

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE affair at Mitchelstown is bad enough, but just what must be expected; quite apart from any design, from any intention on either side, such wretched murders are sure to spring out of the present state of affairs in Ireland. The people will meet together in spite of the Coercion Act, or even because of it; the police have orders to disperse them on some excuse or other. You can't disperse a gathering of excited men (and women) by mere politeness, and policemen, under the circumstances, knowing their position, don't waste any time in trying to do so, but throw themselves on the crowd, and hustle and hit and knock about in a way that would irritate a crowd of Jobs to resistance; and patient and over-patient Irishmen have shown themselves, the Irish peasant is a traditional hard hitter, and understands hand-play. So the police get their share of knocks, and get driven off perhaps, as on this occasion; and then comes the next act, which is more likely to turn the affair into a tragedy in Ireland than would be the case in a similar affair in England.

For in England, if the police were beaten off the red-coats would come on the stage, if sharp shot and cold steel were to be used or threatened; and as they would be fresh men unexcited by a preliminary contest of dry blows, they would feel their responsibility of firing on an unarmed crowd far more than men who had already come out of a rough and tumble, in which their official pride and *esprit du corps* had been humbled. In Ireland, on the other hand, the event is likely to happen which happened at Mitchelstown; the beaten police come back as soldiers, armed with deadly weapons, to take their revenge on the people, who for their part, unarmed and unorganised, feel the full force of the fierce words of the Goth *King before Rome*, when he was warned of the huge mass of people he had to deal with, "The thicker the hay the easier to mow."

And that all the more, by the by, if the police shoot from behind the shelter of their walls, as they did at Mitchelstown.

As to the government that allows this sort of thing to go on, bystanders can see, if they cannot, that they are not strong enough to go in for a series of new Peterloos. Probably the Irish will stand it without breaking out into open insurrection, because, as has often been said before, they have no opportunity of setting a serious rising on foot. But general public opinion in England is not in favour of government by massacre, whatever the passions of a few landowners and their backers may urge them on to. It is not difficult for an English Radical to conceive of himself in a similar position to that of the Irishmen at the Mitchelstown meeting; and he would at least be ashamed of himself if in such a case he had not gone about as far as the Irishmen did in resisting the first attacks of the police; and under the orders which the constabulary now have in Ireland from the government, it seems that murder may be expected to follow the exercise by peaceably assembled citizens of a little manliness in resisting outrage.

But the Government may say: "Did we not pass a Coercion Bill? And does not Coercion mean killing in the long run? What are we to do?" One is driven to answer the last question by saying: "Well, gentlemen, I must say it is difficult to point out to you any course of action which would at once satisfy your desires and ours. Perhaps the least harmful thing you could do would be to hang yourselves. But even then there would still be so many fools left in this country that there would still be a government; and that government, after having performed the deeds of the new broom with applause for some time, would presently be in much the same mess as you are in, or indeed, maybe worse; for it perhaps would not have the Irish Question conveniently at hand to take people's attention off the affairs of the whole working population of these islands."

Meantime, once more the Tory Government will soon find out that a Peterloo policy can only be carried out by the thoroughest of the thorough.

The terrible calamity at Exeter, which has taken up so much of public attention lately, is simply the outcome of the commercial system as applied to the construction of theatres: it is just of a piece with the wreck of a ship sent to sea for profits' sake unseaworthy and under-

handed, or with an explosion in a mine ill-ventilated for the same reason. Profit-grinding has murdered all those unfortunates, just as certainly as it murders thousands every day by the slower death that at every step besets the life of wage-slaves, of those who allow masters to muddle away their lives for them, who allow the hurry and heedlessness of irresponsible gamblers to settle for them how they shall live and how they shall die.

The orthodox Liberal *Daily News* has been rather amusing in its utterances on the Trades Union Congress. It began by an article in which it made what was no doubt intended to be a serious hit at the Socialists: told us that the theory that we hold of the rank and file of the trades' unionists looking doubtfully at their leaders, and beginning to consider their real position, was a delusion; that they were all of the orthodox faith,—and in short, the usual good-boy patronising exhortation. But then came the resolution of the Congress to set on foot a Labour Electoral Committee, and the *Daily News'* good boys had to have a little lecture read to them on their foolishness in taking this very mild step towards choosing their own "representatives," of separating themselves from "the two great parties."

Not very wonderful if the workmen are at last beginning to find out that the "two great parties" are like "the two great parties" that form up in a field before a football match—to play the game! The only pity is that they do not let them play their game all by themselves, and form their Labour Party without reference to the football-field called Parliament.

Meantime it may be said for the benefit of those readers of the *Daily News* who may also read the *Commonweal* and who do not know much of Socialism, that Socialists are not hostile to trades' unions, but to those who wish to prevent the trades' unions developing with the times. Their real enemies are those who would crystallise them into mere societies for the guaranteeing of the privilege of capitalism, and recruiting grounds for "the great Liberal party"—that is, Whig vote-preservers. This would be an ignominious end to such an important association of workers; but it need not be dreaded. The trades' unions will develop, even if in doing so they have to change their old form and be no longer recognisable by their once enemies, now their anxious allies, the Whig politicians.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

I.

THE twentieth annual Trades' Union Congress met at Swansea on Monday September 5, and continued its sittings daily during the week. 156 delegates were announced as being present, and the number of members of the various societies represented was given as 674,034. This Congress was looked forward to with perhaps greater expectation than on any previous occasion, not only on account of the unstable condition of some of the unions themselves, but also from the severe criticism directed against trades' unionism, both from within and without, as to its inability, in its present form, to adequately cope with the labour problem; and also the hope on the part of many of its friends of seeing some indication of a new departure. Two years ago, the president in his address declared the present to be a critical period for English trades' unions, and that the time had come when they must either lead or follow—they must form the nucleus of the Labour Party of the future, or they must sink into insignificance; and to this those who have been watching the development of the labour struggle must give in their adhesion.

To those who hoped to see any great change the results of the Congress just concluded will probably bring disappointment; but nevertheless, comparing it with previous meetings, there is evidence of considerable advancement, and that the workers are daily becoming better acquainted with the causes of their degradation and are bringing a greater amount of intelligence to bear in their removal.

The first day's proceedings commenced with the now customary welcome by a local dignitary, who in this case was Mr. Yeo, M.P., mayor of Swansea. The only noteworthy points in his speech was his hope that the future choice of men who in the House of Commons shall especially be leaders and representatives of the working classes would be men of the same type and calibre as the present ones—a hope we do not reciprocate—and his opinion that the future prosperity of this

country hinges upon technical education: if this indeed be so, we may consider ourselves damned. The chairman (J. M. Jack) followed with a short speech, declaring the Congress open. He alluded to the trade depression, saying it was still the same cry, "trade depressed, and thousands of working men in the streets, with the words ringing in their ears, 'No hands required!'" but nevertheless this fact has not prompted him to ponder deeply on the causes at work producing this, for his programme of remedies was a ridiculously meagre one. He concluded by expressing his hope that there might go forth from that Congress a movement that would tend to remove many of the evils from which they now suffered, and "in God's good time" bring "comfort and happiness to many of the homes of the inhabitants of these islands." The election of officers followed, W. Bevan, chairman of the Swansea Trades' Council, being appointed chairman; and that matter concluded, F. Maddison, the president of last year, raised the question of the *South Wales Daily News* (with the view, we must suppose, of excluding its reporter), which he described as a "rat shop," paying less than union prices. However, the Congress had not pluck enough to take the matter in hand; and C. J. Drummond, secretary of the Standing Orders Committee, wrote something very like an apology to the *News* for the action of the delegates; but this unexpectedly getting into print the next morning, he had to make an endeavour to square matters.

Then came the Parliamentary Committee's report. This report, although a feature of the Congress, is always mainly of a humdrum character, dealing as it does with matters of detail; and this year the Committee's remarks are weaker, and exhibit less signs of a real grip of the situation, even than last year. They refer to the lack of employment, but "so far as they are aware," say they, "there has been no general attempt to reduce the rate of wages in any part of the country." I do not know what construction the committee may put on the word "general," but it seems to me that even by referring to the limited space the *Commonweal* is able to give to the "Labour Struggle" every week they might find sufficient evidence to "give them pause." "One of the chief causes of the want of employment," they declare, "is the tremendous development of the power of production," without seeming to know that they have thereby furnished a text which, logically investigated, would point to the break up of the monopoly in the means of production and distribution as the only remedy for a state of affairs in which want of bread goes hand in hand with increased power of production. No; "it has a tendency to produce lessened profits," is all they see. Finally, the report tells us that there is quite a scrimmage nowadays in Parliament as to who shall ask a question in the interests of labour. We were not aware of this, but we see in it a possible explanation of the reason why the Labour M.P.'s are so often silent when they should be alive, and for which, indeed, they were taken to task at the Hull Congress. At the conclusion of the report, the Congress passed a vigorous resolution against the Government for suppressing the Ennis meeting. C. J. Drummond opposed this,—hard to say why; not on account of its interrupting the proceedings, for a few minutes afterwards he went off "as quiet as a lamb" to the mayor's luncheon, notwithstanding two Scotch delegates proposed they should proceed with the business.

The president's address began the second day's sitting, and proved to be at least equal to its predecessors—a thoughtful, wide-angled, and withal a *fighting* address, which should give much hope to the Socialist. Mr. Bevan began by a reference to the depressed condition of labour, and speaking of the report of the Royal Commission on the depression, he said: "While clearly perceiving the contradiction of poorly-paid labour and ever-increasing wealth, it is afraid to speak out and condemn the present system of society, which gives the riches of toil to those who do not produce." After a reference to the disorganisation of labour brought about by improved machinery, and a remark that shoddy goods and jerry building have been too much appreciated of late years, he went on to advocate the formation of a powerful and distinct labour party; "organised and unorganised labour unite in the belief that the ordinary political parties are useless to secure the industrial emancipation"; "everywhere is heard expressions showing how the faith of the people in the present governing classes has utterly failed"; and he declared that the labour electoral associations had struck the right chord in throwing open their membership to unionist and non-unionist, skilled and unskilled—"if the labour movement is divided into hostile camps, skilled labour on the one side and unskilled on the other, then assuredly the labour cause is irreparably damaged, and energy and time are but thrown away." He sees that it is a critical period for trades' unions—"year by year they are being more keenly pressed upon by the increasing ranks of the unemployed"—and that they must take a prominent part in making a national labour party; "this labour movement is the inevitable outcome of the present condition of labour and capital." The emigration cry, which found favour with a few at the Hull Congress, got no sympathy from him, and he echoed the Socialist when he said "those who should emigrate should be those who 'toil not, neither do they spin,' and who have accumulated large fortunes and look on with comparative ease on the misery of those around them." English and Continental workmen must co-operate; "the march of commerce and the discoveries of science are fast breaking down the barriers of mountains and seas; and through misunderstandings and divisions the workmen of Great Britain and the Continent are used as instruments wherewith to injure each other."

"The forces of capital never sleep; they know no nationality, and are devoid of humanitarian sympathies. It is to its interests to divide the forces of labour, to bring about estrangement, and hence we have those bogey press pictures of Continental Socialism, and that profusion of interested advice from capitalist

sources to eschew the foreigner and all his snares. Gentlemen, Socialism has lost its terrors for us. We recognise our most serious evils in the unrestrained, unscrupulous, and remorseless forces of capital."

Referring to the eight hours movement, he declared "we must have it"; and discussing the means of getting it, and the extent to which it should apply, he said:

"It is natural that trades' unionists should look back with pride as they think of the victories won; but the glories of the past do not solve the difficulties of the future. The relative strength of trades' unions to the population was much greater when the nine hours were obtained than it is to-day. The growth of the population, the increasing power of labour-saving machinery, and the greater pressure of foreign competition, with the stagnation of trade, are all elements working for capital and against organised labour. Outside our trades' unions there are vast masses of humanity who would be compelled by the want of food to slip into the places vacated by the unionists who might strike for eight hours. Nay, take any given trade organisation during the most prosperous times, and we find a large number on the out-of-work fund. But if we take years of depression, the number of unemployed in the trade societies is an alarming and dangerous fact. So great is the financial strain upon the unions from out-of-work payments alone that it is now impossible for our organisations to obtain the funds to successfully fight for an eight hours working day. But even if they succeed, it would be a long and costly and wearying struggle, at the end of which large masses of workpeople would be left outside its operations. An eight hours' movement must apply to all, must be national. By this means alone can the hordes of unemployed find work. Our duties as citizens are too great for us to fight this question with a single eye to benefit trades' unions. We are bound by sympathy, by duty, and by a desire to avert impending social catastrophes to get an eight hours' day for all. Parliament must pass an Eight Hours Bill."

Of course the stock cry of "individual liberty" and "freedom of contract" would be hurled at them, but "if individual liberty means allowing a man to starve, or men, women, and children to work under miserable, unhealthy, and degrading conditions, or means the using of the toilers as parts of machinery, to be thrown in the timber-yard when worn out, then 'individual liberty' and 'freedom of contract' are of little benefit to the majority of the people." Finally, he appealed to the delegates

"to step forward boldly and fearlessly in the path which is before us, and make it that toil shall not be a hardship, but a working out of national greatness, and of individual elevation, and to bring about such a state of things as to obtain the fulfilment of that grand old prophetic injunction, 'He that will not work neither shall he eat.' Our national greatness has been created by the indomitable energy of the people, and that energy is unexhausted. It must be turned from foreign conquests, from class domination and useless enterprises, to the grave dangers surrounding us."

And thus ended an address which, despite its drawbacks here and there, affords gratifying evidence of the growth of the Socialistic spirit in the ranks of organised labour.

After the president's address the Congress took up the discussion on the Parliamentary Committee's report, which brought forth nothing of general interest, and then resolved on the necessity of all persons in charge of steam engines and boilers holding certificates of fitness. The appointment of working men and women as government inspectors was the next subject, and the present system was severely handled and many interesting facts given; a London delegate, speaking of the sweating-system in Spitalfields and Whitechapel, described it as "damnable." The next matter of any importance was a resolution proposing the formation of labour electoral associations all over the country, with the object of returning to Parliament and local government bodies working men who shall directly represent the interests of labour: On this a very long discussion took place, which extended into the third day. Some good speeches were made, notably by Messrs. Threlfall and Maddison, and the scant chance of getting any great benefit from the two orthodox parties was pretty generally recognised. One or two, including Mr. Fenwick, M.P., doubted the possibility of forming a labour party independent of Whig and Tory, but the feeling of Congress was all in favour of it. Then came a scene between Mr. Hardie and Mr. Broadhurst, which concluded the day's proceedings. Mr. Hardie is a pugnacious Scot, who gives token of being a useful factor at these congresses, and he made some reference to Broadhurst and the Labour M.P.'s supporting Mr. Jas. Hill's candidature at Brixton and Mr. Brunner at Northwich,—both capitalists with an evil reputation. This irreverent way of treating their saint roused one or two to white-heat, and then Mr. Broadhurst gathered himself together to "crush" his opponent. Who was Mr. Hardie? how long had he sacrificed his life to trades' unionism? He did not remember him taking part in the great struggle fifty years back; and when Mr. Hardie informed him that he (Hardie) was not born then, in order to exhibit his talent in buffoonery Mr. Broadhurst commuted the fifty to ten, and remarked that Mr. Hardie was an exceedingly forward individual at that age. And so it went on, until Mr. Broadhurst had exhausted his vocabulary and cooled down. "Irascible," one newspaper styles his speech. Yea, verily!

W. BINNING,
London Society of Compositors.

When a physical bully tyrannises and assails the personal rights of a weak and sickly person, sympathy condemns the action, but when an intellectual giant, trained in the knowledge of business and the law, takes advantage of the humble, inexperienced, and frequently far more honest person, it is called a shrewd business transaction or business sagacity.—*Colorado Farmer*.

JAPAN.—Consular reports just issued tell us that the industrial revolution is very rapidly taking place in Japan. The "Grande Industrie" may be said now to be fairly established. The Japanese have 21 spinning factories, and are supplying the home demand to a great extent; native capitalists are beginning to look for new markets, and probably within the next ten years China will be buying as much cotton from Japan as from Lancashire. Several other industries are being developed in the same manner, so that in the near future we will have to find a new place to shoot our shoddy—or have a new battalion added to the unemployed army.—A. K. D.

THE AMERICAN LABOUR PARTIES.

I.—THE SYRACUSE CONVENTION.

A CONVENTION of labour associations in New York State met at Syracuse on August 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th, which certainly marked an important point in the development of the American labour movement. That movement grows with a rapidity, and changes from one phase to another with such ease and swiftness, that it would be very difficult to give anything like its history. The Knights of Labour was accepted for a time as the best of labour organisations; but no distinction of trades being recognised in that body, and the labour struggles showing the need for such distinction, there was a speedy change. Federated trades' unions became the next move, and in one year 400,000 members seceded from the Knights of Labour in favour of the new method of organisation. The enormous mass of workmen in America, their readiness to organise, and their habit of rushing at new things, makes it impossible to in any way control or mould their movements. The best policy for the Socialists is to go with the labour party through its different phases, steadily preaching the right ideas, but without trying to shape things according to their own ideas too soon. This policy has been pursued, and with great effect.

One hundred and seventy delegates assembled at Syracuse on the 16th.¹ After electing the usual officers and committees, the first matter of importance came to the front. From the outset it was plain that Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, and John McMackin were wire-pulling the affair. A good deal of heat and anger existed among the delegates, and the probable expulsion of the Socialists was the chief matter of conversation. The report of the majority of the Committee on Credentials recommended that the Socialist delegates, in contested seats, should not be allowed to sit. The minority also presented a report sustaining their right to sit, and rebutting the objections raised by the majority. The point against the Socialists was that they were ineligible because they belonged to the Socialistic Labour Party, which was held by the majority to be a political party, and one of the rules of the convention was that no one belonging to any other political party should take part in it. The minority showed that the Socialistic Labour Party was not a political body, and referred to Mr. McMackin, who a short time previously had publicly commended the good work done by the Socialists in the labour movement, and distinctly stated that they were not a political body. The George clique had things all cut and dried, and it was a foregone conclusion that the Socialists would be expelled. George had been only too glad of the Socialist vote and help in his contest for the mayoralty of New York city. At the time of that contest it was understood that George was practically the Socialist nominee; but now George found that Socialists, or Socialist principles rather, were an encumbrance, and he determined to repudiate them. The Socialists were allowed five minutes each to speak in defence of their seats, and very able and eloquent speeches they made—Richard J. Hinton, Block, Hugo Voight, Vrooman, Shevitch, W. H. Autenreith, and Laurence Gronlund. Shevitch was the most notable Socialist orator, but the speech delivered by Gronlund was certainly the most appropriate and effective. As reported in the *New York Herald*, Gronlund's remarks were very relevant, pointed, and have a tone of dignified combativeness that fully suited the occasion. The speakers pointed out that the Socialists had done their full share of the hard work of the labour movement, that their services in support of George's candidature were considerable, and that in spite of this they had no design to turn the convention entirely their own way. Henry George got some uncomfortably candid remarks thrown at his head. T. B. Wakeman proposed as a compromise that the Socialist delegates be allowed their seats and a half vote. McMackin answered some charges made against him by Wakeman. E. D. Murray spoke up manfully on behalf of the Socialists. By this time the general body of the delegates were regarding the Socialists with much greater favour than before, so George found it necessary to take part in the discussion. He acknowledged—not very generously—the work done by the Socialists, but emphatically insisted that they were an incongruous element, and must be expelled. The platform on which he had formerly united with the Socialists was equal rights and the abolition of monopolies. Now the Socialists wanted to achieve this by a different way to himself (and this constituted their heresy). "Socialists want to take for the use of the State all the instruments of production and machinery of capital, and to regulate the distribution and exchange. I believe that we are working in different ways for the same ultimate end; but so far as they want to go one way and I another, then it is far better that each body should act for itself than remain united in a party in which there will be mutual wrangling and recriminations that will bring weakness." This is very good, but it gives no more reason for the Socialists leaving the convention than for the Georgites leaving it. George says that both parties were working for the same end, and working peaceably together until a dispute arose as to the practical way of achieving that end. It became evident that two distinct parties were forming, and the duty of the convention was to discuss these two positions, and decide which was right, or the best for the time. Instead of such a discussion taking place, and Socialism as a political policy being contrasted with George's views, George organises a clique and expels the people he differs from. Of course if Socialism itself, instead of the expulsion of the Socialists, had

¹ From later information I find that few of the agricultural counties joined the convention, and of those that did so most were represented by New York and Brooklyn men. So that the farmers evidently hold aloof from George's party, and hence his action in putting his land theories and free trade in the background.

been discussed, the Socialists would have been a minority all the same, and they would have had to split the party and retire; but then the proceedings would have been fairly conducted, and the mass of the delegates would have known what they were about. Many of them did not understand Socialism, and wanted to hear it debated. Others did not understand, and denounced it off-hand in their ignorance; as, for instance, one delegate was indignant because he thought that under Socialism his coat would be given to the general community for common use. Dr. McGlynn was equally intelligent on the subject, and argued that the convention was bound by the circular calling it. The gross absurdity of this contention must be clear to everybody. Here is the case: a labour candidate (H. George) is put forward for office; his election contest is conducted by Socialists and general Labour Party men; a good fight is made, and it is determined to summon a labour convention and form a great political party; a circular is issued in which the platform of the candidate is mentioned, and the convention comes together. Such a convention when called should surely have power to do what it likes; instead of that up gets George and McGlynn, and they inform the delegates that the circular or postcard is the law and all the commandments, and woe betide them if they presume to question the statement. On a division 54 voted for retaining the Socialists, and 94 against. Several of the George men thought the announcement of the result a fitting time to indulge in sneers and insults against the Socialist delegates. The discussion was as disgraceful as the decision was unwarranted. Several of those who abused Socialism were in the most profound ignorance of its principles. Whatever George said was loudly cheered, and when Dr. McGlynn got up, as he invariably did, and said the same thing over again, he was cheered louder.

After the expulsion of the Socialist delegates the remainder of the convention became a mere machine. There was considerable wrangling over the election of officers, but when the resolutions and statement of principles were brought in from the committee they were passed without a word of discussion. A good deal of downright rowdiness prevailed, and the most pointed insults were taken in the quietest fashion. Here is an example. "Several delegates sprang to their feet, and one said, 'I tuk the flure fust.' . . . Chairman (recognizing this delegate): 'Gentleman from New York has the floor.' . . . Delegate: 'I'm not from New York. I'm from Albany.' . . . A Voice: 'You are a cushion! Sit down!'" The cushion from Albany collapsed after this dignified rebuke, and was no more heard of. It seems that some American working men are as low as British members of Parliament.

The worst feature of the speeches was the petty nationalism. Every delegate who wanted to make a speech, and knew nothing worth saying, had only to pompously declare "I come here as an American," and was at once greeted with loud and prolonged cheers. Even the chairman, McMackin, in patting the Socialists on the back (after helping to kick them down stairs), said, "In order to emancipate the working class in America we must do it as Americans, and on American principles." It is discouraging to find that American working men indulge in the debasing jingo sentiment that was supposed to belong exclusively to monarchies and empires.

In my next I shall deal with the principles and policy of the George party. J. L. MAHON.

NORFOLK NOTES.

THE agricultural labourers of Norfolk have to suffer a further reduction in wages. A wife and family can be but barely kept alive on 11s. a-week, but even this sum is considered too much, and is being reduced to 10s. The harvest wage has also fallen from £7 to £5, 15s.

The prices realised by grain crops are lower than ever. A farmer reckons that prices averaging from 40s. to 45s. for two comb (one of wheat and one of barley) will enable him to live. This year the prices only average 14s. the comb; and so the labourer must suffer.

A meeting was held in Norwich a few days ago to form a branch of the National Association for the Preservation of Agriculture. A few well-paid middle-class men, speculating as to how their profits may be kept up, is always a humorous scene, nor was this any exception. The cool impudence with which such men always try to persuade themselves of their own philanthropic motives, and to persuade the workers that their interests are identical with those of their plunderers, was finely shown. "If you destroy the landlord you will crush the labourer too," said one of them. "Therefore," was the inference we might draw from this, "in looking after our own profits we are saving the labourer from ruin. Therefore we are genuine and disinterested philanthropists. Let the ignorant workers thank heaven that we are providentially here to save them from the schemes of Socialists and such designing men, who only seek their own interest. Of course, our interest only comes in accidentally, and we only seek it because it is bound up in our wider aim, the good of the workers." Good Lord, what humbug!

Is it not rather the *existence* of the landlord and such thieves that crushes the labourer?

Some of our best meetings here are those we hold at the factory gates as the men come out. Will other branches follow suit? Local examples that appeal more personally to the men than any others can be more easily drawn and applied.

Our comrade Mowbray is to be released from Ipswich prison this day (Saturday) four weeks. FRED HENDERSON.



"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.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

- C. J. G. (Brixton).—Thanks; will be used.
- E. R. (Stratford).—One letter inserted this week; two returned as requested. We cannot anyhow print *everything* sent.
- P. R. W. (Walsall).—Subject dealt with many times already. Cannot you write up some local topic? Wages, condition of workers, special local trades, would be interesting if well described.
- A. D. (Kirkcaldy).—See answer above.
- CONTRIBUTIONS unavailable from various causes—M. E. D. (North Shields); W. W. C. (Nunhead); A. C. (Hoxton).
- W. B. (Manchester).—Many thanks; your letter is the very kind we want—full of information.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 14.

ENGLAND		Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts
Justice	Port Worth (Tex.)—South West	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	SWITZERLAND
Norwich—Daylight	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	men's Advocate	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Labour Tribune	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer	ITALY
Railway Review	Hampton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Garpenor	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Die Autonomie	Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard	St Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Anarchist			Naples—Humanitas
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung			SPAIN
Worker's Friend			Madrid—El Socialista
Jus	INDIA		PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald			Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		GERMANY
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Le Socialiste		Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES	Le Revolté		AUSTRIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Guise—Le Devoir		Brunn—Volksfreund
Truthseeker	Lille—Le Travailleur		HUNGARY
Leader	Ghent—Vooruit		Arbeiter-Weeken-Chronik
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir		ROUMANIA
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Ghent—Vooruit		Jassy—Lupta
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker		SWEDEN
Liberty	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ROULAND		
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Hague—Recht voor Allen		

THE CURSE OF CIVILISATION.

(Concluded from p. 293.)

Now we have just been supposing a case of an individual with whom the specific evils of mediæval society were actually operative. But it must be borne in mind that the balance of probabilities against any particular individual being affected by any of them was probably almost, if not quite, as great as against any given individual in the present day being killed in a railway accident, blown up in an explosion, drowned in an over-insured unseaworthy ship, run over on a London crossing, crushed in a panic at a public building, thrown on the streets to starve by reason of a new invention, etc., etc. One or other of these disasters peculiar to modern life is chronicled every day in the newspapers, and often several the same day, yet the apprehension of them (with the exception of the last-mentioned) does not seriously affect the happiness of the modern man, with all his instability of nerve. How much less, then, must the fear of being killed in battle or by robbers or by pestilence have disturbed the equanimity of the mediæval baron, peasant, or citizen, with his iron nerves and powerful frame?

By far the most powerful popular indictment of mediæval society in favour of civilisation is that of Mr. Owen Polke. In his 'History of Crime in England' Mr. Polke has taken a single year—1349—and carefully and laboriously collected all the cases of private wars, forcible entry, highway robbery, etc., etc., he could find in the official records as having taken place throughout England in that year. He has certainly done his best to paint the Middle Ages as black as possible; yet after reading his catalogue of crime, spread over a whole year and distributed over the whole of England, one rises with the feeling of an anti-climax. The chief thing that strikes one about mediæval crime is not so much its amount as the brutal frankness, the undisguised straightforwardness, of it. On the whole, the most unfavourable presentment of mediæval conditions will, we think, confirm what we have just said, in the mind of every candid reader—namely, that the chances of their evils affecting any given person or even locality was, to say

the least, not so very much greater than the chances of any given person or locality being affected by the other and often quite as great, if more commonplace, evils peculiar to modern life. Men were at least robust and healthy for the most part *until* they were cut off by famine, war, or pestilence. They were not harassed by the dread of loss of employment and starvation, or by the horror of their children being left without means of subsistence. If no one else did, the Church would always care for them. But here again, the sensational, exceptional evils of mediæval life are so much more dramatic, appeal to the imagination so much more than the commonplaces of stunted growth, deficiency of vital power, trade depressions, strikes and lock-outs, that in a general estimate of the respective periods the one is taken prominently, perhaps exaggeratedly, into account, while the other is left altogether unnoticed.

Let us now take that portion of the indictment of more primitive society—again taking the Middle Ages as its type—which refers to the absence of change, variety, comfort in life; and in this we will take as an example the subject of locomotion. "Steam" is pre-eminently the material symbol of modern civilisation, and its advocate invariably adduces the blessings of free intercourse and locomotion as against the restricted communication of earlier ages as a convincing argument, not merely of the greater capacity of acquiring wealth, but of the greater possibilities of happiness for the individual by the facilities for change, intercourse, and education which modern times afford. Now there can be no doubt that "steam" has afforded the means of travelling longer distances for a vastly greater number of persons than have ever been able to travel before. But have our tours round the world or to the most distant countries for the comparatively well-to-do persons who have a few weeks, or even in some cases a few days, to spare, or our day-trips to distant parts of the same country for the less well-to-do who have only a few hours,—have these things really or only apparently increased the possibilities of change of scene and ideas and the education thence resulting, as against those supplied by the restricted communication of former days? I am convinced the distinction is merely in appearance, and that the change of ideas derived from a visit to a foreign country to-day is very little more than would have been derived from a visit to another county in the Middle Ages.

The reason is obvious. Where the steam-engine has penetrated, the bourgeois civilisation which it represents, with the uniformity of condition which specially characterises that civilisation, has penetrated also. Everywhere that the steam-engine carries you, it carries along with it the world you intended to leave behind you; the same architecture—the big hotel, the railway station, the cheaply-built house as you find them in London, Paris, or Berlin; the same costume—the shoddy cloth of the "world-market," the Parisian "cut," the "top" or "bowler" hat; the country, as at home, cut up by the railway itself, with its long rows of telegraph posts, its shunting yards, and hideous erections,—in short, everything as like as possible to what it is at home in the heart and centre of civilisation. You open up a conversation with the natives; the old local dialect, with the old local dress, customs, and traditions, have long since fled, and in the quondam peasant you find a clumsy approach to the getting-on townsman.

This is your change, your variety in life, which "steam" has brought you. For none can deny that a railway sooner or later brings all these things in its wake. Is, then, the variety in life, the change of scene, the freshness of intercourse, so much greater here than when every district had its special features; its own hills and dales unscarred by the ubiquitous "navy"; its own manufactures; its own characteristic architecture; its own homespun costume; its own dialect and mode of expressing its ideas; its own local laws and customs; and its own traditions and legends? Has the modern London bourgeois who occasionally, by the help of Cook, strives to get away from the routine world in which he lives, by a desperate effort and at a considerable expenditure—has he, I ask, so great an advantage over his ancestor of the thirteenth century, who by a stroll into Kent or Surrey on any Church holiday could find himself in a district with an individuality in many respects quite distinct from the one he left? With a great price the modern bourgeois obtains (or tries to obtain) his freedom from the dull monotony of his life; but the mediæval guildsman of London was freeborn. After his day's work he could probably obtain more real change and amusement than the modern "city man" during the whole of his autumn outing.

But if we must confess thus much of the privileged man, the man of means, how does it stand with the poor mechanic, who on his every holiday has to pay the tax of the railway company, and to be stived up in its cattle-boxes, perhaps for three or four hours, to get a breath of fresh air and a glimpse of country, which in earlier ages he could have had, even though he lived in the heart of London, within an hour's walk of his own door? When rurality and variety were comparatively close at hand, there was no need or desire to travel far afield. Now people travel much and have little change; in former ages they travelled less and had more change.

It is clear, therefore, that the pseudo-advantages of civilisation (such as they are) refer, in this case at least, not only to the exceptions of life rather than to its ordinary round, but also to the man of exceptional social advantage, and by no means to the ordinary man,—in other words to the "classes," and not to the "masses." What applies in this case is only typical of the great truth that modern civilisation not only accrues solely to the advantage of a propertied and privileged class, but that that advantage has been gained by an untold loss for the mass of the people.

I have selected locomotion as the type of modern progress, but it would be easy to show that the telegraph, a "cheap" press, etc.,

although they have changed human life, have been no positive benefit—that as much pleasure was to be had out of the mediæval ballad-singer's version of Robin Hood as out of the modern newspaper or the penny or shilling dreadful.

That the exceptionally circumstanced man, the man of the middle and upper classes, and not the ordinary man, the man of the people, is the chief beneficiary also by many of the reforms whose praises are sung so loudly, is curiously illustrated by the case of the sacredness of the modern statesman or bureaucrat. Time was when a statesman, if he misbehaved himself, ran some risk of losing his head, or if not that, of imprisonment or exile, accompanied by confiscation of property. Now the plutocracy have succeeded in making statecraft a perfectly safe trade for themselves and their satellites, the worst evil that can befall a "man of position" in the country being temporary loss of office. Of course it was altogether barbarous when a member of the leading governmental ring who was suspected of having striven to aggrandise himself (whether in reputation, influence, or material wealth) at the expense of justice and the public he was professing to serve could be arraigned as a criminal! Nowadays, even Opposition journals of the most pronounced character would deprecate with polite horror the bare suggestion of the "honourable gentleman" having been actuated by any but the highest of motives, or being guilty of anything more heinous than an error of judgment. Nevertheless, satisfactory as this arrangement may be in the interests of the governmental industry, and to the wealthy classes who have such a large stake in it, there can be no question that it is both reasonable and just that delegates in whose hands vast powers for weal or woe are vested should be criminally responsible for their "errors of judgment." No man is obliged to accept a position of such responsibility, and no age but the present would have thought of allowing him, having done so, to slink out of the consequences of his misdeeds under the cover of their being due to "error of judgment." But under our present bourgeois régime a statesman is a sacred animal.

What shall we say, then? If the real benefits of modern life, considered in themselves, concern mainly its exceptions and not its ordinary round, and have been for the most part achieved at the expense of its ordinary round; if they further mainly benefit an exceptional or privileged class and not the ordinary man, and have been achieved at the expense of the ordinary man,—are we, like Mr. Ruskin, to call ourselves conservatives and to hark back upon an impossible past, while renouncing the present as hopelessly bad? A thousand times No! But let us make no mistake, or confound two distinct standpoints. The fact that, *dynamically* viewed, modern capitalism, with all that it entails—railways, machinery, squalor—is a good (nay, might be better were it intensified to the fourth power), since it is the necessary condition of the higher social life to follow, must not blind us to the fact that, *statically* viewed, modern life is in no sense an improvement on the life of past ages. For instance, don't let us delude ourselves with thinking that railways have in themselves contributed an iota to human happiness. In themselves, as I have endeavoured to show, they are an unmitigated evil, without a shred of compensating advantage. Again, the acute evils of earlier ages have indeed gone, but they have gone only to be supplanted by chronic evils in the present. Do not let us make any mistake as to that. In this static sense I call civilisation a curse. I say, let us clearly recognise it as such. And in doing this, one thing there is which will give us cause to take heart of grace: there has been no evil of which mankind has once become conscious as such that mankind has not already half vanquished. The acute dramatic evils of the Middle Ages—insecurity of life and property, feudal trammels and imposts, ecclesiastical abuses—three centuries ago filled the field of human vision. Thinking, forward-looking men saw in the vanquishment of the evils of their upas-tree—effete feudalism, the goal of all human hopes. It steadily and surely withered, and now it is long since first its place knew it no more. The evils they saw were vanquished, with what results we now know. We in our turn see a fatal upas-tree, blasting all human aspiration and happiness. The fact that we see it as it is, is an earnest that its destruction is nigh. We need not be discouraged by the immensity or the solidity of the fabric we see standing. How little could it have seemed to the man of the sixth century, with all the outer forms of Roman life around him, that the Roman empire was a thing of the past and that a new world was on the point of growing up to take its place; how little to the careless man of the sixteenth, with all the superficial signs of a mediæval civilisation standing, that the era of lord and vassal, knight and squire, was past and a world in which the time-honoured symbols, relations, and conceptions of the Middle Ages would be meaningless was fast arising. Much as he might have desired this, it must have seemed impossible to him. So with the Socialist to-day. He sees the great curse, bourgeois civilisation, around him on all sides. The one hope which fills the whole horizon of his vision is the destruction of that curse. The strength of that hope within him is the streak of light denoting the coming of the day.

E. BELFORT BAX.

"The noblest fruit that the earth holds up to her Maker is a man," says the *Talmud*. But what kind of a man should he be? Surely not one with pinched frame and ill-developed intellect. Surely not such men as our hell-invented, supply and demand, industrial system is calculated to produce. Surely not men whose lives have been an "unceasing agony for bread," and who have never found time to do anything but only keep themselves alive and reproduce their kind. Surely these men should be something more than worn out machines for producing wealth, for which the lords of creation have no further use.—*Canada Labour Reformer*.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

SIR,—Socialism has been thought about and very much talked about for some good while. It has yet to be brought about. Practice is the test of theory. The time is ripe to apply the test to Socialism. We have only to begin. Society is being permeated with the idea of Co-operation as the antidote to the poison of Capitalistic competitive production and distribution. Co-operation is rapidly becoming a power, and Socialists least of all can afford to ignore it. It will either bring about Socialism or sweep it back for generations. Some progress has been made on the Continent, especially in Belgium, in harnessing Co-operative distribution and production to the chariot of Socialism. In this country, the birth-place of Co-operation, and where it is making the greatest advances, Socialism has done nothing really practical. The Rochdale Pioneers began with 28 members and £28 capital. A vast and profitable enterprise has grown from that small beginning. Surely there are enough Socialists now in this country who by putting their shoulders to the wheel could start a sound Co-operative Society under better auspices than the 28 poor working men of Rochdale, when they began without experience and with such a minimum of capital! At all events some Socialists mean to try.

It is intended to make, if possible, a start this winter on a small but well-considered scale in the direction of Co-operation on Socialist lines. With this view a scheme will be brought forward on the 21st of the present month. Mr. E. C. Varley, who is not only a Socialist but has had special experience of Co-operative work, will lecture on "Co-operation," on Wednesday the 21st inst., at 8.30 p.m., at Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. It is earnestly desired that Socialists, to whatever body they belong, should attend at the time stated. There is nothing in Co-operation on Socialist lines which should divide Socialists. On the contrary, as both political and non-political Socialists require to be fed and clothed and housed and luxuriated, they have ground for common action. Co-operation is a necessity of Socialism. By this I mean Co-operation in its widest sense.

Let us now consider wherein Socialist Co-operation differs from Capitalistic Co-operation. This latter is becoming a power, which will undoubtedly prove as great, indeed a greater, danger to Socialism by the creation of a large number of small capitalists doing no work but living on interest and dividends, than even by the creation of a peasant proprietary in regard to the land question. And that would be no slight danger.

Now the bed-rock of Socialism is equity. On this rock will be built the great Church of Humanity, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. The fundamental difference, therefore, between Socialist and Capitalistic Co-operation stands firm. Interest and dividends to non-workers are unjust exactions from the workers. We have thus a sure test to enable us to decide whether the present Co-operative movement is really Socialistic. It has a semblance of equity when compared with the monstrous iniquities of Competitive Individualism. But its real tendency, unless controlled by true Socialism, will be to lead us back to the flesh-pots of Egypt—and bondage. The tendency of the present Co-operative movement, whether carried on under the Rochdale system or that adopted by the Civil Service Stores, is to create a multitude of small individual capitalists exploiting their fellows, and sometimes tyrannising over them. Now the root-evil in these two systems is the same, viz., that capital is considered to be entitled to interest. But interest is only usury writ large—payment for use. In an article in the *Practical Socialist*, entitled "Rent, Interest, and Profit," written some time back, I showed that interest for use of money might be practically abolished by passing an enactment making it non-recoverable at law, treating it as gambling debts and such misnamed debts of honour. All that capital is entitled to is replacement and maintenance where necessary. Socialists, therefore, could not consistently allow interest to be taken by those who advanced the capital for co-operative work. The shareholders who did no work beyond advancing the capital would be entitled to the best security which could be had according to the circumstances, that their capital would be returned to them. This is a business detail which all non-takers of interest have to settle quite as much as those who take interest. The only thing is that under Socialism the greater the risk, the greater must be, *not the interest, but the security*.

D. C. DALLAS.

(To be concluded.)

C [Note.—Socialism of course includes *real* co-operation. As to the partial co-operation which alone is possible while the present monopolist system lasts, it may well be used by Socialists for subsistence purposes as other forms of joint-stockery might be, but it ought to be well understood that it is not *real* co-operation, which is only possible as a part of Socialism.—EDITOR.]

MY AIM.

I LIVE for those who love me,
For those who know me true,
For the heavens that bend above me,
And the good that I can do;
For the cause that needs assistance,
For the wrongs that lack resistance,
For the future in the distance,
And the good that I can do.

THOMAS GUTHRIE.

[Part of the above has often been quoted, and a desire expressed so frequently to see it complete, with author's name, that we reprint it. It is taken from a collection of fugitive verse published in American newspapers.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The fustian cutters' trade at Warrington is in a worse state than it has been for three years. This week several shops are closed.

The miners employed by the Elswick Colliery Co., Newcastle, have struck against the reduction of 6½ per cent. in their wages.

The boiler-makers and iron ship-builders employed by Messrs. R. Hal and Co., Aberdeen, have come out on strike in consequence of being refused 1s. extra per day above time wages for repair work. In the meantime only a limited number of men are affected by the strike.

A conference of miners of England, Wales and Scotland is to be held in Edinburgh on the second Tuesday in October to consider the question of restricting the output and the expediency of federating the various Unions in the three countries.

In the Rhondda Valley, the whole of the miners engaged at the Tredegar collieries have struck work in consequence of a dispute with the employers in reference to tonnage and price of coal. A board of arbitration has been appointed, but no settlement has been arrived at. The steel workers in the adjoining valley have received notices of a reduction in wages, which they have decided to oppose. An extensive strike is therefore not improbable.

The nail-makers of the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts came out on strike on Monday. The men state that they are not asking for a wage which will enable them to lay money by, or provide for the future, but only for enough to keep body and soul together. Several employers are of opinion that an advance should be conceded, and efforts will be made to avert a prolonged strike. About 15,000 operatives are affected.

The chain-makers of Cradley Heath are still making great efforts to better their condition. At a great meeting held during the week, a resolution was passed, protesting against the employment of females in the chain-trade. The Trades Union Congress was also requested to petition the House of Commons to appoint a Commission to visit the district. Great distress still exists in the locality owing to the want of employment, and the low rate of wages paid when work is obtained.

AUXILIARY POSTMEN'S GRIEVANCES.—Mr. Raikes, the Postmaster-General, has replied to the memorial of the auxiliary postmen of the metropolitan district, asking for better pay and longer holidays without deduction of wages. He states that it is his intention to discontinue the employment of auxiliaries on full time, and to offer the men fresh engagements on different terms. As to those who were not on full time, he could hold out no hope that the privileges of the permanent service men would be extended to them.

With reference to the recent strike on the Midland Railway, it is reported that the places of the strikers being now filled up, the company are discharging those men who took an active part in the agitation which led up to the strike. This action of the company is being much commented on, many of the men having returned to work in perfect good faith that their services would be retained permanently. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants is, however, quite powerless, large numbers of competent men being available who are not members of it.

The joiners, who last week turned out on strike from the Elswick shipyard of Sir W. G. Armstrong, Mitchell & Co., have resolved to hold out until a satisfactory solution of the question is arrived at. The men are congratulating themselves on the fact that there never was such unanimity of feeling among the members of their association upon any point as in the present case. The cause of this dispute is that for some time past it has been usual for carpenters to place the heavy woodwork of ships in position, and for joiners to finish it off. The latter complain that, owing to iron being now largely used in shipbuilding, they have less work than formerly, and that carpenters are given joiner's work. As the company declined to interfere in the matter, the whole of the joiners at once turned out.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—On the recommendation of the General Committee of Management of the Iron Trades Employers' Association the Bolton masters have made the men a final offer of "open arbitration upon the wages question only." The employers propose that each side should prepare a list of four names from which the other should select an arbitrator, the two arbitrators to appoint an umpire, and with him to decide on the nature of the evidence to be admitted. It is reported that the men will refuse any terms of settlement which do not include the discharge of the men now occupying their places, as otherwise, even if they gained their point, a large number of them would be permanently thrown out of employment. On the other hand it is stated that this is a final offer on the part of the employers, and that if it is not accepted vigorous measures will be taken to dispense altogether with the services of the men on strike. At a mass meeting, after a prolonged discussion, it was decided to accept the employers' proposal, the majority in favour being 185.

COTTON OPERATIVES' DISPUTES.—The strike at Nott Street Mill, Blackburn, continues. The majority of the weavers who struck work some time ago at Messrs. Braecwell's sheds, Barnoldswick, still remain out, but their places are gradually being taken by new hands. The engines of the new weaving shed at Grindstonehurst, near Colne, were "christened" on Saturday last. The shed will contain 1,040 looms, 700 of which have been let to Messrs. R. Riley and Co.—The spinners employed by Messrs. Joshua Crook and Sons, Bolton, have resumed work after being on strike a week. The cause of complaint, namely, the rate of wages to be paid for certain counts, is to be left unreservedly in the hands of a committee from the Operatives' Association and a committee from the Employers' Association. The men will work for four weeks at the present rate of wages, pending the decision of the committees.—At Blackburn, the weavers, who recently struck work at Messrs. D. and W. Taylor's mills, have gone back to their employment, the employers having promised to abate the amount of steam sent into the shed—the cause of the strike. As complaints on this score are stated to be pretty general in other mills the result of this strike will no doubt affect them.—On Thursday, the spinners employed at the Hippings Vale Mill, Oswaldtwistle, struck work through a wages dispute, and the mill is now closed. The spinners wish to be paid by the indicator system, and the company want to pay by weight. The mill contains 80,000 spindles, and about 200 hands are now idle.—The notices of the hands to leave work at Fir Trees Mill, Higham, expired on Thursday, and the weavers left the premises as they finished their beams. The weavers propose to accept 4 per cent. off the Blackburn list, and the masters propose to accept 2½ per cent. off the Burnley list. The matter is still unsettled.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

ITALY.

L'Emancipazione (Rome), in a recent number, expresses much indignation at the fête-giving mania which has taken possession of most Italian municipalities, very rightly complaining of the costly waste of all the "welcomes" given to cousins, uncles, aunts of royalty, or local celebrities which make so sorry contrast with the poverty and almost famine that afflicts most of the provinces of the kingdom. Exhibitions, festivals, and inaugurations are good in a jovial and flourishing land, but to those who stand trembling with hunger and disease glancing up at newly-built palaces, or watching electric lights and spurting fireworks, certain thoughts will at last rise in their minds; mild thoughts perhaps of spacious buildings utilised differently, angry thoughts perhaps of artificial fire put to another purpose, and thus it will be found that the time-honoured move of "bread and circuses" is at last out of date and no longer works successfully.

SICILY.—A mining crisis in Sicily has been imminent for several months past, says the *Fascio*; the cholera troubles still to the fore, things must be pleasant for the Sicilians. Some 400 men of the sulphur mines are in a state of tumult, and demand bread for their families. The Syndic and sleek bourgeoisie that infest the country-side reply that they don't know what to do for them, but they will *endeavour* to help them with a little alms-giving. A charity-monger is a desolation and a thing of dread indeed!

L'Emancipazione publishes a programme for a Provisional Government for the "transitional period," the principal points of which are a Representative Assembly for general legislation and municipalities for communal administration. We seem to be "where we were before" when we have got this novelty.

Il Lavoratore (an Anarchist-Communist Society) sends us the prospectus of their organ, *Il Demolitore*, the first number of which be shortly forthcoming. To judge from the manifesto, the style of this new weekly will be sombre and earnest in the extreme; to criticise social sores and sound the trumpet of rebellion being "all" it proposes to do. While wishing all success to any new revolutionary journal, we cannot help thinking that the energy well spent in bringing so many forth, would be yet better spent on sustaining and strengthening those already in the field. M. M.

La Lotta (The Struggle), which had been obliged to stop its publication, has made its re-appearance. It is an Anarchist paper, very ably written by young artisans, who well deserve to be supported because they work under very hard circumstances.

At Naples, a new Communist-Anarchist organ, *Il Demolitore* (The Destroyer), will be issued on the 15th inst. We hope that it will be of the same standard as *Humanitas*, also published in that town.

GERMANY.

At Dortmund, fifty Socialists have been arrested last Sunday, in consequence of a small riot arising from provocation on the part of the police. Last week, there was scarcely one town of middling importance in Germany where at least one Socialist was not arrested. It would be quite impossible for us to even mention all these captures of "dangerous" people.

Frohme, the Socialist deputy in the Reichstag, has been expelled from Frankfurt. He has taken up his residence at Hanover, where he was born.

One of the forerunners of Communism in Germany and Switzerland, W. Weitling, born at Magdeburg in 1803, died lately at his farmhouse in America (Illinois). He was one of the founders of the "Communist Working-men's Club" of London, together with Marx, Engels, and others. After having undergone a term of fifteen months' imprisonment at Zurich, for the publication of his book, 'The Gospel of the Poor Sinner,' he was expelled from Switzerland and extradited to Germany, where he was again sent to prison. He lived afterwards at Brussels and London, and finally went to America, where he became a farmer. His influence amongst the workers has been very powerful between the years 1840 and 1850.

FRANCE.

The *Révolution* announces in its last issue that it ceases its publication. We regret exceedingly this resolution of our Parisian friends, the *Révolution* having been, during eight years and a-half, the best and the most earnest paper among all Anarchist publications. It may be fairly said that the *Révolution* has been a model of revolutionary journalism, putting far aside all personal questions, which only weaken the strength of parties, and devoting all its efforts to the elucidation of theoretical questions of the most vital importance to the coming social revolution. Men of science, like Elisée Reclus and Kropotkin, not to speak of the other contributors who had also their fair share in the common work, brought the *Révolution* to a very high standard. But it is to be hoped that another paper, *La Révolte*, which is to be started at Paris, will follow the traditions of the now extinct organ, and render to the Cause the same services. We wish every success to our new colleague in the hard work of bringing about that social revolution which we are aiming at, and which we hope will be the sublime coronation of our nineteenth century.

At Nizza, a new Anarchist paper has come to light, *Lo Schiavo* (The Slave), and at Havre another one, entitled *L'Idée Ouvrière* (The Worker's Idea). Both are weeklies, and we wish them good luck and long life.

AUSTRIA.

The police have suppressed the last issue of the *Gleichheit*, and of the *Brunner Arbeiter Zeitung*, two Socialist papers published at Vienna and at Brunn. This kind of police vexation happens regularly once a month, and costs a good deal of money, because the editors have to issue at once a second edition of their paper.

Lectures on the situation of the workers in the *ancient* and the *medieval* ages have been prohibited in Vienna! What about the position of the workers in present times, then? Silly men they are, these Viennese magistrates!

HOLLAND.

The Socialists have made several manifestations at the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, etc., to welcome their friend Domela Nieuwenhuys, on his release from prison. At Amsterdam, the manifestation was of a striking character, more than twenty thousand people covering the immense area of the Plein. All went on in a very quiet and orderly manner. But the bourgeoisie and the mob decided to have their revenge at Rotterdam. On the 7th inst., Nieuwenhuys and several of his Socialist friends arrived in that

town in order to attend a reception which had been organised by the workers at the People's Coffee House, their usual place of gathering. A large crowd collected in front of the establishment and prevented our comrades from entering the place, so that the police were compelled to form a cordon in order to enable them to penetrate in the People's House. The rascals, encouraged by the "gentlemen" in the crowd, then commenced throwing stones at the windows and tore down the red flag displayed over the door, afterwards burning it in the square before the police-station. The mob next attempted to force an entrance into the People's Place, and the police had to charge the crowd. But a large number of people succeeded in getting inside the coffee-house, where they behaved like wild beasts, tearing down the Socialist emblems and flags, breaking all the furniture in a word, and doing considerable damage. The Socialists had to defend themselves, as the police "authorities" did very little indeed to protect them. The Dutch papers accuse the police of having rather played the game of the rascals, and we have good reasons to believe that they did there as in fact they are in the habit of doing everywhere. Police, rascality, and gentry in a kindred alliance against Socialists—so it is nearly always, and it has nothing in it to astonish us!

SPAIN.

The Anarchist groups of Barcelona, Gracia, Gervaiso, and Martin de Provençals have commenced the publication of small pamphlets to be sold at twopence. It is a good undertaking, of which we will speak at some length in another issue.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALISTIC LITERATURE.

SIR,—I should like to suggest how the sale of *Commonweal* and other Socialist literature might be considerably increased. When passing through the various market-places of London on Friday and Saturday evenings (the two nights when the workers have money in their pockets, having received their wages on either of these days), I have often thought that it would be a good plan to have a barrow and board such as costermongers use, with a naphtha lamp to light it up, and to place on it copies of the *Commonweal* and pamphlets which have been published by the League and other publications propagating Socialist views. In the course of the evening two or three of our comrades would get on a stool at the back of the barrow and introduce the books to the audience, first of all reading a little and then explaining the article or chapter in pamphlet or newspaper. There are hundreds of women out on these evenings who would make purchases and would take them home to their husbands, who would thus have Socialistic truths brought to them in a manner which no other agency could effect. When we consider how much has been done in this way by the Bible-stall people and "cheap-jacks" with light literature, I do not think for a moment that Socialists, who have something far better than either of the above-mentioned vendors to offer the people, need fear the result. On the contrary, I believe that much good might come of it; and I will gladly volunteer to make one of the vendors myself.

W. B. PARKER.

HIS RIGHT PLACE.

In a recent issue, you quote from the *Norwich Daylight*, "Who would have thought that Mr. Bradlaugh would ever become popular with the Tories!" I must quote the words of Mr. Cunningham Graham (when addressing a meeting at the West Ham Town-hall), who turned round and asked the chairman whether a certain M.P. was a Liberal or Tory, as he, Mr. Cunningham Graham, did not know the difference between them. Now that is really getting the case with myself, what is the difference between a Radical and a Tory? Mr. Bradlaugh is a great advocate for Individuality, or, in other words, an advocate for men to take as much from production as they can possibly get hold of without breaking the law, whether those laws are bad or not does not matter. Does not the Tories advocate the same? The only difference between Tories and Radicals that I can see is, that the Tory's individuality is a little stronger than the Radical's. The Tory says, "Take all you can get; who are the people?" and the Radical says, "Come, come, now don't be too hard; let us make things a little easier, or you will have all these people dying for the want of the goods they produce." "Never mind," says the Tory, "stick to your colours, *Individuality!*" "Hear! hear!" says the Radical, "but you must not let the people know."

Now I maintain, Mr. Editor, that Tories and Liberals and Radicals are all one, the only difference being that the first is an Individualist who is not ashamed to own it; the second is an Individualist who is almost ashamed to own it; and the third is an Individualist, who by certain little tricks enumerated in the Radical programme, tries to blind us from the fact that he is one of the party. Therefore, the Tories should embrace Charles Bradlaugh as one of their own.

ERNEST RANGER.

SIR,—Mr. Robert Giffen in his recent address to the British Association admitted that it was "highly probable" that the trade of this country during the last ten years had decreased. This he did in a very gruesome fashion, but he was forced to confess that our great industries on all hands supported that view. But says he, "the utmost caution must be used in forming final conclusions." Mr. Giffen seems very unwilling to accept the conclusions which his own figures would seem to warrant when they militate against the rosy views of British society which he champions, and as a last chance he cites the growth of taxation and of population as evident signs of prosperity. It does not seem to occur to the learned professor that he makes his case worse by these latter statements, and that if, as he states, it is "highly probable" that British trade is on the decrease, and population and taxation are on the increase, the latter tendencies only serve to aggravate and heighten the ill-effects of the former; the nett result being that our income is less and our expenses more. Methinks an artizan would think himself scarcely compensated for a lower wage by an addition to his family.

HARVEY J. MILES.

Would you kindly give me the postal address of the Knights of Labour Assembly in Birmingham, and oblige,

NIX.

[They meet in the "Bolton Arms," Handsworth. The secretary Sam Grove. Perhaps some local reader will supply more particulars.—Eds.]

ON ATLAS' TOP.

ON Atlas' top how rests this round
Of pride and glitter gold enwound?
How, borne aloft with toil and tears,
Doth ride the world that still outwears
The hands and feet of Labour bound?

With dust of summer highways ground,
Or lost in wintry snows, and found
In chains that frozen custom bears
On Atlas' top.

For you, earth's children, earth-disowned,
With hands of might, but heads uncrowned,
For you, through smoke of toiling years,
Deliverance breaks, in hope new-found,
On Atlas' top!

WALTER CRANE.

THE VOW OF TIPPERARY.

BY THOMAS DAVIS.

(AIR—"The Men of Tipperary.")

FROM Carrick streets to Shannon shore—
From Sliabh na m-Ban¹ to Ballindeary—
From Longford Pass to Gaillte Mor—
Come hear the vow of Tipperary.

Too long we fought for Britain's cause,
And of our blood were never chary;
She paid us back with tyrant laws,
And thinned the homes of Tipperary.

Too long with rash and single arm,
The peasant strove to guard his eyrie,
Till Irish blood bedewed each farm,
And Ireland wept for Tipperary.

But never more we'll lift a hand—
We swear by God and Virgin Mary!—
Except in war for native land;
And *that's* the Vow of Tipperary!

[The events of last Friday lend renewed interest to the above poem, reprinted from the *Nation*.—H. H. S.]

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League) to June 30. Hammersmith, Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Clerkenwell, to August 31. Wednesbury, to Sept. 30.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donations—Mephistopheles, 2s. 6d.; A. Beasley, 2s.; S. Lankester, 6d.; Wade, 2s.; H. Hill (Merton), 1s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; W. B., 6d.; Llednub, 6d.; J. L., 6d.; P. W., 6d.; Langley, 2s.; D. N. (four weeks), 1s. P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 13.

The English Fund—For the Wife and Family of comrade English, recently dead.—Bloomsbury Branch, 10s.; Collection, 4s. 4d.; W. C. W., 1s.; George Potter, 2s. 6d.; H. H. Hopkins, 2s. 6d.; T. Finn, 2s.; A Medical Student, 2s. 6d.—Total, £1, 4s. 10d.—S. S. GOSTLING; W. H. UTLEY. Per J. Lane—A. M., 2s.; J. E. McCarthy, 1s.

South Wales Propaganda.—Collected in Victoria Park, Sept. 11, 8s. 6d.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected in Regent's Park, Sept. 11, 5s. 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, G. Bernard Shaw gave an interesting lecture on "Wages," which provoked some inquiry but little discussion. On Sunday, at St. Pancras Arches, very good meeting. Resolution moved Bartlett, seconded Dalziel, supported Wardle and Donald: "That this meeting protests against the manner in which the Irish people are being treated by the British government, and considers that the two deaths which occurred at Mitchelstown are judicial murders perpetrated by the Government." Resolution carried with acclamation. Good sale of *Commonweal*. At the Polygon, most attentive audience listened on Monday last with great interest to the speakers Wardle, Bartlett, and Dalziel.

CLERKENWELL.—Wednesday and Sunday meetings held as notified in last weeks paper. *Commonweal* and pamphlets have steady sale.—A. T. and W. B. HACKNEY.—James Allman and H. Graham spoke at the Broadway, London Fields, last Wednesday evening. On Sunday evening, an excellent meeting at Warner Place, Hackney Road, addressed by H. Graham.—G. C.

HOXTON.—On Sunday morning, D. Nicoll spoke to a good audience opposite Hoxton Church. Evening, in the hall, H. A. Barker gave an interesting lecture on "The Aims of Socialists." Good discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

MERTON.—Good meeting at Haydon's Road on Sunday, at 11 o'clock, comrade Heaford, of S.D.F., spoke to an attentive audience. Good sale of *Commonweal*. No opposition.—E.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Tuesday the 6th, J. Flockton, Jas. and Jno. Allman, and Davis addressed good meeting on Waste. Usual meeting in Victoria Park, Morris and Davis speaking. Sale of paper fair, and one new member.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz. Owing to wet weather, no meeting in the evening. *Commonweal* sold out.—R. C.

¹ Commonly written Slievenamon.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—On Sunday last we held our usual meeting, Barker and Parker speaking to good audience. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and one new member made.

NORTH LONDON.—Meeting at Ossulton Street on Tuesday. Speakers, Cantwell, Dalziel, and Turner. Annoyed by emissaries of the Primrose League, but well supported by audience. Regent's Park on Sunday morning, good meeting addressed by J. J. Allman. Turner replied to criticism, evoking applause. Collected 5s. 6d. for propaganda.—C.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday afternoon, Glasier and Downie spoke to a good audience on Jail Square. On Sunday forenoon another good meeting was held at the same place, Glasier and Paterson being the speakers. In the afternoon, very successful meetings were held at Paisley Road Toll and Jail Square, Glasier, Downie, Bullock, and Torley (S.D.F.) being the speakers. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 7s. 8d. collected for the Broxburn miners.—A. M'K.

IPSWICH.—Splendid meetings are being held here, and considerable interest is being shown. Slaughter and White did exceedingly well. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and two new members made. We have arranged for a meeting in the Co-operative Hall to celebrate the release of Charles Mowbray. This will be held on the evening of the 15th of October.—J. R.

NORWICH.—We have our comrades Wade and Mason, of London, with us, and Moore, of Norwich. These held a very successful meeting at North Walsham on Sunday morning. We had good meetings in the City, finishing up with a lecture in the Gordon Hall by Wade, on the "Religion of Socialism." Some of our comrades visited Diss, Ipswich, and Lowestoft, doing good work, the *Commonweal* selling well. Comrade Wade stays with us this week, and will hold several meetings in the district.—T. M.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION (SOCIALIST UNION).—At the meeting on Sunday in the club room, a resolution was passed unanimously that we form a branch of the Socialist League.—A. M. C.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Donald and Banner spoke at Arsenal Gates to splendid audience, which stood through a heavy fall of rain, and for nearly two hours listened to addresses on "Socialism and the Irish Question." Donald moved a resolution "condemning the policy of the government in Ireland and the miscreants responsible for the massacres at Mitchelstown," which was seconded by one of our Radical friends, who delivered a telling speech, and appealed to those in the crowd who were Socialists to join the Socialist League which is being organised in Woolwich. When we put the resolution to the meeting every hand in the crowd, some 700 or 800, was held up, and not a single opponent could be got to protest against the motion. At the close of the meeting 16 names were given in to form a branch, 5s. 1d. was collected for propaganda, and nearly 12s. worth of literature sold.—R. B.

BIRMINGHAM.—Meetings at Bull Ring and Council House, addressed by Sanders. Fair sale of literature. BILSTON.—Good meeting on Saturday, addressed by Sanders.

BLOXWICH.—Donald held meeting on Friday. DUDLEY.—Tuesday, Sanders spoke in Market-place to large audience. No police interference.

OLDBURY.—Weaver spoke on Friday, well received. DARLSTON.—Sanders held large and enthusiastic meeting Saturday afternoon.

PELSALL.—Donald and Sanders addressed a large audience of miners and ironworkers on the Common on Wednesday, on "Socialism and Trades' Unionism."

GREAT BRIDGE.—Despite the rain Donald got together a good audience on Tuesday last, who listened most attentively.

TIPTON.—Weaver held meeting on Wednesday. WEDNESBURY.—Good meeting on Thursday, addressed by Donald.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Weaver spoke on Saturday, and at close several names given in towards forming a branch.

WEST BROMWICH.—Good meeting on Monday, addressed by Weaver.

WALSALL.—Good audience addressed by Sanders and Deakin on Monday, and several new members joined at close. Weaver held meeting at Burchills, on Sunday, well received.—J. T. D.

North of England Socialist Federation.

We have held some very good meetings during the week at Elswick, Annitsford, Blyth, and Shields. I hope to forward next week a complete list of our branches and secretaries. The Federation is indebted to comrade Mann of the S.D.F. for lending a helping hand to keep the branches together pending the appointment of an organising secretary. J. MACDONALD, Organising Sec.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

An executive meeting was held office on Thursday. Report of organising secretary given, and arrangements for extending propaganda considered. Hall committee reported having taken the Trades Hall for winter lectures on Sunday evening. Twelve new members enrolled. The Discussion Class met, Tuke opening on "What our Opponents Say." Smith and Davidson joined the discussion, which was adjourned.

Edinburgh.—The meeting in the Grassmarket was very successful, in spite of the rain. Smith, Gilray, and Mahon spoke. At 6 p.m. Smith spoke, and at 6.30 the first of winter season lectures was given by J. H. Smith at the Trades Hall. The meeting was a thorough success, discussion lively, sale of literature and collection good. It was agreed to invite members

of Trades Council to discussion next week on "The Trades Congress proceedings."

Arbroath.—A business meeting held last week, at which some new members were enrolled, and arrangements for Mahon's next visit discussed. CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Sept. 15, Sidney Webb, "The Political Duty of Socialists." 22nd. Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 18, at 8.30 p.m. Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends (Irish Night). Wednesday Sept. 21, at 8.30. Mr. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation" (see page 301).

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m.

Hammermith.—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 18, at 8 p.m. Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The Socialism of Political Economists."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Sunday Sept. 18, at 8, Miss Jessie Craigen will lecture—subject, "Anti-Vivisection: a Plea for Mercy." On Sunday Sept. 25, at 11 a.m., an outdoor meeting will be held, to protest against the action of the Coercion Government in Ireland. A large number of speakers will attend to address the meeting.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m.

North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

Arbroath (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Members meet on Tuesday nights for business and discussion. Secretary (pro tem.), Jas. Malcolmson, 3 Arrat St. Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), D. M'Dougal, East Path. Cowdenbeath (Scottish Section).—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Dundee (Scottish Section).—Branch Business Meeting, Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m. Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Members' Business Meeting on Thursday at 7.30. Discussion Class at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scottish Section).—Secretary (pro tem.), John Walker, 6 Victoria Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 18, meeting of members in Rooms at 8.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.

Hull.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker Street. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays at 8. Sunday 18th, H. A. Barker, "Evolution and Socialism."

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON.—Sunday 18.

- 9.30...Starch GreenHammersmith Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"Lane
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Pope & Allan
11.30...Kingsland GreenNicoll
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road...Bull, Eden, Samuels
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenHardisty & Sparling
11.30...Regent's ParkParker
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Davis
11.30...Walham GreenKitz
3 ...Hyde ParkParker
7 ...Stamford HillLane & Flockton
5 ...Victoria ParkWardle
6.30...Hackney Rd.—Warner Place...Allman & Brooks
7 ...Clerkenwell Green.....Sparling

Monday.

- 8 ...Polygon, Somers TownWardle & Bartlett

Tuesday.

- 8 ...Mile-end WasteJ. Allman
8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Graham

Wednesday.

- 8 ...Broadway, London FieldsKitz

Thursday.

- 8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetDavis
WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 18, at 7 o'clock—T. E. Wardle.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1; Paisley Road' Toll at 5; Jail's Square at 7.

Kilsyth.—Saturday at 6 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3.

Norwich.—Outside Colman's, Friday at 1.30. Outside Howlett and White's, Saturday at 1. Haymarket, Saturday at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

Table with columns: Date, Time, Place, Speakers. Lists various meetings across different locations like Birmingham, Walsall, West Bromwich, etc.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

MEETINGS—SEPTEMBER.

- Sat. 17.—West Calder—addresses by Smith, Mahon, and Tuke.
Sun. 18.—Leith, 11.30 a.m., foot of Leith Walk—Mahon
Edinburgh.—Grassmarket, 3 p.m.; Queen's Park, 3 p.m.; Hunters Square, 6 p.m.; Trades Hall, High Street, 6.30.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—At Willis' Rooms, Sept. 16, 8 p.m. Hubert Bland will read a Paper on "The need for a New Departure."

NORWICH.—On Sunday H. A. Barker of London will address a series of meetings.

THE BLOOMSBURY BRANCH of the Socialist League desires to appeal to readers of the *Commonweal* for help for the wife and family of comrade English, who has recently died. English was one of the originators of the Bloomsbury Branch, and for many years was an ardent and energetic worker for the Cause. After a long and painful illness he at last succumbed, leaving his family destitute. Contributions will be gladly received and acknowledged by the secretary of the Branch at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham St. W., or by comrade Lessner.

CONCERT in Aid of 'COMMONWEAL'

Special Notice.—On Saturday October 15 a Concert will be held in aid of the 'Commonweal' Fund at 13 Farringdon Road, concluding with an original Dramatic Sketch by members and Friends.

Members and friends who can assist with songs, recitals, etc., are requested to send in their names to the Committee. Further particulars will be published shortly. H. A. BARKER and W. BLUNDELL.

SOUTH WALES PROPAGANDA.

Readers of the *Commonweal* have noticed a few weeks back the extremely interesting and promising report given in these columns of the work done by Kitz and Mainwaring. It is imperative, if the work is to be of permanent benefit, that other speakers be sent at once. The Strike Committee has exhausted its funds in the carrying on of the extra work necessitated by the late strikes, etc., and now appeals urgently for the necessary "sinews of war." Those upon the spot who wish speakers to come down, and all those anywhere who are willing to help, are asked to send in contributions to the Treasurer of the Strike Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . 1d.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . . 1d.

A Plea for Socialism. By J. L. Mahon. . . . 1d.

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