "Ha, ha! So these damned fools think that all this municipal business is Socialism—what fun! And they wonder that I am pretty well satisfied with such Socialism, as I really think I ought to be, when they work to provide me with these fine things, and I enjoy them without working. Hurrah for Socialism of this kind, say I; so long as the word contents them!"

What is the real gate which will pull up these soft Socialists, who so long as they are allowed to steal the goose will not object to give the giblets to the poor? This is the barrier which they will not be able to pass, so long as they are in their present minds, the *acknowledgment of the class war*. The "Socialists" of this kind are blind as to the essence of modern society. They hope for a revolution, which

is not *the* Revolution, but a revolution which is to ignore the facts that have led up to it and will bring it about.

It is strange that they are so blind! Granted, as they must grant, the existence of a class which consumes without producing, and which, instead of being treated as a criminal class that has forfeited its rights of citizenship, is the master of the producing class, and has arranged all its law, religion, and morality to fit in with the theory of the beneficent eternity of privilege,—granted all this, how far can the class which supports these criminals, these violent robbers, go, without knocking up against the laws, the religion, the morality of robbery? Surely not a step. "Let us rob you a little less," say these Constitutionalists, "and then be contented. Or, at least, you who are most discontented, let us shuffle off some of your burdens on to another group of the disinherited, and then at least *you* can be contented."

It won't do! When one man employs another, and as a consequence of the "employment" takes from him a large part of what he produces, what is the use of telling him to go to a third person to recover the wealth he has been diddled out of? His resource is obvious and at hand in the form of the robber's purse, and nothing else can compensate him.

It is most important that young Socialists should have this fact of the class-war always before them. It explains past history, and in the present gives us the only solid hope for the future. And it must be understood that it is only by the due working out of this class-war to its end, the *abolition of classes*, that Socialism can come about. Suppose the whole of the middle-classes agreed on the necessity of Socialism, how are they going to realise it unless it is demanded by the workers?

Give up their privilege, as above said, you may say. Yes, but they live on that privilege, and if they attempt to give it up without the world of labour being prepared to receive them as workers, they simply throw everything into confusion by competing with the workers for the employment of the world-market, which exists only as a machine for keeping capitalism going. It is the workers only, enlightened as to the class-war, and therefore no longer carrying it on blindly, as they have hitherto done, who must make the machinery of free labour and mutual exchange, which will supplant the machinery of capitalist commerce, and at one stroke both *compel* the resignation of privilege and make it possible.

Deduction: the worker cannot better himself at his own expense but only at the expense of his master, who for his part, driven by competition, cannot help striving against the attempts of the worker to better himself. These two, therefore, are necessarily enemies, and to blink that fact does not render them less so, but only gives a little longer day to the enemy of the workman. *Therefore* it is that the middle-class semi-Socialists, driven by class instinct, preach revolution without the class struggle; which is an absurdity and an impossibility.

W. M.

THE INTEGRAL CO-OPERATORS:

AN ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE CO-OPERATIVE
COMMONWEALTH.

DEAR READERS,—We feel that you, in common with ourselves, have hoped to some day see evolved a truly natural, equitable and scientific educational, industrial and social system, wherein all public utilities should be free, and every article of personal consumption at cost; wherein there should be freedom from taxation, usury, and rent; wherein constant employment, and the enjoyment of the full product of his labour, should be secured to every member; wherein emulation should be encouraged, but competition should not be allowed; speculation and monopoly be impossible; ignorance and bigotry without a

foothold; vice unpopular; strife and crime without incentive, and poverty unknown.

A few years ago a hope of this kind would have been received with derision, and stamped as Utopian; but the rapid march of events has already demonstrated that industrial and social reform will soon attract the notice of all truly progressive minds, yearning to extricate themselves from the toils of wage-slavery, and giant monopoly, or, if they have escaped those evils, to lend their moral and financial support to those of their fellow human beings who are still groaning under the lash of cut-throat competition. It is the iniquitous competitive system that demands our attention, and not the slave drivers whom fortune has placed in command.

A few true humanitarian co-operators, intelligent, unselfish, and harmonious, graduates in the practical school of co-operative endeavour, several being recent officers or members of the two great attempts at co-operative colonisation on the Pacific Coast, viz., Topolobampo, Mexico, and Puget Sound, Washington, have organised as a membership co-operation, in order to evolve a scientific and practical industrial and social system that shall be at the same time equitable.

We do not make any claims to originality, but rather have obtained our co-operative education in the school of experience, aided by the teachings of such grand forerunners of social reform as Fourier, Robert Owen, Cabet, Laurence Gronlund, and M. Godin, nor do we intend in any way to underrate the value of any of the many thousand co-operative undertakings throughout the world, many of which have greatly benefited their members, and all of which are daily adding to our common stock of co-operative knowledge. It is rather for the reason that all have alike failed to see the importance of organising a progressive integral system, with responsible, unselfish, intelligent, centralised leadership as its guarantee of success.

The name of our organisation is the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Our organisation will be composed of Phalanxes, each Phalanx being resident upon a Homestead. Our general officers will be a President-General, Secretary-General, and Treasurer-General, elected by the Board of Directors from their number.

The Board of Directors will consist of five, who will be elected by the members of the Electoral College from their own number.

The general officers and members of the Board of Directors will hold office until removed by a majority vote of the members of the Electoral College.

Our local officers for each Phalanx will be a Phalanx President, Phalanx Secretary, and a Phalanx Treasurer, who will be appointed by the President-General, from those members of the Electoral College resident in the Phalanx, when any such are competent, and who will be entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Co-operation at the Homesteads of the respective Phalanxes, as per instructions received from the President-General.

The Phalanx officers are the agents of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and retain their position until removed by the President-General, or suspended by a vote of dissatisfaction by a majority of the integral members of the Phalanx.

The Commissioned Captains of Industry of each organised group in each Phalanx, will be elected by the members of the group, subject to removal for incompetency by the Phalanx-President.

Our system aims to furnish facilities for Partial, Associate, and Integral Co-operation, according to the applicant's fitness of inclination.

The associate, trial, or integral membership fee will be 250 dols. for either sex.

Any member can withdraw at any time, or may be expelled by a two-thirds vote of his Phalanx; and, in case of rejection of an applicant after probation as a trial member, or voluntary withdrawal, or expulsion, the membership fee without interest and any undrawn quota of allowances from the divisible products or profits to the members, shall be paid to him within ninety (90) days, if desired.

Partial Members are those who, resident or not, upon the Homestead, co-operate only in some of our industries or in distribution, pay no fee, have no vote or voice in the management, limit their co-operation at will, and receive rebates from those branches only in which they co-operate, in proportion to the extent of their co-operation in labour or patronage.

Associate Members are those who have paid their fee, reside on the Homestead, are self-sustaining without labouring in any of the co-operative industries, limit their co-operation to the distributive, social and domestic, have no vote or voice in the management, except the privilege of balloting on Character Rank, are not eligible to any office, and receive their supplies on the same basis as partial members.

Trial Members are applicants for integral co-operation, who are resident on the Homestead on probation, have no vote or voice in the management excepting the privilege of balloting on Industrial and Character Rank, and are furnished employment and supplies on the same basis as integral members.

Integral Members are accepted applicants for integral co-operation, who are entitled to co-operate in all things, receiving their supplies at distributive cost.

Applicants for associate or trial membership, will be received as resident members on trial, only as fast as they can be provided for in some Phalanx with comfortable quarters, and employment profitable to the co-operation, unless otherwise self-sustaining.

Applicants for integral membership will be received after a twelve months probation as trial members, and, while the membership in the Phalanx is less than ten, with the unanimous consent of the prior integral members of the Phalanx, and, as the number increases, none shall be accepted whose admission would mar the harmony.

All occupations being considered of equal value, shall be rated alike; and the individual worker graded according to skill and industry. All compensation for labour shall be the divisible product or profits of the combined industries of the entire co-operation, based upon, and in proportion to, the Hour Labour Record and the Industrial Rank of the member.

An Hour Labour Record will be kept in each Phalanx, of all time devoted by each member, to the labour and interests of the co-operation.

The Industrial Rank of each member will be ascertained yearly, by all co-workers, resident, trial, or integral members, uniting in their respective Phalanxes, in determining by ballot the comparative grade, according to skill and industry, as evidenced by the quality or quantity of work performed.

The Character Rank of each member will be ascertained semi-annually, or at any other time within ten days after a demand by twenty five per cent. of the integral members, who can judge intelligently, from personal acquaintance, uniting in their respective Phalanxes, in determining by ballot the comparative grade, in all those traits of character, industrial, social, intellectual, and spiritual, which constitutes a true and lofty manhood and womanhood.

The numerical power of the vote of each member shall be determined by the Character Rank.

All members whose Industrial Rank ranges between 55 and 65, shall be termed Cadets of Industry; between 65 and 75, Corporals of Industry; between 75 and 85, Sergeants of Industry; between 85 and 95, Lieutenants of Industry; between 95 and 100, Captains of Industry.

All members whose Character Rank is between 90 and 100, shall comprise the Electoral College of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Any one whose estimated Character Rank is less than 50, shall not be accepted by any Phalanx as an Associate or Trial Member; less than 75, shall not be eligible to election by any Phalanx as an Integral Member; less than 85, shall not be appointed as a Local Officer of a Phalanx; less than 90, shall not be eligible to the office of Director.

If any ballot lowers the Character Rank of any member five, it shall be considered a vote of censure, and if lowered ten, the right of voting shall be suspended until the censured member regains the confidence and esteem of his or her comrades; if lowered below 75, the comrade again becomes a Trial Member; if lowered below 50, it expels.

The Co-operative Commonwealth shall establish, manage, and maintain:—

All industries, controlling the character, amount, and disposition of their products.

A Commissariat and Co-operative Store, which shall furnish all needed supplies to the Phalanx Commissariats and Co-operative Stores, at distributed cost.

A Manual Training and Industrial Art University, in which all associate, trial or integral members, or their children, shall be entitled to receive instruction in any or all branches they desire, together with board at distributed cost, payable wholly or in part, by their labour, as they may prefer.

A Sanitarium, system of Insurance and Banking, and all Public Utilities for the benefit of the members.

A general fund for the purpose of establishing and maintaining the public utilities.

A general fund for the prompt payment of expelled or withdrawing members.

A general fund for developing the industries of newly organised Phalanxes.

Each Phalanx shall be independent in social and domestic matters; shall engage in such industries as may be established by the Co-operative Commonwealth; shall have a Unitary Home, Co-operative Dwelling or Social Palace, also a Cuisine Populaire, Nursery, Kindergarten, Manual Training School, Amusements, Public Hall and Library, also a local Commissariat and Co-operative Store.

All furniture in private use, and all personal effects, are the property of the individual member.

All purchases or sales must be for cash or its equivalent.

The necessary amount shall be annually taken from the divisible products of the entire co-operation, to make up to the worker any decrease in compensation, caused through any unavoidable lowering of the industrial rank, by sickness, accident, or old age.

Members may at any time, on giving a reasonable notice, leave the industries of the co-operation, and engage in work outside, without losing the privileges of membership, excepting of course, that during their absence, they can receive no credit for labour, unless by agreement between them and the co-operation they are to be credited with their labour outside, in which case the products of said labour shall be delivered to the co-operation; and, further excepting, in the event that the places they left have been filled during their absence, they will occupy the position of Associate Members until employment shall be found for them.

Every member must be self-sustaining, and during the pioneer stages, or until divisible products are earned, no member can be allowed by the co-operation, for maintenance, in excess of the sum that shall be ascertained by multiplying his or her hours of labour, by the cost of maintaining a member for each hour of labour, when all are working eight hours per day.

(To be concluded).

Some of our correspondents, discussing the political question, say that the workers should ask candidates to pledge themselves on the various planks in our platform. That would be better certainly than the old plan of blindly voting the party ticket. But has anyone invented a reliable plan of making a politician stick to his pledge after you elect him?—*Journal of United Labour.*

A SOUTH AFRICAN INFERNO.

The following passages occur in the report of the General Manager of the De Beer's Consolidated Mines, Ltd., to his directors, for the year ending March 31, 1889, printed in the *Wynberg* (South Africa) *Times* of July 27, a copy of which has reached us. The first should give pause to those pretended friends of labour who are so anxious for its expatriation.

"MINE LABOUR.—European as well as native labourers have been fairly plentiful throughout the year. For a short time the rush to the Gold Fields threatened to make European labourers scarce, but, before it had any serious effect on us, an influx of miners from England commenced, and at the present time the supply exceeds the demand."

These paragraphs do not seem somehow to read like the description of a free and happy place: rather do certain things in them look too near akin to items that used to appear in Southern papers during the old slavery days:

"NATIVE LABOUR.—The compound for free native labourers has been increased and new buildings erected so as to accommodate 600 men.

"CONVICT LABOUR.—Three hundred native convicts have been constantly employed during the year working on blue ground and at the pulsator. Arrangements are being made with the Government to supply us with a greater number of these men. Our convict station will bear favourable comparison with any like institution in the colony, if not with those in much older countries.

"NEW STABLES and a compound for native drivers are about to be constructed. All the native labourers working on "blue," with the exception of drivers, are now compounded.

"A substantial barbed wire fence, seven feet high, is being built around our floors."

So as not to be unfair and unduly heighten the horrible nature of the implications that underly the foregoing quotations, we also quote as to

"KENILWORTH VILLAGE.—A village has been started for the better accommodation of our employes. Substantial brick houses are being erected, and the grounds laid out and planted with trees. The houses are to be let to the employes at a reasonable rental."

What is a "reasonable rental"? Half the wages?

"In conclusion, I desire to say that the system of mining now being carried on in the De Beer's Mine can be continued to any reasonable depth without increasing the cost except that of hoisting and pumping, which will naturally increase with depth."

The mechanical cost will increase with depth; but though danger and discomfort do so also, the rate of wages will remain at the present "reasonable" figure.

From a table of statistics relating to the same mine published in the same paper, we see that £901,818 Os. 5d. was realised by the sale of 914,121 carats of diamonds dug out: the amount realised per load being 25s. 3½d., cost of production per load being 9s. 10½d. After this we are not surprised that £188,329 10s. was paid in dividends for the year.

Add to the foregoing a couple of cuttings from the *Eastern Star*, another South African paper. On August 10, under the heading "A Prince in Johannesburg," this paper reports:

"The peaceful citizens of Johannesburg who went a-marketing this morning must have been somewhat startled as a rather singular procession made its way across the Market Square. At the head of this small army rode three of the Mounted Police. Behind them, on a shaggy Basuto pony, rode a stout gentleman of dusky and dusty appearance. This was Mama, son of Letsie, Paramount Chief of Basutoland. Mama was immediately followed by four lesser native dignitaries, also mounted, and behind them marched some 150 Basutos in close order, with their polished kerries inclined at the same angle over their shoulders, with karosses or many-coloured blankets falling over their well-proportioned limbs, singing their marching song; while one finely-formed native executed the war-dance in front of them. The meaning of this cortège is speedily explained. Mama, the grandson of Moshesh, was bringing up 150 of his subjects to work in the mines. The procession made its way to Captain Von Brandt's office, where the leaders dismounted, and drew their men up in a semi-circle to have their contract confirmed, by which Mama engaged to see that his men did their duty for the next three months so far as the Jumpers Company was concerned. . . . Mama is an intelligent man, and has received a European education, and has rather a pleasant way of conversing. The formalities being concluded, the Landdrost shook hands with this potentate. . . . The band forthwith proceeded to the Jumpers Mine."

In its issue of August 12 the same paper says:

"A few days since, Mama, son of the Paramount Chief of Basutoland, arrived at Johannesburg with 150 of his fellow-countrymen, who were under contract to labour in the mine. Some difficulty, however, arose with regard to the terms of the agreement. The Basuto version is to the effect that the Kafir agent, who had been instrumental in bringing the Basutos up the Rand, had told them in Basutoland, by way of an additional inducement, that they would receive £1 5s. a-week from the companies. They came, and were grievously disappointed, as the Jumpers Company, on whose account they had been brought up, refused paying more than the current wages (about 15s.). Mama said he would take his men back rather than let them work for that, but through the Landdrost's representations that labour was really needed, and that it would be no difficult matter to obtain employment for his men, he decided to stay. The Landdrost gave him permission to seek labour for his men during the next two days; until then they could go about without passes, their Chief guaranteeing that the passes would be taken out in two days' time. This afternoon Mama was arrested for breach of contract."

LITERARY NOTES.

We have received the second edition of *La Société au lendemain de la Révolution* (Society on the Morrow of the Revolution), by Jehan le Vagre (Paris, 140 rue Mouffetard, 165 pp., 75 cents). The first edition, published five or six years ago, was a small pamphlet which has been translated into most languages in which a Socialist literature exists, including Danish and Roumanian. This edition is much enlarged by the addition of articles reprinted from the *Revolte*, and now forms one of the most comprehensive and handy books on the subject. The matters discussed in it are: Authority and organisation—the measure of value and statistical commissions—class dictatorship—the public service—the lazy people—the period of education—free selection of work—harmony, solidarity—Communism and Anarchy—the moral influence of the revolution—the child in the new society—the revolution and Darwinism—the struggle against nature—the individual in society—autonomy according to science—conclusion. From these contents the usefulness of an English translation of the book is, we think, clear; it might put a stop to much misunderstanding and useless quarreling arising from insufficient information on the subject.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

A general conference of the miners of Westphalia, in which delegates from other mining districts also took part, was held at Dortmund in August (200 delegates from 44 unions and 66 mines). It was desired to form a general miners' union and to hold a congress of all miners in the country at Eisleben in 1890. The first number of the organ of the union, *Allgemeine deutsche Bergarbeiterzeitung* (General German Miners' Journal) has been published at Berlin.

SWITZERLAND.

Comrade Albert Nicolet, engraver at Chaux-de-Fonds, has been arrested as the author of the manifesto of the Swiss Anarchists which we mentioned two weeks ago. The poor Social Democrats, also, who have been so busy demonstrating to the bourgeois the abyss between their innocent doctrines and those of the Anarchists, have had one of their manifestoes (A Word to the Swiss People) confiscated too, upon a formal point of law which is ordinarily not put into force. They have published at Geneva two editions of a pamphlet protesting against the late revolting expulsions of Russians (*Une honte pour notre pays: A Shame for Our Country*, by L. Héritier).

RUSSIA.

Numerous arrests have been made of students at Charkov and Kiev; most of the arrested are Poles. Also two secret printing presses are said to have been discovered at Charkov. The latest figures to hand on political prosecutions in Russia are those: In 1886, 208 arrested for high treason, and 656 for "offences" against the Tsar (libels, etc.); in 1887, 186 and 833 respectively; 2,972 others were arrested in 1886 and 1887 for "political offences." Only a small number were acquitted; of the rest, 6 were hanged, 31 sent to the mines; the fate of the others is still pending, or they have been sent to Siberia or some other place of exile. The most atrocious details as to the treatment of political "offenders" on the island of Sakhalin have recently been published in a letter by one of them in a Polish paper. In Russia herself "reforms" are being made by which the whole management of the affairs of the peasants is put into the hands of officials who must be taken exclusively from the aristocracy. The office of justices of the peace is abolished with the exception of three towns, and all their functions are handed over to the aristocratic officials just mentioned. If the Russian Government so plainly marks out the class differences and antagonism, and singles the landlords out for the hatred and contempt of the people, they dig their own grave, and rightly so too.

* *

A FELLOWSHIP SCHOOL.

SOME time ago, says *The Sower*, the New Fellowship issued a proposal for the establishment of a school on lines consistent with the principles which it advocates. Up to the present, circumstances have not admitted of the practical realisation of this scheme under the direct auspices of the Fellowship; but the members hail with great satisfaction a separate effort which some friends and associates are about to make, to establish just such a school as was contemplated in the circular which the Fellowship issued. An attempt will be made to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the boy—to train him how to live, in fact, and become a rational member of society. This harmonious development of all the faculties will be the foundation of the entire system of the school, and the training will therefore be (1) physical and manual; (2) artistic and imaginative; (3) literary and intellectual; and (4) moral and religious.

The physical training is to include not only games, but useful manual work, awakening a sounder conception of the conditions of labour and the processes of handicraft. The promoters rightly believe that "training in manual work produces a manipulative dexterity, a steadiness and concentration of mind and will, and a habit of exactness in practical matters, which mere scholarship seldom supplies," the experience so gained developing powers of resource and of self-reliance.

In the artistic and imaginative training the great aim will be to render the whole atmosphere of the school stimulating to the dormant aesthetic sensibilities. Believing "that the imaginative faculty is best developed by the education of the innate creative instinct, it is proposed to train the boys as far as possible in the creation of the objects of their daily lives, especially where these can be made more beautiful."

In literary and intellectual training, the progress of studies will be from the modern, concrete, and particular, to the older, more abstract and general; and this method will be adopted equally in the natural sciences, mathematics, history, geography, and language.

The moral training will be based on the principle that morality cannot be taught by sermons, but must rather be the outcome of the whole influence of the school, expressing itself in every act of school life. "It is necessary that ideas, example, and sympathy go together." The religious services will be made attractive and simple, and the instruction as unsectarian and undogmatic as possible. "The influences of music [the great importance of which is recognised] and art will be combined with practical instruction in the laws of right conduct."

It is intended that up to fifteen the education shall be practically the same for all; but that after that age the destined career of each boy should decide the nature of his studies.

Negotiations are almost completed for the lease of a commodious house called Abbotshelm, with adjoining land, on the banks of the Dove, near Rochester, in Staffordshire, a picturesque yet accessible region. There will be a lady matron who will take charge of the household life of the boys, and possibly also assist in the teaching. The school will be opened in October next. For further particulars we must refer enquirers to the prospectus already issued, and to the four friends named below, from whom all information can be obtained: Cecil Reddie (B.Sc.), University Hall, Edinburgh; R. F. Muirhead (M.A.), Lochwinnoch, Renfrewshire; Wm. Cassels, 18 Carrington Street, Glasgow; Edward Carpenter (M.A.), Millthorpe, Chesterfield.

MARRIAGE.—On the 16th, at the Registry, Gateshead, Edward R. Pease, of Newcastle-on-Tyne (Fabian), to Marjory Davidson, of Kinfauns, near Perth (Fabian).



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 18 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 18 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

FRANK KELLY (late of Leeds, England, last heard of in New York).—Your sister, Bridget Kelly, Gray St. Mills, West Street, Leeds, is anxious to hear from you. American papers please copy.

F. CHARLES (late of London).—Letter lying at this office addressed to you.

S. H. (Mendoza, Argentine).—Thanks for your letter, which will be used next week. You did not stamp it sufficiently, and we had to pay 7d. fine.

REPORTS from St. George's-in-the-East and Glasgow branches arrived too late for insertion.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Notes on News	WILLIAM MORRIS 305
The Integral Co-operators:—An Attempt to Establish the Co-operative Commonwealth	306
A South African Inferno	307
Literary Notes	X. 307
International Notes	X. 307
A Fellowship School	307
The Vital Question Again	LIZZIE M. HOLMES 308
Socialism in Surrey	C. REYNOLDS 309
A Warning	HEINRICH HEINE 309
The Labour Revolt.—Intimidation—Wake up, Railway-men!—Death-Traps—London Potters' Labourers'—Trades Demonstration in Glasgow—The Printers'—Labourers—Scotch Miners	309
Revolutionary Calendar	310
Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings	311
Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc.	312

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 25.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Brotherhood	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Justice	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	
Labour Tribune	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	Newark—Mutual Aid	Madrid—El Socialista
London—Weekly Chronicle	Princeton (Mass.)—Word	Seville—La Solidaridad
Norwich—Daylight	San Diego (Cal.)—Beacon	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Sozial Demokrat	Pacific Union	GERMANY
Seafaring	St. B. Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	AUSTRIA
	Altruist	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	Philadelphia—United Labour	DENMARK
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
UNITED STATES	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolt	SWEDEN
Freiheit	La Revue Socialiste	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Trutshaker	Pobudka	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Twentieth Century	HOLLAND	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
United Irishman	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM	
Investigator	Ghent—Vooruit	

THE VITAL QUESTION AGAIN.

SOME of your readers on this western side of the waters have misunderstood the drift of "A Vital Question," and think the writer advocates palliatives, reliefs, etc. How such a meaning came to be construed from the words I do not know; for certainly, to me, all ameliorative measures, charities, plasters of any kind, are only less mischievous than the exploiting schemes which make such things seem plausible. In urging on the attention of every thoughtful person the extreme misery which exists among the masses of the common people, there is no purpose of calling out temporary aid from the tender-hearted; it is impossible to take care of the drift-wood as fast as the whirlpool of greed and corruption casts it up, and I would not attempt it while the whirlpool is there. Even the "homes," "reliefs," and "institutions" which succour a few of the despoiled victims are mere conscience-salves, and serve, as well, to keep the wretched creatures from crowding too thickly around the luxurious palaces of the rich; and then, in the eyes of many, charity is a splendid substitute for justice.

I do not even urge political zeal. I do not believe the people can vote themselves bread and freedom, against a power which protects

itself with prisons, scaffolds, soldiery, and guns, any more than they can brush back the sea with petty brooms. They are fooled, amused, kept quiet with something called the franchise; but if the time ever came when the majority-vote really endangered the privileges of the wealthy classes, the revolution would be precipitated. But the "right of suffrage," in America at least, is a farce from the primaries to the final count. The "State" is made up by a few men before ever a caucus is held; the platform settled, and a political catchword—which passes for principle—conjured up at the last moment, when everything else is done. Then the two parties "go in" to win, and the one which includes the shrewdest schemers, the most seared consciences, and has the biggest barrel, working through "voters" who have only a choice between a job and idleness, comes out ahead. "Men who are economically slaves cannot be politically free," Albert Parsons said, and it is in all countries and all times true.

It is the hope of many sincere State Socialists in this country that by taking up the wrongs and needs of the people one by one, urging them upon city councils, legislatures, and congresses without ceasing, by making political issues of the principal wants of the hour, and keeping up a constant agitation, that gradually and peaceably the government can be changed into a good, safe paternalism, warranted to secure justice to all. "The people" have secured about one little favourable law, to ten powerful edicts that strengthen the classes in their vested rights, in the last twenty years. Where one poor working-man has received a straw's benefit from a statute-law, a hundred men have secured fat spoils through the "bills" our law-makers are paid to manufacture and pass. A sop is thrown to working-men now and then in the way of a law "looking to their interests," while "syndicates," "trusts," monopolies and corruptions, grow and swallow them all at a stupendous rate. It must look discouraging to one who hopes for relief through political action alone.

No; the "dear people" might vote till doomsday and not change the current of events; but there is another element creeping into the situation. The low ominous mutterings of discontent and desperation, coming with thrilling power through the false quiet, have struck the ears of the higher middle classes; they tremble and look about them, fearful lest the deluge may not wait to come after them. What can be done to stay the awful flood, which may sweep everything before it? What more easy than to grant a few of the measures demanded by many of the foremost agitators?

Place railroads, telegraphs, transportation lines in the hands of the government, pass more laws limiting land-ownership, and forbidding all money except government money. A "dangerous element" in society would be quieted, government be strengthened, the "ins" would be more securely in, the privileges of the "higher" classes would not be materially interfered with—indeed, they might find their interests greatly enhanced by having the means they must use to a great extent in one place, so as to secure them easily—and everything would be so lovely that "all might go on smooth and even" for another fifty years perhaps.

It may become a question in the near future whether it is best to take a few concessions, get the burdens shifted a little, and stave off a thorough, world-wide, radical revolution, or to ignore offered compromises and agitate for full and complete freedom.

If we do the first, we simply leave for our children the work we should do to-day. We "pile up wrath against a day of wrath." In the condition in which the world is at the present time, we ought to accomplish the great change in one generation. The commercial system is almost toppling over; the human race, all civilisation, is ready for a new régime. Of course the present system can be propped up, the miseries of the poor relieved, or rather, varied, and with a few changes we can drag along a short age more. But is it best? Can true lovers of perfect liberty and justice consistently work for a few concessions, then die and leave the world, with the day of reckoning yet to come? It is a question we should all ponder.

Any relief in the shape of charity is still worse. It seems to me that people who once submit to the receiving of alms, without a blush of shame, are doomed; they are hopelessly apathetic and degraded. The giving of alms satisfies the conscience of the rich exploiter, strengthens his position, widens the gulf between the classes, and renders the recipients more subservient and obedient than before. I confess I never had so little hope for the American people as since the recent occurrences among the starving miners of Illinois. The facts are appalling enough to thrill the stoutest heart; for here in this boasted land of the free, a country growing so rich and prosperous that it takes an eloquent orator three hours to expatiate upon it, are thousands of men, women, and children actually starving to death and dying of the diseases want engenders. The men are eager and willing to work, the coal lies in the earth in abundance, and the world's inhabitants need it; yet because some men own "the hole in the ground," poor people must freeze this winter, and the miners must go hungry all the time.

And so these workers must be kept barely alive by the kind charities of philanthropic people! When the relief trains came in, those starving men marched behind the "committee" riding in carriages (hired, it is supposed, out of the relief funds), headed by a brass band whose members had not strength enough to blow out the tune they commenced! They had lived on the wind for some time, but had none to spare for their big brass horns. Think of it! Making a parade of their degradation! Able-bodied men holding a celebration over their deep humiliation! Not one indignation meeting had been held; not a resentful word murmured over such a state of affairs! Not with bowed heads and sorrow did they accept the bread they were

forced to take or starve, but with a demonstration as if publishing their downfall to the world! ¹

It has long been a fixed idea with many that the American working-man would never suffer starvation quietly; that when trodden upon too sorely he would turn and rend his destroyer; but the day has come, and he licks the hand that first withheld, then doled out in charity, while he capers and shouts to his master's honour with all the little remaining strength that he possesses!

More cruel, greedy monsters never existed than the coal corporations in this State. Human life is absolutely nothing to them in their rapacious grasping for wealth. Their victims suffer and die in the midst of their property, and not a stick or stone is touched. The company's stores, filled with all they need, stand undisturbed amidst the starving.

All but a few Anarchists and Socialists have persistently hushed any enquiries into causes. "These people want bread, not discussions and resolutions," they say; and so, as the citizens keep their "hands" fed and above the dangerous point, and do not question the justice of the situation, the soulless corporations rest calmly on their privileges and wait their own sweet will to set their drudges to work on a miserable pittance.

Charity is a curse when substituted for justice. It is of no use expending it on those already lost—the wrecks of society must be society's charge. To teach strong independent men to accept it with public rejoicing is to degrade them many degrees below anything they have yet known.

But for the element of new thought awakened in the serious minds of middle-class people, the case would be well-nigh hopeless. So, again I urge greater zeal and earnestness; less care for conventionalities, respectability or personal consequences; more of the feeling of personal responsibility for the injustice and suffering society tolerates. I do not point out your work, or ask you to take up any particular phase of economic action, because I know that with a thorough realising sense of the vital question deep in your soul, you must do good. Keep awake, and be in earnest!

Maywood, Ill., U.S.A.

LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

SOCIALISM IN SURREY.

ON Sunday 15th inst. Kitz and Reynolds held a very good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green in the morning at 11, and naturally the great strike of London dockers and the position of labour generally was largely discussed by both speakers. We sold a quire and a half of *Commonweal* and collected 2s. 7d. After the meeting, several carmen and labourers of the district complained of their low pay and long hours, and asked us when we were going to help them get better conditions. The appeal being so often made to us, and thinking that if we did not endeavour to do something for them we might to some extent lose touch with them, the question was brought before the Council, with the result that Reynolds was sent into the district on Tuesday the 17th inst. to ascertain as far as possible the views of the men upon the subject and the wages paid and hours worked. Well, speaking generally, I found that both men and women were dissatisfied with their lot, and anxious to alter it. I found that the wages of carmen ranged from 14s. to 23s. per week for hours ranging from 11 to 16 per day; and generally those who received the least wages worked the longest hours. The complaints among the laundry-women was very widespread. In one laundry especially the women have been compelled just recently to work half an hour longer per day, and have had their beer stopped, without any extra wages being paid them. Seeing that something ought to be done, a thousand handbills have been circulated in the district, announcing two mass meetings for Sunday September 29th on Mitcham Fair Green, in the morning at 11 and in the evening at 7, when a deputation from the Laundry-women's Association are expected to attend the evening meeting, and it is hoped that some definite plan will be adopted so as to enable the workers in this district to increase their wages and shorten their hours of toil.

Now so far as our movement is concerned, Mitcham and Streatham are very promising; there is plenty of enthusiasm amongst the members, contingents going from Streatham to Mitcham to attend the meetings, and the same of the Mitcham members. On Thursday evening, 19th, I gave an address at the Mitcham club-house, which was crowded, upon "The Necessity of Unity," at the end of which a good discussion took place. On Saturday evening the 21st, I attended, upon invitation, the Streatham Liberal Club, where an address was given upon the subject "Socialism Two Thousand Years Hence." The club-room was crowded. The opener dealt with Bellamy's "Looking Backward," and was altogether very favourable to Socialism. A splendid discussion followed, several of the speakers being dissatisfied with the essayist on the ground that he had not clearly defined what Socialism was. I therefore defined, as well as I was able, the principles of Socialism. I was kindly allowed extra time, and at the end of my speech was warmly applauded. Socialism was warmly defended by most of the speakers.

On Sunday morning, September 22nd, Kitz and myself addressed a large gathering in the morning on Mitcham Fair Green, when 42 *Commonweal* were sold and 8s. collected for propaganda. In the evening, a largely-attended meeting was held at Streatham Fountain; the speakers were Pillier, a Belgian comrade living at Croydon, Kitz and Reynolds; two quires of *Commonweal* were sold and 4s. collected.

Now I think this part of Surrey a splendid field for the spread of our movement. Certainly another determined attempt should be made to recapture Croydon, where I found several of the old comrades willing to make another start. In conclusion, I should not be doing my duty if I did not say that the growth of the movement in Mitcham and Streatham is in no small measure due to the efforts of our General Secretary, who lives in the district and is very popular among all classes of the workers.

C. REYNOLDS.

Labour is about the only commodity on which the seller does not fix the price when it is sold. Why? Is it not mainly because, the natural opportunities being monopolised, men who depend on their labour for a livelihood must sell it at the price capital offers or starve? The labourer of course does the first, if he be given an opportunity, which is not always.—*Journal of United Labour.*

¹ Lucy E. Parsons drew a strong picture of this scene at Voorwarts Hall, August 11th, for which she was promptly misrepresented and abused by all the leading dailies.

A WARNING.

(Translated by JOHN ACKERLOS.)

DEAREST friend, thy fate I see,
If you write such books as these!
Would you gold and honour win,
Servile and humble you must be.

Surely you provoke the Fates,
Thus to speak unto the people,
Thus to speak of Priests and Parsons,
Thus of Kings and Potestates.

Friend, your lot excites my fears!
Kings and Princes have long arms,
Priests and Parsons have long tongues,
And the people have long ears!

HEINRICH HEINE.

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

THE dockers have gained another victory. Not a peaceful one this time, but one accompanied by a certain amount of bloodshed, especially from the nose. Black eyes and cracked crowns have not been uncommon, but blacklegs are beginning to lessen in number in the locality; perhaps that has been because the two first commodities were so very plentiful. In their case the supply certainly exceeded the demand. Some of the blacklegs have been writing to the papers, especially to the *Standard*. What connection, by the bye, is there between the *Standard* and the blacklegs. Is it possible that some of the blacklegs are unfortunate country gentlemen reduced to abject poverty by the agricultural depression, or unhappy Irish landlords whose rents have not been paid with the old regularity, and who have therefore been compelled to seek a precarious existence at the dock gates? I know not; but this at least I know, the editor of the *Standard* might find it beneficial to engage one or two of these blacklegs—who doubtless are now in search of a job, the climate of the docks having proved too close for them—as reporters upon his widely circulated paper. For vivid description, sensational interest, and graphic minuteness of detail, their pens lick those of the ordinary penny-a-liner into fits. One gentleman, with much simple pathos, tells how he was forced to seek shelter in a coal shed from the violence of a howling mob of strikers. Another relates how that after being chased by strikers, from whose violence he was only saved by a strong force of metropolitan police, he was lured by treacherous dock officials (who assured him and some companion blacklegs that they had got a "special" train waiting for them) into a carriage filled with the savage dockers, the sort of person no respectable blackleg would lower himself to associate with. These "ruffians," I regret to say, fell upon the blacklegs and their friends with yells of "Give it to the bloody scabs, boys," and I fear the blacklegs got it. One of them was "chucked" out on the platform, as the train was leaving the station, another was nearly shoved through the carriage window on to the line, and others only escaped with aching bones and faces covered with blood from their furious adversaries when the train stopped at the next station.

No wonder the blacklegs are departing, filled with the sad conviction that their lives are not secure in the neighbourhood of the docks. Thus the dockers have by their own action retrieved one of the blunders of their leaders. Perhaps the Lord Mayor and Cardinal Manning have now come to the conclusion that the strike has a separate existence from even Burns and Tillett; and even the dock directors may at last understand that this revolt of labour was, instead of being the result of a deep laid Socialist conspiracy, a spontaneous movement among a people wearied of the miserable lives they were forced to lead through the greedy avarice of sweating contractors and wealthy directors.

The grand movement among the dock labourers and its partial success has awakened many other workers to a revolt against their misery. On Sunday, a big meeting was held in Hyde Park of the London bakers, who were addressed by John Burns, Champion, and others. The bakers want to decrease their hours from a 100 a-week down to 57. No one can say they are not moderate. They threaten a general strike of bakers on the 9th of November if their demands are not complied with. It is to be hoped that the postmen, who are also tired of their long hours for the magnificent wage of 16s. a-week, and who want eight hours a-day at 6d. an hour and 8d. for overtime, will come out on strike at the same period together with the tramway and railway men. Then, indeed, as John Burns said, "all the fat will be in the fire." For there is nothing like a general strike to bring the capitalists to their senses, and it is possible that the men might realise more than their present modest demands by striking hard and striking altogether.

Intimidation.

We clip the following from the *Star*, which has behaved most pluckily in the recent great labour conflicts, and to whom the whole people of London owe an eternal debt of gratitude. We can say this without flattery, for we have never failed to criticise the *Star* unfavourably when we think it has done wrong.

We hope that a portion of the balance strike fund will be devoted to sustaining the wives and children of the men who are suffering shamefully long sentences for very trifling, and in some quite unreal, cases of intimidation. Here are some of them:

Bartholomew Harvey, 82, Lambeth Street, Whitechapel. No assault, but a month for being with men who intimidated.

James Clark, carman, intimidation, two months.

James Buck, assault and intimidation, three months hard labour.

James Stagg, carman, three months hard labour.

Cornelius Sullivan, two months hard labour.

We do not defend these men's conduct. But we do say that these sentences are vindictive and severe, and we think their wives and families deserve some consideration from the Strike Committee.

We agree with everything but the first line in the last paragraph. We say that these men's conduct needs no defence, and we know that but for the efforts of humble heroes like these men the dock strike would have been ended weeks ago. If a blackleg possessed any fine feelings of generosity

er kindness to appeal to, we should say "intimidation" was a mistake; but as he is always a mean cur whom nothing will impress but a jolly good thrashing, we say "Bravo" to every man that gives him his just deserts; that is the only way to cure him. And the man who thrashes one of these scoundrels thoroughly, ought not alone to have his wife and children well cared for while he is in prison, but ought to be well rewarded when he comes out.

Wake up, Railwaymen!

The *Railway Review* has an interesting article upon the docker's strike, in which it gives some good advice to railwaymen, and which we take the liberty of quoting:

"There are numerous railwaymen who are in no better position than the poor dock labourer; indeed, the latter, when he receives his advance, will be, in many cases, the better off of the two. Yet we find those slaves of the iron road resting contented, or, at the most, grumbling at their hard lot, without making any effort to improve it. Had the dock labourers kept on grumbling instead of breaking out in revolt against the harsh conditions of their employment, they would have continued in their state of bondage. If railwaymen mean to improve their condition they will have to act differently in the future to what they have done in the past. The old form of suppliant memorials and begging petitions will have to be thrown to the winds, and a more manly course will need to be adopted; they will have to muster up courage, and be prepared to fight for their rights. So long as they feel horrified at the sound of the word 'strike,' so long will their oppressors keep them down. If they have a good cause it is worth fighting for; for if it be not worth a struggle to obtain, it cannot be estimated as of much value. Working men have had to fight for their rights in the past, and will have to do the same in the future, as capital will not yield till it is forced."

We hope these poor slaves will pluck up courage and take this excellent advice, but don't let them rely too much upon the patronage of the middle-class "philanthropists," as the tramway men have done. If they do depend upon it they will find that these people will be a dead weight upon the movement when the time for action arrives, and will do nothing but protest their great desire to prevent anything so ruinous to the trade and commerce of the country as a strike. Dog doesn't eat dog; and you will never find a respectable middle-class man recommending anything that may interfere with the regular payment of dividends.

Death Traps.

Keir Hardie has a strongly written article upon the shameful arrangements that exist for the safety of the men in most of the Scotch mines. He declares that they are "death traps," and the following description of a case that is typical of many fully bears this out:

"Knockterra Pit, near Cumnock, the property of the Eglinton Iron Company, employs over one hundred persons, young and old. It is ventilated by means of a cube or furnace, which is built into the bottom of the escape shaft. There is no machinery connected with it, nor any guides in the shaft for a cage. Suppose a fire to occur in the main shaft. Before the men could make their escape they would require first to put out the cube fire and wait till the place cooled, then crawl through the furnace to the bottom of the shaft to be drawn up in ones or twos by a windlass or some other piece of improvised machinery. Before all this could be done there would be a hundred blackened and discoloured bodies strewn about the pit bottom, and the morning papers would tell of the 'Dreadful Accident at Knockterra Pit.' Accident! I would have another name for it. Murder would come nearer the mark. I want to repeat that this is not an isolated case. I cannot say the number of pits in Ayrshire similarly situated, but certainly there are not less than 12, and may be as many as 20."

It is fearful to think that when we see on the placards "Fearful Colliery Explosion," it too often means "Wholesale Murder by Greedy Capitalists." Will anything but the Social Revolution stop these butcheries? I fear not.

London Potters' Labourers.

On Sunday an enthusiastic meeting was held on the Albert Embankment. John Stanley, the secretary, George Bateman and Mr. Newstead (London Society of Compositors), and W. Parnell (Alliance Cabinetmakers) addressed the meeting. 11s. 1½d. was collected for union expenses. The chairman closed the meeting, after announcing that W. A. Chambers would speak on the same spot next Sunday morning, and that W. Parnell would address the Fulham men outside Fulham Pottery on Sunday Sept. 29th, at 2 p.m. The men evidently mean business; many of them had come all the way from Bow to attend the meeting. Meetings of the Union are held every Tuesday at the "Windmill," High Street, Lambeth.

Trades Demonstration in Glasgow.

An enthusiastic trades demonstration took place on Saturday in Glasgow, when from 1,200 to 1,500 members of some 30 trades societies marched with hands and banners through the principal streets. The object of the demonstration was to express sympathy with the employés of the Tramway Company, and to insist that the Corporation, on the expiry of the company's lease, should take over the tramway system and work it for the benefit of the community. The demonstration was organised by the Trades Council—chiefly at the instance of our comrade George Carrow and other advanced members. Although the demonstration was a large and imposing one, only a fraction of the actual workers of Glasgow took part in it, the great majority preferring to attend football-matches or stand outside as mere spectators of the procession. The joiners, masons, and engineer societies refused to join in with their comrades. It was the poorly-paid trades—dock-labourers, united labourers, moulders, and seamen—that made up the great mass of the processionists. The processionists, after parading the streets, gathered round four platforms on the Green, where they were addressed by trades representatives, and resolutions in favour of the object of the demonstration were put and carried.

J. B. G.

The Printers' Labourers'.

We are asked to announce that the Printers' Labourers' Union, the outcome of the recent strike in the printing trade, has secured offices at 4, Wine Office Court, Fleet Street. The entrance fee is 1s., and the subscription 2d. weekly. No sick, burial, or out of work benefits are to be given, as it is to be purely a labour combination. A conference of delegates from "fair" houses has been held, at which a union committee of twelve was elected to organise the union. This has certainly been the cheapest strike

on record. Only about £30 has been received from all sources, out of which £25 has been expended in printing, relief, etc. The accounts have been audited by Mrs. A. Besant and Mr. G. Z. Chesterton (of the *Star*), and laid before the conference of delegates and received with approval.

The strike in the linen factory of Thomas Dickson, M.P., Drogheda, has ended in the resumption of work on the old system, the clergy and the local shopkeepers bringing such pressure on the strikers as to make them surrender.

SCOTCH MINERS.—The price of coal has considerably advanced, but the insignificant fraction of the increased value of their product, which generally falls to the miners on such occasions, is withheld by the great majority of masters. A sort of guerrilla struggle is consequently going on over the whole of Scotland for a "sixpence" advance per day. If the miners of Scotland had been properly led they would have, ere this, been discussing a more important and revolutionary point than that eternal "sixpence" per day. If a miner produces value for 10s. more per day this month than he did last month, the leaders think it a great thing to do after much cry and starvation, to agitate for, and sometimes get, "a sixpence per day"—the twentieth part of their increased gains—but oftener they have to content themselves with the half of that. The time has surely come when they should make a more staggering demand; the more they fight for, the greater proportion they will receive.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 5, 1889.

92	Sun.	1783. Hussey Burgh died. 1887. Northumberland miners' gala.
30	Mon.	1791. Constituent Assembly proclaims that its sessions are all ended, and disperses. 1793. Riot at Bristol. 1830. Belgium separated from Holland. 1857. Auguste Comte died.
1	Tues.	1791. Legislative Assembly, first and last under Constitution of Sept. 14, meets; sat till Sept. 21, 1792. 1803. Trial of John McIntosh at Dublin for high treason. 1825. First number of the <i>New Harmony Gazette</i> , published at New Harmony, Indiana. 1839. The Queenwood Community take possession of their estate at East Tytherley, Hants. 1842. Trial of rioters, Stafford. 1843. Repeal demonstration on the Rath of Mullaghast. 1849. Klapka surrendered Komorn. 1876. J. A. Khudiakow, a writer of great talent, died in the asylum at Irkutsk, whither he was banished as an accomplice of Karakozov.
2	Wed.	1803. John Adams died at New York. 1853. D. F. Arago died. 1865. O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenians committed for high treason.
3	Thur.	1536. "Pilgrimage of Grace" begins at Caistor, in Lincoln. 1789. Dinner at Versailles of the officers of the Regiment de Flandre. 1803. Trial of Thomas Keenan at Dublin for high treason. 1846. Sir Charles Wolseley died. 1883. Pittsburgh Convention of Socialists of U.S.
4	Fri.	1810. Felix Pyat born. 1871. "Seven points" excitement.
5	Sat.	1789. Rising of women of Paris, who march on Versailles and bring the king and royal family back with them to Paris. 1795. "Insurrection of Vendémiaire," last attempt of the Sans-culottes, suppressed by Napoleon. 1803. Trial of D. L. Redmond at Dublin for high treason. 1822. Berton guillotined at Poitiers. 1840. Lassalle born. 1862. Renewed fighting in Hyde Park between Garibaldians and the Irish. 1884. Charles Bray died. 1887. Revolt of 6,000 work women in Madrid.

It is said that Dr. McGlynn's case will be reopened and he will appear before the propaganda at Rome in October.

CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES.—We are sometimes asked for particulars of co-operative colonies in the United States. Those of which we know are: The Co-operative Commonwealth, Grass Valley, California; secretary, M. C. Dwight.—The Credit Foncier de Sinaloa, Topolobampo, Sinaloa, Mexico: Office, Room 708, 32 Nassau Street, New York; Secretary, D. D. Chidester.—The Kaweah Co-operative Colony, on Kaweah River, Tulare Co., California: Office, Box 427, Visalia, California: Secretary, J. J. Martin.—Puget Sound Co-operative Colony, Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash: Secretary, Thomas Malony.—Terms and conditions of membership may be obtained from the respective secretaries.

PROPAGANDA IN SHEFFIELD.—The open-air propaganda has been continued very successfully during the summer months, and will be as long as the weather permits. The sale of the *Commonweal* has very largely increased; other literature also sells fairly well. During the strike of the London dockers we held several meetings each week, and over £30 was collected. But we have now strikes in Sheffield, and during the last fortnight we have taken up the case of the fibre-drawers, about seventy men and women being on strike. We have held several meetings each week on their behalf, and organised assistance for them, with good results. We shall continue to help them as long as the strike lasts. At the same time, we do not neglect our propaganda. While doing our best to guide the workers in their struggles for temporary relief, we always explain to them that Socialism in all its fulness is the only possible permanent remedy. The fibre-drawers deserve all the help friends can give.—J. S.

DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway, Deptford.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 8.30, J. C. Foulger, "Practicable Socialism."

STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 8.30, Seymour Bartlett, "City Guilds and their Misused Funds."

CENTRAL FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.—Sunday Sept. 29, at 11.30 a.m., Graham Wallas, "A Socialist Programme for England."

WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Charlotte Street, S.E.—Sunday September 29, at 8.30, J. R. Macdonald, "The Socialist Programme for London."

YE OLDE RED LION DEBATING FORUM, Plumtree Court, Shoe Lane.—On Tuesday, October 1, at 8.30 p.m., E. Clark will open a discussion on "The Influence of Labour in Big Towns."

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

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

Propaganda Fund.—Collection at Plough, Kilburn, 8d.; Mrs. Edwards, 1s.; R. Turner, 6d.; Campbell (Streatham), 6d.; Victoria Park, 2s. 3d.; and North London Branch collection, 9s. 8d.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Oct. 1, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend. Comrade Mowbray will address the members on "The Best Method of Propaganda." The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; R. Unwin, 2s.; Mrs. Edwards, 1s.; J. W. Cooke, 10s.; A. Scheu, 7s.; James Thomson, 2s. 6d.; J. B. G., 1s.; and Blundell (5 weeks), 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Chelsea*—Good meeting held on Wednesday evening last, when Mowbray gave a lengthy address; 10 *Commonweal* sold and 6d. collected.—Sunday morning, good meeting addressed by Davies, Mordhurst, Smith, and Samuels; 38 *Weal* sold and several "Chants." *Old Plough, Kilburn Lane*—A good meeting held here at 12.30, and 20 *Commonweal* sold. Help to sell the paper would be very acceptable. *Victoria Park*—Good meeting here on Sunday, addressed by members of S.L. and S.D.F. It was arranged to divide collection between Socialist League and Social Democratic Federation; *Commonweal* sold out.

MITCHAM.—On Saturday, a number of our members visited the Streatham Liberal Club, and took part in a debate on "Socialism." On Sunday morning, Kitz and Reynolds addressed a good audience on Mitcham Fair Green; 42 *Commonweal* sold and 8s. collected. In the evening in our rooms, Gregory spoke by request to a sympathetic audience consisting of general labourers and mechanics, H. Ward in the chair, subject, "Organisation."

NORTH KENSINGTON.—We held a good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Turner and Crouch; 56 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 7d. collected for propaganda. At St. Ann's Road a good meeting was also held; speakers were Dean, R. J. Lyne, and C. Weardale (S.D.F.); Turner also spoke here; 20 *Commonweal* sold. In the evening we made an attempt to hold a meeting at Cornwall Road; Crouch spoke for a few minutes, but we were again moved by the police.

STREATHAM.—A large meeting held on Sunday at the Fountain, addressed by Kitz, Reynolds, and Pillier; 54 *Weal* sold and 4s. collected.

ABERDEEN.—During the past week we have been very active. At the indoor meeting on Monday, Duncan read a paper on "The Relation of Capital and Labour"; brisk discussion. On the same evening, Leatham delivered a stirring address to the bakers, who are preparing to strike for a reduction of hours. On Friday evening, at 46, Marischal Street, a meeting was held to bid farewell to our comrade Leatham; speeches were made, revolutionary songs were sung, and he was presented with a purse of money as a testimonial of respect and admiration from our members. On Saturday, 21st, we held our usual meeting at Castle Street; there was a good audience; choir sang "Hark the Battle Cry" and "No Master," after which the meeting was addressed by Aiken and Duncan; fair sale of literature.—D.

EDINBURGH.—Of late, open-air work has been done in conjunction with S.D.F. On 22nd Leatham, of Aberdeen, addressed two meetings in Meadows; Leslie, McKenzie, and Smith also spoke. At evening meeting a capitalist named J. D. Christie offered some noisy opposition. The local branches of S. D. F. and S. L. and L. L. are going to dissolve at end of month and form one organisation. Under its auspices indoor meetings in Moulders' Hall will be resumed, the first lecture being given on October 6th by Bruce Glasier of Glasgow.—J. H. S.

LEICESTER.—Good meetings at Russel Sq. and Humberstone Gate, addressed by Barclay and Nicoll. *Commonweal* sold out; 10s. 6d. collected for local propaganda.

MANCHESTER.—Meeting held at Middleton on Saturday night in very bad weather. At Phillips Park on Sunday morning a good meeting was addressed by Ritson, Marshall, and Bailie; 35 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected. On Stevenson Square at 3 o'clock, Mason, Marshall, and W. K. Hall (S.D.F.) spoke; 20 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 6d. collected. At Chester Road, Stockton and Barton held a short meeting at night; 6 *Commonweal* sold.—W. B.

NORWICH.—On Sunday morning two comrades went to Diss and distributed a large quantity of old *Commonweal* and announced meeting for next Sunday. In the afternoon an open-air meeting in the Market Place was held, addressed by comrades Swash, Darley, and W. Moore; good sale of *Commonweal*.

YARMOUTH.—Comrade Beckett of London was with us on Wednesday, and gave us some good advice as to local propaganda, etc. On Sunday morning on Priory Plain our usual meeting was held by comrades Ruffold, Headley, and Annis; good attendance and good sale of *Commonweal*. In the afternoon another meeting was held at same place, comrades Ruffold and Adams (of Norwich) being the speakers. In the evening at Colman's Granary Ruffold and other comrades held a meeting for a short time. 25 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 3d. collected for the day.—J. H.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, H. Sutton Frizelle lectured on "Hope for the Proletariat," in which he graphically reviewed the forces that fight for the coming change. King, Hamilton, Wilson, Kavanagh, and others took part in the discussion.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—In Sneinton Market on Sunday morning Proctor opposed a secularist who was advocating the claims of the Liberal party, and subsequently, with Whalley and Rooke, held a meeting. In the evening Peacock and Proctor spoke in the Great Market.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY, 1, Stanley Street, Dale Street.—We held our second meeting last Tuesday, at the Vegetarian Restaurant, 1, Stanley Street, when three new members joined us. Next Tuesday, after business is concluded, a paper will be read by E. C. Chapman and afterwards discussed. Members are invited to bring as many enquiring friends as they know.—E. C. CHAPMAN, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).

East London.—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. Business meeting will be held on Sunday Sept. 29, after meeting in the Park. Members please attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 29, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening. Teacher, Mmlle. Des Roches. The fees are quite nominal; members of the League are invited to join.

Merton.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. **Mitcham.**—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc. On Thursday Sept. 26, a lecture by C. Reynolds—subject, "Fallacies of Palliatives."

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. **North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Streatham.—Meets every Wednesday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

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 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.

Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

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. Hall open every evening, 8.30 **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 28.

7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchCantwell and Samuels
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ ChurchKitz and Parker
8.30..... Mile-end WasteReynolds

SUNDAY 29.

11 Latimer Road StationLyne senr. and Dean
11.30..... Chelsea—EmbankmentSamuels
11.30..... Eelbrook CommonHammersmith Branch
11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn LaneMainwaring
11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's RoadLyne junr. and Maughan
11.30..... Commercial Road—Union StreetTurner
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green ...Mrs. Schack, Mowbray, Kitz, and Cantwell
11.30..... Regent's ParkNicoll
11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron SquareCores, Evans, and Bonfield
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchCores
3.30..... Victoria ParkDavis
7 Chelsea—Town HallSamuels
7 Clerkenwell GreenNicoll
7 Welteje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
7.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenDemonstration of Labourers
7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street.....Kitz, Reynolds, and Mowbray
7.30..... Walham Green—back of ChurchThe Branch

TUESDAY 1.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church.....The Branch
8 Mile-end WasteMowbray, Kitz, and Parker

WEDNESDAY 2.

8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment.....Samuels, Kitz, and Reynolds

THURSDAY 3.

8 Ossulston StreetParker, Nicoll, and Mowbray
8.15..... Hoxton ChurchKitz, Mowbray, and Davis

FRIDAY 4.

8 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar WalkDavis and Reynolds
8 Islington—Prebend StreetCores and Parker

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: Russel 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 8. Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. Diss, on Denmark Green, at 11 and 3.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.—W. B. Parker, of London, will address three meetings next Sunday.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday September 29, at 8.45 p.m., F. Pinnock, "The Downfall of Human Slavery."

SPECIAL NOTICE.—Comrades desiring to assist in the formation of a South London Branch of the Socialist League are requested to communicate with Geo. Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E., or care of the Secretary of the S. L., 13 Farringdon Road, or attend at the open-air meeting at Flat Iron Square on Sunday next at 11.30 a.m.

A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 4, William Clarke, "Early Radicalism." 18th, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portadown Road, W.

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Manly, 113
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W. Cutting, 20 Gt. Marylebone-street
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Farley, 6 Charlotte-street
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Smith, 2A Chapel-street, Edgware-road.
Cooper, 7 Fouberts-place

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Vernon, 40 Lamba Conduit-street
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Shirley, 169 Kings Cross-road
Stubbs, 33
Truelove, 256 High Holborn

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James Heap, 78 Blackburn-road
John Holt, 60 Higher Bridge-street
J. Pendlebury, 17 Blackburn-road
G. Winterburn, 65 Deansgate

Bury (Lancashire).

J. Barlow, Heap Bridge
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Socialist Society, Vegetarian Restaurant, 1 Stanley-st.
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