

THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS

The International Socialist Congress was opened on Sunday in the Salle Petrelle, as announced, but the delegates numbered nearly 400, and on Monday it was necessary to move into the larger hall known as the Fantaisies Parisiennes in the Rue Rochouart. Attracting less notice than any other event which took place on the centenary of the Bastille, the opening of this Congress was yet by far the most important happening of the day, to the workers of the world at least.

The present Congress is the largest and most representative that has ever been held, even in the palmiest days of the old International, and it is to be hoped that it will not separate without leaving as part of the result of its labours a reconstructed and stronger International.

The centenary shows everywhere have been very poor as celebrations in the true sense of the word. That in Paris even was only remarkable for its size and brilliance as a spectacle; the enthusiastic rejoicing that should have informed it, were the "celebration" real, was notable by its absence. The bourgeois were obviously unable to abandon themselves to merriment and amusement in face of so many reminders of the instability of wrongful privilege.

They thought upon existing Bastilles for the fall of which they are not anxious, and their efforts at gaiety were half-hearted and spasmodic. As for the workers—well! the Bastille fell a long while ago, and they are still poor and cruelly oppressed; they could not very well realise what good it had done them. However, the holiday was a boon, and the sunshine and the flags and the fireworks and the rest of the fun made it enjoyable, so the mass of them huzzaed, and didn't know why.

But the ever-increasing army of the discontented thought of the memories and associations of the day that had been, and looked forward to the days that are to come.

"A highly promising specimen of permissive legislation," as the *Daily News* calls it, in the shape of a Bill for enabling the London County Council to buy up the metropolitan water-works, is before Parliament, but with very small chance of becoming law this Session. As it only provides, however, that the water companies may sell, and that the Council may buy, there is very little need, one would think, for any great alarm on the part of the monopolists, or of enthusiasm on that of those who are adopting this method of attack upon their prerogatives. It is not very likely that the shareholders in the New River Company, for instance, will readily or soon relinquish the river of gold which their control over the river of water enables them to divert from the people's pockets to their own.

But there is, no doubt, looming large to their frightened eyes, behind this mild measure one couched in more imperative terms. Also they may remember the threat openly expressed on the Council itself some time ago, that if they asked exorbitant prices, or in any other way obstructed public control of public resources, it would always be possible to open new sources of supply and to compete them out of the field, which would be turning their own weapons upon them with a vengeance.

Another piece of legislation which has caused much weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth, is that clause of the Scotch Local Government Bill which provides for free education. "Free" education alone, and only for Scotland at that, is not calculated to stir a Socialist's blood to any great extent, but, as we have so often insisted in these columns, there is a meaning in these small things which makes them of much greater importance than many other events which to ordinary newspaper readers make the history of the time. S.

Mr. Lazarus has drawn attention at the St. Pancras Vestry to what is, ironically, called the "housing" of the poor in that locality. It appears

that he has taken the trouble to visit some of the dens in which the poor live, and he declares that the houses are more like pigsties than habitations for human beings.

To quote his own forcible statement: "The staircases were rotten, the floor boards had great holes in them, the doors were broken off at the hinges, and some of these kennels were occupied by as many as fifteen or sixteen people, and an aggregate rent squeezed out of them amounting to some £68 and £70 per annum."

He afterwards gave some interesting details as to the amount of rent paid by these unhappy people. The details may be of interest, especially to our provincial friends, who can have very little idea as to that great curse of the helpless London worker, remorseless rack-renting by unscrupulous and greedy landlords. But let the figures speak for themselves.

These are the rents paid for some of the rooms in one of these houses. They range thus: Ground-floor front, two lodgers, 4s.; ground-floor back, six lodgers, 3s.; first floor, one family of four persons, 6s. 6d.; second floor front, three persons, 3s. 6d.; second floor back, no windows, one at 2s. 6d.; front kitchen, eight persons, 3s.; back kitchen, two at 2s. And yet this is rather a mild case of rack-renting for London. St. Pancras is some distance from the centre of London, and rents are cheaper there, but in the swarming dens of Soho, St. Luke's, and the East-end, it is not uncommon to find a family paying 5s. to 6s., or even 7s. for a single room.

Just let any thoughtful man think what this means. The most devoted believer in the respectable doctrine of individual responsibility must surely ask himself the question what he would be like if he had to live under these conditions, with an average wage of some 20s. a-week and a frowsy den to live in, in which bad smells, the voices of scolding women, and the shrieks of squalling children are painfully predominant. I wonder if, to escape this hell, he would not take to the milder one of the publichouse, and drink to drown his wretchedness.

I am not talking here to the self-righteous Pharisee, or to the smug temperance advocate with lungs of brass and a heart of iron. These people imagine that because under exceptionally favourable circumstances they can refrain from drink, therefore everyone else, no matter what their surroundings or environment may be, can do the same. No; I appeal to men with hearts to feel and brains to think, and not to the unconscious blockheads whose stolid stupidity and cruel hard-heartedness obtains for them a reputation for solid wisdom in respectable British society.

To the men of good-will I appeal. I ask them if they think it right that there should exist, beneath the smooth surface of modern society, this black pit, this yawning inferno, this hell on earth into which the wretched sink to rise no more.

Some of my readers may be trade unionists, workmen earning decent wages. And perhaps they imagine that this does not concern them. I think it does; for, my friends, despite your good wages and your little balance in the savings bank to-day, there may come a time when a commercial crisis, the failure of your master, a new machine, or sickness or death may precipitate you and your wife and children into one of these dens in the slums.

There, 'mid the stench, the shrieks, the yells, the curses, the hideous vices of many of the sufferers in these modern hells, you will find how easy it is to lead a decent life under such circumstances. It will need the sternest and noblest virtue on their part to keep your children pure and honest, to save the girls from the streets and the boys from vice and crime. Why, their surroundings, every sight they see, every word they hear, will urge them towards these courses with irresistible force; while at the same time their insanitary surroundings

destroy their health and strength, and render them absolutely unfit for the grinding toil of the working people's existence.

Then let all unite, not to improve the house-farmer's property, as some Radicals seem inclined to do, but to make it harder and harder for him to exact the rents that grinds the people down into misery and vice. When we remember that people who live under these conditions may be reckoned by hundreds of thousands, it should urge the most indolent and careless of us to strike a heavy blow at the damnable system which makes these things possible. Talk of a Plan of Campaign in Ireland: do we not want one in London? D. N.

THE PHILANTHROPY OF SHIPOWNERS

ACCORDING to the published reports of the interviews between representatives of the daily press and shipowners, the latter have of late been very much grieved by the ungrateful spirit which their sailors and firemen have shown in agitating for higher wages. They expected better treatment from the men, seeing that they had in dull times kept their ships running at a loss solely to prevent their men suffering from want of employment. Several of the owners have repeated this story of their magnanimity so often that now they actually imagine that they are an unselfish and ill-used body. They will find some difficulty, however, in getting the men to believe that they ever run their ships at a loss from purely philanthropic motives, especially those men who have been often thrown out of work owing to want of remunerative employment on vessels belonging to the very fellows who are now blowing their own trumpet so loudly. The workers are beginning to learn that commercial men consider a business is being carried on at a loss, not merely when there is a balance on the wrong side of profit and loss account, but whenever the average profit is not realised. If the average profit is 10 per cent., and only 5 per cent. is being made, the capitalist is sure to raise a howl about his losses and his public spirit in keeping the business going. Indeed, it is more than suspected that often when he is making a very good thing of it he indulges in not a little whining and whimpering, for the purpose of keeping off competitors.

Sometimes, no doubt, ships are run at an actual loss, but that happens either through a slip on the part of the managers or through the desire of keeping hold of a certain trade which they know pays well on the average. What the profits made by shipping really are is not always easy to discover. All private companies, of course, keep their books and accounts under lock and key, safe from the vulgar eye. If, however, there is any truth in the following excerpt from the *Glasgow Herald* of 19th June, private concerns seem to be doing fairly well: "Some steamers have been doing uncommonly well for their owners of late. We have just heard of a firm that has distributed amongst the partners 30 per cent. of the drawings of the past year and have written off 10 per cent. besides. But this is moderate compared with the reported earnings of a Durham steamer—no less than 63 per cent. per annum." It is quite probable, of course, that the whole story is pure fiction, even though it did appear in the above-mentioned "respectable" paper. I give it for what it is worth.

In the case of public companies we have more reliable information, for most of them publish balance-sheets and working accounts, which are sometimes procurable. It seems that some are paying no dividend, because they are being crushed out by larger competitive lines. Others again are paying nothing because they have been paying too much in preceding years. They have been distributing dividends too high to leave them a sufficient sum to cover the depreciation in value of their vessels; and they have now to lay by abnormal sums from their net earnings in order to make their assets square with their subscribed capital and other liabilities. In other words, they have been taking from their net earnings, not only ordinary profits, but what was, strictly speaking, capital—namely, that which was to recompense them for the necessary and continuous fall in value of their vessels; they have been consuming their capital and have now to suffer for this extravagance by doing without dividends till they raise it to its original figure. For instance, the National Steamship Company paid no dividend for 1888, because in order to put itself into a good financial position it had during the previous three years been writing off the value of its ships enormous sums, which should have been spread over a great number of years. The value of its fleet as it stood in the books at the end of 1884 was £1,079,802, and it now appears as only £193,528, in these three years there having been written off £886,274, a large portion of which would have been paid in dividends if the shareholders had pocketed less in former years. This company gives, be it observed, 8 per cent. on its preference shares, and that must be paid before any dividend can be declared on ordinary stock.

On the other hand the General Steam Navigation Company, the oldest shipping company in the kingdom, is a good, steady-going concern. For 1888 it paid 3½ per cent. on ordinary stock and 5 per cent. on preference. The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company paid 10 per cent. in dividend and bonus. The Union Steamship Company paid 7½ per cent. in dividend and bonus on ordinary shares, and 4 per cent. on its debenture stock.

It is difficult to tell the ratio of wages to profits, because some companies do not publish detailed working accounts, and others include with wages, in a single amount, such items as lights, tonnage-dues, port-charges, pilotages, provisions for troops and emigrants, and incidentals; which is certainly not explicit enough for a Socialist's purpose.

In the Royal Mail Company's accounts for 1888, however, we find £75,090 for wages, to which, since the company victuals the crews, has to be added a part of the sum shown in the item "provisions." Now as the sum paid in dividend and bonus amounted to £86,250, it is beyond doubt that wages might with perfect ease be raised by 75 per cent. at least. But the sum of £86,250 was not all that was earned by the workers in the employment of this company and filched from them and their class. Out of the net earnings of the same year £37,007 was put by for repairing and renewing ships and machinery, £47,700 for insurance of the fleet, and £73,078 for depreciation—that is, for the replacement of capital lost by the natural fall in the market-value of the ships. The sums written off for depreciation are fabulously large, owing to the extremely rapid advance of the arts of shipbuilding and engineering, and to competition forcing shipowners to utilise without delay the very latest inventions and improvements. It is thus easily seen that the workers by their labour earn not only their wages but enough to repair all the wear and tear of the ships, replace such as are lost at sea, and keep adding to the fleet vessels with all the latest improvements, besides enough to pay the shareholders a handsome dividend. Thus, taking the Royal Mail Company's accounts we find the workers engaged in its service handing over to the shareholders for the purposes mentioned above £294,035 in all, or more than three times the sum they receive in wages.

These facts and figures are sufficient to enable us to form a pretty correct estimate of the financial position of shipping, and they show that in the vast majority of cases the shipowners could pay their men even far higher wages than the men themselves have at present the sense to think of claiming. Unfortunately, shipowners like other capitalists cannot be brought to see that there is no moral justification of the receipt of dividends. They believe they have a right to appropriate or confiscate the proceeds of the labour of other men when in the form of dividends, and cannot or will not see that, except in the case of gifts, whatever is taken from another without the return of an equivalent in value is robbery. Indeed it may be safely said that the capitalist class will never be moralised, but will cling to their privileges to the last. The workers must therefore depend upon themselves alone to realise Socialism and thus procure justice for all.

Under Socialism the shipping trade would, like other industries then, be managed for the good of the whole people instead of for the profit of a capitalist class. The safety, comfort, and wellbeing of the seamen and firemen would receive the first attention, no pecuniary sacrifice being considered too great to make their life as well worth living as that of the other workers. The payments made by the community for the work done by its mercantile navy would be large enough to cover as at present the expenses of maintaining the vessels in good order, supplying them with stores, building new ships to replace the old and those lost at sea. Further, they would be large enough to give the sailors and firemen the value of their labour, and not a mere fraction of it as at present. All this would not involve an extra drain on the resources of the community, for the sum paid in dividends at present would be used for this purpose, besides the enormous sums saved by the shipping being managed on co-operative lines instead of in the present private speculative way. To give an idea of the great saving that might be effected if shipping were nationalised, it may be mentioned that it was stated by the Hon. D. A. Wells, LL.D., in the *Contemporary Review* of August 1887, that good authorities had estimated that "the tonnage afloat in 1886 was about 25 per cent. in excess of all that was needed to do the carrying trade of the world." The meaning of that is obvious. It follows that if business were managed in an economical and rational manner, each sailor and fireman might, as the result of the saving effected by the reduction of tonnage alone, receive his present wages and into the bargain every year nearly three months' holidays ashore on full pay! For, as is easily seen, those thrown out of work by the reduction of tonnage would be available to relieve the general body of one-fifth of their work, and all would receive the same wages for nine months and a half as they now get for twelve, the same quantity of goods as now being carried for the same freights.

In view of all this, the paltry advance of two or three shillings which the firemen and sailors struck for is hardly worth troubling about. Let them go in for the full measure of justice to the whole of the working class with as much energy as they have displayed in their great strike, and if united with other trades, they will very soon rid the world of monopoly and privilege. They must put a high ideal before them, and make up their minds never to flinch till they have achieved the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capitalism.

R. ELLIOTT.

Ignorance is less distant from truth than prejudice.—*Diderot*.

G. C. Clemens of Topeka, Kans., has written a book entitled 'The History and Philosophy of the Labour Movement,' which I hope to review at length in the near future. For the present the following paragraph may suffice as the neatest and most concise illustration of the capitalistic system I have ever seen: "An enterprising man in a Missouri River town once during a freshet when the river was high advertised in a newspaper for five hundred hands to catch driftwood on shares. Scores of men responded to the advertisement, and for two or three days fished driftwood from the river, giving the advertiser half (which he very prudently hauled away at once), and piling up their own shares on the bank. It was amusing, of course, though sad enough, too, when philosophically thought of. When the men came to their senses at last and bethought them that the driftwood belonged to their 'employer' no more than to them, they were greatly incensed, but were so laughed at that they raised no disturbance."—H. F. C.

FOULON TO THE LANTERNE!

It is nearly a week after the fall of the Bastille. The power of the aristocracy has vanished, and already the respectable middle class have taken the places of the nobles. Astronomer Bailly, who is now Mayor of Paris, and military Lafayette, commander of the National Guard, are endeavouring to maintain law and order in the interests of the monied classes. Maintaining law and order in a revolted capital, in the midst of an armed and starving people, is hard work; and so Lafayette and Bailly find it. The affair I am going to refer to especially upset them when it occurred on the 22nd of July.

It appears that old Foulon, knowing how great was the love the people bore him for his extortions, his tyranny, his schemes of taxation, and above all for his famous phrase, "The people may eat grass!" has a report spread that he is dead, and even goes to the expense of a sham funeral, concealing himself in the meantime in the country. Here he is unearthed by some country people, and dragged to Paris, with a bundle of grass on his back and a garland of nettles and thistles round his neck. Thus he is dragged along through the narrow streets to the Hôtel de Ville, a dense crowd, armed with every species of weapon, waiting outside, to see that justice is done; for the people have very grave doubts as to whether the new Municipals really desire to punish so great a man as Foulon. The people are right, for the Municipal Councillors, with the natural love of all respectable persons for scoundrels in high places, do their best to get him off. Seeing the temper of the people, who throng their council hall, which bristles with pikes and muskets, they waste the time in legal rhetoric. Morning has passed away; it is noon, but he is still unjudged. Lafayette, who has been sent for by Bailly and Co., arrives and suggests that Foulon may have accomplices, and that he had better be sent to the Abbaye prison in order to get the truth out of him. Some of the audience are foolish enough to applaud this treacherous suggestion, and old Foulon, knowing that he will be safe enough there in the kindly care of his friends upon the Municipal Council, claps his hands also. The people see the plot at once, and a well dressed man springing forward exclaimed, "Friends, what is the use of judging this man? Has he not been judged these thirty years?" In another moment he is seized by the people, dragged down stairs into the Place du Grève, and is swept across to the "lanterne" at the corner of the Rue de la Vannerie. The oil lamps of those days were hung from irons projecting from the walls of the houses, and these, with ropes by which the lamps were drawn up and lowered from them, formed convenient gibbets for popular executions. Well, Foulon, screeching for mercy, has a rope put round his neck and is dragged up to the iron. The rope breaks and down he falls; another also gives way; but the third finishes him. His head is then stuck on a pike and is borne through Paris with some grass in its mouth, amid shouts of triumphant rejoicing from a furious people.

Bailly and his friends feel anything but comfortable; but what is their dismay when they hear that Berthier, Foulon's son-in-law, has also been captured and is on his way to Paris. This man was the tyrant who had exacted taxes from the people of Paris; he had made a large fortune by his unjust exactions, and by starving the people by monopolising corn in times of scarcity. He is met by huge crowds at the gates of the city, who receive him with yells of fury and triumph. They brandish pikes, muskets, and huge placards bearing the particulars of the crimes of which he is accused, "He devoured the substance of the people," "He was the slave of the rich and the tyrant of the poor," "He drank the blood of the widow and orphan," "He betrayed his country." These are crimes that require a heavy retribution.

In the midst of the shouts and tumult he beholds the bloody head of Foulon coming towards him. He shrinks in horror from the ghastly object, and already feels the shadow of coming doom. Brought before the Municipals he refuses to answer their questions; he has only obeyed his orders, they have his papers and they can judge; as for himself he is worn out by want of rest, he only wants to sleep. A strong escort is prepared for him; he leaves the Council Hall to start for the Abbaye. But at the door of the hotel the people rush on his guards, the ranks are torn asunder, and he is whirled towards the Lanterne. He breaks loose from the encircling arms of those around him, snatches a musket and strikes desperately, for a moment driving back his assailants; but he is struck down, trampled under foot, and dragged to the lamp iron and hanged. His head is cut off, his heart torn out, and both are carried on steel points through the shouting streets. Thus die the foes of the people in the days of popular triumph and vengeance.

D. J. NICOLL.

It is difficult to free fools from the chains they revere.— *Voltaire.*

THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—The seamen's strike at Liverpool has collapsed; this was to be expected. For a long time it has been evident that the men were fighting a losing battle, though with invincible pluck and determination. They have been beaten, not so much by the organisation and wealth of the capitalist, as by the treachery of men belonging to their own class. The strike has been swamped by scabs, and it is to be feared that other strikes of the more downtrodden of the workers may be crushed in the same fashion. You see that in any labour strike, concerning those whose occupation can be learnt in a few days, may be always defeated by the aid of traitors who fight on the side of the capitalists against their fellows. It seems that nothing but the strongest measures will meet these emergencies. It is the scab and the capitalist that make terrorism necessary, and they cannot complain if their brutality and treachery brings fresh perils upon their shoulders.

A GILBERTIAN PERVERSION.

(SENTRY'S SONG, "IOLANTHE.")

WHEN all life long a chap remains
A workin' hard, the dull monotonny
Must more or less obscure his brains,—
That is, supposin' that he's got any.
But though you cultured rich despise
The toiling herd, I must admonish you,
A few of us can use our eyes,
And think of things that would astonish you.
We doubt your doctrine's hardly true
That Nature ordered all things thus—
That there must needs be classes two,
One useful, one mere incubus;
And why should we break our backs for you,
If you do never a stroke for us?

You Ornamental Classes may
Feel difficulty in believing it,
But speaking candidly, the way
You get your living is by thieving it.
Wherever Mammon makes his game,
From Tennessee to Trichinopoly,
The system's every whit the same—
The merry system of monopoly.
But now its days are growing few;
We see it's quite ridiculous
That there must needs be classes two—
One useful, one mere incubus;
And why should we break our backs for you,
If you do never a stroke for us?

Us workers, how the very name
Of Law and Order used to frighten us!
To-day, that text sounds rather tame—
Such power has hunger to enlighten us.
But, once we bid you all Good-day,
You money-bags and all your retinue,
We'll blink the pranks you used to play,
And say 'twas we were fools for lettin' you.
But though you may look somewhat blue,
We'll be no more bamboozled thus,
That there must needs be classes two,
One useful, one mere incubus;
For why should we toil and moil for you,
If you do never a stroke for us?

C. W. BECKETT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 27, 1889.

| | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 21 | Sun. | 1683. William, Lord Russell beheaded. 1796. Robert Burns died. 1848. Dillon, Reilly, O'Gorman, Meagher, and Father Kenyon appointed "War Directory." 1877. Pennsylvania militia defeated at Pittsburgh by railroad strikers. 1884. Suffrage demonstration on the Embankment and in Hyde Park. |
| 22 | Mon. | 1789. Foulon hanged, with grass in his mouth. 1792. Solemn proclamation at Paris that "the country is in danger." 1801. Toussaint L'Ouverture proclaims San Domingo an independent republic. 1819. Reform demonstration in Smithfield. 1848. Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland. 1852. Battle of Six Mile Cross. 1877. Burning and sacking of Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburgh. 1885. Police attack on a Socialist funeral at Frankfurt. |
| 23 | Tues. | 1795. Trial of Henry York (or Redhead) for conspiracy. 1803. Emmett's rising in Dublin. 1806. Hyde Park railings pulled down. 1870. General Council of International Working-men's Association issue manifesto on the war. |
| 24 | Wed. | 1792. Prussian declaration of war against France. 1821. Trial of Carlile's sister for publishing Paine. 1836. Armand Carrel died. 1852. Window-tax repealed. 1872. François, Aubry, Dalivonst, and De St Omer shot as Communards. |
| 25 | Thur. | 1792. Coblenz manifesto of the Allies against French Revolution. 1793. William Winterbotham, Baptist minister, tried at Exeter for seditious words uttered in a sermon delivered Nov. 5, 1792, at How's Lane Chapel, Plymouth. 1794. André Chenier guillotined. 1826. The Decembrists, K. F. Rileeff, S. T. Mouravieff-Apostol, M. P. Bestuyeff-Rugin, and P. A. Kakhovski, hanged. 1830. Proclamations of Charles X. restraining the liberty of the press and abridging the right of election. 1844. Brothers Bandiera shot. 1877. General Trepoiff flogs a political prisoner, for which he is afterwards shot by Vera Zassulitch. |
| 26 | Fri. | 1549. Norwich taken by the rebels under Ket. 1792. Quarrel between Jacobins and Girondins. 1793. Trial of William Winterbotham for seditious words uttered in a sermon on Nov. 18, 1792, at How's Lane Chapel, Plymouth. 1794. Robespierre's last oration to the Convention, denouncing the stockjobbers. 1819. Meeting at City of London Tavern, Duke of Kent in chair, to consider practicability of Robert Owen's plan; resolved to carry it into effect and raise a subscription for that purpose. 1830. Protest of Parisian editors against the proclamation of the day before. 1869. Irish Church Disestablishment Bill passed. |
| 27 | Sat. | 1777. Murder of Jane McCrea near Fort Edward on the Hudson River by Red Indians in the pay of the English Government. 1792. Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, from Coblenz, threatening France "with military execution" if royalty be meddled with. 1794. Fall of Robespierre (9th Thermidor). 1830. Many papers published in Paris in defiance of the law, wholesale arrests, and severe rioting. |



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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ABERDEEN and LEICESTER.—It is impossible to get lectures or speeches into the limited space for reports. If comrades will not attempt to do this, it will save some disappointment. Any point worth preserving could much better be put in a paragraph.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 17.

| ENGLAND | CHICAGO | SWITZERLAND |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Bretherhood | Chicago—Knights of Labor | Geneva—Przodswit |
| Christian Socialist | Baeker Zeitung | Bulletin Continental |
| Justice | Detroit—Der Arme Teufel | ITALY |
| Labour Elector | Fort Worth (Tex)—South West | Milan—Il Fascio Operaio |
| Labour Tribune | Milwaukee—National Reformer | SPAIN |
| London—Frie Presse | Arbeiter Zeitung | Seville—La Solidaridad |
| Norwich—Daylight | Die Wahrheit | Madrid—El Socialista |
| Railway Review | Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung | PORTUGAL |
| Social Demokrat | San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung | Lisbon—O Protesto Operario |
| Worker's Friend | S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal | GERMANY |
| NEW SOUTH WALES | San Jose—Pacific Union | Berlin—Volks Tribune |
| Hamilton—Radical | St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole | AUSTRIA |
| INDIA | Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer | Brunn—Volksfreund |
| Bankipore—Behar Herald | FRANCE | Wien—Sozialdemokratische |
| Madras—People's Friend | Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) | Monatschrift |
| UNITED STATES | Le Proletariat | DENMARK |
| New York—Der Sozialist | La Revolte | Social-Demokraten |
| Freiheit | Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur | SWEDEN |
| Volkzeitung | Hague—Recht voor Allen. | Malmö—Arbetet |
| Women's Advocate | Anarchist | Stockholm, Social-Demokraten |
| Nationalist | BELGIUM | WEST INDIES |
| Boston—Woman's Journal | Ghent—Vocret | Cuba—El Productor |
| Investigator | Antwerp—De Werker | |
| Liberty | Liege—L'Avenir | |

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

FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

TO ENGLISH WORKERS.

A DANISH ADDRESS.

BRETHREN,—In these days it is not necessary, as it would have been some years ago, to explain why we appeal to you. The cry, "Proletarians of the World, Unite!" long sounded in deaf ears; the millions were unconscious of their common misery. But now the workers everywhere are drawing closer their bonds of friendship, and are recognising that the wrong of one is the wrong of all.

Here in Denmark the Labour Movement began in 1871. Brave and energetic men took the lead and founded associations, which by their practical basis and great unanimity have extorted admiration even from our enemies. Through shortening hours, establishing regular prices for certain work, and enforcing these ameliorations by strikes

and great sacrifices, we formed a defence against the encroachments of single employers; and our perfect solidarity alone has up to this time enabled us to maintain these advantages. But our enemies are also awake; they have never lost a moment in their attempts to regain their former absolute power. They have tried to form anti-Trade Union Associations, and in 1885 struck a fierce blow at one of our greatest Unions, that of the Smiths and Engineers, meaning to crush that first and the others in detail afterwards. That they failed can only be attributed to the resolute and universal aid in defence rendered by all workers.

Now the situation is much the same as then. Employers in the joinery trade have enforced a lock-out, which, if they can fulfil their intentions, will paralyse us for a very long time. Therefore we come to You, asking your help in the battle which is not alone ours but Yours also.

They have locked out 500 cabinet-makers as well as the joiners, and they threaten to carry it further and include in one monstrous lock-out all cabinet-makers, all builders, all iron-workers, and all plumbers and tinkers. To do all this, indeed, the will is not missing; and to nip the evil project in the bud, your support, moral and material, is urgently necessary. It will at least make them hesitate to carry it out, even if it do not hinder them altogether from making the attempt, when they are aware that we are not alone but have your great strength also on our side. Speedy help is here twofold help.

The cause of the conflict and its development into a lock-out is soon told. In May, 1888, a joint committee of workmen and employers completely revised the scale of pay which had been in force from 1875. The new scale made a reduction of about 20 per cent. for most of the hand-work, and an addition of 10 and 25 per cent. respectively for putting up hand and machine-work. Although the employers themselves had taken part in establishing the new prices, they speedily repudiated them and even the old scale as well. Last October we struck against two employers, and the strike ended in the compromise that the old prices should remain in force until further notice. On May 18th, these were abolished in favour of a reduction of 20 per cent. on all doors and windows worked by hand, and an addition of 15 per cent. for setting up of all joiner's work.

To many people these rates of wages may seem strange, but they are founded on the present circumstance of the trade in Copenhagen. Machine-production of joinery-work has greatly increased in the last few years, and the effects of the *grande industrie* are too well known to need recapitulation here.

During the negotiations the masters seemed to wish for a greater reduction for hand-work and a larger addition on setting up machine-work. Not finding these demands fulfilled in the new list they rejected it. We had not expected such a tempest as that with which our proposal was met, thinking to satisfy both parties by keeping up the reduction while reducing the addition and making it valid for both kinds of work.

As the Employer's Association did not accept our offer we struck on May 27th in seven workshops with about 120 hands. They now charged the Joiner's guild to negotiate with us, but as the guild largely consists of cabinet makers, who did not understand the subject of discussion, the negotiation came to nothing. At the last meeting it was even openly declared that the masters would acknowledge no scale; out of pure mercy they would accept the reduction, but the addition should be only 7½ per cent., and if we did not accept in fifteen minutes they would even withdraw this! Such a demand it was impossible to entertain. We claimed a delay in order to put the matter before a general assembly of our Union. We got the delay, and the answer of the Union was, as might be expected, a refusal.

We knew the truth now; it was not the mere percentage they would attack; it was the organisation they sought to destroy. On Tuesday, June 11th, Capital revealed itself in its true colours; flinging off the mask it refused to bargain any longer with its slaves, bringing against them its last resource, the Lock-Out.

In spite of all, we are of good cheer and resolved on fighting to the last. To-day it is we who must defend the rampart of Danish trades' unionism; to-morrow it may be another, many other trades. The smallness of our country and the troubles we have already endured, make it difficult to get the necessary support within our own ranks. But, knowing that for us, the oppressed and dispossessed, there are no frontiers, no difference of race or nation, we come to you for your powerful aid in our common battle, relying upon your knowledge that not we alone, but the workers everywhere are concerned. If we lose, you lose; our victory will be your gain. The international solidarity of Labour must confront and combat the international tyranny of Capital.

Therefore, brethren, help us, and help us speedily.—With fraternal greeting, for the Joiners' Trade Union, C. M. OLSEN, President.

Remittances should be sent to P. T. NIELSEN, Joiner, Joiners' Lock-Out Bureau, Romersgade, 22, Copenhagen, K., Denmark.

POWER OF CONSCIENCE.—Coal Magnate—My dear, I couldn't sleep last night. Wife—No wonder; the room was terribly warm. C. M.—Yes, the room was warm, but that wasn't what was the matter; my conscience troubled me. Wife—Eh? C. M.—Yes; I got thinking of all the poor people in the world, and what a hard time they had to get along, and I couldn't help thinking it was a pity they had to pay so much for things. Wife—Yes? C. M.—Yes; and I firmly resolved that with heaven's help I'd reduce the price of coal 25 cents. before the Fourth of July; but I guess maybe 15 cents. will be enough.—*New York Weekly.*

THE HYNDMAN-GEORGE DEBATE.

II.

(Concluded from p. 221.)

HYNDMAN pointed out that according to Arnold Toynbee the agricultural rent was annually 30 millions sterling, and the town ground rent also about 30 millions. And even if it were 150 millions, what did it matter? That was but a small amount compared with the total wealth which did not go to the producer. But Mr. George had said his object was to free the land. It would be just as impossible for the worker to get on the land after Mr. George had begun his operations as before, because he was going to exact the full economic rent every year. But supposing the worker went on to the land, who was going to supply his tools, and how was he to meet the competition of the big factory farms? If competition was such a glorious thing, would Mr. George tell him how the man who was working on ten acres with the spade was going to meet the competition of the great factory farmers of Dakota with their steam-ploughs, etc. The law of competition would crush out the small men who went on the land without tools. This law of competition meant degradation for the mass of the people. Socialists wanted instead that co-operation of man with man for the development of the faculties of each, and he believed that this national and international co-operation was the necessary future of mankind. What Mr. George was proposing was practically to substitute the monopoly of the capitalist by competition for the monopoly of the landlord by land. The system of competition was falling down at the present time by its own weight. Competition had been tried and found wanting. He was told that the Social Democratic system would mean the stunting of faculty—were not men's faculties stunted by competition and the mere desire to compete and crush down their fellows? He saw the finest faculties crushed down by overwork because of this competition. If it was immoral to socialise capital—the tools—then it was equally immoral to touch the rent which goes to the landlord. One was the result of historical causes just as much as the other, and one meant the expropriation of labour just as much as the other. He was told that co-operation would stop progress, but capitalism stopped progress to-day. The great forces of electricity were practically not utilised to-day because of this very capitalist system.

George said what he proposed was to take rent—always meaning by rent economic rent—for the community, because it belonged to the community. He would not abolish it; he would exact it from anyone who used land. The importance that he attributed to this taking of rent was not merely that it was taking that which would not restrict industry, oppress labour, or hamper production, but that in taking rent they made mere land ownership utterly valueless, that they made it unprofitable to hold land in expectation of a future increase in its values, that they made it impossible to extort from the worker a monopoly rent, and that they made it impossible for individuals to hold vast tracts of land in idleness or for purposes of pleasure. Tax land values to the full and what was the result? The land which had no value, the land lying on the outskirts, could be had without price. The selling value of land would be destroyed, and land which had a value from position or fertility could be had by paying the rent to the community. Mr. Hyndman had asked who was to supply tools. This was a striking illustration of how the Social Democrats simply took the old dicta of such political economists as Ricardo. Just as they used to say that labour cannot be employed unless there is capital to employ it, and capital must therefore restrict the employment of labour because labour could not support itself, save on the produce of past labour, which is capital, the Social Democrats now said that labour could not go on to land and utilise it without capital. But who was the capitalist who supplied the first man with capital? And, he was asked, how was labour to get to land. How had labour got to land when it was much farther off? How had the Irish labourer gone three thousand miles across the sea, and then in many cases a thousand miles west? By saving, by borrowing, some member of the family had gone across, and his earnings had constituted an emigration fund for the rest of the family. The whole development of the United States, the whole development of any new country, proved the fallacy of the assertion that labour could not employ itself without capital. Go into a new country where land is free, or at least the price of land is not yet high, and there they would find no such thing as an unemployed man. The monopoly of land and not the exploitation of capital had been the cause of the deterioration in the condition of the people of the United States. Wherever the farmer goes he finds the land speculator ahead of him, and he had to mortgage his labour for years. That was the cause of mortgages, and that was why times had been getting harder in the United States. As to the man with the spade competing with the great factory farmer, at least he could always make a good living for himself with the spade if he had access to the land, and when men could do that they would not work for another for anything less. Capital was not really the employer of labour, labour was the employer of capital—that was the natural order. Give labour access to land and the reward of its exertions upon it, and the dissensions between the capitalist and the labourer would pass away, and if there were then great organisations of capital they would necessarily be co-operative organisations, in which labour would have its full share. He proposed to go back to the old English system, to recognise that all men were equally entitled to the use of the land, and that each man was absolutely entitled to that which his labour produced. They had heard a great deal that night about nationalising all the instruments of production, making capital the property of the State, and organising labour by the State, but he had yet to hear of any practical step in this direction. How did the Social Democrats propose to begin? The instruments of production included the axe, the spade, and the tools of the individual workman; were they going to take all that? It was a good big job. Had it ever happened in the history of the world that the men who had nothing took everything from the possessing class? never! But if it was taken what did they propose to do? To use it under government direction. To have a government official or a Board at the head of every vocation, from lawyers, doctors, and civil engineers down to milkmen, costermongers, and bootblacks. Did not organisation always mean a concentration of power? Did not those present who belonged to trade and political organisations know that the tendency always was to their being managed by a few? When things were left to the vote of a large number of people it was a few designing men who had the advantage. The system of protection, or taxation on imports, which existed in his country was an example of government protection of production. It was the result of the wisdom of the people of the United States expressed by manhood suffrage, and it was a system of utter robbery and spoliation, a system which gave to such men as Andrew Carnegie incomes of millions of dollars a year and

had driven American ships off the seas. Let them think of what would be the result if that system was applied to all industry. Think of the tyranny. The Social Democrats talked about organising industrial armies: an army always meant that a man must be put into the ranks as a machine and must obey arbitrary authority. Did they think there would be less tyranny because men claimed to act by the authority of the people? Not at all. They knew in the United States that there could be a tyranny of majorities just as bad as the tyranny of royalty.

Hyndman then enumerated the palliative measures propounded by the S. D. F. Mr. George had asked how Social Democrats were going to carry out their programme. By vote if possible, by force if necessary; and he would have to get his rent or tax in the same way.

George, in conclusion, claimed that the single tax would compel those who were now holding land unemployed to use it themselves or sell out to those who would. Mr. Hyndman had stated that industrial depression came from too much production; that because too many boots were made, men went shoeless, and so on. That was not it. There could not be too much production until the wants of all were satisfied. It was because the men were unable to apply their labour to produce something they could exchange for the boots. Industrial depression was caused by speculation in land values and shutting out labour and capital from employment on land, thus causing men to compete with each other for an employer. The Anglo-Saxon race had secured its predominance through trusting very little to government; more than any other people they had allowed free scope to the individual. He wanted them to follow their traditions to more and more liberty. The interest of the people was always in freedom. Their watchword should be—Freedom, Freedom, always Freedom.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, Professor Beesly, led him to reply that he agreed with neither party, and that in his opinion the best parts of the speeches were those in which the opponents destroyed one another's arguments.

JAMES BLACKWELL.

PROPOSED FEDERATION OF YORKSHIRE SOCIALISTS.

The following circular has been submitted to the Council of the Socialist League, and has received their warm approbation. They recommend it as an example to other provincial branches, and believe that a similar scheme would be a great help to all of them by strengthening them in the work of propaganda:—

Leeds Branch of the Socialist League,
Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road.

Your attendance is invited at the above address on Sunday, July 28th, at 7 p.m., to consider the advisability of forming a Federation of Yorkshire Socialists, for the purpose of strengthening existing branches and where possible establishing new ones.

In furtherance of this object it is suggested that an Annual Conference be held, time and place to be determined by sitting Conference. Members of branches and individuals taking part in the work of the Federation to be eligible to attend the Annual Conference.

In order that the work of Federation may be effectually carried on, it is further suggested:

That a Yorkshire secretary may be annually elected, whose duties shall be:—The organisation of the Socialist elements of Yorkshire, with a view to co-operative propaganda; by visiting branches and corresponding with individuals where branches do not exist; the preparation of a list of speakers for indoor and outdoor meetings, and collecting funds for defraying all expenses incidental to the agitation.

County secretary to pay a monthly visit to branches, and acquaint them of work done and to make arrangements for ensuing month. The secretary also to inform by correspondence, individuals situated in districts where branches do not exist, how the work of the Federation is going on, and to make such arrangements as may lead to the formation of branches.

All persons interested in the well-being of the Federation to consider it a duty to render every help to the county secretary, by promptly communicating facts as to trade disputes, places where meetings might be held, and names and addresses of such persons as could be counted upon to co-operate in the work.

N. B.—The above to be subject to any alterations or additions that the Conference may decide upon.

F. CORKWELL, Organising Secretary of
Leeds Branch of the Socialist League.

LANDLORD TYRANNY.

It appears that the people of Zetland have gained a great victory. The inhabitants of this primitive island in the far north living far from the rush and roar of the modern world, retain many habits and customs which we have long forgotten. Strange as it may appear, these men have no foe but the feudal landlord, who endeavours vainly to keep up the exactions of the past. The men of Zetland are largely engaged in the whale-fishery, and it has been the pleasant little custom of the landlords to claim a third of the value of any whales which had been driven upon the seashore and killed upon their property. Sometimes these exactions were extended to half the value of the fish caught. If the men refused, they had to take the consequences—eviction and loss of work. In order to avoid these feudal dues the men have sometimes not followed their usual custom of driving the whales into the shore, but have killed them at sea. This practice has been met by "fines" and "punishments." However, some rebellious people have taken the matter into court and have gained the day. Sheriff Mackenzie has decided that the landlord has no legal claim. In the judge's note to his decision occurs the following remarkable passages. In speaking of the landlord's claim, he points out that it has no written law at the back of it, and that according to Erskine, "Unwritten law is that which without any express enactment of the supreme power, derives its force from its tacit consent, which consent is presumed from the inveterate or immemorial usage of the community." That is, the landlord has only the consent of the community to rely upon for the legalisation of his exactions. He then points out that usage is not immemorial and inveterate, nor is it founded upon consent, "unless that consent is construed as the choice of two evils, the submission to a burden under the knowledge that a greater harm would come from resisting it. Every payment or claim, such as rent or taxes, is no doubt felt by many to be a hard thing, and one that they would be relieved from, but for which they from obvious reasons are compelled to pay." Indeed, Mr. Sheriff, and what are the "obvious reasons"? One fails to see them. What need is there for keeping a pack of idle landlords, government officials, and all the host of slave-driving classes? None whatever. Mr. Sheriff Mackenzie has discovered that it is illegal for men to pay a tax on the produce reaped by their labour from the sea; who knows that some day he may not find out that it is "illegal" for men to pay tax upon their labour, even if it be in the form of rent, taxes, profit, or interest.

D. N.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

The Tram Slaves.

I have already mentioned the hard case of the men employed upon the cars of the North London Tramway Company. It appears that the company pays its men a miserable pittance ranging from 3s. 3d. to 3s. 9d. for a day of 14 or 15 hours, while it manages to screw for its shareholders 6½ per cent. dividend out of the slavery of its men. Yes, slavery! There is no other word for it, to work men seven days a-week and only give them a holiday once in every twenty-one days, while their life is made miserable by tyranny of the inspectors and the usual system of worrying fines.

Well, these men held a meeting at Edmonton in the small hours of Thursday morning, and were addressed, among others, by the Rev. D. Russel. The rev. gentleman acted up to his character of a minister of the gospel by recommending the men to combine and not to resort to "mob violence." Dear me! Suppose, now, the reverend gent was a tramway man and did some useful work for his living, instead of talking nonsense. Suppose, too, he came out on strike for higher wages, and saw that his place was being taken by traitors to his class, who by their cowardly action were taking the bread out of the mouth of himself his wife and children, and driving them to perish by quick starvation in the street or slow starvation in the workhouse, and there happened to be a brick handy. I wonder if the reverend gent would forget his Christian principles so far as to pick it up and chuck it at the head of that scab, as a gentle reminder that he was not wanted in his present position. If he did so he would be resorting to "mob violence"; but who could blame him for defending himself and his family against a man who was cutting their throats? The reverend gent should reserve his reprobation for the directors and their friends the scabs, who by their aggressive action force people into "mob violence."

The South London Tramway Co. have followed the example of the North Metropolitan by declaring that they have no objection to their men combining, and have also promised to do their best to remedy any grievances. Very kind of them. Such consideration from a tramway company is rare. Inspector Pain, the amateur spy, has gone to Honolulu,—a good journey to him! The West Metropolitan company are still dismissing their men for joining the union; while the Southwark and Deptford are short of conductors, and have to press horse-keepers for service in that capacity. All seems going well for the men; they are literally overwhelmed by the support of respectables. Rather different from the days when only the disreputable Socialist was found to plead their cause.

The Glasgow Dock-Labourers' Strike.

The dock-labourers' strike in Glasgow has collapsed. The surrender of the seamen and firemen made it futile for the labourers to hold out longer, and with the view of retaining some funds in hand the officials recommended the men to go back at the old terms for a time.

The labourers came out on strike on the understanding that the seamen and the labourers would stand or fall together. The action, therefore, of the seamen or their officials in "raising the siege" without the consent of the labourers provoked much ill-feeling amongst the latter, and will make the association of the two unions in a future struggle a very difficult task.

In many respects the dock-labourers fought well—better, indeed, than most working-men fight. They kept a watch upon the sheds day and night, and for a couple of weeks either coaxed or terrorised the most of the scabs to leave off work. They received very little alms from their union—many of them none at all—and faithfully followed the advice of their official leaders. Their compulsory surrender is therefore much to be regretted, and it will probably dishearten the men for a long time to come.

Somersetshire Miners.

The Somerset miners still hold out for the 10 per cent. advance. There are upwards of 3,000 men out on strike. We take the following from our contemporary, the *Labour Tribune*, which tells a little story of how the Somersetshire women have made it hot for the scabs. After informing us that the miners are enjoying their holiday in a mild and tranquil manner, it goes on to observe: "So much as this cannot be said about the women, for the few people who went to work on the first day after the general cessation of work, seem to become the special charge of the fair sex, and they accompany some of these brave fellows to and from their work, and what with the beating of trays and bread tins and such like, produce a combination of sounds not in strict accordance with the rules of harmony, while occasionally above the din would be heard a shrill voice calling out 'blackleg.'" The end of it all, of course, was that twenty-three women and boys were summoned for "intimidation." The appearance of all who were summoned was more than ordinarily respectable, and most of the women carried babies! Fancy accusing a woman with a baby of "intimidation." I wonder they didn't summon the baby while they were about it. The magistrates happily saw the idiocy of the charges, and merely contented themselves by binding these dangerous people over to come up for judgment when called upon.

THE CLYDE RIVETERS.—The strike has been settled, and the threatened lock-out of 10,000 men averted by a compromise. The riveters are to work the next six months at a fixed rate.

THE GAS STOKERS after being victorious by their own action, have lost in the law courts. This must always be expected when workmen are foolish enough to go to law. Judge Bayley has decided that the men are only day labourers, and have no claim for a week's wages when dismissed without notice. What more could be expected from middle-class "justice?" Trust in your own strong arms, my friends, but don't waste time and money in your master's law courts. By doing so you only fill the capitalist classes with suppressed laughter; they know you will get more kicks than ha'pence at that game.

SHOE TRADE WAGES.—The boot and shoe riveters have gained an advance of 5 per cent. This increase has been the result of the deliberations of an arbitration board, composed equally of masters and men. This board was formed after the great lock-out of 1887, when 20,000 operatives were thrown out of work. The board appears to have worked well, but whether in the interest of masters or men the report does not say. Some 8,000 will be affected by the increase. The handstitch men have also received an advance they applied for a month ago. The increase to the hand-sewers or cordwainers is over 10 per cent.

SOCIALISM IN LANCASHIRE.

ONE thing the visit of our comrade Kitz to this epitome of civilisation has unmistakably made clear—*i.e.*, the fact that Socialism is a name to conjure with among the workers of Lancashire; that, amid all the befogging and ugly surroundings, amid the horrors of this sordid régime of factory hells, the degradation and degeneracy of the human profit-grinding machines, the obliteration of all sense of natural beauty, and the total destruction of rural loveliness from the face of nature, which are the legacies left us by the glorious reign of commercial supremacy; amid the evil and benighting effects of these triumphs of modern civilisation, when one would have expected to find all hope abandoned by the working people who are its victims, it is yet true that the ideas of Socialism, the gospel of Revolution, has taken root and is now becoming a goodly tree, under whose spreading branches the thinking portion of the people are finding hope and discovering how they can work out the salvation of *all* humanity.

The first of the series of meetings addressed by comrade Kitz was held on Sunday afternoon the 23rd ult. in Stevenson Square, Manchester. It was called together to hear the question "Why the Workers Live in Slums" discussed from the revolutionary standpoint. The chair was taken by E. H. Parkinson, whose opening remarks were well received. The following resolution, proposed by Ritson, seconded by Marshall, each in an able speech on the question raised, was supported by F. Kitz:

"That this meeting of workers of Manchester, recognising the disparity between the death rate of the idlers living in luxury upon others' labour and that of the workers living in slums, declares that rent, interest, and profit, together with the monopoly of land and the means of production, are the main causes of the miseries of the producers, and can only be swept away by the workers combining for a total change in society."

The audience—nearly 2,000—filling the square listened most attentively to an address which lasted over an hour, and throughout received the uncompromising attack upon puritanical hypocrisy and social iniquity, which are the outcome of our class society, in a spirit of enthusiastic acquiescence which was most encouraging to the speaker. After Kitz's splendid address, which was much applauded, a notorious individual, who has fallen foul of every Socialist and labour movement which he became connected with, proposed an amendment which simply aimed at limiting the scope of the resolution. When it was put to the meeting, none but the mover and seconder could be found to support it. Leonard Hall stigmatised them as the half-loafers, which seemed to gauge the general feeling on the matter. The meeting, however, were for having none of the half-loaf business, so the resolution was carried unanimously. A good collection was made, and about 9s. worth of *Commonweal* and other literature sold.

Our usual meeting at Chester Road was also addressed by Kitz on Sunday night.

On Monday night a most sympathetic meeting of about 800 was addressed by Kitz and others on the Town Hall Square, Rochdale. Some opposition was given, which merely served to show how the people appreciated the gospel of Socialism. The S. D. F. is the only Socialist body here at present.

On Tuesday comrade Kitz paid Liverpool a visit, where no organisation of our party exists, but we have good reason to expect that some real work will soon be undertaken by the League in this fertile soil for the preaching of the Cause.

Bolton was selected for Wednesday night, where a large meeting was addressed by Kitz and Bailie, with the assistance of some members of the late branch of the S. D. F., which has been swamped by a premature effort at practical Socialism under the name of a Commonwealth, which has now become a society for the accumulation of capital and the spread of commercialism. When will our impatient sympathisers see the hopelessness of revolutionising society by isolated efforts at abolishing capitalism by means of commercial ventures whose capital is obtained by the pinching, mis-directed thrift of a few wage-slaves? Even if they were to succeed in their small way, what of the mass which could never hope to attain independence through saving, when they fail to obtain enough to keep away hunger under this system of monopoly? Less energy would be required to establish a free condition of society for all than would be necessary to steer one of these individualist co-operative efforts through a commercial crisis.

The visit of our comrade has infused fresh energy into the movement in these parts. He returned to London on Thursday, but we hope before long our success will enable us to bring him amongst us again. Two of the Manchester daily papers gave a short account of our Sunday demonstration and the resolution in full. Any energy which can be set in motion in this direction among the workers of industrial centres cannot fail to have satisfactory results and give the cause an impetus which cannot be stayed.

The visit of Kitz to Lancashire shows what good work can be done in stirring up the revolutionary spirit among the workers in the provinces. We could send other speakers who could do equally good work; but we need funds. Those desirous of helping this good work may send their subscriptions to D. J. Nicoll, Secretary of the Provincial Missionary Fund, 13 Farringdon Road.

In the death of our comrade George Robson, Socialism in Leicester has lost one of its best supporters and ablest exponents. From the first formation of our Branch he has been very active in the Cause. Wherever there was any lecture, discussion, newspaper controversy, or anti-Socialist cant, there was Robson in the midst of it, fighting fiercely for Socialism. None who knew him well could help but esteem him, both as a man and for his unselfish efforts in the Cause.

The opinions of mankind have been found wonderfully flexible, have always tended to consecrate existing facts, and to declare what did not yet exist either pernicious or impracticable.—*John Stuart Mill.*

In the *North American Review* for June, Andrew Carnegie has an article on "Wealth." Andrew, who for a long time received 5,000 dollars a-day on his protected steel (sometimes spelled *steal*), ought to know something about it.—*Boston Sunday Globe.*

READY FOR TRIAL.—Great Lawyer—The trial of our honourable client will begin to-morrow. Assistant (astounded)—Trial? couldn't you get the case postponed any longer? G. L.—No need to have it further postponed: all the important witnesses are dead.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLICATIONS.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 1d
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
- The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
- The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
- True and False Society.** By Wm. Morris. 1d.
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