

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

• VOL. 5.—No. 186.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Royal Grants! We shall be expected to have a word or two to say about them. I hope what follows will not be considered too irreverent either towards the sovereignty of the sovereign or the sovereignty of the people; but it cannot be helped; it is impossible to treat the matter wholly seriously, though there is food for serious reflection in it. Let us put before our readers various views on the subject.

No. 1. The gracious Monarch of this land, the Empress of this beneficent Empire of Great Britain (on which the sun never sets), is pleased to inform her loyal and loving subjects that, owing to circumstances over which she has no control, she has grandchildren (who cannot work but are not ashamed to beg) who require pensioning, and that she is well aware how pleased all her l. and l. subjects will be to hear of this opportunity of showing their love and loyalty, and of expressing their sense of gratitude for the privilege which they enjoy of being so kindly allowed to live (if they can) under the shadow of the glory of the said empire. All this notwithstanding the fact that there are certain apes and demons in human form living amongst us, who have a dim idea that to pay a great deal for nothing at all is not their ideal of doing business in an ordinary way.

That is the official view of the matter, held as an article of faith by the greater part of the flunkey and ignorant middle-class population, and that part of the working classes who would be middle-class if they could. It is not meant to state facts: it is an article of faith, like the Athanasian Creed.

No. 2. England is practically a democratic republic, and as good a country as need be for an active and well-to-do middle-class man to live in: but there are anomalies in it which are troublesome to the logic of a commonsense man. Amongst these is a survival from the feudalism of the Middle Ages in the form of a sovereign who is usually of no great harm and never of much use. But even we commercial progressive people think it worth while to keep this sham going as a sort of symbol that we don't want to go too fast: still, having this gilt figure-head, as business men we don't want to pay too much for it, and of course we will take every opportunity of curbing its extravagancies.

That is the ordinary Radical view, and considers itself very superior and knowing. It is after all only a translation of No. 1 into a language understood of the people, and still leaves room for other views.

No. 3, for instance. "Well, what's the use of all this talk? Of course the old lady tries to get as much as she can from us and to do as little as possible for it; and since she is queen, she can easily best us: so we had better stump up, and say no more about it."

That is the ordinary commonsense working-man's view of it, looking at it from the outside. It is not very far from the fact as times go. But there is still room for the Socialist point of view: call it

No. 4. We are governed by a bureaucracy—*i.e.*, a government of professional officials governing in their own interests as representatives of the proprietary classes. This Bureaucracy thinks it necessary to have a head ornamental official and to call it king or queen, though it has nothing whatever to do with the old feudal king, who had definite duties to perform. The present demand for more money is not made to the people in any form, but to the Bureaucracy, by its head official. That Bureaucracy, knowing well that its safety depends on its being as reactionary as possible, replies, "More money? certainly: only don't overdo it," and then proceeds to work the oracle by the usual parliamentary means; and the whole business of semi-opposition, and downright opposition, is all a solemn farce. The bureaucracy does not object. Let anyone else object if he pleases; he can't do anything.

After, all, working-men needn't lament the vote too much: if the Queen were not to have the money, they wouldn't. It will go just where it would have gone in any case—to the association for wasting

the labour of the workers—*i.e.*, the privileged classes. Cast your eyes over the list of the rubbish offered to our gilt gibbie-stick of royalty on this very occasion, and reflect on the toil and skill of ingenious and laborious men which has been cast away into the gutter in producing things that nobody wants, and how that toil and skill might have been employed in producing what everybody wants, and you will think that our head official with the sham mediæval cloak cast about it, is but a very natural expression of the great fraud and folly of our age.

Here is a sham Society, a real band of robbers, that steals and steals from all men who do anything, till it makes life hard and miserable for the great majority of men, and yet it can do no better for itself than waste its stolen resources in ugly and ridiculous toys, that those who are cumbered with them can do nothing with but bury or forget. For such a Society the crowned toy is good enough, and I can only wish it had to pay for it really instead of seemingly.

Yet, mind you, for the serious Radicals who voted against this natural and necessary insult to the community on principle and not for cheese-paring reasons, we cannot help feeling sympathy. But, poor souls, what are they to do if they have tacked themselves on to the skirts of such leaders as they are bound to put up with? All amateurs of oratory agree that Mr. Gladstone has at last made a speech worthy of his best period. What has he spent that rhetoric upon? Home Rule? Freedom of speech? Surely at least the independence and dignity of the House of Commons? Not at all, it was made in favour of the grant to save the Queen's pocket. What is to be said after that?

Also will any one explain why the Irish members voted for the Government on Mr. Labouchere's amendment? Is that part of the whitewashing into respectability of Mr. Parnell? or is it part of some Parliamentary tactics, a dodge that "almost no feller" can understand?

In any case the Irish members ought to consider whether the support of the "thoroughly respectable" is worth more to them than that of the democratic working men who have honestly taken up the cause of the poor of Ireland without any thought of their own self-interest.

As to Mr. Chamberlain, what need be said but that if one's enemy likes to roll himself in filth, it is not our business to warn him that he will stink afterwards?  
W. M.

It seems that British capital is taking to itself wings, and is emigrating to the furthest corners of the earth. A telegram appeared in the *Daily News* last Saturday from New York, stating that "the agents of some English capitalists have been attempting several immense general retail shops in this city. . . These shops are somewhat like Whiteley's, they occupy immense buildings, and sell almost every kind of article.

We learn also from the same telegram that English capital now controls some of the largest breweries, has complete control of the salt industry, partial control of certain iron and steel mills, and is largely interested in tobacco factories, sugar refineries, flour mills, and cattle ranches. We are also informed that British capital has been endeavouring to buy Delmonico's celebrated restaurant. What is the meaning of this?

It is possible that some people may exclaim that it is the effect of the propaganda of the wicked Socialists which is driving all the capital out of the country. But this will hardly serve, we have not yet had a general strike on the eight hour's question, nor have there been pitched battles in the streets between workmen and the police. So, on the whole, I should imagine that capital is more secure in this country than in America. Well, what is the reason then of its emigration?

It probably springs from the fact that capital generally goes where it can get the most out of the people, where there are fresh fields for exploitation. In England at the present time, to use the language of the stock-jobbers, there is a great lack of remunerative investments.

It means, in plain English, that the capitalist has sweated the happy English worker till he can sweat very little more out of him, and he is now going to try his hand on the unfortunate American.

We Socialists should rejoice, for it only proves that the great commercial crisis, which will smash up the present system, is not far off, and that the far-seeing capitalist is getting out of a country which will soon be too hot for him. We shall soon have experience of the fact that by his system of wholesale robbery and greedy extortion, he has brought England to the verge of bankruptcy and national ruin. The birds are already beginning to fly before the coming storm.

Bryant and May have only been able to declare a dividend of 15 per cent. in place of the usual 20, and this in a time of improvement in trade! Surely you would think that this excellent firm, which is so generally noted for its "kindness" to its employees, ought to increase its dividends when trade is "improving." It seems, after all, that the Socialist advice to boycott certain firms is bearing good fruit, and that Bryant and May's advice (see advertisements) to the British consumer to patronise "British industry" in the persons of Bryant and May's shareholders, has not had the effect which doubtless the advertisers hoped.

Meanwhile, we can only advise our comrades to go on recommending people to boycott Bryant and May. If we can knock off 5 per cent. every year, in a very little time that firm of slave-driving Quakers will be in the bankruptcy court, which, at least, we trust will be "some consolation to mankind." D. N.

## IMPRESSIONS OF THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Concluded from p. 234.)

On the Wednesday, after the introduction of a delegate from the far-off country of Finland, who was received with much enthusiasm, Bebel began the reading of the reports with a history of the German movement in more recent days. This took two hours in the delivery, I should think, and of course could not be translated; a short resumé was all that could be given in French and English, but even from that it was plain that the original was able and exhaustive. I should mention that most, if not all, of the reports have been handed in in writing and will be printed; so that we shall have the benefit of noting the views of the delegates as to the position of the movement in the various countries.

A Spanish delegate (I think) followed Bebel, and spoke in his native tongue, which was translated by Lafargue. His address seemed emphatic and pithy.

In the evening the veteran Lavroff read a long and interesting report from Russia. After which came a threatening of the repetition of the fruitless noise of Monday evening, for what cause I, as a stranger, am utterly unable to say. The chairman (Anseele), however, disposed of this pretty easily, though I think in England we should have thought him a little too ready to adopt the last resort of "chucking out."

Then Jules Guesde got up and delivered what as a speech must be considered as *the* speech of the Congress, and was certainly splendid oratory. It was hardly a report, however, and to some of us there seemed too strong a flavour of electioneering in it; which, considering the position of the French Social-Democrats, was of course to be expected.

Next morning, after some preliminaries, I was called upon to report for England. I should mention here that we S. L. delegates were strongly of opinion that Keir Hardie, who represented the Parliamentary side of English Socialism, should have an opportunity of speaking to that side, and that we pressed this on the Committee. In the light of what occurred later, I think this ought to be noticed.

I was told that the time now pressed so much that the rest of the speakers of reports would be asked to keep within ten minutes, which I tried to do—and I think kept within twenty. I handed in my written report later on.

I was followed by Adler, for Austria, who by no means imitated my brevity (nor did any one else). Volders reported for Belgium; Italy, Holland, and Poland also reported. After these national reports came the special reports—*i.e.*, for associations, etc. Keir Hardie spoke for the Scotch miners; I missed his speech, and chiefly remember a speech of the delegate for the Waiters' Association—very straightforward and to the point, complaining of the irrational contempt in which these luckless slaves of the well-to-do are held even by their working brethren: and also a speech of Madame Zetkin, who represented the working women of Berlin. This last was in fact a very clear and closely reasoned essay on the relation between the industrial position of women and Socialism. When printed it will be valuable as clearly establishing the difference in view between the Socialist and the "Woman's Rights" women. It was received with as much applause as any other speech; more than any, I think, except Guesde's.

The *ag-end* of this sitting (a very long one) was devoted to short speeches by various delegates. Here Kitz, as a result of a great deal of pressing on my part, was allowed to read the text of a resolution condemning the privileged thieves of society for their brutal treatment of the "criminals" who have been first manufactured and then punished by our robber sham-society. We understood that he would have an opportunity of moving this resolution; but the opportunity did not turn up.

Two or three Anarchists spoke in this sitting, and spoke well,

though to my mind they did not put forward any distinctively Anarchist doctrines: they were well received by the mass of the delegates; who indeed throughout strongly applauded any revolutionary sentiments. The gift of one Anarchist deserves to be noted. Apropos of palliation by legislation on labour, he said: "When I was a Collectivist I was taught the Iron Law so well by Marx and Liebnicht, that I cannot forget it now I am an Anarchist."

That evening (Friday) the Paris Municipality threw open the splendid public rooms of the Hotel de Ville to the delegates of both Congresses and their friends, and entertained them very handsomely after the generous "custom of the country." Also there was a friendly meeting held at our friend Maxime Lisbonne's *Taverne du Bagne*, which is got up to simulate a prison, with (in all senses) fearful pictures on the walls: waiters dressed as convicts, and where for the consideration of 1½ francs you can be solemnly ironed in public (I don't know what charge is made for taking off the irons). Here Louise Michel spoke, and there was much enthusiasm shown. I was not able to attend either of these entertainments, as I had to spend the night in writing out my report from my notes.

On Saturday morning we found Cunninghame Graham in the chair, and we expected that Bebel's propositions would be formally put, debated on, and (certainly) carried by a large majority; but this was not duly done. I must explain here that for three days past I had handed in a resolution of a wide Socialist character, so that the Congress might pledge itself definitely to Socialism, which all our English comrades thought necessary to be done, if it were only to give our Congress a reason for existence in opposition to the Possibilist Congress. The organisers said that the preamble of Bebel's propositions practically carried with it the sense of my resolution. This was true; but I pleaded that a separate resolution ought to be put, as there were delegates present who would vote against Bebel's propositions who would assuredly vote for a Socialist resolution, and that moreover the resolution would not have the same force imbedded in a preamble which would not be noticed alongside of its "practical" deduction.

The organisers agreed therefore to the putting of a distinct resolution, and on this Saturday morning I spent some time in Conference with our French and German friends (including Bebel), and arranged for the modification of my resolution by the introduction of matter from the French and German preambles, which, however, did not alter the sense of the original resolution.

Coming back to the Congress Hall again nothing serious seemed doing, and knowing that the vast majority of the delegates were in favour of Bebel's propositions, believing also that nothing serious would be put forward in opposition, I left for Rouen after the morning session along with Kitz and Tarleton, and was therefore not a witness of the lamentable scene that followed; therefore, what I say of it is subject to correction by those of our comrades who were there.

It was clear that no discussion of the propositions was to be allowed, and the *clôture* was voted. Thereupon, our friend Merlino rose to protest against this proceeding, but was howled down; he was attacked in words by a delegate and accused of carrying on organised interruption, and his expulsion was ordered by the chairman. This was carried out with much brutal violence, against which the League delegates attempted to protect him. After his expulsion, Mrs. Schack and Tochatti rose also to protest, and then all our delegates present left and handed in a written protest against the violence and the smothering of the discussion.

Now surely, short as the time for discussion was, time could have been found for two speakers at least to put forward the contrary to the very propositions which from the first we had been called together to discuss; and since the Congress (though undoubtedly in the main composed of Social Democrats) had distinctly invited Socialists of *all kinds*, it must be said to have stultified itself in refusing to listen to opinions which everybody knew were held by some of the delegates; and the intolerance of the majority must remain a serious blot on what was otherwise a successful demonstration at least.

On the Sunday morning, the delegates went to Pere la Chaise to hang a wreath on the *Mur des Federés*, the death-place of so many of the murdered men of the Commune. Cunninghame Graham and Tochatti spoke there amongst others, and so came to an end this great gathering.

Looking back on it, it seems clear that if the Congress had gone on with its business instead of trying to stand well with the public by discussing the possibility of a fusion, which almost all of us knew was impossible, we should have gained at least one whole day for debating the pros and cons on Bebel's propositions; and if, in addition, the reports of the different nations had been taken as read (since they are all to be printed) we should have had time enough for a debate which would have satisfied everybody, and sent the delegates of all shades away contented. Because in the course of that debate everything could have been said that was necessary about the movement generally.

Finally, the impression made on me by attendance at this International Congress is that such gatherings are not favourable for the dispatch of business, and their real use is as *demonstrations*, and that it would be better to organise them as such. I mean that two or three great public meetings should be held (after the due formalities of verification, etc., have been gone through), that opportunities should be given for the delegates to meet each other in social and conversational meetings, and that there should be no voting, no "playing at Parliament." This is my wisdom after the event; but I think it is worth considering, as no doubt there will soon be another International Socialist Congress.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE National Greenback party, which everybody believed to be dead and buried some considerable time, all at once has come to life again. Probably the interest now taken again in so many crotchets has induced this corpse to resurrection. But the life of this latter-day Rip van Winkle, who looks on the present labour movement through the spectacles of twenty years ago, can only be a short one; however, let us hope it will be happy. Mr. G. O. Jones, the chairman of the party, has issued an invitation requesting all persons who desire to aid in reorganising the National Greenback party, to meet in their respective States and Congressional districts on or before Sept. 4th next, and appoint one delegate to attend the National Greenback Convention called to meet on Sept. 12th in Cincinnati, Ohio. The invitation is extended to

"Those who favour a distinct American policy regarding its finances, who believe that full legal tender notes, greenbacks, issued by the government for value received, in promoting the general welfare, constitute the money which marks our advancing civilisation, make the best money the world ever saw, and should become the permanent circulating medium of the American people, the life of whose free government they saved, and that a party bearing their name should be perpetuated to keep these great truths constantly before the people. Those who believe, with the prophet of old, that 'money answereth all things,' and that no other reform can be wisely considered nor honestly determined until the great economic wrongs brought about by bad legislation have been corrected, and the money question for ever settled in the interest of the whole people, and who are willing to act in accordance with the spirit of the resolution passed by the Continental Congress in 1773, viz.: Not to eat, drink, wear, nor use anything manufactured in Great Britain; nor after one year trade with any one who deals in goods brought here under the British flag."

The call says "that the reorganised party will also advocate the payment of public debts according to the original contract under which they were issued; the encouragement of the American merchant marine and of home industries; the limitation of the debts of corporations to the amount of stock actually paid up; the restriction of dividends of corporations to a fair return on the investment, and the restriction of private ownership of land." It is quite impossible to conceive of a more fossilian programme.

The Executive Board of the Knights of Labour organisation met on July 16th in Chicago city, General Master Workman T. V. Powderly presiding. The principal business was the selection of the time and place for the next general assembly. It was decided that the general assembly should be held at Atlanta, Ga., on the second Tuesday of next November. The board then examined complaints, petitions, and reports in relation to the Order in the North-west. The principal strength of the organisation is now concentrated in these regions. In the East the Knights have lost all their prestige, and the eastern assemblies are mostly defunct or count but few members. Talking to a reporter, Powderly stated:

"The charter of the first assembly of France was prepared this morning, and started on its way to the old country. It was given to Mrs. Barry, the general director and instructor in woman's work. The first assembly has been organised for some time, but we have held back the charter, preferring to send it by special messenger."

As a result of a meeting of the respective leaders of different labour organisations in February last at Philadelphia, Pa., an address to workmen has been published, signed by T. V. Powderly and J. W. Hayes, on behalf of the Knights of Labour; Samuel Gompers and P. J. McGuire, American Federation of Trades; Eugene V. Debs and W. N. Sargent, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; W. S. Sinnott, Brotherhood of Brakemen; and George S. Baily, Switchmen's Union. With the exception of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, these are numerically the strongest labour organisations in the States. The principal argument of the address is that

"If through zealous efforts in behalf of their separate organisations, the officers of the same have appeared to differ with each other, the fact stands that there has never been any real cause for any serious divergence of opinion.

"That the future may witness no repetition of past misunderstandings, we have assembled to counsel with each other, and to demonstrate by our presence at this gathering that between official heads of the organisations of labour there exists no difference of opinion or feeling which will stand in the way of the future welfare of labour generally.

"We therefore call—First, upon all organisations of labour to put forth renewed efforts to strengthen and solidify their ranks, and to leave nothing undone to make each society the power that it is intended to be; Second, upon all unorganised working-men to study the principles upon which organisation is based, to meet and consult with members of labour societies in their various localities, with the object in view of ultimately bringing within the folds of organised labour every worthy man and woman who toils in America.

"Thus far have we gone at our preliminary meeting. We hope that the example may be followed in every place where a labour society exists; that the advice we give may be acted upon, and when we meet again in the near future we may be prepared to report that the groundwork has been laid for a plan upon which all societies may become allies in defending the rights of each other."

One thing these trades-unionists of all shades and degrees seem never to take into consideration, and that is, that the old object of unionism—to reduce the hours of labour and to raise the wages—is about played out by now. The principal duty, therefore, of real leaders should not so much consist in calling upon the workers to unite, but in evolving a programme scientifically correct and in agreement with the historical economic evolution. Unionism based upon antediluvian principles is worse than rat-ism.

The 4th of July has clearly demonstrated that the new eight-hour movement is a complete failure. Here, in the East, hardly anybody takes any interest in it. The workers know that it is absurd to believe that the capitalists will introduce the eight hours' day for humanitarian reasons, and they also know that the present state of the labour market absolutely forbids even the idea of forcing the "bosses" to grant this principle. In consequence the movement is as dead as Queen Anne for all practical purposes. Chicago city had the biggest eight-hour demonstration. About 35,000 men attended the meeting. Mayor Creiger, Carter Harrison's henchman, was among the speakers. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, delivered the principal address. Meetings were also held in Philadelphia, Pa., Lynn, Mass., Vicksburg, Miss. Here in Boston a meeting was to be held in Franklin Park, but the authorities declining to "grant" the use of the park, which is a waste, for such meetings, the idea of holding a demonstration was abandoned. As a protest against this arbitrary action of the city officials a meeting will be held in the historic Faneuil Hall.

The Social Democrats, recognised everywhere as indefatigable voters for a cause they believe in, have mostly withdrawn from the eight-hour

movement. They have discovered that the whole movement is nothing but a farce. In New York city only about 800 persons attended the demonstration in favour of eight hours, but rain is given as the cause for this apparent lack of interest on the part of the workers in the movement. In Jersey city and Brooklyn the people interested did not show up stronger than in New York. In San Francisco the movement cannot get on, it is said, because the women will not join.

Boston, Mass., July 15, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 10, 1889.

4	Sun.	1789. National Assembly abolishes feudal privileges. 1792. P. B. Shelley born. 1804. E. T. Craig, founder of Ralabine, born at Manchester. 1817. Trial of Roger O'Connor. 1839. Chartist demonstration in Stevenson Square, Manchester. 1842. "Alarming disturbances" break out in manufacturing districts. 1883. Execution of Carey.
5	Mon.	1642. Portsmouth surrenders to the Parliament. 1839. Foundation-stone laid of the Manchester Hall of Science, with an address by Robert Owen; ceremony followed by a dinner and social festival. 1885. Miners' riots at Ilkeston. 1887. Midland Railway strike (midnight 4-5).
6	Tues.	1775. Daniel O'Connell born. 1836. First number of the <i>Reformer</i> , Liverpool, 2d. weekly. 1838. "People's Charter" agreed to and adopted at Holloway Head (Birmingham) demonstration. 1839. Lovett and Collins imprisoned for Chartism. 1887. Antonio Carra died.
7	Wed.	1830. The Bourbons finally deposed from the throne of France. 1834. Watson arrested for selling unstamped papers. 1837. 14,000 weavers unemployed in Paisley. 1847. "Father" (George) Rapp died. 1860. C. Southwell died.
8	Thur.	1788. Royal edict that States-General shall assemble next May. 1815. Napoleon banished to St. Helena. 1839. Sentences on Chartists: Jeremiah Howell, Francis Roberts, and John Jones, death (commuted to imprisonment for life); William Lovett and John Collins imprisoned for 12 months. 1855. Riot in Hyde Park. 1877. W. Lovett died.
9	Fri.	1853. Michael Schwab born. 1882. Thomas Walsh sentenced to 7 years for treason-felony.
10	Sat.	1643. Siege of Gloucester, causing the march of London tradebands and forming of Cromwell's Ironsides. 1646. John Lilburne sent to Newgate for libelling the Cromwellians. 1782. Trial of David Tyrie for high treason. 1792. Attack on the Tuileries at midnight and flight of the king, who, with his family, takes refuge with the National Assembly, where they remain till August 13. National Convention decreed. Foundation of the Commune of Paris and the French Republic. 1825. Riot of seamen at Sunderland and fight with the military.

THE COMMON WEAL.

WE Socialists are often told we must get all people to be of the same mind, in fact, to think alike on whatever pertains to their sublunary existence in order to give practical effect to our doctrines. Granting that this is a *sine qua non* for the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth of the peoples of the world on a lasting basis, I do not see that the task is impossible. Every school of thought doing any propaganda, has for its main object the conversion of as many as possible to that phase of thought which it inculcates, and therefore of necessity the conversion of all mankind if possible. Such being the case, I fail to see wherein we differ in this respect from any other school of thought.

Let us consider the causes of the divergence of thought in different individuals, *i.e.*, why people do not think alike. We know that unanimity of opinion prevails on all known facts; that when any hypothesis is advanced, by a consensus of opinion judgment is suspended until the hypothesis can be demonstrated to be a fact; and, therefore, that in the region of the known all people (who know) do think alike. Hence it follows that difference of opinion on all matters that pertain to actual knowledge can exist only in the unknown, *i.e.*, the speculative. In the irrational system under which we live we find that divergence of opinion frequently arises in the consideration of a subject, not from the absolute good or evil to the community at large embodied in the subject, but to the relative effect produced upon certain individuals or classes of individuals, since the society of to-day is made up of conflicting interests. Therefore, conflicting interests produce a divergence of opinion. We contend that under Communism, people having an identity of interest, *i.e.*, the common weal, a general consensus of opinion on anything which concerns the well-being of each and all will be no hard matter to obtain, and therefore in a rational society with identity of interests people will think alike.

A. BROOKES.

A comrade out of employment would be glad to address circulars, etc., or do any other writing work.—Address T. C., 69, Fernhead Road Harrow Road, N.W.

DIEMSHIETZ'S RELEASE.—On Wednesday, at an early hour, members of the Patriotic and International Clubs waited outside Pentonville Gaol to welcome Louis Diemshietz upon his release, on the completion of his sentence. Some friends of the patriot's were present as early as five o'clock. The prisoner was not released until nine, when a good muster of comrades were present, who gave our comrade a hearty welcome. In the evening, at the Patriotic Club, a public welcome was given to our comrade Diemshietz. Addresses were delivered by several comrades, and the evening passed pleasantly with songs, music, and readings. Our comrade in the course of a reply to the welcome given, declared his unshaken determination to work for the realisation of Socialism. His illtreatment and imprisonment had only strengthened his hostility to the present system. The Defence Committee will meet shortly for the settlement of affairs. All friends having subscription sheets are requested to return them. Any further subscriptions towards the Compensation Fund should be sent in at once to F. Kitz, Secretary Defence Committee.



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.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. S. H.—“The British Workman’s Rallying Song,” to which you allude, is a religious teetotal hymn, and has nothing to do with labour.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 31.

<p><b>ENGLAND</b>                  Brotherhood Justice                  Labour Elector                  Labour Tribune                  London—Freie Presse                  Norwich—Daylight                  Railway Review                  Sozial Demokrat                  Seafaring                  Worker’s Friend                  New South Wales                  Hamilton—Radical                  United States                  New York—Der Sozialist                  Truthseeker                  Volkszeitung                  Jewish Volkszeitung                  Workmen’s Advocate                  Nationalist                  Boston—Woman’s Journal                  Liberty                  The Dawn</p>	<p>Investigator                  Chicago—Knights of Labor                  Baeker Zeitung                  Vorbote                  Detroit—Der Arme Teufel                  St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole                  Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer                  Pacific Union                  FRANCE                  Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)                  Le Proletariat                  La Revolte                  Le Radical                  L’Attaque                  Lyon—L’Action Sociale                  Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur                  HOLLAND                  Hague—Recht voor Allen                  ITALY                  Milan—Il Fascio Operaio                  SPAIN                  Seville—La Solidaridad                  Madrid—El Socialista</p>	<p><b>BELGIUM</b>                  Ghent—Vooruit                  Antwerp—De Werker                  Liege—L’Avenir                  SWITZERLAND                  Arbeiterstimme                  PORTUGAL                  Lisbon—O Protesto Operario                  GERMANY                  Berlin—Volks Tribune                  AUSTRIA                  Brunn—Volksfreund                  Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung                  DENMARK                  Social-Demokraten                  SWEDEN                  Malmo—Arbetet                  Stockholm, Social-Demokraten                  WEST INDIES                  Cuba—El Productor                  ARGENTINE REPUBLIC                  Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts</p>
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“BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION.”

(Concluded from p. 235.)

BUT it is in national and municipal contracts that corruption is always said to be most rampant, and there is no doubt than an immense amount of it does exist in connection with these. For one thing, it begins at an earlier stage—namely, with the letting of the work. In the majority of even the largest firms all important contracts come before the owners or directors for decision, and they are personally interested in getting the work done as well and as cheaply as possible. But in national and municipal affairs many large contracts are let by individuals, paid managers of departments, who have not the same personal interest as a board of directors or the owner. The class of contracts I now allude to are those for supplies to the army, navy, and police, and such-like. Here it is very common for the contractor to bribe more or less directly the official who has the letting of them. I know a corn-merchant who has given up trying for government contracts at all, the amount of bribery necessary to give him a chance of success being more than he could stand.

The corruption of government departments is frequently pointed to as a most potent argument against Socialism. “See what bribery exists in the departments of industry now managed by the Government and the municipalities! And yet you propose to put all industry under similar control! Preposterous!” So very often say our opponents. But there are a few considerations which make it less preposterous than our friend appears to think. If he will consider the instances given above, and many others, some of which probably have come under his own notice, I think he will be constrained to admit that

the first cause of this corruption lies in the competition of many firms each eager to get the contracts, whose very existence, in fact, depends on their securing a number of these orders, and who are therefore driven to every means that will help them, either to quote a lower price than their opponents, or to induce the purchaser to give them a preference. Arising out of this is the second cause, namely, the opposition of interest between the various parties; as, for instance, it is the interest of the contractor to supply as poor an article as will pass the inspection, and it is the interest of the purchaser to get out of him as good a quality and as large a quantity as he possibly can. I am well aware that there are other considerations for the contractor; he must consider his reputation, and the chance of future orders; but such considerations as these, however much they may modify the result, do not alter the main direction in which the two interests are working. The sportsman is restrained by considerations for future sport from killing all the birds on his estate, but no one would maintain that this proved his interest and the birds’ to be the same! The sportsman’s interest is to kill as many as consideration for future sport will allow. So the contractor’s interest is to supply as poor a quality as considerations of reputation and future orders will allow!

Now in any state of Socialism that may be imagined these two causes of corruption will not exist. So that, although there may be more men in the position of managers of capital in which they have not a large personal stake, there will, on the other hand, be no men whose interest it will be to corrupt them. By far the most effectual way to stop corruption is to take away the temptation: something may be done, no doubt, towards securing men who will resist it, but if it can be taken away the thing is done at once. That is just what Socialism does. It may not, perhaps, place its managers in posts where it would be more difficult to corrupt them, but, by taking away competition amongst contractors, it leaves no one whose interest it would be to try and corrupt a manager. One often hears of a contractor for supplying corn, boots, or swords bribing an official to give him the order; but whoever heard of the manager of Woolwich Arsenal bribing the Admiralty officials to place orders for guns at his factory! Still less likely would the Postmaster-General be to bribe the chairman of the London School Board to buy their stamps and envelopes from his department! Well, the relations between the various productive and distributive departments under Socialism would be much the same as between any two of the present departments. The exceptional corruption said to exist in government departments at present arises from their contact with the competitive market around, and is due almost entirely to the conditions of that market; as soon as one national department comes to deal with another or with a municipal department, the corruption vanishes; and as soon as all industries are made national, municipal, or communal departments, as the case may be, all cause for bribing and corruption in their dealings with each other will have vanished too.

Another charge which is often brought against national and municipal establishments is that of extravagance, and while we are on the subject a word or two on this may not be out of place. To begin with, this charge is only partly true, and relates chiefly to the war departments, which are so different from any ordinary industry as hardly to count as an example. The Post Office is not usually charged with extravagance, and its dealings are much more comparable with ordinary industry; its officials, too, are more a class of trained men, many of whom, if not most, have worked their way up in the service. In the war departments, on the other hand, too many places are filled by untrained sons of powerful army and navy men, who are in want of an income without working much for it. In municipal affairs, too, the charge is by no means always true, as is proved by the successful way in which many towns work their gas and water supply, not only selling at a lower rate to the consumer, but making a handsome income for the municipality. But granting there may be a certain amount of extra waste and extravagance in many of these departments, the waste of competition, which would be done away with by the introduction of communal management of industries, would swallow it up many times over. Besides, part of the so-called extravagance of governments is due to a cause which we should be only too glad to see extended. As a rule, wages and salaries are higher in national and municipal industries, and very often a pension is allowed after so many years of service. Then as a rule the men can work more leisurely; they are not bullied quite so much. This of course applies with greater force to the higher branches, in which are employed the sons of swells, but still it runs through all grades more or less; and so far as the so-called extravagance is due to this it is good, and we need not fear to see a little more of such “waste.”

It must not be imagined that because I have been comparing competitive industries to our present government departments, that these departments are our ideal of what industries should be; far from it. But they are the only instances we have where competition is absent; and even these, based as they are to so large an extent on old caste distinctions, on party government, on old-fashioned notions about interfering with private enterprise, and similar absurdities, show very distinctly the advantages to be derived from the abolition of a competitive industry, not the least of which will be the sweeping away of the huge system of bribery and corruption which is distinctly due to the keen competition which Socialism will abolish.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

Wanted, a Lodging for a Single Man, in or near Clerkenwell; a Socialist home preferred.—Apply W., care of Secretary of Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.



**ROYAL GRANTS, AND OTHER BURDENS.**

THE question of royal grants is once more agitating the public mind. We hear a great deal of the duty of the democracy to oppose these grants, and we hear a great deal of the duty of the British democracy to remain loyal to the Crown. We also read of the sovereign right of her majesty to claim whatever she deems necessary to the comfort and dignity of every member of the royal family, even to the third or fourth generation. All this is very amusing at the close of the nineteenth century. But royalty is only a part of the present plundering system, though it is of course the centre around which all the plundering classes flutter. There are also many matters in connection with royalty to-day that require deep consideration. We have in the country a strong section whose aim is and has been for at least a generation to strengthen, as it is termed, the royal prerogative. We are told to-day that the Queen must maintain her sovereignty, her supremacy. Austin ('Province of Jurisprudence') lays it down as a principle "that a limited monarchy is an absurdity. Either the Crown or the Parliament must be supreme." During the debate (1876) on the Empress of India Bill, Disraeli claimed that supremacy for the Crown. He boldly declared: "The fact is that Parliament exists by the prerogative of the Crown. It is the royal prerogative that enables this house to be elected and assembled." In 1878 we got a step further. During the debate (May 21) on the Indian troops being brought to Malta, the Attorney-General said: "It is the prerogative of the Crown not only to command and control the military forces, but to raise them and maintain them, both regular and irregular. The Bill of Rights (?) forbids the keeping of a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. That was confined to the United Kingdom; the Mutiny Act extended it to Ireland. Beyond the United Kingdom the case was different." Again: It was the prerogative of the sovereign to move these forces from India, where they were, to Malta, or anywhere else, leaving it to the imperial Parliament, when they got there, subsequently to sanction the step which had been taken by voting the necessary supplies ('Hansard,' pp 373 to 383).

In all this a great principle is involved, which may ere long prove most dangerous to the people of England. Parliament exists by the royal prerogative. By the royal prerogative Parliament may be prorogued or even dissolved. By the same prerogative the sovereign can raise and maintain an immense army in India; can move that army to Malta, or anywhere else, without the sanction of Parliament—Parliament having nothing to do with the matter but subsequently to vote the supplies. Fonblanque ('The Crown, the Senate, and the People,' p. 12) says: "The person of the sovereign is sacred. She is above the law. No Act of Parliament can bind her, unless it contain express words to that effect." So that all the thousands of Acts passed during the last half-century apply only to the people, not to her majesty; she is above the law. But Schomberg carries the doctrine of absolutism still further. At p. 227 he says: "The monarch is the depository of the wealth, and power, and wisdom of the country." And at p. 231: "The monarch is absolute and is the Minister of God." We are evidently progressing in more directions than one.

During the debate on the question of the Royal Grants, July 25th, Mr. W. H. Smith even spoke of our sacred institutions, royalty of course being one of them; and this in the year of grace, 1889. And even Gladstone thought the Crown ought to be supported in splendour. The splendour of barbarism in the midst of a starving population. The Grand Old Man!

But royalty ever has been, and, as long as it remains, ever will be, a curse and a scourge to the human race. In all the States of Europe it is the emblem of brute-force. Morally dead in all the nations, it depends for its supremacy on the mercenary legions at its command. In principle and in practice, and in its effects on the populations, it is one of the monster evils of the nineteenth century. It is not the mere cost of the Crown, though that is enormous; it is the principle involved, and where it may yet lead us. During the fifty-two years of this reign, the cost, in direct money payments, has been far over £34,000,000 sterling, while it would be difficult to estimate the indirect cost. But in dealing with the cost of the Crown we must remember that every kind of income comes, direct or indirect, from labour. That every kind of wealth comes from labour. And that the million or more which royalty costs the nation comes, directly or indirectly, from those who produce the nation's wealth. We have, then, to divide, not only the cost of the Crown, but all the other great burdens, whether national or local, among those from whose labour every kind of income is derived.

In 1882 Mulhall gave the number of working-class families in the United Kingdom at 4,629,100. If we divide the total cost of royalty by that number, it gives as the cost to every family 6s. 7d. per annum. Not much, it may be said; but why should it be paid at all, and for the support of a family of useless creatures? Then there is the royal church, which amounts to £2 3s. 3d. for each working family. There is also the royal army (not including the royal navy), the yearly cost to each family being £3 17s. 6d. And then there is the royal debt, the total annual burden of which is £6 7s. 6d. to each working-class family. These four items amount to £12 14s. 10d. a-year.

But let us take another view of the matter. The general revenue of the country (1882) was £87,743,465, which amounted to £18 19s. per family. Add the local expenditure (1884), £66,670,000, equal to £14 8s. per family, or the two items were a tax on each family of £33 7s. It is useless to talk about what the non-producing classes pay; labour being the only source of wealth, from whatever source

income is directly derived—whether from the taxes or rates or tithes, or from rents or profits or dividends—all comes from labour, and from labour only, combined with the natural elements.

But we must go a step further. In 1882 the national income was stated to be £1,247,000,000, or rather over that—say £1,250,000,000. Now, taking the smaller sum, and dividing it between the 4,629,100 families comprised in the wealth-producing classes, and it amounts to £295 5s. to each family. Nearly £6 per week for each family. Place the wage of the skilled workman—his 30s. or 35s., or even his 40s. per week—by the side of this £6, and how small his wage looks! But how with those who get their 10s. or 12s. per week!

But who got this mass of wealth? where did it go? As those who produced it never received it, who got it, and how? Let us take four items only—

Landlordism (including ground-rents, which increase every year) takes at least £200,000,000, equal to each working-class family of	£42 19 0
Usury, not less than £300,000,000; cost per family	64 8 6
The trading classes, £244,000,000; cost to each family	53 3 0
Superintendence, £180,000,000; cost to each family	38 12 0
Here went £924,000,000; or from each family	£199 2 6
Leaving only £323,000,000; or for each family	96 2 6

We thus see that it takes from every working-class family, every year, close on £200, or nearly four pounds per week, to support the present system. And yet we are content to go on.

Taking the higher classes of the community, what were their number? 223,500 families; a mere handful as compared with the workers, who form the mass of the population. Yet, in 1878, when the wealth of the country was estimated at £7,960,000,000, those 223,500 families held of that wealth no less than £5,727,000,000, while the 4,629,100 families possessed only £398,000,000 among them. Again, from 1878 to 1882 the wealth of the nation rose to £8,720,000,000. And in 1885 to £9,410,000,000, equal to £261 per head of the population, and if divided among the 4,629,100 families of workers would have given to each such family £2,032. Taking the ten years ending 1875, the wealth of the nation increased £2,400,000,000, or showing a yearly saving of £240,000,000. From 1876 to 1885, the yearly increase averaged £180,000,000, and taking the seven years ending 1886 it was £207,100,000 per annum. Where does it all go? Who produced it? The workers. Who got it? The non-producing classes.

But it will be said that population has increased since 1882, and that therefore the workers are more numerous to-day than at that period. And so has our national income increased, to a much greater extent than the increase of population.

Now, much as I detest the institution of royalty, with its church, its army, and its debt, I cannot forget the greater burdens of landlordism, of usury, of our profit-mongering system. While I would sweep away royalty with all its ever-attendant evils, I would also free the workers from the curse of landlordism and the still greater curse of usury, and would organise society on the only rational basis—that of free association.

Let us, then, while condemning royal grants, also condemn the institution of royalty—condemn it as the centre of the semi-barbarous, brutal system that still obtains among us. Let us condemn it in the name of equal liberty, of universal justice, of eternal right.

And let us not forget, in combating the evils of royalty, or even as an institution, that the same monstrous principle exists throughout the whole of society. That it is the principle that must be swept away, not only on the throne of the nation, not only in the institutions of the country, but in the family circle itself. This the social revolution alone can accomplish. And by the social revolution I mean the triumph of revolutionary Socialism; not of mere Socialistic opportunism, but revolutionary Socialism, that would sweep away at once and for ever royalty in all its forms and in all the relations of life: the curse of landlordism, with all its traditions; of usury, with all its evils; of our profit-mongering system, with all its degradations; and that would raise the worker to Liberty, Dignity, and Independence.

J. SKETCHLEY.

AMERICAN IRONWORKERS.—The 3,000 employés of the Reading Iron-works recently received notice that no member of any labour organisation will be employed in those works when they resume operations. In case the men desire employment they must sign an "agreement" to these conditions to secure it. A year ago the 25,000 men employed on the Reading system all belonged to labour organisations, besides the 20,000 miners working for the company. To-day not one of these 45,000 men belong to a labour organisation.—C.

LABOUR-TROUBLES IN THE STATES.—Bradstreet's reports the number of bankruptcies from the 1st of January to the last of June, 1889, to be 5,918, against 5,254 for the same period in 1888, and 5,072 in 1887. The same paper says 53 strikes have occurred in June this year, involving 18,148 men; from the 13th of July 22 strikes have been declared, involving 8,500 men. The total number of strikes from January 1st to June 30th this year is reported to be 349, involving 93,258 men, against 436 strikes and 172,432 strikers for the same period in 1888, and 554 strikes and 222,023 strikers in 1887. This shows a considerable decrease in the strikes as well as regards the men involved, but of course it must not be concluded from these figures that capital and labour have become more harmonised in the States. Contrariwise the relations of the two are worse than ever, but the toilers have clearly recognised by now that strikes cannot remedy their troubles, and that this mode of warfare under the present conditions is even unable to advance their interests one point. In fact, strikes are now-a-days only resorted to to prevent a reduction in wages.—C.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### Strike of Nottingham Lace-makers.

For some time affairs have looked threatening, but they have now come to a crisis. As the masters have intimated their intention of reducing wages from 25 to 40 per cent. in certain branches of the trade, 2,500 men ceased work last Saturday, July 27th, and have announced their intention of not returning until the notices of a reduction in wages are withdrawn. As the men have the support of their fellows in the same trade, the struggle is likely to be both long and stubborn.

### The Strike in Somerset and Lancashire.

The secretary of Lancashire Miners' Federation has issued an appeal to the miners in that district to pay a levy of sixpence weekly to support the miners who are on strike in Lancashire and Somerset. He states with truth that should the Somerset men be beaten, the men will lose the advance in Bristol and Forest of Dean districts, and that will probably be followed by a general reduction in the Midlands, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. He therefore urges the men to stand together, as the whole wages movement is one, and cannot be broken. That is true, Mr. Secretary; and let us also remember that the cause of the workers throughout the world is also one, and cannot be broken.

### Managerial Tyranny in Derbyshire.

According to a correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*, Durham miners are not the only sufferers by the tyranny of a manager. At one colliery in Derbyshire the manager is doing his best to harrass the men who have been most prominent in getting the advance for their fellows. A number of men have been riddled out of their stalls. Others have had their earnings reduced to next to nothing by the ordinary facilities for output being denied them. It is said also that a list is to be taken of all those who gave notice, and any fineable offence in their case is to be met with a double penalty. The men at the colliery are rather disorganised, or we might depend upon it the manager would not have sufficient courage to practise his tyranny. It only shows what tyrants the capitalists would be if the men were fools enough to let them.

### The Gas-Stokers.

A highly successful demonstration was held in Hyde Park by the London gas-stokers last Sunday, to celebrate their victory over their employers in reducing their hours from twelve to eight. John Burns, Mrs. Besant, H. H. Champion, and William Thorne, the Secretary of the Gas-stokers' Union, addressed the meeting. Resolutions were carried calling upon the Government and the County Councils to support the eight-hours system in all their departments, and expressing sympathy with the 52 Silesian workmen who have been condemned to shamefully long terms of imprisonment for "rioting" when on strike for shorter hours and higher wages. In its march to the Park the gas-stokers' procession came within a very few yards of Trafalgar Square. In fact, it passed the spot where processions are usually broken up by police; but the police did not fancy attacking this procession, it looked too formidable. Half-starved men and boys are more in their line. They do not give hard knocks when there is chance of getting them back.

### The Durham Miners.

The Durham miners who work at the Hebburn Colliery are troubled with an unpopular and tyrannical manager. In consequence of his behaviour on 2nd of July in making a change in the manner of working, which was a breach of the terms under which the men were employed, a large number of them refused to work. And on the 8th of July there was another dispute. On the night of the 7th of July, as the shiftmen and stonemen were going to get the pit ready for stone-hewers, the door of a water-tub which was ascending got loose and was making a fearful noise. This naturally alarmed the men who were descending, and they shouted and stopped the cage. They hung in the mid air for some time, until someone went from the bank. The result was that the workmen refused to go to work till the shaft had been examined, so 313 of them were summoned at the South Shields Police Court for breach of contract. The miners made a picnic of the occasion, and marched to the court with a brass band and banners. In the end the court dismissed the charge for July 8th, and fined one of the culprits, J. Thompson, 5s. for the offence on the 2nd. The other charges were withdrawn for a month in order to allow an arrangement to be come to. That brass band and banner incident proves that the Durham miners have good stuff in them, and shows that the manager is exciting a dangerous feeling among the men.

**ADVANCE IN HOB-NAIL MAKERS' WAGES.**—The employers in the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire hob-nail trade decided on Wednesday the 24th to concede an advance in wages ranging from 10 to 15 per cent.

**WALSALL BIT FILERS AND FORGERS' STRIKE.**—This came to an end on Tuesday 23rd July, the men accepting the employers' offer of 10 per cent. advance and returning to work. The men are perfecting their organisation with a view of securing a further 10 per cent. in three months' time.

**THE TRAM STRIKE AT MANCHESTER.**—Our Manchester friends send us the following: On Friday morning the guards on the Harphur route of the Manchester Tramway Company turned out on strike in consequence of a notice which had been placed inside the cars, stating that fraud had been practised and that the company would pay £10 reward to anyone who would give information. Out of twenty-three men who ceased work only two returned, but the company had no difficulty in filling the places of the others with emergency-men. It was understood that the above notice, which the men considered an unnecessary aspersion on their honesty, would shortly be introduced throughout the company's service, only to disarm resistance it will be done piecemeal as it was begun. No society of any kind exists amongst the men, but they called a meeting of all servants of the company, which took place in the Lower Mostley Street Music Hall. About 600 guards, drivers, and other employes were present. A meek and submissive tone was taken by the few speakers amongst the men, who appeared to be more in fear of the "sack" than indignant at the informer-manufacturing notice. The Socialist League was represented by the secretary and another (Baillie and Strang), both of whom addressed the meeting advising the men to show a bold front and adopt a determined attitude, not only in the particular matter in question, but also the long hours and low

pay—17 hours a-day and wages from 15s. a-week for guards. The immediate formation of a union was the means pointed out as the only way at present by which they could hope of gaining the slightest concession from the capitalists by whom they were employed. Over 300 names were at once given in, and a committee appointed to take the matter in hand. The Socialist League Rooms were offered as a meeting place for the committee, and gladly accepted. This took place on Sunday morning, the men having to go on duty at 1.30. The original strikers are still out, and a general strike is threatened if the objectionable notice is placed on the other routes. A collection was made at the above meeting for the benefit of the guards who are out, and a public subscription is about to be opened. None amongst the reptile press here take up the cause of these miserably paid slaves of capitalistic greed. D. N.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The German Nupkinses do their very best to drive into despair, and then naturally enough into revolutionary resistance, the oppressed workers of Bismarck's accused fatherland. Last week the trial of thirty-three miners of the Waldenburg coal district on the charge of "riotous conduct" during the last strikes in Silesia was concluded. After the hearing of an unusual great number of police folk, who swore all sorts of falsehoods, the jury returned a verdict of "guilty" against all the accused but one, who was consequently released. The court sentenced our comrade Henkel, who had been a member of the strike committee ("the ringleader of the rioters," as the judges put it) to seven years' penal servitude, to be followed by seven years' deprivation of all civic rights. Nine of the accused were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from eighteen months' hard labour to five years' penal servitude, and twenty-two others to periods of imprisonment ranging from twelve months to four years. These shameful sentences have been inflicted upon prisoners who for the most part are youths of sixteen to twenty years of age, only twelve of their number being above twenty-one. During the trial the Court of Schweidnitz, where the Nupkinses sat, was guarded by a considerable number of soldiers, as well as police and gendarmes, because the judges went in fear of being "judged" too.

In addition to the cases disposed of last week, the same court of Schweidnitz sentenced fourteen more miners, who were found "guilty" on the same police evidence of having committed what is termed "excesses" during the strikes at Waldenburg, to terms of imprisonment varying from one year to four years' penal servitude. Such shameful sentences are more likely to foster the revolutionary movement than the best speeches in Parliament would do, and in that sense at any rate these scandalous magistrates are working for us, and we earnestly hope that they soon will get the reward their "work" deserves.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Our readers remember that *die Gleichheit*, the Austrian organ of the Social-Democratic party, edited by comrades Dr. Adler and Bretschneider, was suppressed by the authorities. A new organ has now been created, under the title of *Arbeiterzeitung* (Workers' Gazette), and is provisionally to appear twice a month. The publishers are comrades Julius Popp and Rudolph Pokorny, and the responsible editor comrade L. A. Bretschneider. It is an eight-page paper of large folio size, to be entirely devoted to fostering the interests of the working classes, from the same point of view as *die Gleichheit*. All communications to the editor are to be sent to the following address: *Arbeiterzeitung*, VI, Gumpendorferstrasse 79, Vienna.

The third volume of the *Volksfreund-Bibliothek* (Library of the People's Friend), containing a selection of Socialist poems from various authors, has been confiscated by the police. A new edition, "expurgated" of course, has now appeared at Brünn.

The Austrian Government is again busy spoiling matters among the coal-miners on strike at Trifail in Styria. Last Sunday sixty-two miners were arrested under the pretext that they were attempting to storm the police barracks, and twenty-six others have been taken into custody for attempting to attack the fire-brigade. As the prison was not large enough to receive so many prisoners, most of them were moved to the neighbouring towns. The police is said to have acted with the utmost brutality, in the interests of law and order.

### SWITZERLAND.

"Free Helvetia" seems to be in a hurry to lay herself down at Bismarck's feet. The new "attorney-general" has not yet been chosen who is to receive German briefs for the prosecution of foreign Socialists, but the secretary of the justice department, M. Tachler, has already begun to do his work. He has been dispatched to Zürich in order to institute enquiries into the doings of the national committee of the Germans in Switzerland, and its relations to the London *Sozialdemokrat*, and to the propaganda in Germany. Comrades Courzett, editor of the *Arbeiterstimme*, and Manz have been heard in evidence, and at Basel comrade Willschlegel has also come forward as a witness, or rather as a possible "culprit." When comrade Couzett entered the inquisitorial room of the Federal Secretary he was not a little astonished to find there the notorious individual Attenhofer, the Swiss agent provocateur who for years past has been Bismarck's most useful tool in his campaign against Socialism in the "free republic." V. D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, 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.

**Propaganda Committee.**—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, August 6, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the Propaganda invited to attend. The leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working Men," is now on sale at 4s. per 1,000. Can be obtained of the Secretary, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

The secretary of the Propaganda Committee asks members and friends to forward subscriptions for the purpose of printing leaflets for free distribution, of which there is a great need. Subscriptions to be sent to the Secretary, D. J. Nicoll, 13, Farringdon Road, and will be acknowledged in the 'Weal.

**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.

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**REPORTS.**

**CLERKENWELL.**—Held good meeting on Green on Sunday evening; speakers, S. Presburg, D. J. Nicoll, and G. Cores. While the meeting was proceeding, our protectors in blue told some of the audience who were listening to the Gospel of Discontent to clear off the pavement, taking no heed of the Gospel grinders opposite us who were preaching the Gospel of Content and completely blocking up the thoroughfare. This is "law 'n' order" that the workers pay for by the sweat of their brow.—S. P.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting held at Latimer Road; speakers were Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Saint, Dean, and Tochatti; 38 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 7d. collected. A poor meeting at William Street; speakers were Dean and Lyne, jun. Our comrades reconnoitred the position at Archer Street. The Methodists, thinking it all right, brought out their harmonium, but to their dismay these terrible Socialists appeared on the scene. The detectives and police then hurried them off, musical instrument and all, with black looks from the Christians. Our comrades adjourned to Cambridge Gardens and held a good meeting, although the Christians who followed us gave all the opposition they could; they sent five women. Speakers were Maughan, Lyne, sen., and Saint; 16 *Commonweal* sold and 10d. collected.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, July 14th, Mrs. Lahr spoke to a large audience, taking for her subject "The Overthrow of the Bastille," and concluding with an earnest appeal to the workers to study the principles of Socialism. On Sunday, July 21st, we attended a meeting of gas stokers, where Thomas Mann gave us some idea of trade unionism. A good meeting last Sunday, when Kitz gave a report of the Paris Socialist Congress; good sale of *Commonweal*. At Streatham Fountain, a comrade from Bolton and F. Kitz spoke to a good audience.—S. G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Meeting at Ossulston Street on Thursday was held by Nicoll and Cantwell; fair sale of *Commonweal*. A good meeting at Regent's Park on Sunday, addressed by the same speakers; 18 'Weal' sold. On Sunday afternoon at Hyde Park, meeting opened by Cantwell, followed by Brookes; fair sale of 'Weal.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—No report the last two weeks on account of organising secretary's absence. On Saturday night, Brookes addressed a meeting on Mile End Waste; 'Weal' sold well. On Sunday morning at Leman Street, the meeting was addressed by Leech and Turner; Turner gave an account of the Paris Congress.—J. T.

**ABERDEEN.**—No indoor meeting held last week, Monday being the second of the tradesmen's holidays. Capital meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, Duncan, Aiken, and Leatham speaking. Large audience kept well together for near three hours; good humoured questions at close. Literature sold out.—L.

**GLASGOW.**—Mid-day: Gilbert, T. Burgoyne and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Jail Square. In the evening, Gilbert and Joe Burgoyne spoke to large and attentive audience at Paisley Road. Owing to fair holidays no meeting held last Sunday.

**LEEDS.**—Last Sunday morning, at 11 a.m., a meeting was held in Vicars Croft to report progress of the Leeds labourers' strike. The speakers were Sweeney, Maguire, Paylor, and Hill. On Sunday afternoon a very large meeting was held in the same place. The Rev. J. J. Byrner (Congregationalist), member of the Leeds School Board, was in the chair. The speakers were R. B. Cunningham Graham, M.P., Mitchell (Bradford), Chippendale (Leeds), and others. Although rain fell very heavily the whole of the afternoon a large audience of between 3,000 and 4,000 stayed through the whole of the meeting, and when the following resolution was submitted it was carried unanimously:—"Since the private and competitive handling of the land and capital of this country has resulted in a small minority owning and enjoying the wealth produced by the toiling masses, and since the condition of the producers of wealth is growing more intolerable and precarious, we, the working men here assembled, are of opinion that it is at once desirable and expedient to organise ourselves for the purpose of establishing a more equitable state of society." Graham had a most enthusiastic reception. Many people came miles to hear him. Literature sold well.—F. C.

**LEICESTER.**—Good meetings on Sunday last. H. Snell (Fabian) of Nottingham, spoke on "The Royal Grants and their Relation to Socialism," at 11 a.m., and "Quack Remedies for Poverty," at 8 p.m. Rain fell all through the evening, but the large audience never flinched, and even the middle-class men hoisted their umbrellas and held their ground firmly. Sullivan occupied the chair. Collection 10s.; literature sold, 1s. 9d.—A. G.

**MANCHESTER.**—A meeting at New Cross was held on Friday night to call public attention to the grievances of the lower classes. On Saturday night Stockton and Barton spoke to a large audience at Middleton; 22 'Weal' sold. In Stevenson Square on Sunday Stockton, Ritson, and Bailie addressed a good meeting in the rain; 21 'Weal' sold. At Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Stockton spoke to a large meeting despite the downpour of rain. Stockton has only lately begun speaking, but promises to develop into a good speaker.

**NORWICH.**—During the past week meetings have been held at Thorpe, St. Mary's Plain, and Haymarket; one or two meetings not held owing to it being wet. Sunday afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market, opened by comrade W. Moore, and followed by McCormack; in the evening another good meeting held in the Market Place. At the Gorjon Hall McCormack spoke upon the unemployed, Darley in the chair. Discussion followed; Poynts took part; a good audience present.

**YARMOUTH.**—Three good meetings held here on Sunday. The speakers were Annis, P. Reynolds in the morning; Ruffold and Reynolds afternoon and night. Brightwell and Ruffold held meeting at Bradwell in the morning.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Good meeting in Sneinton Market on Sunday morning, Proctor and Peacock speaking on the lace maker's strike. In the evening in the Great Market, Rooke presided, while Peacock gathered a large audience by speaking on "The Royal Grants." Collections during the day for new premises realised 10s., and *Commonweal* sold well.—P.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Sunday evening, July 28th, we had a very good meeting at West Bar Green. Comrade Bullas opened the proceedings with a few suitable remarks, after which comrade Skatchley addressed the audience on Royal Grants and other current questions from a Socialist standpoint. Literature sold well.—S.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct).  
**East London.**—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Aug. 4, at 8 p.m., a lecture. Thursday August 8, at 8, Choir practice. Friday 9, at 8, French Class; at 8.30, Business Meeting and discussion.  
**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.  
**North Kensington.**—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. All members please turn up.  
**North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.  
**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Tuesday at 7.30.  
**Glasgow.**—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.  
**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday and Thursday, Hall open from 8 p.m.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**Yarmouth.**—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SATURDAY 3.**

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

**SUNDAY 4.**

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

**TUESDAY 6.**

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

**WEDNESDAY 7.**

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

**THURSDAY 8.**

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

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Queen's Park, at 3.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russell Square, at 11 a.m.; Humberstone Gate, at 8 p.m.  
**Manchester.**—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.  
**Norwich.**—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: North Walsham, at 11; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Agricultural Hall Plain, at 8 p.m. Friday: St. Catharine's Plain, at 8.15.  
**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.**—Meetings 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. McGill, 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 August 4th, at 8.45, George Cox, "Readings from the Writings of Mrs. Inchbald (1796), a Socialist Novelist."

**SOCIALISTS in THE MIDLANDS.**—On Monday August 5th, the annual picnic gathering of Socialists will take place at Ambergate, in Derbyshire; when an informal conference will be held to discuss how best we can help each other with the work by exchanging lecturers, etc. It is hoped that all who possibly can will attend. Bring your "Chants of Labour."—R. U.

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