

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

At its last meeting the London County Council passed by a large majority a demand for the control of Trafalgar Square. They are not likely to get it, nor can one be quite certain as to how they would exercise it if they did, but it would be a clear gain to have it in the hands of an elected body rather than in that of an irresponsible official. Of course Mr. Frederic Harrison voted against popular control of the Square, so following up his speech against popular control of the police. He was followed into the "No" lobby by these other alleged "Progressives," Messrs. Carr-Gomm, Johnson, Jno. Jones, and Lemon. It is well to remember the names; they may need recalling some day.

It seems that Mr. Shipton has, after all, now been really and definitely rejected by the House Decorator's trade union, of which he was secretary. That trade unionists should rebel against a "boss" of Mr. Shipton's kind is novel enough, but that it should be on the score of his neglecting labour interests in favour of sugar bounty, bimetalism, peace-society, and other boodle-bringing agitations, is little short of marvellous. The usual procedure in the past has been for trade union "leaders," like Mr. Shipton and other illustrious men, to receive higher rewards and more docile obedience from their servile following the more they disavowed their mandates, and the faster they fell into line as party hacks and wirepullers. Almost may we begin to hope for the clearing of the London Trades' Council from the unscrupulous ring-runners and forty-piece-of-silver politicians who have made of it a byword and a scorn, instead of the effective centre that it could and should be of the labour war in this country.

But while trade unionists are coming forward, there is no reason that Socialists should go backward, and all appearances go to prove that there is little danger of any great bulk of them doing so. Wherefore we may look with more amusement than alarm upon the spectacle of whilom revolutionists at the Possibilist Congress dramatically weeping upon the broad and throbbing bosom of Mr. Fenwick, M.P., and exchanging the kiss of peace with the Parliamentary Committee.

Comrade Burns, who did not join in this "spontaneous and impressive" stage-effect, stood out honourably also from among the English Possibilists when the question of amalgamating with the Socialist Congress was under discussion. His fraternal anxiety for union showed well against the background afforded by the bitter spite and sectional bigotry which masqueraded under the lofty guise of "fundamental principle."

The production of Ibsen's "Pillars of Society" last week gave the critics an ample opportunity of again displaying their puerile ignorance of humanity and modern life. They by no means lost the opportunity. Their pitiful little foot-rules and methods of measurement betrayed once more how ludicrously inadequate they were to the task of judging such a giant as Ibsen, or so strange a thing, to them, as the representation of truth. "Subdued to that they work in," they cannot see the corruption of bourgeois society and the sordid realities that lurk under its pretentious covering of culture and respectability. Accustomed to the polite and feeble play-wright who goes no further than some surface effect in his attacks, even when he attacks anything at all, and does not calmly assent to the current morality and base his drama on some beastliness that comes of it, they can only cavil and squeal in chorus at the strong man who, with a few well-directed blows, cuts his way through all hypocrisies and wrappings, and lays bare the problem in all its bitterness.

To solve the problem Ibsen does not pretend. Why should he? Is it not enough that he puts it clearly before people who in no other way could be roused to its consideration? And he does so put it; it would be difficult to imagine anyone, other than a critic or an otherwise hopeless person, who could witness any one of his plays without being disquieted and set thinking.

Our good friends the police have been very busy lately. What with knocking Salvationists about and keeping a wary eye upon the wicked Socialist, they have had their hands full, and in consequence have had no time to attend to such a trifling matter as the detection of crime.

Mr. Monro admits, in his annual report published a few days back, that crime has increased, but that is because the police have had so many onerous duties to perform. They have had to look after the mysterious murderer in Whitechapel, and to keep if anything a more vigilant eye lest some impious Socialist or Salvationist should desecrate the spot sacred to the memory of Warren—Trafalgar Square.

Who can be surprised if with this heavy work upon the shoulders of a harassed Chief Commissioner, that he should slightly neglect his ordinary duties, and that burglary should increase, and that another murder be committed in Whitechapel? These are trifling matters, and why should any respectable citizen of the bourgeois class fret about them? Trafalgar Square is safe, the unemployed dare not venture within the shadow of Nelson's column, and if murder and burglary go on increasing, it is only a sign that we want more police. Law'n'-order must be maintained; more spies, more police, more bludgeoning, more corpses! Long live the Law and the Constitution!

Horrible as are the deeds of the monster of Whitechapel, they yet throw a lurid light—perhaps more because of their horror than of anything else—upon the lives which so many are forced to lead amid the squalid gloom of the crowded courts of the East-end.

The case of Alice Mackenzie is particularly worthy of notice. Here is a woman who is, on the admission of all who know her, hard-working and industrious, toiling at one of the most miserable of all trades, that of charwoman in a poor neighbourhood, and despite all her industry, she is forced at times to drift on to the street to increase her scanty earnings by the wages of prostitution. In one of these excursions, to get money for her night's lodging, she falls before the murderous knife which has already slain so many of her class. And what is this woman, hard-working, industrious, and yet obliged to sell herself, but a type of thousands of her class?

Writers on respectable papers like the *Daily News* may talk about the great improvement in the condition of the poor at the East-end and elsewhere during the last forty years; but those who know the East-end will laugh at them. Walk through the streets of that stagnant marsh of misery, and see hopeless poverty reflected from the forms, the face, and the very garments of its inhabitants. It is not because there is a look of hungry hatred or the hope of coming vengeance upon their oppressors in their faces. These signs would be hopeful compared with the heavy look of habitual submission to unjust suffering, the total want of spirit, and the broken-down air which comes of continued semi-starvation and the grinding toil of a heavy existence.

Some times you ask yourself whether it is not hopeless to hope to stir these people into rebellion against their tyrants. But let history lend us a little comfort. The people of Paris were quite as down-trodden, if we are to believe one who wrote only a few years before the Revolution in France. "In Paris," says Mercier, "the people are weak, pallid, diminutive, and stunted." A countryman of our own, Arthur Young, bore witness as to how, with the meekness bred of long slavery, they let their nobles crush them and their children beneath their carriage wheels as they drove furiously through the streets. And yet a few years after these words were written the people rose and the Bastille fell beneath their cannon. So perhaps it would not be well for revolutionists even to despair of the East-end of London.

The *Daily Telegraph* has a long article on the "Weeds of Whitechapel." This title is an insult even to the poorest and most miserable of its inhabitants, for even the very criminals there are far more useful than those patrons of the *D. T.*, the jobbers of the Stock Exchange.

D. N.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE PARIS CONGRESS.

The delegates of the League met as agreed at London Bridge Station, and found an enormous crowd of people going our way. We got stopped into the carriages somehow, and whiled away the time in singing songs and selling a few numbers of *Commonweal* to divers good folk who had only a glimmering about the events that the French were going to celebrate on the morrow. Getting to the boats at Newhaven, we found that the clerk of the weather had provided us with a *sell* in the form of spring tides, so that the boats which were timed to start at 11 p.m. did not stir from the harbour till close on 3 a.m. And even then there was not enough water for us to get into Dieppe for an hour or two; so that, in short, instead of getting into Paris at 8 a.m. we did not start from Dieppe till 10, and got to Paris at 1.30, somewhat weary with the long journey.

We were met at the station by several old acquaintances, and made the best of our way to our headquarters, which is in the Montmartre district, the northern suburb of Paris. As a matter of course we thus missed the first sitting of the Congress at the Rue Petrelle, though I, having been put upon the committee, went down to the hall and saw our friend Lafargue and the members of the Organising Committee; after which there was nothing left for us but to take our pleasure as we best could in wandering about the city and seeing what I should irreverently call the "fun of the fair."

The next morning, Monday, we went down to the Salle Petrelle, and found the delegates assembling; I found myself also appointed to verify the mandates of the English-speaking delegates, and had plenty of work to do. It was obvious from the first that the Salle Petrelle was not large enough for the Congress, as it would not hold 300 persons, and besides the delegates the public was admitted. Hasty arrangements were made for another hall, and we were presently on the way to a kind of theatre, called the *Fantasies Parisiennes*, in the neighbouring Rue Rochechouart, where we soon got to business, with Vaillant and Liebknecht in the chair. The first business was of course the roll-call of the delegates, which of itself was a somewhat imposing ceremony, considering the great number of them, and the trouble and even risk to which some of them had been put to come. The numbers of the delegates first taken were as follows: French, 180; Germans, 81, English, 21; Belgian, 14; Austrian, 8; Italian, 11; Russian, 6; Swiss, 6; Denmark, 3; Roumania, 4; Spain, 2; Poland, 4; Hungary, 3; America, 2; Portugal, 1; Greece, 1; Holland, 4; Sweden, 1; Norway, 1. In all, 353; but later comers made up the list to upwards of 400. The spirit of the Congress was good, the enthusiasm undoubted. As above said, the mere presence of so many Socialists come together from so many countries so earnest and eager was inspiring and encouraging.

Little was done at this morning meeting except what might be called formal business; but it was clear from the first that there were two parties in the Congress, one of which was anxious almost at any price for fusion with the Possibilist Congress, and the other quite contented to let them hold their deliberations by themselves. Accordingly a meeting of the English delegates met on the Monday afternoon to decide upon their course of action, at which the delegates of the League were unanimous for keeping quite apart from the Possibilist Congress, which has no pretensions to being a Socialist Congress, and considering that Germany is quite unrepresented there, and that there is a distinct smack of jingoism about it, no *valid* pretensions to being international.

We expected that this question of fusion would come on in the evening sitting of Monday, but the whole time was taken up in settling various details of the constitution of the Congress, some of which excited angry feeling among the French delegates; the cause of which it was difficult, or impossible rather, for a stranger to understand. Underlying it all, however, was this question of fusion: for it must be understood that the Belgian, Dutch, and Italian delegates had a definite mission to bring about a fusion of the two congresses, and that many of them were very hot about it. The chairman (a Swiss) at this evening meeting, though apparently a straightforward sincere man, had no hold on the meeting, so that it got rather out of hand; and no doubt there was some of the usual police element present. However, amongst the genuine Socialists no harm was meant and none was done.

The next morning we received at our headquarters comrades Charles and J. and R. Turner, and at the Congress the ground was cleared for the settlement of this question of fusion. There were practically three resolutions before the meeting. Domela Nieuwenhuis spoke for the fusion in a speech which his obvious earnestness and good-will made very impressive; though he ignored the fact that as to the French party neither the Guesdists nor the Possibilists really desired it, and rightly so, as the breach was too great between them to be healed by a mere formality. Tressaud, the Marseilles delegate, in a speech quite straightforward and to the point, spoke against the fusion, and I followed him, and supported him with the full assent of our comrades of the League.

Liebknecht brought forward another motion which threw the onus of making the fusion on the Possibilists; and this was clearly the popular view among the French and German delegates. The propositions made, a long time was spent in a somewhat wearisome and very involved discussion as to how we were to vote, and at last it was settled that the voting should be by nations. Then the voting took place, and it became clear that if we voted for Tressaud's proposal, as we should have preferred to do and thus took our votes away from Liebknecht, we should risk giving the majority to those who wished for

fusion on almost any terms, and thus should find ourselves sitting in a Congress which, as above said, was not a Socialist one. We therefore voted for Liebknecht's proposal, appending to our vote a statement that if Tressaud's had been brought up we should have voted for it; and we found that the French delegates had voted in the same way. There was a large majority for Liebknecht's motion; and a committee was appointed to confer with the Possibilists and see if anything practical in the way of fusion could follow from this motion, which expressed a wish for fusion, but only on the terms that there should be no submission on our part; and thus a long sitting came to an end.

The next morning (Wednesday) we heard that the Possibilists had accepted the fusion; but on condition that we should submit to having our mandates examined by the united Congresses, which it was clearly impossible for us to agree to, as even those who had been most eager in pressing on the fusion admitted. We answered the Possibilists therefore that we could not agree to these terms, and in the evening received an answer from them in return breaking off the negotiations for good and all.

We had thus wasted two whole days in discussing a matter which in the opinion of the delegates of the Socialist League ought never to have been discussed at all, since our Congress was open even at the last moment to the delegates of any genuine working-men's association, so that there was nothing to prevent any one from joining us who felt friendly towards us. And furthermore, the plain truth is that real union between the two French sections was impossible, and an artificial union would have produced worse quarrels, and have prevented any profitable discussion to say the least of it.

On Wednesday morning, with this matter of the fusion hanging unsettled over us, began the reading of the reports, Bebel leading off for Germany. These have lasted all to-day; but as we shall go to press before an account of the end of the Congress could be given, I will leave these for the present.

Our comrades should understand that whatever is said in the Congress, whether French, German, or English, has to be translated doubly; and the translations seemed on the whole to be very well done. Mrs. Aveling acted as translator between German and French and English; Vollmar did the German part: the translators had their difficult task made more difficult by the buzz of conversation which arose as soon as the original speaker ended.

The earnestness and enthusiasm of the delegates was very impressive, and seems to have made some impression even on bourgeois observers; and whatever eagerness there was in debate, we all met out of debate with great friendliness and goodwill. A great many of the delegates have continually found themselves sitting at the same table for the meal after the session in the pleasantest and most fraternal manner in the cheaper restaurants round about the place of meeting.

I am sorry to say that I must finish this letter with mentioning a disagreeable affair, on which it is impossible to be wholly silent. In the discussion which took place in the Possibilist Congress as to the fusion, Mrs. Besant allowed herself to say that the English delegates at our Congress represented nothing but themselves. We have in consequence offered our comrades here to give them every opportunity for the fullest scrutiny of our mandates; but it is quite clear that we owe no account of ourselves to a Congress for which we have received no mandate.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

Thursday, July 18th, 1889.

(To be concluded.)

## "BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION."

IN conversation the other day, a friend, who has a good deal of sympathy with Socialism, said, "One of the most difficult things you will have to deal with under Socialism will be the corruption of the officials." The remark arose out of a talk about different forms of corruption and bribery which flourish under the present system; and as this difficulty may be presenting itself to others, it will be worth while to compare the two, and see whether Socialism or the present competitive system would be the more likely to foster corruption, assuming for the present that anything like "officials" as we know them would exist under Socialism.

It will be well first to give some examples that have either come under my own observation or have come direct to me from those concerned. The first case is in the wood line. When a railway is fresh cut a large amount of wood fencing is required; this is let out by contract to the makers, and is put up by men employed by the contractors for the railway, and will have to be to the satisfaction of the inspecting engineer. My friend (a manufacturer of this fencing) described to me how he and another man, who had contracted to supply something else, went with the engineer to inspect a portion of the line. Now, inspecting rough wood fencing, as may easily be imagined, is not a difficult operation, but it is one the result of which will very largely depend upon the humour in which the engineer happens to be; if he was in a bad humour he could easily condemn every piece of wood that looked at all as if it had a flaw in it, while if he was in a good humour he would condemn nothing that was really fit for the work. So that, even with an inspector who is too honest to be bribed into passing really bad work, there is a large margin for him to be worked upon by the maker of fencing. In this case the two contractors whose work he was going to inspect made it as easy as possible for him, first by providing a carriage and pair to take him to

the nearest point to start from, and then by providing him with a good lunch and plenty of good wine before commencing the serious business of inspecting!

I will not refer to cases of more flagrant bribery, where money, jewellery, pianos, etc., come into the hands of the engineer, as I wish more especially to deal with the milder forms which have almost become absolutely necessary, and so nearly universal, amongst even those who would be ranked as scrupulously honest men. But our fence-maker had not quite done all that was necessary yet; he saw that a great deal in the look of a fencing depended upon how it was put up, and he found that the foreman over the erectors of it also required a little sweetening to induce him to make the best of it. Evidently it would make all the difference whether the fence was made with all the best sides to the line (for even the best wood has two sides, you know!), or whether all the worst sides and pieces were put in the most conspicuous places. This, it soon turned out, depended very often upon whether the foreman had received his tip of a sovereign or half-sovereign. The contractor who was most liberal with such tips got his work shown to the best advantage.

Without going into any of the more flagrantly dishonest branches of this tipping, where, for instance, a bribe gets really bad work passed or hidden, it is very evident that this system is one which must grow, which gives great encouragement and temptation to all concerned to go further and further into it; and the more it grows the more impossible it becomes for an honest man to get on. My friend told me that unless he did that sort of thing he could not possibly get orders, or get the work passed without too much waste to allow it to pay. And when we add to this the fact that such contracts are competed for so keenly that the price is run down as low as it is possible to put the work in just good enough to pass, one realises still further how difficult it is for an honest man to live.

Let me give another instance, this time in the iron trade. For the sake of those who do not know much about iron, I may explain that the iron ore is first smelted in large blast-furnaces and then run out into bars for sale as pig-iron. When castings are wanted it is usual to melt up some of these bars of pig-iron in smaller furnaces called cupolas: in the re-melting the iron becomes purified from a certain amount of slag and other matter that is still mixed with it when first run from the furnaces, and so cupola-iron, as it is called, is generally considered superior to furnace-iron, and in large contracts for castings, columns, cylinders, pipes, and such-like, it is very often specified that cupola-iron shall be used. Of course, all foundries where they have no blast-furnaces are obliged to use cupola-iron, but most places with blast-furnaces have now foundries in connection with them and contract for making castings. Now these places can save about ten shillings per ton by using furnace-iron, and this, as may be imagined, they very frequently do. Hence it is quite evident that a firm with facility for using furnace-iron could quote so low a price as to cut out all who had no such facility and still make a decent profit. And it is also evident that one firm quoting on that basis could soon compel all other firms who could to adopt the same method, or else give up their trade in castings. This and other similar tricks of the trade make it necessary for those giving orders for castings to send inspectors to see that the work is carried out according to contract; and it is no unusual thing to see half-a-dozen inspectors hanging about a large foundry yard, to see that this that and the other set of castings is made according to specification. I know of one very large contract for castings where the inspecting costs at least £1,000 a-year to the purchasers, besides an elaborate system of testing which is paid for by the contractors. This system of inspection brings in the same temptations to bribery and corruption that we saw above. The inspectors are usually fed while on the works at the expense of the contractor, and not infrequently receive a brace of pheasants or some such small sweetener. Of course this is another of the cases where there are mitigating circumstances. Very often the inspectors are ignorant and make frivolous objections. And if furnace-iron will stand the test, the maker will argue, that is all that is required: moreover, he will be brought up if possible with the firm belief that furnace-iron—and his furnace-iron particularly—is as good as cupola-iron, if not a little better;—it is wonderful how easily we believe pleasant things, and he is a poor man who cannot find some plausible arguments for almost any proposition! But as I said before, it is these more moderate species of corruption and bribing that even the most honest of business men are forced into, which are of greatest interest to us in showing how the competitive system works. Here we see that a maker of castings must either contract with the intention of supplying an article different from that ordered, or he must be willing to see the contract go to someone else who will do this; which means in the end ruin to himself. Having got the contract, he then has to hoodwink the inspector, to sweeten and bribe him in varying degrees according to the honesty of them both!

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded).

CHRISTIAN CHARITY.—Our Yarmouth comrades send us the following: The Priory Plain, where we hold our meetings, adjoins the Old Man's Hospital, and one of the old men has attended and shown great interest, sitting as a rule on the stall from which we speak. Well, this poor old man received notice last week from the clerk by order of the trustees, that if he was seen at the meetings again he would be turned out of the Hospital, where he gets 5s. per week, into the workhouse.—These are the modern followers of a meek and lowly saviour—these brutal Mammon-worshippers, these bullying Bumbles, who make their creed stink in the nostrils of all honest and kindhearted people.

A SONG OF RESURRECTION.

FREEDOM has risen—  
Freedom has risen—  
Freedom has risen to-day!  
The daughter of heaven  
Her tomb has riven,  
And burst from her goalers away.

“When was she born?  
How was she nursed?  
Where was her cradle laid?”  
In want and scorn,  
Reviled and curst,  
’Mid the ranks of toil and trade.

“And hath she gone  
On her holy-morn,  
Nor staid for the long work-day?”  
From heaven she came,  
On earth to remain,  
And bide with her sons alway.

“Did she break the grave  
Our souls to save  
And leave our bodies in hell?”  
To save us alive  
If we will but strive,  
Body and soul as well.

“Then what must we do  
To prove us true,  
And what is the law she gave?”  
Never fulfil  
A tyrant's will,  
Nor willingly live a slave.

Then this we'll do  
To prove us true,  
And follow the law she gave;  
Never fulfil  
A tyrant's will,  
Nor willingly live a slave.

ERNEST JONES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 3, 1889.

28	Sun.	1794. Robespierre guillotined (Thermidor 10, year 2). 1794. W. M. Byrne hung. 1830. Paris in arms, red flag hoisted on the Porte St Denis, the Hotel de Ville attacked, and severe fighting in the streets. 1835. Fieschi's attempt on Louis Philippe. 1846. "Irish Confederation" formed. 1878. Olga Liubavitch escapes from Talutorovsk. 1884. 250 arrests at Warsaw.
29	Mon.	1792. Marseillaise, "who know how to die," arrive in Paris. 1830. Attack on the Louvre and Tuileries, and fierce fighting throughout the day, ending in retreat of royal troops. 1833. National Equitable Labour Exchange opened at Birmingham. 1833. W. Wilberforce died. 1840. Ovation at Manchester to the Glasgow cotton-spinners on their return from transportation. 1848. Ballingarry. 1860. Garibaldi entered Messina. 1877. John Frost died. 1880. Traitor Goldenberg killed himself in St Petersburg fortress.
30	Tues.	1784. Diderot died. 1830. Provisional Government proclaimed at Paris. 1839. Renewed Chartist rioting at Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1846. Last (Owenite) Socialist Congress held at Queenwood Farm. 1879. Gorski, Bilchanski, and Hobst hanged at Kieff.
31	Wed.	1820. Trial of Major Cartwright, Wooler, Lewis, Edmonds, and Maddox for "exciting disaffection to government." 1830. The Provisional Government at Paris hands over the power to Louis Philippe. 1839. Chartist riot at Stockport, seizure of arms, and conflict with the military. 1877. Strike of masons at Law Courts, London.
1	Thur.	1818. Riot of cotton-spinners at Manchester against low wages. 1834. Abolition of Negro slavery in British colonies. 1842. Strike of Scotch colliers and iron-workers.
2	Fri.	1786. Margaret Nicholson's attempt on George III. 1823. Carnot died. 1839. Trial of Chartists: sentences—Henry Vincent, one year; W. Edwards, 9 months; W. A. Townsend and John Dickenson, 6 months' imprisonment. 1857. Eugene Sue died. 1882. W. Mertens sentenced for libel. 1884. Daly, Egan, and McDonnell sentenced for treason-felony.
3	Sat.	1816. Rioting in Glasgow, caused by the opening of a soup-kitchen instead of relief-works. 1820. George Edmonds, Charles Maddocks, John Cartwright, T. J. Wooler, and W. G. Lewis tried at Warwick for their speeches at the Birmingham meeting of July 12, 1819. 1859. Builders' meeting in Hyde Park. 1868. C. G. Halpine died.

Poverty is the fruitful parent of weakness, of misery, and of crime.—Buckle.

A Pennsylvania man who ran a needle into his foot had it drawn out by holding his foot near a dynamo. Happy thought! Hold some of our railroad directors near a great big dynamo and see if it won't draw the steal out of them.—Boston Bulletin.



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, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 24.

ENGLAND	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Die Autonomie	Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Tribune	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Porto—A Revolta
London—Freie Presse	FRANCE	A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Revolutionary Review	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Social Demokrat	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
Worker's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
The Sower	Montlucon—Le Travailleur	HUNGARY
INDIA	BELOGIUM	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankpore—Behar Herald	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
UNITED STATES	Antwerp—De Werker	Copenhagen—Arbejderen
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Freiheit	Brussels—Le Drapeau Noir	Malmo—Arbetet
Truthseeker	SWITZERLAND	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Goteborg—Folkets Rost
Jewish Volkszeitung	ITALY	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	SPAIN	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Investigator	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista	
Milwaukee—National Reformer		

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FRANK KITZ, Secretary of the Socialist League.

THE SCOTCH MIDDLEMAN'S COVETED REWARDS.

THERE are two offices which serve in Scotland as suitable rewards to the successful sweater and the prosperous publican. To be a baillie or a kirk elder is the ambition of these two classes of men, and they are backed by the clear-sighted vision of their wives, who see therein the veneer of "respectability" which covereth a multitude of sins. The Scotch baillie is an honorary police magistrate, and the kirk elder is an honorary dispenser of religious soothing syrup, sometimes flavoured with sulphur. The paid religious dispensers, however, deal the largest in sulphur. Those who secure the dignities of baillie and kirk elder, are generally men deficient in heart and wisdom who have had the shrewdness to gather gear from the accumulated unpaid wages of girls or from the profits of the gill stoup. A baillie, who is also a kirk elder, has always the air about him of being somebody in particular. In my younger days I knew a publican who was a baillie, and remember him convicting some young men of being drunk and dis-

orderly. They were no customers of his, and in his speech from the bench he said, "Young men, I am ashamed, and you ought to be ashamed to see yourselves standing where you now do; if you were to husband your savings you might some day occupy the high and dignified position I now hold." "How's that for high?" If they had been his customers the speech and sentence would have taken another turn, for it is clearly evident that if all the baillie's customers had followed his advice he would not have reached the "high and dignified position" of a non-paid Nupkins. It is not necessary that a Scotch baillie should be a judicious or cultured person, or that a kirk elder should be a gentle, kind-hearted, forgiving man.

In Scotland it not unfrequently happens that the baillie and elder go down the church aisle on Sundays raising "a joyful noise" in the same pair of chirping boots, after the bells have rung and all the other people are seated. The baillie and elder may or may not have a strong smell of whisky, but he certainly always appears, on Sundays at least, to be pious and important, notwithstanding what he may have been on the Saturday night previous. The privilege of his prerogative to order for any one of his neighbours seven day's imprisonment is a source of peculiar satisfaction to the baillie, it clothes him with importance, and the opportunities he has to favour some with lenient punishments are not the least of his assets as a church elder who needs to do something, at times, for the good of the kirk. To give a light sentence is a credit to the elder, and takes nothing from the pocket of the baillie. The Scotch kirk elder is generally the most tyrannical of masters, who would dismiss his clerk for the slightest offence and clap him in prison for the merest irregularity. The baillie who reaches the bench through the unpaid wages of girls, or the pious publican who reaches "respectability" through the gill stoup, are both typical of the pharisaical foundation on which society at present is built. In this Christian country it is unlawful to reduce the spirit of Christianity to practice; it is also unlawful not to profess a belief in it. The man who professes Christianity but does not practice it is the man who lives and succeeds according to law and order, but the man who practices its precepts and does not profess his belief in their plenary inspiration, is sure to break the law and disturb the order which prevails at present.

Psalm-singing Scotland holds the hundredth and the twenty-third psalms as first favorites. In the former all people on the earth are welcomed to praise the Lord with mirth because "We are his flock, He doth us feed," and in the latter each is assured "The Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want." The heavy heart is permitted to rejoice with mirth but not to "feed," and if it be in earnest in saying "I'll not want" it is cast into prison. It is no part of present day Christianity to feed those who are "an hungred" with loaves and fishes, and if those who are "an hungred" attempt to feed themselves contrary to law and order they are put in prison by the baillie and are not visited therein by the elder.

A case in point was disposed of at Greenock Police-court the other day, when a baillie found Rebecca White guilty of being destitute and "an hungred," and as she put into practice the blessed twenty-third psalm, "I'll not want," by taking 6d. worth of bread from a shop-door, she was ordered to prison for three days. Now Rebecca was "an hungred" and they gave her no meat. There was no doubt in the court but that Rebecca was sorely in need of the bread she annexed, and would the baillie be quite certain, think you, that he had never eaten bread to which his claim was not so just, or good, in the sight of God, as Rebecca's was to that for which he imprisoned her? I am not aware of the peculiar traits of character or the nature of the basis of the social status through which the Greenock baillie reached the bench, but it is quite evident the verdict had more of cruelty than justice in it. The ends of justice would have been amply met by the court paying 6d. to the shopkeeper, and it would have been a saving to the town to have settled it that way. Rebecca's three days in prison would be more expensive than 6d., the price of the two loaves she took. Rebecca had to suffer not for her own crime, but for that others might commit.

Our clergy are never weary of proclaiming that the laws of the land are founded on a Christian basis. A greater lie than that was never proclaimed from pulpit, and that is saying much. In the face of the practices of the law, pulpit platitudes are becoming "too thin" to keep simple-minded people in subjection and contentment with the law and order that now prevails. Signs are not wanting that the sweater and publican as elder and baillie, are getting in the eyes of the multitude "rather steep" for the fitness of things. They, at last, are beginning to enquire into the nature of Justice's colour-blindness and the church's charity. When their knowledge consolidates into action, the earwigs of the law and the bats of the church will raise a cry of alarm that if the ivy, in which they nestle, be disturbed, the building of our social structure will fall in ruins. If the building cannot stand without the aid of two such hypocrisies, the quicker it falls the better, and the safer it will be for all concerned. A lie can never be a desirable or permanent safeguard. Let us be done with lies, and if in doing so the fabric of our constitution falls, the materials can be built on a better foundation in truth and purity, which will prove more healthy, humane, and harmonious. The present system brutalises and degrades all who come into immediate contact with the working of the machine, and the hypocrisies of the baillie and the elder permeate the whole structure, and enlarge themselves as they reach up to the highest offices in the law and the church. By a proper and exhaustive study of the minor offices, common unsophisticated minded people will be the better prepared to appreciate the enormities of the higher.  
GEORGE McLEAN.

## IN THE UNITED STATES.

How well organised our antagonists, the capitalists, are, is no secret to us, the revolutionists. Just look at this example. In England the seamen and firemen are on strike; scabs appear to be scarce, so other countries must be appealed to. The following advertisement I clipped from the *Boston Globe*:

**Wanted**—Seamen, ordinary seamen, deck hands, firemen and coal passers for Liverpool and London; a good chance for passage to England with wages. Apply to C. BALLEM, 232, Commercial St., Boston, Mass.

If the workers took but one hundredth part of the pains to protect their interests that the capitalists do to protect theirs, there would come a speedy end to the dispute between capital and labour.

Dakota's Farmer's Alliance favors government ownership of railroads.

A novel feature in the college commencements that have been in progress during the past fortnight, may be seen in the fact that the graduates in many cases took up the labour question in their essays.

At a meeting held in New York City by the Executive Board of the National Journeymen Baker's Union, a communication was read from the Baker's National Union of Germany asking American support for a new movement of the trade in Berlin. A National Convention of German bakers was held in Berlin on June 27th. It is proposed to hold an International Conference to form an International Union of the trade.

Immigration from all parts of Europe to this country is decidedly on the increase.

A Chinese laundryman is responsible for the following remarkable statement:—

"Few organised workers know that the strongest trades' unions in the world are in China. The great Tai-ping (or working-men's) rebellion was started by delegates from the trades' unions for the purpose of establishing a republic. Had not the notorious "Chinese" Gordon, backed by English and French influences, turned to and helped the empire, the rebellion would have been a success."

The tramping English capital has found a new and fine chance for investment. The *Manufacturer's Record* of Baltimore, Ind., says:—

"A distinctively new era in the South's iron and steel history is marked by the organisation of English companies, composed of the leading iron and steel makers of Great Britain, to build extensive steel and iron works, including four furnaces, steel rail mill, rolling mill, etc., at a new town at Cumberland Gap, on the dividing line between Tennessee and Kentucky. The name of the town is to be Middlesboro, Ky., and for over a year the work of buying mineral lands, preparing for railroad connections, etc., has been vigorously but quietly pushed by the American Association (Limited), which is the name of the parent company."

Three cheers and a "tiger," as the Americans have it, for the patriotic capital!

The famous agreement of the railroad presidents has gone to smithereens. The Baltimore and Ohio line has cut the rates, and all the other lines are following suit. Well, what next?—A railroad trust, of course.

The governmental labour statisticians have met in conference in Hartford, Ct., and some strange facts have been told to us. Colonel Carroll D. Wright, the national commissioner of labour statistics, for instance, tells us of the licence and prohibition figures which came under his observation in Massachusetts, that the results showed more arrests for drunkenness under prohibition than under licence. This, he says, was due to the prejudice of the police against prohibition, which caused them to arrest every drunken man under prohibition. Under licence they were lax, being favourable thereto. The figures, the colonel wound up, are not worth a "rap." Well, if these figures are not worth a "rap," what trust can we put in any figures collected by governmental employes? And is it not a fact that the New York legislature forgot about one year ago to vote the "supply" of the labour statistician of that State? Why? Because the man had published some correct figures. It may also be remarked right here that Col. Wright, the national labour statistician for the last two years, has been employed to collect the figures for divorce statistics! However, long live the State and—all the fools.

Boston, Mass., July 9, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

If war injures the capitalist, the manufacturer, and the trader, still more does it injure the worker.—*Wallace*.

The first requisite for man's moral improvement is the one generally last thought of—prosperity. Means of existence must be supplied before preaching and tracts can be effective. . . . Comfort must precede education; and leisure is necessary for both moral and mental development.—*Robert C. Adams, in Pioneer Pith*.

**THE CHINESE IN AUSTRALIA.**—The agitation connected with the presence of the Chinese in the Australian colonies has made so much noise all over the world that one is greatly surprised to find how few these Chinese really are and that they are actually decreasing in numbers. Yet this appears to be the case, according to the careful and elaborate statistical report just issued by Mr. Hayter, of Victoria. In 1854 there were 2,000 enumerated in the census. The following year the first restrictive Act was passed. It limited the number of Chinese males a vessel might bring to one for every ten tons, and put a poll-tax of £10 on each. This Act was evaded by landing Chinese in another colony, and leaving them to find their way overland. In 1857 the number of Chinese in Victoria had increased to 25,424, and in 1859 to 42,000. Soon afterwards an exodus took place to the New South Wales diggings, and in 1861 there were only 24,732, and although the Restriction Act was repealed this number continued to decline steadily up to 1871, when the number was 17,935, and again until 1881, when it stood at 12,120. At the end of 1887 it was 12,470. Since 1860 the records of the arrivals of Chinese by sea have been kept, and from these it appears that only 17,992 arrived in the twenty-seven years, or an average of 666 per year. Deducting the departures, it appears the Chinese population of Victoria increased by only 1,277, and in three of these years more departed than arrived. In 1887 the arrivals exceeded the departures by 1,147. After the Restriction Act of 1881 the tendency of the Chinese was to become naturalised. In eleven years ending 1881 only 91 Chinese took out letters of naturalisation. In 1882 the number reached 317; in 1883, 593; in 1884, 601, and in 1885, 1,178. Those naturalised were mainly gardeners, miners, labourers, shopkeepers, hawkers, carpenters, and cooks.

## PLENTY.

(Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.)

An undulating sea of corn defies  
Famine to do her work here; the hot air  
Breathes aromatic odours everywhere;  
The full corn in the ear awaits the scythes.

Field-mice and sparrows hold a feast; the cries  
Of the shrill cricket like small trumpets blare;  
The brute world in our joyance seems to share;  
All nature with us plenty glorifies.

So from the nurse's breast, under the blue  
Of the bright heavens, a flood of life outwells;  
The full earth fruits and flowers and bursts and swells.

Yet walking homeward my foot staggereth  
At a mother and child in tatters!—starved to death!  
How say you, ripe corn, and who harvests you?

Paris, July 1883.

EUGENE POTTIER.

## HEARD BY THE WAY.

SCENE.—*Cross Roads in the country. Enter from one side an OLD MAN, very battered, leaning on stick; from the other a well-built YOUNG MAN, with a bundle over his shoulder.*

YOUNG MAN. Morning, governor. Can you tell us how far it is to Portsmouth?

OLD MAN. Marnin'. A matter o' seven miles. Be you goin' there?

Y. M. Yes, worse luck. I have walked all the way from London.

O. M. From Lunnon; I was never there but once. Be ye lookin' for a job o' work?

Y. M. Yes, I've been out of a job for a long time.

O. M. Oi be main afraid you'n not find a job at Portsmouth.

Y. M. (*dejectedly*). Why, guv'nor?

O. M. They be sacking dockyard hands.

Y. M. And I have walked sixty miles on this chance. Ah, well!

O. M. Ha' ye any friends? Be ye married?

Y. M. Yes; but don't talk of it, I can't bear to think what they're doing now I'm away. Where are you going, old man?

O. M. Oi be goin' to the Union.

Y. M. To the Union?

O. M. Oi, to the work'us; we all go there in time.

Y. M. You all go to the Union?

O. M. Ay; my father went, I'm goin', and my lads 'll go when they be old.

Y. M. It is terrible. But I suppose you don't mind it as it's so common?

O. M. Not mind it! Whoi it's been my dream to keep out of the Union.

When oi were a lad oi began to have to keep me out; when Sal and oi were wed we warked and scraped, but it were no good. The times we were out o' wark took all we saved, and when Sal died oi 'ad to go the parish for a coffin.

Y. M. And yet you've worked hard?

O. M. Warked! Look 'ere, look about, every field you see oi've warked and tilled, sowed and reaped for nigh on fifty-five year, and now oi must go to the work'us.

Y. M. It is hard.

O. M. Hard, you call it! Oi've warked for the squire's father and grand-father; oi shall have been warking fifty-five year come Martimmas. Oi were allus obedient; some o' the others joined the Chartists, but oi wouldn't, oi stuck by the old squire, an' a lot oi've gained by it. Last 'lection oi voted as he telled me, but oi doubt it wuld have been all the same if oi had voted for the other chap. I could have kept out o' the Union if he would have 'lowed me half-a-crown a-week, but he wouldn't. Betsy, she's my grand-daughter, went up to the Hall for it, but he wouldn't give it. He said oi should be better in the work'us. Damn him! Look 'ere, young man, if you'll take the advice of an old 'un, strike 'em back. You'll get nothing by being humble; strike back 'ard. You be out o' work, 'ow did that come?

Y. M. The firm I worked for have closed the works.

O. M. That's some of their trickery, oi reckon; they've summat to gain by it.

Y. M. That's so; leastways the chaps say so.

O. M. Depend on't they're right.

Y. M. But where must we go? Who'll help us?

O. M. There be the Socialists. Our Sam picked up a paper the other day as some one 'ad put by the road, an' he read it to me every word. They be the folks as 'll help you, an' the only ones. They are poor men themselves, and don't want voting into big places, they are the only men that can help you. By God, oi wish oi was young again, oi'd be a rousing big Socialist.

Y. M. Well, I'll think it over. Good-bye, old man, I must be off.

O. M. Good-bye; good luck to ye. Don't ye forget the Socialists.

The trouble with most people is, they bow to what is called authority; they have a certain reverence for the old because it is old. They think a man is better for being dead, especially if he has been dead a long time.—*Ingersoll*.

The busy bee still survives as the symbol of industry, but the ingenuity of man appears to be more than a match for it. Commercial cunning now makes honey from glucose, and puts it in a paraffin comb so deftly that it takes an expert to detect the difference. The busy bee must go.—*Boston (Mass.) Herald*.

**THE HALF-YEAR'S BANK DIVIDENDS.**—We often hear of the self-sacrificing bourgeois who employ their capital for other people's benefit. That they usually make it pay them for the trouble there are a thousand proofs, if they are needed. One of the latest is a list recently published, showing the dividends paid by joint-stock banks for the half-year just closed. For London banks the amounts range all the way from 5 per cent. (Merchant Banking Co.) to 18 per cent. (Capital and Counties). Provincial banks paid from 5 per cent. (London and Yorkshire) to 20 per cent. (Manchester and Liverpool Dis.). Indian and colonial also begin with 5 per cent. (Bank of Egypt), and run up to 14 per cent. (Union Bank of Australia).



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### The Tram Slaves.

The West Metropolitan Tramway Company is following the old policy pursued by most modern slave-drivers. On the one hand it has made some slight concessions to the men, the cars now having one journey taken off and the men getting a journey's relief on Sunday, and on the other hand the inspectors of the company are utilised as spies upon the Union collectors to see what men pay them subscriptions. Considering they have already sacked several Union men we can guess why this is done. One collector was too sharp to be caught this way, and noticing that an inspector was watching him he went away without collecting any money at all. The latest person of distinguished respectability to give his countenance to the Union is Lord Rosebery, who has sent £20 to the Union funds and promises them his help as far as his numerous engagements will allow.

### The Eight Hours' Question.

Mr. Beaufoy, the *Star* member for Kennington, has tried the eight hours system in his own works, and has discovered that he is not one penny the worse for its introduction. He can get quite as much work out of his men at the new system as he could before, and save with the exception of the watchmen and the enginemen he hasn't had to increase his staff by a single man. This only proves what we have stated again and again, that the cry for the eight hours working-day is only another instance of "much ado about nothing." If it is possible for the employer to get as much work out of his men in the shorter as in the longer time, what becomes of the greatness of the reform, which to hear some people talk you would think it involved the creation of an earthly paradise in this sorry world of ours? What becomes of all this talk when, in the words of Mr. Beaufoy, "if a man works for eight hours you get out of him in one day all that is really in him"? Workmen, are you going to waste your time in agitating for a measure which, when you have obtained it, will still enable the capitalist to get out of you in one day all that is really in you? What a triumph when you gain it? Why an Eight Hours Labour Bill is enough of a sham to go in the programme of the Gladstonian Liberal Party.

### Sweating the Herring-Curers.

At Fraserburgh in Scotland, writes a Scotch correspondent (whom we hope to hear from again), there are some herring-curing works said to belong to Monachie Bros., of London and Lowestoft. They employ about 400 hands, chiefly girls. They usually work from six in the morning to ten o'clock at night. Sometimes their hours are longer—till two or three in the early morning. Their hours of work ranging from fourteen to twenty a-day. There is no difference on Saturday. For these fearfully long hours the girls have sometimes been paid 5s. a-week. The slavery in the other branches of herring-curing is quite as bad. When the herrings are brought in from the sea they are carted direct to the curing yard. Here they are gutted and packed into barrels. It is generally at night when the boats arrive. This packing and gutting has to be done by women and girls at all sorts of hours and in all sorts of weather. They do not get home for any food as long as there are any herrings left. If they are lucky enough to get any food brought to them they have to snatch a moment to eat it, while they are at their work, not even getting time to clean their hands, which are bandaged up with rags. It is a pitiable sight to see them standing at the middle of the night in the pouring rain, devouring what little food will keep up their strength to finish their work. The men and women who flock here to fish and gutting from all parts of the country are so badly housed that epidemics are common. The shopkeepers also victimise them terribly. Is there no one in the district who could help these women to fight against the hideous tyranny of their sweaters? Trade unionists, is there not some work for you here?

### The Railway Slaves.

There is a worse slavery than even that of tram men. This is apparent from a letter in the *Star* from one of the slaves employed on the railway. He points out that at the Nine Elms engine-shed of the London and North-Western Railway Company, there are many men working for from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a-day, and that it is of frequent occurrence for men and lads to work three shifts right off (36 hours) for the purpose of getting one extra day's pay to make their week's wage come to the grand total of 18s., 19s., or 20s. He says with truth that this is not done in the purer air of the streets but in an engine-shed, the atmosphere of which is frequently charged with smoke and carbonic acid gas from engines getting up steam. Here is a dismal state of slavery, calculated to raise the compassion of any man with a heart in his breast. But while the men are being slowly poisoned in an atmosphere laden with noxious vapours, the shareholders draw their dividends in peace and security. When shall their calm be disturbed by a general revolt on the part of these wretched slaves?

There was a debate on the long hours of railway servants in the House of Lords last week. The recent returns of the overtime worked by railway men show that in many cases they have been working from twelve to sixteen and seventeen hours a-day. It is not only the porters and unskilled workers who are slaving in this way, but the very men in whose hands lies the precious lives of the middle-classes—the signalmen and engine-drivers. The Armagh disaster—in which, of course, the higher officials have not even had a true bill brought in against them by a middle-class jury, who were ready enough to indict the overworked and underpaid servants of the Company—shows what results from this slavery, and proves once for all that the slavery of the most miserable and downtrodden of humanity may sometimes affect those who move in the "hupper suckles." Well, the House of Lords after a little talk regretting this sad state of things, came to the conclusion that it could do nothing. Quite natural! I wonder what would get either the House of Lords or Commons to do anything. Perhaps if a few hundred peers or M.P.'s were mashed into indescribable pulp through being taken out in a train engineered by a driver who had worked eighteen hours, and signalled by signal men who had been on duty for the same period, they might be awakened into a temporary semblance of activity; but I am sure it would not last long. It would need the Social Revolution to awaken most of our legislators. D. N.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

A new Socialist organ has been started at Montluçon, in the Allier Department, under the title of *Le Travailleur* (the Worker). It has nothing to do with the Possibilist party, as the names of the contributors will at once show that it is to be a real Revolutionary Socialist paper. The editorial committee is composed of comrades Carrat, Dormoy, Raoul Fréjac, Létang, Souvarine, and Thivrier, and the principal contributors are comrades G. Deville, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Edouard Vaillant. We hope that the new organ will prove a good success and make a good deal towards spreading the Revolutionary ideas among the working classes and peasantry of that part of France.

### GERMANY.

Last week comrades Stendtemann, John, Richter, and Berck were sentenced by the tribunal of Dresden to *thirty-five months* of imprisonment because they intended to unfurl a red flag on some telephone stake, in remembrance of the revolutionary events of May 1848 at Dresden! That's what they call "justice" in Bismarck's accursed fatherland!

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Perquisitions having again been made at the houses of comrades Revalovicz, editor of the *Kurjer Lwowosky*, and Wyslouch, co-editor of the same organ, the latter has been arrested at Lemberg. A charge of "secret Socialist conspiracy" will be brought against him, which means several years of imprisonment, according to the brutal exceptional laws against revolutionaries in Austria. As usual in these cases, "conspiracy" only exists in the imagination of the so-called authorities.

### SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Council has now definitively decided upon the publication of all the diplomatical notes despatched by it to the German Government in reference to the Wohlgenuth affair, and the dispute to which it gave rise.

## MIDLAND COUNTIES FRAMEWORK KNITTERS' FEDERATION.

The following pithy little address is prefixed to the book of rules of the above society, which certainly seems to know what it is driving at, and have some idea of how to get there. Good luck to it!

"FELLOW-MEMBERS,—Late in the day, but not too late, we hope, we have taken a step towards bringing closer together our fellow-workers in the Hosiery Trade. We are like others—it needs adversity to make us feel that our interests are the same. As long as one district felt itself independent of the other, it never sought closer union. Men generally, when they are doing well can be oppressed without notice, and it needs the cloud as well as sunshine to keep up the balance. Now competition and monopoly are hemming us in, and we feel the pressure, we are compelled to acknowledge the need for mutual help.

"This is not the end of trade and commerce; a system will yet be developed that will compel the workers of all trades, in all nations, to come together and form a solid square, in the claim to be made for labour's full reward.

"Labour to day is the great pay-master of all: interest on capital, profit on exchange, and rent for land, besides keeping the sources of all progress open to the world. Interest means that a class can always be kept without work at the direct expense of the workers. Profit creates a class of lookers-on, with nothing to do only what wages of superintendence covers. The reward of labour is therefore again lessened. Rent is a tax paid by labour for the privilege to work and live. This kind of social revolution, if ever effected, will require the combined efforts of all workers in every nation. The step we are taking is but a step in the early stage of a great movement, the end of which cannot be seen.

"In our trade, we seem to feel the effects of isolation first, from two or three causes. The march of invention in improved machinery, keeps the supply for goods up to the demand, limiting the number of hands required. With this great operating cause we have men thrown out of work in our villages, literally starving, rushing into our already over-crowded towns, seeking for work at any price—upon which they can barely live. The workers, therefore, are competing with one another for work, themselves bringing wages down.

"Where this is not felt, employers, eager to get rich, look out some poverty-stricken place, where they can take their machinery, and make use of the workers' poverty to increase their riches, and this is considered fair, honest competition.

"It is certain that necessity compels Federation and Union of all workers in all nations. We are following the lead of other great trades and organisations—Shoe-makers, Tailors, Miners, Carpenters, Engineers, Moulders, Cabinet-makers, Boiler-makers, Cotton operatives, etc.

"Fellow-workers, let us do our best at all times, to allow the good of all to control the action of each, so that with reason at the helm, justice at the scales, and courtesy and consideration in all our dealings with employers of labour, the wisest and the best may be done for the interest of all.

"We commend the rules to your careful consideration, and hope they will give us a solid basis of action for the good of Nottingham, Leicester, Ilkeston, and Loughborough. By our meetings we hope to assist in advising each other, and creating strong and lasting sympathy; and by creating a common fund from which we all can obtain support in our emergencies, we shall have greater power at our back, and encouragement before us to stand firm in our just demands.—We remain, yours very respectfully,

### "THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATION.

JAMES HOLMES (Leicester), *President*.

SAMUEL BOWERS (Nottingham), *Secretary*.

LANCASHIRE MINERS.—The masters have agreed to a 5 per cent. advance so the strike in Lancashire has concluded.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—The masters, on the pretext that the sliding scale showed a decrease last month, have graciously consented to reduce their wages 2½ per cent.

THE STRIKE IN THE NAIL TRADE.—The nailmakers at Oldbury have gone in, their masters consenting to a 10 per cent. advance after the 27th inst., and agreeing to give fair consideration to the framing of a new list. At a general meeting held at Birmingham by the nailmakers, it was agreed to avoid a general strike and accept similar terms.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 5, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

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

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. North London, Norwich, Glasgow, Manchester, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, Clerkenwell, St. Georges East, and Leicester, to end of June.

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

**Provincial Missionary Fund.**—Anonymous, 7d.; Norwich Branch, 5s.; Brookes (Streatham collection), 2s. 10d.; and North London Branch, 3s. 2½d.

**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:—Nicoll, 6d.; M. Rose, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Webb, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; and collection, 1s. 6d.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday night, A. Brookes lectured upon "Competition." After the lecture an interesting discussion took place. The meeting finished with a few revolutionary songs; 11d. collected, and fair sale of *Commonweal* and literature.—J. P.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, J. Lyne, and R. J. Lyne; 6½d. collected and 40 *Commonweal* sold. No meeting at William Street owing to wet. At 7.30 p.m. we met at Archer Street, but the police were in force and stopped our meeting. We attempted to take our stand where the religious body held their meeting, but it was no good. We had a great crowd of people round us, and a man in the gathering fell down in a fit. Our comrade Lyne, sen., told the police the man was in a fit, and was told to get him out of it if he was of our party. The man was a complete stranger; so you see they were willing to let him die if he were a Socialist. We then walked a little further and held a good meeting in Cambridge Road, and sold 10 *Commonweal*; speakers were Maughan, Lyne, sen., Crouch, and Saint.

**NORTH LONDON.**—The meeting at Ossulton Street on Thursday evening was addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Cores; 12 *Commonweal* sold. Splendid meeting at Hyde Park; Furlong (S.D.F.), Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr, and Miss Robertson (S.D.F.) spoke; 32 *Commonweal* sold and 1s. 7½d. collected for Provincial Missionary Fund.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 15th, "The Man with the Red Flag," being the first trial speech of John Burns, was read and discussed. No open-air work has been done during the week, this being holiday-time, the town largely deserted, and the weather very rainy.—L.

**LEICESTER.**—Pengeley, of Nottingham, spoke twice Sunday last; morning at Russell Square, on "The Gospel of Socialism;" evening at Humberstone Gate, "The Curse of Competition." Pengeley is a good and agreeable speaker; this was his maiden open-air address, and he certainly ought not to be discouraged from trying again. At the conclusion of his speech he was greeted with applause. Our old friend, Thos. Slater, again opposed, and discussion was kept up long after we had ceased speaking; audience good, 7s. 5d. collected, and 2s. 10d. worth of literature sold.—T. P. B.

**MANCHESTER.**—Despite the inclement weather we went to Middleton on Saturday night. Baillie spoke for about an hour to an attentive audience whilst rain fell heavily; Stockton followed, and was drawn into a long discussion with an intelligent opponent; 42 *Commonweal* sold. We had no meeting on Sunday afternoon owing to severity of weather. At night on Chester Road, Stockton and Baillie addressed a good meeting.

**NORWICH.**—The week before last eleven open-air meetings were held, addressed by comrades McCormack, Poynts, W. Moore, Swash, and Fred Henderson; the audiences very enthusiastic. Good meetings held this week at St. Pauls and Shirehall, addressed by Poynts and McCormack. On Saturday evening McCormack and Mowbray addressed a good meeting on the Haymarket. Mowbray had challenged Mr. Burgess to debate upon Free Love and Physical Force on Sunday afternoon; Mowbray did not put in an appearance, having stayed at Yarmouth; McCormack addressed the crowd for a time, expecting Mowbray would turn up. Mr. Burgess opened the debate at some length, and was ably replied to by McCormack. McCormack's reply was loudly applauded. Afterwards the meeting adjourned to the Fishmarket, owing to the rain. In the evening a very large meeting was held in the Market Place. At North Walsham in the morning a good meeting was held, addressed by McCormack; good impression made; 12 *Commonweal* sold. Collected for propaganda for last two weeks, 19s. 7d.; sale of literature, 1s. 3d.

**YARMOUTH.**—Some good work was done on Sunday. In the morning Mowbray gave an interesting address, devoting part of the time to the question why Socialists don't vote and part to the question "Is Socialism practical?" An opponent turned up in the person of a Scotch Radical. The joke of the opposition was that Scotty commenced by saying our comrade had nothing but abuse for everything, and ended by calling Mowbray "a bloody fool!" Our afternoon meeting was not so well attended. In the evening we had a good audience, who listened to our comrade whilst he showed how Socialism might be realised peaceably. 9s. 10½d. collected, and all the *Commonweal* sold. Sunday morning Ruffold, Annis, and Leggett went to Bradwell, where the people discuss with our comrades. They offered to pay any expenses if Reynolds would go and explain some of the points they stumble at. To-night several comrades go to Belton.—C. R.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Sneinton market on Sunday morning, addressed by Peacock. In the evening Peacock and Proctor addressed, in spite of rain, good audience in Great Market. Collection for School Board contest fund realised 2s. 6d. The Club has obtained convenient premises in Woodland Place, Upper Parliament Street, and meets there Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Sundays at 8.—P.

**SHEFFIELD OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—During the last nine or ten weeks J. Sketchley, assisted by two or three friends, has held good meetings every Sunday evening on West Bar Green. It would be well if all who are Socialists would attend and give a helping hand. On Sunday last the chair was taken by Bullas, after which Sketchley addressed the meeting, which was very earnest and enthusiastic. A fair amount of literature is sold every week. We are pleased with the initiative taken by the friends of Leeds.—T. L.

# LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 28, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday August 1, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 2, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.

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

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

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

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.

**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.

**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 27.

7 ..... Finsbury Park ..... Parker  
7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz and Samuels  
8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Brookes and Cores

SUNDAY 28.

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

TUESDAY 30.

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

WEDNESDAY 31.

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

THURSDAY 1.

8 ..... Ossulton Street ..... Nicoll and Cantwell  
8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... The Branch

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.

**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Queen's Road, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Rd., at 7.30. Monday: Holt Town, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8. Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45.

**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.

## SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

**Carnoustie.**—Meets every Wednesday; at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.

**Dundee.**—Meets every Sunday in Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh.**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8.

**Galashiels.**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatoun and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A.

**Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. Kilmarnock.**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder.**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

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

**SOCIALISTS** in Hull willing to form a branch are requested to put themselves in communication with J. T. Smith, "Freiheit" Club, 1 Beets Court, Blanket Row, Hull.

**MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE** (founded 1875), "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford Street, W.—Sunday July 28th, at 8.45, William Townshend, "International Congress: State Control, would it be a Remedy for the great wrongs of Labour?"

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION, LTD.**—The Half-Yearly General Meeting will be held at 26 Grays Inn Road, Holborn, on Sunday July 28, at 3 in the afternoon. Members are earnestly requested to attend, as very important business has to be transacted. Their subscription-cards will be required for audit.

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- 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.  
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