

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 123.

SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. PARNELL'S speech at the Eighty Club has some interest for us, although that by no means lies in the long statement of his dealings with Lord Carnarvon. On that head, what does it matter what either Lord Carnarvon or all the Government said to Mr. Parnell when they thought the support of the Irish parliamentary party worth buying, since they now think they can do without it? Does anybody really suppose that the Tory party would be likely to turn Home Rulers without compulsion of some sort. The real interest in Mr. Parnell's speech hangs on the fact that having tried the Tories and found that nothing could be done in that direction, he was able to have recourse to the Liberals, whom he had *compelled* to become Home Rulers: and certainly his game was cleverly played, since the same stone killed both birds; tried the Tories and found them wanting, and drove the Liberals to support the Irish party on pain of having to endure an apparently perpetual Tory majority.

And now Mr. Parnell has to pay the price for this great parliamentary success, for this alliance with the party who a year or two ago were the coercionists, because they were the party in power, the rulers in England. What is the price which he has to pay? In the fewest words, he has to engage himself to the spreading of Whiggery in Ireland: a Whiggery indeed suited to the soil, including if necessary protection of Irish industries, but still Whiggery. He is anxious to show that all the Irish want can be gained by purely constitutional means, and to repudiate all revolutionary and illegal action. And yet he knows perfectly well that but for the revolutionary spirit in the Irish people, but for their many illegal acts, he and his party in parliament would have been nowhere; and as soon as that spirit of revolution dies out in Ireland, Home Rule will become a mere piece of political pedantry.

To tell men that it is "their duty to suffer any thing and to dare any thing *within the law*" is sheer nonsense. Only those can suffer from the criminal law who disobey it. That sounds perhaps like a law-and-order maxim; but what it means is that there is always law enough in a society founded on wrong to make everybody a criminal who does not sit down quietly under his wrongs: or to put it in another way, no one either in Ireland or England can be a good citizen and a law-abiding person.

The Coercion Act is just as constitutional as the parliament which passed it; and parliament will be always ready if necessary at twenty-four hours' notice to pass any other addition to the "Constitution" which will have the effect of keeping people down when they become conscious that they are wronged, as we are only too glad to think that the Irish people is conscious. Let it keep that consciousness till no man in Ireland is wronged, and then it may use Mr. Parnell and not let him use it. But if it does less than this it will have changed its tyrant but not its tyranny.

A defence-scare on again—and the defenders all by the ears. Lord Salisbury losing his temper and flying out at Lord Wolseley; the *Telegraph* with posters out calculated to make timid people take a ticket for some station in the north of Scotland, and inquisitive ones rush to Dover with the largest telescopes procurable. What will come of it all? Well, a job or two, or a job or twenty—that most certainly: probably absolutely nothing else. Luckily it is not possible to make the English army a perfect machine like the German one is. Let us be glad of that at least, that its power as a reactionary instrument is limited by our natural tendency to muddle and job. W. M.

By Baron Huddleston's decision it now appears that the law of libel—that precious safeguard of private character—may be violated with impunity by railway companies, who, if they have obtained a conviction for the so-called fraud of travelling without a ticket, may proceed deliberately to inflict injury and annoyance on a man by posting up his name in every station on their line, and this even though the conviction is subsequently proved to have been unfounded. Now the *Commonweal*, or any newspaper, if it published a single statement calculated to injure a man's reputation in the world, would immediately have an action lie against it for libel. A more glaring iniquity, therefore, it is impossible to conceive. But we have at least this remedy. Although the modern joint-stock company is the supreme concern of the bourgeois law, we can untiringly proclaim our contempt for this law and for the

spurious morality on which it is based, and we can show our sympathy to the utmost of our power with the unfortunate victims of these rascally prosecutions; in other words, of the despotism of bloodless, soulless Capital in its most brutal form.

At a recent general conference of the Methodist body, when the subject of "foreign missions" was being discussed, the support of the well-to-do classes for them was openly invoked on the ground that the "gospel" was the best pioneer of the trader. As one of the speakers admirably expressed it, "Commerce follows the Cross." We are glad we can agree at least in one point with the distinguished body in question—"shoddy" goods certainly do follow the "shoddy" creed which is their ideal expression. We are sometimes indignantly assured that Christianity is not hostile to Socialism: however this may be, it seems by its own confession it is very friendly to Capitalism.

E. B. B.

The deference for law-'n'-order shown by the promoters of the Saturday afternoon "conversation meetings" in Trafalgar Square has not prevented the police from getting up a few cases of imaginary offences. Although the experiment may be useful in forcing upon observers the absurdity of the whole affair, it would be idle to hope for anything more from it. If Londoners *want* the right of public meeting they must *win* it. Craven submission to a dictator to begin with, and then shouts of triumph because a partial evasion of his decree does not bring down the bludgeon on their heads, does not look as if they did care much for the "right" they so loudly talk of.

For connecting Christ with Trafalgar Square, our comrade Stewart Headlam has just been punished. He prosecuted the *Record* for libelling his language in the Square, and Baron Huddleston gave the case against him very obviously on the ground that he had said that if Christ came to earth again and went to the Square he would be arrested. This horrified the baron, who could not understand that a member of the Church could have held such "disgusting" ideas; he evidently thinks of Christ in the garb of a bishop—a well-born, well-bred ecclesiastic like Soapy Sam—unable to speak anything but politeness of the high ones of the earth! Poor Christ!

Which was right, the lawyer or the laity? When Mr. Justice Stephens had his watch stolen, a bystander turned himself into an amateur detective and had the wrong man arrested. The magistrate in admitting the mistake said, nevertheless, he had "acted as a good citizen." But the crowd had called him a "sneaking scoundrel," a "b—nark," and so on. According to the ethics of individual enterprise, unlimited competition, and the rest of it, he was unfairly interfering with the survival of the fittest, so that under the commercial system of society he could not be deemed a "good citizen," and so the lawyer was wrong.

But it is on another count that the crowd were right. They were for the most part workmen, unconsciously feeling that they have no real interest in the maintenance of the law, which, as William Joyce puts it, is "a set of rules drawn up to allow men to make money of other people's misfortunes." So that when one of their number gratuitously chipped in to aid the hired upholders of the law, the "moral miracles" who have shown the workmen so clearly and so often that they recognise no master but the money-bag, the healthy instinct of the crowd went against the sneak who had not even the bad excuse that it was his business.

Poor law-'n'-order! Another of its volunteer (!) upholders has "gone over to the other side." Few men have been more "useful to Society" in the orthodox sense than Leone Levi, who had ready at all times an interminable stream of figures to show the happiness of the workman and the goodness of his employer. But he many times, by the way as it were, and despite himself, feathered an arrow for the Socialist quiver, and so "did better than he knew." May he rest in peace!

But Arnold White is yet alive—and kicking. Though his twaddle of sterilisation, etc., brings him the contempt he deserves, on the other hand the noise he makes over the sweating system is helping to draw notice to the fact that the *whole* order of Society to-day is no more nor less than a gigantic sweating system. The extract from the *Star* in another column puts the case very neatly and clearly. We have been alone so long in preaching the truth, it is cheering to see it taken up in a "regular newspaper."

Meanwhile, the *Pall Mall* is still behind, and cannot quite come over to the truth; talks of the anti-Chinese precautions of the colonies, and goes in half-heartedly for the like here.

A little while ago it will be remembered that two girls were imprisoned with hard labour, because they were poor enough to be compelled to sleep in the open-air and resented the tortures of the workhouse. When asked about the sentence, the genial Matthews suggested that it was given to enable the prison chaplain to exert his saving influence. But Cunningham Graham kept on with his questions, and now the hard labour is remitted, though the poor devils will have to stay out their time—not that this is such an awful hardship in these days, as the prison is much more healthy and comfortable than the “homes” of millions. S.

## SOCIALISM IN A PALACE.

THE *Commonweal* of 28th April contained comrade Mark Manly's experience of a Socialist at a Primrose League banquet. This week we have to chronicle a more startling incident—that of Socialism being preached in a palace. The scene took place at the palatial residence of Lieut. Colonel Thorneycroft, Tettenhall Towers, near Wolverhampton, upon the occasion of the gathering of the Tettenhall Branch of the Primrose League in his private theatre. The theatre itself, to fully describe, would require the artistic abilities of our comrade William Morris. We therefore content ourselves with saying that its walls were graced by some of the most beautiful specimens of oak carvings, together with relics of bygone times in the shape of old armour and trophies of the chase. Added to this the massive building itself, together with the graceful artificial lights provided, falling, as they did, on an audience composed of every phase of society from the aristocratic idler up to the hard-handed artisan, rendered the scene at once charming and unique. The object of the gathering was to discuss the question of “How best to improve trade for the benefit of the working classes.” The intentions of the gallant colonel were evidently of the purest, for he had invited some twenty or thirty different leading men among the working classes to attend and take part in the discussion. Great praise is due to him for so bold a step. Among others who attended and took part were Mr. R. Juggins, agent for the trades' unionists of Darlaston and district; Mr. Homer, Cradley Heath Chainmakers; Mr. Cocking, of the Wolverhampton Compositors' Society; and William Haydn Sanders, as delegate of the Walsall Branch of the Socialist League. It is almost needless to say that Colonel Thorneycroft's views are those of a Fair Trader. In his opinion a prohibitive tax on all manufactured or partly manufactured goods imported into this country is nearly all that is required to give six days' work a week to the working classes, with a couple of hours' daily toil thrown in by the children, in order to to help keep the family. This is the blessing they deduce from the application of Fair Trade, and this it was that the meeting was asked to assist in bringing about. To the great surprise of all, Mr. Juggins gave his personal support to the proposition, although in his speech he clearly admitted that the gunlock-makers and nut-bolt forgers, and also the chainmakers, were working sixty hours per week for wages varying from 7s. up to 15s. per week, although they had no foreign competition to encounter in those trades, and yet he was so blind and dead to economic facts that he failed to see that such a proposition as Fair Trade in no wise affected those whom he represented. He was followed by Mr. Homer, the “heaven-sent leader” of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, who, with shame and regret he it said, had no better news to tell the audience than that there were plenty of men among his class, the workers, whom he knew, who were able to earn for themselves and family a living, and yet were too idle and drunken to do so. It never seemed to dawn on this “heaven-sent leader's” mind that the present system breeds these wastrels, and that so long as it is retained wastrels there ever must be. It is noteworthy that none of the rich idlers present denounced any of their class for living luxurious and licentious lives, and we hope this will be a lesson for even Mr. Homer on a future occasion. He concluded by inveighing against overtime and advocating the eight hours system. Comrade Sanders was then called upon, and, in a vigorous, eloquent, and able speech, in which he demolished all ideas of ever improving the condition of the workers by political change, said that the salvation of the workers would not be brought about by simply demolishing the House of Lords, the throne, or the church, free education, free sale of land, and such-like political tinkering. All these things had been carried out generations ago in other countries and had failed, for workers of America, France, Germany, and other countries were under the heel of the capitalist, as here. The evil did not lie in overtime, nor was the remedy Free Trade or Fair Trade. As for work, we (the workers) did too much already, and the idea imagined by Colonel Thorneycroft, that working men wanted six days' work a week, was entirely wrong. They wanted less work, more leisure, and the full fruits of their labour. To-day working men built splendid houses and palaces for the rich, and miserable huts and slums for themselves. They made beautiful clothes for the rich, and shoddy clothes for themselves. They tilled the soil which produced beautiful food, and yet lived on garbage and rubbish. Everywhere we saw those who worked hardest fared the hardest.

In support of his statements he quoted statistics from Mulhall, Leone Levi, Giffen, and others, showing that the total production of

wealth to day was more than enough to provide comforts for all. The national income was £1,250,000,000 per year, and of that sum the workers were said to get £450,000,000, or one pound out of every three. The other £800,000,000 going for rent, interest, and profit; 222,000 families receiving £333,000,000 between them, or an average income of £1,665, *vide* Mulhall's ‘Dictionary of Statistics.’ Men with £33 per week, he said, did not generally work. Here, then, lay the cause of poverty for the workers. The rich men consume, the poor men produce, and the remedy is to be found in a reconstruction of society wherein the rich of to-day shall labour for what they consume and the poor of to-day shall consume what they produce by their own labour. All the means of labour must be nationalised and treated as the common property of all—the land, the mines, factories, machinery, etc., all these must be under the full control of the workers; then they would be regulated so that every one shall have an equal opportunity of working, and the full fruits of his labour when he has worked.

This speech produced a marked impression on all present, and was followed by Mr. Cocking, who put forward as a remedy, taxing of all uncultivated lands, royalties on minerals to go to the State, and reduction in the hours of labour to eight per day.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P., who pointed out that Mr. Juggins failed entirely to put forward any remedy, whilst with Mr. Homer he strongly agreed. As for Mr. Cocking's proposals he expressed his abhorrence, and regarded nationalisation of royalties as confiscation, and contended that Parliament had no right to interfere with private property. As for taxing uncultivated land, the fact was it would not pay to cultivate. With regard to Socialism, Mr. Hill seemed powerless to cope with it, for he admitted that all men were equal in the sight of God and should be in the sight of men, and wisely left comrade Sanders severely alone.

In response to an invitation of the chairman for any of the audience to take part in the discussion, comrade J. T. Deakin took the opportunity of severely criticising Mr. Staveley Hill, M.P., pointing out that Parliament had interfered with private property to the tune of confiscating 40 per cent. of landlord's rents in Ireland during the last few years, and that during the last century the dominant class had confiscated from the people no less than ten million acres of common land, and pointedly asked whether it was not a fact that the rent paid to landlords was the true reason why land would not pay to cultivate? It would grow grain, etc., for the people, but not keep an idle class; and the people when they got common sense would be very unlikely to continue the payment of rent. Labour was the source of all wealth; therefore all wealth belonged to the labourer, and he urged the working-men to organise for the purpose of asserting their rights. This could only come through Socialism, and Socialism would come to displace the present system as surely as past systems had given way to the present.

Mr. Hill, in reply, evaded the points raised; and in closing the meeting Lieut. Col. Thorneycroft expressed himself pleased with the information elicited, and heartily invited all delegates to be present at the next gathering in a few weeks' time, when our comrades will not fail to attend. J. T. D.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXIII (concluded).—SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT.

It remains to say something on the religious and ethical basis of which the life of Communal Society may be called an expression, although from another aspect the religion may be said to be an expression of that life; the two together forming a harmonious whole.

The word religion has been, and is still in most minds, connected with supernatural beliefs, and consequently the use of the word has been attacked as unjustifiable where this element is absent. But, as we shall proceed to show in a few words, this is rather accessory to it than essential.

In the first instance religion had for its object the continuance and glory of the kinship—Society; whether as clan, tribe, or people, ancestor worship forming the leading feature in its early phases. That in such an epoch religion should have been connected with what we now call superstition was inevitable, since at that time no distinction was drawn between the human and any other form of existence, whether in animal life or in inanimate matters, all being alike considered conscious and intelligent.

Consequently, with the development of material civilisation from the domination of things by persons to that of persons by things, and the consequent falling asunder of Society into two classes, a possessing and dominating class, and a non-possessing and dominated one, arose a condition of Society which gave leisure to the possessing or slaveholding class, the result of which was a possibility of observation and reflection amongst the upper class. As a consequence of this a process of reflection arose among this class which distinguished man as a conscious being from the rest of nature. From this again arose a dual conception of things: on the one hand was man, which was familiar and known, on the other nature, which was mysterious and relatively unknown. In nature itself grew a further distinction between its visible objects now regarded as unconscious things, and a supposed motive power which acted on them from behind, which was conceived of as manlike in character, but above mankind in knowledge and power, and no longer a part of the things themselves, but without them, and moving and controlling them.

Another set of dual conceptions arose along with this, firstly the distinction between the individual and Society, and secondly within the individual the distinction between the soul and the body. Religion now became definitely supernatural, and at last superstitious, as far as the cultured class was concerned, since they had gradually lost their old habit of belief in it.

At this stage there arose a conflict not only of belief but also of ethical conceptions; the ceremonies and customs based on the earlier ideas, on a nature composed of beings who were all conscious, became meaningless and in many cases repulsive to the advanced minds of the epoch; hence arose a system of esoteric explanation and the Mysteries.<sup>1</sup> An importance began to be attached to the idea of a future life for the individual soul, which had nothing in common with the old idea of a scarcely broken existence, founded not on any positive doctrine, but on the impossibility of an existing being conceiving of its non-existence; an idea naively expressed, for instance, in the burial ceremonies of all early races, in which food, horses, arms, etc., are buried with the dead man as a provision for his journey to the unknown country. These ideas, and the doctrines and ceremonies embodying them, grow in number and body as the stream of history broadens down, till they finally issue in the universal or ethical religions (as opposed to the tribal or nature-religions) of which Buddhism and Christianity are the great historical examples, and in which the original ceremonies and their meaning have become fused with each other, and with the new ethics of these religions, and are supposed to express these ethics more or less symbolically. An illustration of what has here been said may be found in the fusion of the ancient notions of sacrifices in the doctrine of the Atonement.<sup>2</sup>

We have said that with the rise of civilisation tribal society became divided into classes, owing to the growth of the individual ownership of property as opposed to its corporate ownership. The old relations of persons to society were thus destroyed, and with them much of the meaning of the old ethical ideas. In the tribal society, the responsibility of the individual to the limited society of which he formed a part was strongly felt, while he recognised no duty outside his tribe. In the new conception of morality which now arose he had, it is true, duties to all men as a man, irrespective of the community to which he belonged, but they were vague and could be evaded or explained away with little disturbance of the conscience; because the central point round which morality revolved was a spiritual deity who was the source of morality and directly revealed himself to the individual conscience. These two, the tribal ethics, the responsibility to a community however limited, and the universal or introspective ethics, or responsibility to a divinity to whom humanity was but a means of realising himself, and to whom therefore the duties of man to man were of secondary importance<sup>1</sup>—are the two ethical poles. But though the tendency was in this direction from the beginnings of civilisation, it took historically many centuries to realise itself, and only reached its final development in Christianity; and has now under the influence of competitive economics taken the final form of the devil-take-the-hindmost doctrine and practice of modern society.

As regards the future form of the moral consciousness, we may safely predict that it will be in a sense a return on a higher level to the ethics of the older society, with the difference that the limitation of scope to the kinship society in its narrower sense, which was one of the elements of the dissolution of ancient society, will disappear, and the identification of individual with social interests will be so complete that any divorce between the two will be inconceivable to the average man.

We may say in conclusion that this new ethic is no longer a mere theoretic speculation, but that many thousands of lives are already under its inspiration. Its first great popular manifestation was given in the heroic devotion of the working-classes of Paris in the Commune of 1871 to the idea of true and universal freedom, which was carried on by the no less complete devotion of the little band of Russian revolutionists who made so little account of their individual lives in their engrossing passion for the general life of humanity.

Everywhere the same feeling is spreading, and even in England, the chosen home of bourgeois bureaucracy, which, with the instinctive cunning of a business country, gives every opportunity to well-to-do persons for forgetting the general welfare in that of the individual, it is getting more irrepressible every day. This wave of ethical feeling is no doubt the result of the development of the class struggle now rapidly approaching to the crisis which will abolish all classes: in fact, the mere hope, ever growing nearer to realisation, of an economical change which will make life easy and refined for all, is what has made this ethical idea possible, as the habits which the new economical system will engender will make any other form of ethics inconceivable: since once for all a change in the economical system of society must always be accompanied by fresh ethical ideas.

<sup>1</sup> The mysteries were nothing but a practice of the ancient rude ceremonies now treated as revelations to certain privileged persons of this hidden meaning which could not be understood by the vulgar: that is, people began to assume that the ancient rude and sometimes coarse ceremonies (belief in which directly as explanations of natural events now appeared to them incredible) wrapped up mystical meanings in an allegorical manner; e.g., a simple sun-myth would be turned into an allegory of the soul and the divinity,—their relative dealings with a present and future life.

<sup>2</sup> See article "Sacrifice" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (9th Edition), by Professor Robertson Smith.

<sup>1</sup> "Morality, thou dreadful bane,  
What tens of thousands thou hast slain!"  
(Protestant hymn.)

We may be asked, since we have been putting forward the doctrine of evolution throughout these chapters, what Socialism in its turn will evolve. We can only answer that Socialism denies the finality of human progress, and that any system of which we can now conceive of as Socialism must necessarily give way to a new development of society. But that development is necessarily hidden from us by the unfinished struggle in which we live, in which for us the supreme goal is the Socialism we have been putting forward. Nor do we repine at this limitation of our insight; that goal is sublime and beautiful enough which promises to us the elevation of the whole of the people to a level of intelligent happiness and pleasurable energy, which at present is reached, if at all, only by a chosen few at the expense of the misery and degradation of the greater part of mankind; and even by those few, is held on such a precarious tenure that it is to them little better than a pleasant dream disturbed by fantastic fears which have their birth from the terribly real sufferings of the ordinary life of the masses on whom they live.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

### BRUMMAGEM SWEATING.

In a discussion recently at a meeting of the Birmingham Trades' Council, some shocking revelations were made as to "sweating" carried on in the town. The Birmingham *Daily Post* took up the subject and appointed a representative, whose inquiries have disclosed a still more appalling state of things than was presented to the Trades' Council. After some general remarks as to the "sordid, coarse, callous" ruffians who form the large majority of the employers, and the aspect of the wretched victims who eke out a miserable existence in the sweating dens, the writer concludes:—"There is reason to affirm that the half has not been, and cannot be told. The tour of inspection revealed 66 sweaters in the town, and 129 men and 240 women working for them. Six girls, a machinist, a presser, and the contractor were found in one room, so small that no girl could leave her place unless others quitted the room to make passage for her. Ten women and three men occupied the small attic of a good-looking house in Bath Row. These are typical cases. Trade is slack during nine months of the year, and busy during three months. When the busy season comes it is not uncommon for men to work several days and nights without intermission; while women ply their needles from six o'clock in the morning, and girls, who, for fear of the Factory Acts, are sent home at eight o'clock with a heavy allotted task to finish overnight, work often still longer. The average wage earned under these conditions is said by the toilers to be 12s. a-week by women, something more by men, and a few shillings less by girls. Some of the women and girls in the busiest season, and most of them in the slack season, earn only 5s. to 7s. 6d. a week. After working harder than any slave ever worked on a sugar plantation, the women are content, and even proud, to take home 16s. or 18s. at a week end, and one woman was heard to boast that by stopping up all night, like a man, she had once made 20s. in a week. A Hungarian who employs ten girls at trousers-making, contracts to do for 3s. 9d. the kind of work for which the price recognised by the workman's trade society is 5s. 6d. For the performance of that work by the people he employs, he pays 1s. 9d. at the most. There is one place in town which turns out sixty pairs of trousers every week, and if the profits be at the rate named the sweater makes £6 for himself. A still lower price is contracted for by a sweater who has nine girls and a few men working for him. He undertakes to make up any kind of trousers at 3s. 6d. a pair, although the price ranges in legitimate working from 5s. 3d. to 7s. 6d. He then pays 1s. or 9d. a pair to his girls and women for doing the greater part of such work as cannot be done by machine. 'I have known men start work on a Thursday morning,' said one man, 'and not finish until Sunday evening at seven. They take their meals and their beer while working. It is 'nigger driving.' When they are not paid by the piece the contractor stands and watches them work, for fear they should rest for a minute; and when it is piecework they're at, the price is so low that they nigger-drive themselves.' The tyranny of the sweaters is absolute."

### THE CHEAPEST MARKET.

We deny in toto that saying which is taken as an axiom in our devil-take-the-hindmost system of political economy to the effect that a man has a right to "buy in the cheapest market." He has no right to do any such thing. He employs the labour that produces the goods that he buys; the "cheapest market" means slave labour; the man who maintains that he has a right to "buy in the cheapest market" thereby asserts that he has a right to employ slave labour and perpetuate slavery, and, as we said before, he has no right to do any such thing.

The man who employs labour, whether directly as a so-called employer, or indirectly as a consumer, owes a duty to labour which he employs—a duty which he may not shirk without reaping the penalty either as an individual or as a member of the body politic; either in his own person, or by having his sins visited upon his children. It is his duty to lift the labour which he employs up to a higher standard of social, moral and intellectual life—up to a larger degree of freedom.

But it is a good deal easier to find fault with others' short-comings than it is to keep ourselves free from sin in this direction. We apply the epithets of "heartless," "grasping," "soulless," and the like to men who are directly employing labour, while we ourselves, when we say to a dealer "Are those your best figures?" "Can't you let me have that just a few cents cheaper?" are equally grasping, and heartless, and soulless, for every cent we thus save comes out of the labour at the other end—the two cents difference between the 50c. and the 48c. shirt means a cut of 24 cents per dozen to the wretched being who stitched on them 18 hours a day in the misery of the living death of slow starvation.

Far from having the "right to buy in the cheapest market," it is the duty of every man to buy the goods that pay living wages to labour. Labour must co-operate with labour instead of competing against labour. If every man who buys will ask for goods with a square label, and buy no others, labour will be protected in receiving living wages, and no need of a tariff to help it along either.—*Cleveland Workman.*



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.

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

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S.—'Cobbett; or, A Rural Ride,' by G. S. Venables and H. Lushington, appeared in *Macmillan* for Nov. '59—the first number issued. UNSUITABLE for various reasons—T. B.; H. O.; J. S. (Constitution); J. C. K. ("The Mill").

CONTRIBUTIONS received—will be used—C. J. F.; E. B. B.; T. S.; A. C. H.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 16.

ENGLAND		FRANCE		GERMANY	
Democrat	Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker	Paris—Cris du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Austria
Freedom	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	La Revolte	Arbeiterstimme	Arbeiterstimme
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND	Journal du Peuple	Brunn—Volksfreund	Brunn—Volksfreund
Leaflet Newspaper	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Zurich—Arbeiterstimme		Vittorie Romanica	Vittorie Romanica
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY		Jassy—Municipal	Jassy—Municipal
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio		Sweden	Sweden
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Rome—L'Emanazione		Malmö—Arbetet	Malmö—Arbetet
Railway Review	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta			
Worker's Friend	Arbeiter Zeitung	SPAIN			
NEW SOUTH WALES	Providence (R.I.)—The People	El Productor			
Hamilton—Radical	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	PORTUGAL			
Toronto—Labor Reformer	San Francisco—Commonwealth	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario			
INDIA	Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY			
Bankipore—Behar Herald	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune			
Madras—People's Friend	Paris—Cris du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme			
UNITED STATES	La Revolte	Arbeiterstimme			
New York—Der Sozialist	Journal du Peuple	Arbeiterstimme			
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Arbeiterstimme			
Volkzeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiterstimme			
Jewish Volkzeitung	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Arbeiterstimme			
Boston—Woman's Journal	BEELGIUM	Arbeiterstimme			
	Ghent—Vooruit	Arbeiterstimme			

## NEO-JINGOISM.

SOME of our foreign Socialists have hitherto been of opinion that the term "Pauperism" was a specifically English one for describing the chronic and hopeless poverty of the great masses of population in the lowest strata of industrial society; that in England, where capitalism is farthest developed, it was born and bred; and that other nations, instead of coining a word of their own for it, simply adapted the English original to the requirements of their tongue.

We also fancied, that in a country where the number of actual paupers is ever on the increase, there must be an enormous number of poverty-stricken workers, trembling between employment with semi-starvation and the poor-house, and that for such a state of things the obtaining mode of creation and distribution of wealth was solely to blame.

Our friend, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, being nothing if not novel and sensational, has suddenly discovered that the cause of all the wide-spread poverty among the working-classes of England, and especially of London, is—the immigration of needy foreigners! The discovery was made, it seems, through the evidence given before the Commission of the House of Lords, now sitting to inquire into the evils of the Sweating System. It seems to have come upon the *Pall Mall Gazette* like a revelation, and in the leader of its issue of May 7, the editor unlocks the flood-gates of his indignation, and declares that the thing must be put a stop to. From which determined declaration we may safely assume that poverty in the British Isles will soon be a thing of the past!

"A feeling that it is all due to the 'foreigners,'" says the leader, "is the one clear opinion which an East-end workman or workwoman has about the causes of poverty." The "leader" you will think, of course, proceeds to show the East-end workman that he is mistaken, that the cause of his poverty is the fact of his being a "free" wage-slave, that is, one who is not kept by his owner, but who has to compete for his life with his fellow wage-slaves all the civilised world over. You are mistaken. On the contrary, the democratic leader tells his "Demos" that "the evidence already given before the Committee on Emigration and Immigration—coupled with the investigations of the Sweating Committee—goes very far to prove the *prima facie* case, and it is by no means improbable that a crusade against the foreign paupers in our midst will rapidly come within the range of practical politics."

The leader goes on to assert that "the foreigner is starving our

people out of hearth and home," and that hence "we are beginning to be aware of his presence." It gives a sketch (from the evidence before the Sweating Committee) of the poor and unhealthy life of those wretched victims of "free competition," and exclaims: "This is how wages are brought down, and the standard of comfort is lowered in our great cities!"

Finally, the leader is afraid that the English are "almost too good" to the foreigners, and that the invasion of needy aliens should be put a stop to anyhow.

This is how "Neo-Journalism," the embodiment of Christianity and Democracy, treats the most momentous question of all times in a sensational manner. Why not bring it "within the range of practical politics" at once by proclaiming a crusade against the poor Jews (not the money-lenders, who are all honourable men); by taking the lead of all that is ignorant and selfish and, starting from Trafalgar Square (weather and Sir Charles permitting), drive the foreign invaders into the sea?

How easy and well-to-do the East-end workmen and workwomen would then become, all of a sudden! How all their troubles would cease; how their standard of comfort would jump up like a Jack-in-the-box, and how they could culture themselves in the People's Palace, which true British philanthropists have for them provided!

For observe, that the British working-men never compete with each other, and thereby reduce their wages. The Salvation Army, which, according to the evidence before the Commission, offered to make match-boxes for 2½d., that is a halfpenny cheaper per gross than the unorganised starvelings of the East-end, was not the Christian Army of which the *Pall Mall Gazette* is so vehement a friend, but a Semite bogus institution, got up by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

The British workers do not indulge in large families either, like the Germans and the Chinese, and the Malthusian League was only started to convert the Jews and the Frenchmen from their evil ways; nor do they hardly ever emigrate and starve or drive other people and their kins (who says "Ja Ja!") from hearth and home. The Irish never cross the Channel, but are happy at home under the rule of British landlords, who, with fatherly care do not sweat their flock—but only fleece them. To Ireland the poor foreign Jews have, as yet, not penetrated (probably they could not save up the fares), and hence the standard of comfort of the Irish peasants and wage-workers is an almost ideal one (the man lying down with the hog). That there are, in the lower quarters of English industrial centres, people who talk the Irish brogue, cannot certainly be denied; but these are most probably foreign Jews, who, as we know to our cost, are capable of imitating almost any tongue. The Sheffield knife grinders, the Leeds shoddy hands, the miners of Wales, Lanarkshire, and Northumberland, the nail makers of the Black Country, the Lancashire cotton spinners, and the Scottish crofters are, it must be allowed, in somewhat pinched circumstances; but if only the Royal Commission sits long enough, and Mr. Arnold White be spared (Leone Levi, the great, good foreign Jew, alas! is gone), we shall soon find, that at the bottom of all which is not square and Christian-like in the life of our native workpeople, there is the competition of these wretched, foreign Israelites!

Nay, but dropping irony, is there nothing grimly grotesque in this national hypocrisy; in this desperate social Jew-baiting as a last attempt to blind the native workers against the real causes of their misery?

For consider who it is that sets those sweating toilers at each others' throats; consider who it is that "starves our people out of hearth and home," and gets all the profit out of this hellish science of flaying man alive! How could all these evil deeds be done, if there were no British head-sweaters, no British Capital-jews, who gave the orders and took the "goods" (what a mocking name!) to their West-end shops for sale to British ladies and gentlemen?

Since when has it become the fashion in this paradise of "Free Trade" to blame and curse the outraged workers for the effects of that freedom of competition, of which they are not the originators but the victims?

How long is it since Miss Cass was Endacotted and the *Pall Mall Gazette* took the lead in the "Social Purity" crusade? That there is in London, as in every capitalist centre, an open market, in which, for the love or the need of money, women offer the use of their bodies to "lords of creation," everybody seemed to be aware of; that among the women thus trading in themselves there were many of foreign origin, and even Jewesses, nobody could gainsay; yet the leader of the Purity crusade would neither notice the foreign tongue nor the ditto garb of theirs but look at the women merely, the women pure and simple (or impure and artful), and champion their cause, whilst for the immorality of their transactions he made the men alone responsible. And his argument? "If there were no men ready and eager to buy, no woman could possibly sell herself."

The men, then, were to blame; they were the lusty, idling brutes (most of them foreigners, to be sure!); they were, in fact, the "pests of society," and nothing would do for them but the lash!

Now for the parallel. Does it not occur to the instructor of Demos that if there were in England no market for the labour of those starving aliens, they could not possibly sell themselves as they do?

Should we not expect the democratic leader to take the part of the sweated rather than that of the sweaters? Why does he not call them low, greedy brutes, fattening on the sweat of their fellow-men, veritable pests of society? Why does he not claim the lash for the Whiteleys, Maples, and Oetzmanns, as well as for their aiders and abettors?

And yet, the parallel is not complete. Among the women who

through the West-end in vile and gay array, there are many who are prompted into the market as sexual commodities not by hunger, want, and destitution, but merely by the preference of an idle, lustful life to the joyless life of a worker; whilst the poor victims of international capitalistic rapacity have no choice whatever, but from the moment of their landing on the shores of this "free country" are doomed to a life of unremitting drudgery, to hunger, filth and pestilence, no matter what the creed or nationality may be of him for whom they are bound to toil.

But why do they come, then, if the flesh-pots of Great Britain be not the attraction? For answer look to the leader in question: "The great attraction to the foreign Jews, said a witness on Friday, is the liberty and freedom enjoyed in this country compared with the despotic country they were in."

That the rule of the Balfours and Warrens is comparative "liberty and freedom" to the foreign Jews, whose fault is it? Why don't they stay at home and fight for their liberties as *we do* (who laughs there?) here in London?

There again we must turn to some friends of Neo-Journalism—the Czar and Prince Bismark (and, since he has had a friendly lunch with her British Majesty, also Francis Joseph of Austria). It is their despotism the poor Jews and Christians are escaping from. The "honest, chivalrous, and mild-ruling Czar," and the "mighty Chancellor, whose deeds for the German nation are beyond the praise of human tongue," are manifestly "too good" for those deluded foreigners; they run away (or are driven away in thousands by brute-force) to the land of Law and Liberty, and—as the British evidently are also "too good" for them—jump from the frying-pan into the fire.

But they must not do so any longer for nothing. If they have a burning desire to be fried in the British fashion, they will have to pay a tax first, suggests the neo-Christian leader.

Anyhow, the influx of "destitute aliens" must be stopped. How ingenious! To begin with: How do you know whether they are altogether destitute? Perhaps they are destitute only of the "filthy lucre"; yet they may be (some of them may be, at any rate) endowed with brains and virtues, waiting only their opportunity to develop to your advantage under the fertilising influence of your British sun, your British sky, and your British munificence! Who knows how many of the professional stars in art and science, whom English society delights to honour *now*, would never have got the chance to instruct or amuse the British public, if at the time of their landing they had been asked to pay a "capitation" tax of £10 like any other bloated Chinese in the ports of Australia?

Again, the purpose of such a tax may be defeated—by the English sweaters themselves. It is their interest to have a destitute surplus population, as the "free" competing hands are ready to work for anything that looks like a living. As an English female witness before the sweating Lords' Commission pointed out (quite without rancour against her foreign brethren, for the people are always better than their "leaders"), such a tax would be futile as "the employers would go and pay it for the foreigners," rather than let them sail away unsweated. This shows that the poor aliens are rather wanted by the grasping capitalists of this country. As an employer of labour, whose best man had been run in overnight, duly appears in court on the morrow to "bail" him out into the sweet liberty of his master's shop, so the agents of British model sweaters would, no doubt, on arrival of a boatful of "destitute aliens" hasten there to "Maple" out those in want of the capitation tax and make them pay it back in weekly instalments with five or ten per cent in addition as interest for friendliness shown in an emergency.

Then consider, that if you make these foreigners pay a tax for merely setting foot on British shores, you are bound to give them something in return, at least a guarantee of their finding work to do. Can you undertake that? At present they are nothing to you but beggars; then they will be paupers you have to care for according to your principle of taxation. Again, if you send them back, they will work at home still cheaper than they can do it here, and the wares, results of their labour, will be landed instead, to compete with English work.

So what remains?

Drown them in mid-ocean with a mill-stone round their necks? Even that, if applied universally, would deprive the capitalists of "hands" to make profit for them, and thus endanger, among others, the lives of English gentlemen, not bred to work, but to despoil.

Thus to the Christian and democratic mind, so much imbued with imperial sentiment, the problem must appear puzzling. But it is not so to the mind of those workers who look at the social question as one of the *power of economic circumstances*, dividing the population of all the capitalised world into two nationalities and beliefs only—the *exploiters and the exploited*.

The number of English working men who take this view, is growing fast in spite of the preachers of Social Jingoism, and this is the one hopeful sign in this time of shams, hypocrites, and petty crusades. The workers of all countries are engaged in guerilla warfare, leading up to the one great and final reckoning with their common foe—the *International Exploiter of Labour*.

ANDREAS SCHEU.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### SWEDEN.

Our comrade Axel Danielson, the editor of *Arbetet* (the Work) published at Malmö, and who has done lately a considerable propaganda tour all over the land, has now been sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

### SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Council of the Swiss "Republic" at Berne has instructed several Post-office directors of the country to send in the names and addresses of all those persons who are subscribers of the *Sozial Demokrat*. Prussification of Switzerland goes on very nicely!

A new paper has been started at Berne, entitled *Die Parole*. It is a special organ for the Swiss compositors and intends to deal with the various topics of Socialism. It is published by Fr. Marlin and will appear twice monthly.

### BELGIUM.

Little Belgium, which is ruled by Mr. Leopold Saxe-Coburg, sovereign of the African Congo State, and by M. Bismark, emperor of Germany, had its fair share of work last week. Comrade Bernein, expelled from Switzerland, arrived at Brussels, en route—for elsewhere. He was duly received at the railway station by two police officers, headed by a *political agent sent from Berlin*, who intimated to him Puttkammer's order to at once leave that German province called Belgium. Another Socialist, our French comrade Jules Guesde, who intended to lecture at Liege, was presented with a royal decree of expulsion, even before he had reached the Chinese wall which encloses that unfortunate land. A third Socialist, our Dutch comrade Cohen, has been expelled from Belgium, because he has suffered six months' imprisonment in Holland for some political offence. The clerical government there is even more stupid than it is allowed to any government to be.

From the beginning of May the *Peuple*, the daily Socialist organ of our Belgian comrades, is issued in a much larger size than before. The price of the paper, although somewhat higher, is a remarkably cheap one: *three centimes*—i.e., a little more than *one farthing*.

Last Sunday the first number of a new Socialist paper was issued at Jolimont—*Le Progres*—and it is to be the organ of the working-men of the Centre district (miners and glassblowers).

Comrade Louis Bertrand, one of the editors of the *Peuple* and of the *Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard), has published a considerable work on the 'Lodgings of the Poor,' which will be of great value to all those who care for the study of social questions. His book (2s. 6d.) is introduced to the reader in a masterly preface by our learned friend Dr. César De Paepe, on the "Hygiene of the Worker."

### GERMANY.

Puttkammer and his colleagues of the German police continue more actively than ever to persecute our Socialist comrades all over the country. From the beginning of the present month hundreds of Socialist homes have been searched by the Itring-Mahlovs and the Naporras who adorn by their presence the blessed fatherland. Last Friday week a Berlin comrade was searched, apparently in consequence of a denunciation, and 35,000 copies of a pamphlet, ready for distribution, were found in his possession. At the same time, at the address of another Berlin Socialist 6000 copies of the same revolutionary pamphlet were seized. These two comrades were arrested, and besides these, four other friends who were concerned in the same propaganda work. At Hamburg and at Dresden several Socialists have been arrested because they had been distributing copies of the *Sozialdemokrat*. At Elberfeld, comrade Grimpe has met with the same fate. It is impossible to relate week after week the innumerable prosecutions and imprisonments undergone by our German comrades; everyone knows that Germany is more despotically ruled than any other country in Europe, and it will be so as long as our friends, who certainly deserve all praise for the patient and resigned manner in which they suffer, do not become somewhat more energetic in their opposition to all these Puttkammer brutalities.

The German Socialists have presented the family of the deputy Hasenclever, who has become incurably insane, with a sum of 12,000 marks, acknowledging thereby the services rendered by the unfortunate man to the cause of Socialism in Germany.

At Berlin 12,000 shoemakers have lately decided to strike. But as these workers are not sufficiently organised and have not funds enough to secure a victory over their employers, this strike will not last very long and will only assume the form of a large demonstration, in order to attract the attention of the public to the awful misery which prevails among the workers of that particular trade. Most of the Berlin shoemakers have to work 18 hours a-day, and the best paid "hands" get 18s. per week, the average wages only being 14s. weekly.

Joseph Dietzgen, a German Socialist of considerable knowledge, died at Chicago, where he acted as editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung* (the Workers' Journal), in the latter part of last month. A skinner by trade, he devoted a large portion of his time and life to the study of social economics. Among the working-men he is certainly the one who has best understood the economical theories of Karl Marx, and who has done most to popularise the doctrines of the modern or scientific Socialism. This was publicly acknowledged by Karl Marx himself, in the preface to the second German edition of 'Das Kapital,' where Marx stated that Dietzgen had undoubtedly won a brilliant victory over all the bourgeois economists who had attacked his views. Dietzgen was the author of a series of articles on Capital which appeared at that time in the *Volkstaat*, and created a good deal of sensation. He edited a great number of pamphlets; among others, 'die Religion der Sozialdemokratie' (Religion of Socialism), 'Nationaloekonomisches' (on political economy), 'die Zukunft der Sozialdemokratie' (the Future of Social-democracy), etc., etc. Dietzgen was not only an economist, he was a philosopher too; and I should like to say, contrarily to the adopted views, that he has rendered even more service in the field of philosophical thought than in that of pure economics. As he was a disciple of Marx in economical matters, so also he adopted Marx's method of interpretation of history, but he did not only follow his master's materialistic views, he also made personal investigations which led him to the conception of a new system that was published in 1869, under the title of 'Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit' (The essence of man's intellectual work). Dietzgen went to New York in the Lent of 1884, and became the first editor of the now widely-spread organ of the German Socialists in America, *Der Sozialist*. In 1886 he withdrew from the editorship of the New York paper and went to Chicago, where, in the month of May of that year, he entered the *Arbeiterzeitung*. He died at the age of sixty years.

V. D.

Canny Carnegie, the iron-monger and author of the pretentious 'Triumph of Democracy,' has a strike on his hands, and his Edgar Thompson steel works are being guarded by armed men. The strikers are Knights of Labour, who don't take much stock in Carnegie's kind of "democracy."—*Workmen's Advocate*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**ABERDEEN BAKERS.**—A branch of the Operative Bakers' National Federal Union was inaugurated in Aberdeen last week. There are now thirty-one centres in connection with the Union, with a membership of 3275.

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—On Saturday, in accordance with the decision of the men, seven days' notice was served upon the Darlaston nut and bolt manufacturers, demanding the restoration of the 1881 list, less 5 per cent.

**THE SELF-HELP MOVEMENT.**—Some time ago there was some talk about the formation of a self-help concern in Todmorden, but it fell through. The matter has again been revived, and it is to be hoped it will be well supported.

**BAKERS' STRIKE AT THE EAST END.**—A movement in connection with the excessive hours of labour in the East End of London, culminated in a strike on Monday, when some three hundred Jewish and German journeymen bakers left their work. They demand better wages as well as shorter hours, and much sympathy is expressed for them by men of other trades. The men paraded the streets during the day, stopping at every baker's shop and cheering, the result generally being that the men inside turned out and joined the strikers. Considerable excitement prevailed during the day.

**RETALIATING.**—It may be remembered that a fortnight ago we reported a settlement as having taken place at Angola Mill, and that the weavers had resumed work on the previous Tuesday morning, the employer having conceded the demands of the operatives. We are informed that now the employer referred to has adopted a system of retaliation, and instead of posting up a list of prices has substituted a list of fines, of which the following is a copy: Five minutes late, 1d.; ten minutes, 2d.; breakfast time, 6d.; absent one day, 1s.; thin places, 1d.; thick places, 1d.; ends weaving out 6 inches but under 1 yard, 1d.; 1 to 2 yards, 2d.; 2 to 3 yards, 3d.; 3 to 4 yards, 4d.; all through the cut, 6d.; floats, 3d. each; wrong check, 1d.; seam, 6d.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' HOURS OF LABOUR.**—The return of the long hours worked on railways is beginning to have some effect with several companies. Reports from Leeds and other large centres all give accounts of the readjustment of the day's work allotted the men; and there is a prospect of more regular work taking the place of the three or four long days and two blank ones, which has been the customary method of making up a week's duty. We regret, however, to find, in some cases, that the companies—or to be more accurate, the officials—are enforcing the new order of things in a sort of spiteful spirit, and with the evident intention of making the cure appear to be worse than the disease. In such cases complaints should be made to the chief officials, who we hope may be trusted to see that no injustice is done the men.—*Railway Review.*

**FILCHING EXTRAORDINARY.**—The miners employed at Messrs. Gardner and Sons' colliery, Kirkintilloch, are at present on strike. The cause of the dispute is the loss on the output of coal insisted on by the employers when the least particle of dirt is mixed up in it. For 4 lbs. of "wild" coal the men lose 1 cwt., and so on up to 14 lbs.; for every additional 1 lb. found in a man's work he loses 1 ton 4 cwt. And according to Mr. Gardner the scale is unusually moderate. The firm has been getting a good proportion of the coal dug for nothing for several months past, but the men now see the folly of labouring in vain, and hence the strike. It is satisfactory to know that the shale miners of the West Calder and Broxburn district have voted a weekly sum of £4 while the dispute lasts.—The foregoing statement seems almost incredible, but it is reported by a trustworthy correspondent in the district.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The International Trades Union Congress will meet in London on November 6. The official language of the Congress will be French. The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee (Mr. W. Crawford, M.P.) will preside at the congress, and deliver an address of welcome to the foreign delegates. Reports as to the condition of labour in the respective countries will be presented by each nationality represented at the congress. The subjects for debate will include: 1st, the most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries; 2nd, the best methods of combination among the workers in various countries; 3rd, the limitation of production by means of the reduction of the hours of labour; the desirability, or otherwise of State regulation of the hours of labour. The voting will be by nationality. There will be a reception of the foreign delegates by the British trades on the Monday evening previous to the conference.

**EVADING THE FACTORY ACTS.**—The Spinners' Union has resolved upon vigorous action to put a stop to the practice now widely prevalent by which employers and managers seek to shift their responsibility for breaches of the Factory Acts by hanging up notices in the mills. These notices make the spinners and heads of departments responsible if any boy, girl, or woman is caught working during prohibited hours. The Spinners' Union is determined that this innovation shall not in future be brought into play against any of its members, and the committee has decided upon three propositions. If the spinners are to be held responsible for their little pieces being caught working during meal hours, they will insist upon being allowed proper time during engine hours for cleaning. If this right is denied them, they will insist upon the notices being pulled down. In case employers and managers refuse to pull down the notices and allow matters to take their own chance, as formerly was the case, and be responsible as far as all fines and costs are concerned when prosecutions take place, the men will be brought out on strike until such notices are withdrawn.

**THE PENDING STRIKE AT OLDHAM.**—The result of the ballot amongst the Oldham spinners as to the demand for a 5 per cent. advance in wages shows that 3,995 are in favour of striking if the advance is not granted, whilst only 102 are against. The employers have not yet come to any decision. The impression in the district, however, is general that the advance will be grudgingly yielded. The *Cotton Factory Times* says: "We have not yet heard of any employer saying he would not give the advance when the month's notice for the same expired. True, there has been a lot of grumbling among shareholders, directors, and mill managers; but these are all coming to, and making up their minds, now that the spinners and cardroom workers are not to be frightened into withdrawing their notices, that the wisest thing to do is to grant the operatives their modest claim. The chairman of a spinning company was heard to say during the present week that if he must have his mind he would starve the workpeople into submission, and make them afraid to ever ask for another advance; but, he remarked, 'I reckon we shall have to give it them.' This very same man is now in an independent position, and made his fortune mostly out of the working

classes, and yet he dislikes seeing them trying to improve their position in life. It is a true saying that most of the men who have lifted themselves out of the ruck of the masses are the worst employers to work for."

**THE MEANING OF THE SWEATER.**—Few people have yet grasped the real moral of the evidence now being poured in daily to the Lords Committee on "Sweating," under the skilful management of Mr. Arnold White. We are all much too ready to abuse the so-called "sweater," the sub-contractor who grinds the faces of the very poor. But the sub-contractor is himself merely the instrument of superior forces. The surplus value produced by the "hands" under his supervision is not for him. He cedes the produce to larger capitalists, and is allowed to retain, on an average, only the competition wage of his own slave-driving ability. The classes who really profit by his exertions are three in number, and only by their restraint and gradual elimination can the worker obtain the full product of his labour. There is first the landlord, of town site or slum tenement, whose rents are raised by the overcrowding and local congestion which makes sweating possible. Then there is the large contractor, whose command over the instrument of production enables him, by advances, discounts, rebates, and what not, to squeeze his sub-contractor. And, finally, the investing capitalist, himself holding aloof from the contamination of actual trade, innocently shares the plunder with the contractor in the form of dividends, interest on bank deposits, and so on. But the first two classes sit in Parliament, and the third philanthropically goes "slumming." Hence all the social obloquy is reserved for their poor tool, the sub-contractor, who does not in the least understand what it is all about.—*Star.*

**FREEDOM!**—Before the Committee on Sweating last Friday Johann Franks, a Russian Jew, said he had worked in Russia and Roumania twelve or thirteen hours a day before he came to London, three years ago, because in Russia there was no liberty. In London he had freedom, but worked seventeen to eighteen hours a day, and sometimes more. (!)

**STATE-OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.**—Whatever may be the feeling among the people of this kingdom regarding the State-ownership of the railways, there is evidently very little sympathy with it among their representatives in the House of Commons, as was very clearly shown in the debate, when Mr. Watt, who introduced the subject, found scarcely any support. It is a large debatable question that could not be settled in a day; and whatever disadvantages can be hurled at the proposal, it has advantages worthy of consideration—particularly the revenue the country would derive from its possession of the railways, and the feasible proposition that they would be worked for the benefit of the community instead of, as at present, for immense dividends.—*Railway Review.*

**"SATAN REPROVING SIN."**—One of the strikers at Hargher Clough Mill, was recently charged at the Burnley police court with using abusive language to another operative who had remained at work. In opening the case the lawyer for the plaintiff said, "These people had a right to go on strike, but they had no right to deny freedom of contract to everybody but themselves, and they had no right to influence other people who were willing to work, after they had struck work." This is very funny coming from a member of the Lawyers Union, one of the strictest in the country. It is more than likely that a lawyer who had exercised his "freedom of contract" to the detriment of his fellows, in the manner of the "knobstick" weaver, would have encountered something more damaging than a little abusive language.

**STAND BY YOUR COMRADES.**—It is not without regret, and even annoyance, that we notice how even members of trade unions are inclined to believe what managers tell them when they (the men) are wanted to fill up the places of men on strike. With a piece-work system which depends on the quality of the work supplied, if an operative is to earn decent wages there will always be a certain proportion of strikes going on amongst the hundreds of mills in the four counties. Except in very exceptional cases, and then only after consulting their local secretaries, operatives should always fight shy of firms advertising for hands. Promises to pay this, that, or the other list should be taken no notice of, as all concerned may rest assured that strikes will not be resorted to unless something is wrong. When a dispute occurs between the workpeople and their employers, all operatives ought to make it a point of honour to let them have it to themselves, and give no more trouble than they would like to have themselves under similar circumstances.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

The eight years that witnessed the transformation of the 95,000,000 dollars left by the old Commodore Vanderbilt into 217,000,000 in the hands of his son William, also saw the creation of an army of tramps a million strong.—*Providence (R. I.) People.*

**DISUNIONISTS.**—It is well for Socialists to remember that the people will not advance towards Socialism any faster than they acquire a knowledge of sound political economy, and the presence of scheming, glib-tongued disorganisers in a labour organisation can do much towards hindering the bulk of the members from acquiring such knowledge by filibustering methods, such as the spreading of calumnies and creating suspicion against those who would assist evolution by advocating the most democratic methods of organisation and procedure.—*Workmen's Advocate.*

**A NATURAL FRONTIER.**—The Spanish Government has re-opened negotiations with France for the making of two new lines of railway across the Pyrenees, one passing through Canfranc, in Upper Aragon, and the other along the Noguera Valley, in the district of Lerida, Catalonia. The Cortes will vote a subsidy of forty thousand pesetas per kilometre for both lines, native capital being offered in Saragossa and Barcelona for the whole amount required. The only serious difficulty in both countries is the resistance offered by military men and many politicians, on the ground of the dangers that might result from the opening of two tunnels in a great natural mountain barrier. Thus does the present ridiculous condition of the "civilised" world hinder the drawing near together of the peoples! What in the name of wonder can be the "dangers" of lessening the "natural barrier" except under an artificial system of isolation and suspicion?

**THAT SHARE.**—Since labour creates all values except what are the free gift of God to man, labour must receive its just share of what it creates.—*Journal of United Labour.*—Yes, evidently. But why quibble about what that share is? If God recognises no favouritism in the distribution of his gift—nature—and labour creates all *else*, then evidently labour's share is *all* wealth. Brain work as well as hand work, wages of superintendence as well as of other work must be considered in the term labour. This being done, the demand should be for the total product of industry. Through a co-operative system this should be accomplished, and interest, profit, and rent abolished.—*People.*

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 26, 1888.

20	Sun.	1796. Trial of John Reeves for seditious libel. 1820. Murder of Sandt, executioner of Kotzebue.
21	Mon.	1358. Revolt of the Jacquarie. 1798. Trial of James O'Coigly, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary.
22	Tues.	1885. Victor Hugo died.
23	Wed.	1498. Savonarola burned. 1851. Lalor Shiel died.
24	Thur.	1744. Marat born. 1804. Trial of Wm. Cobbett for libel. 1870. W. L. Garrison died. 1885. Rioting at Paris.
25	Fri.	1803. R. W. Emerson born. 1848. John Mitchel transported for 14 years. 1871. Strike of 9,050 engineers at Newcastle. 1881. Most found guilty; judgment deferred for argument of legal points.
26	Sat.	1804. Trial of W. Cobbett for libel. 1817. Trial of Niel Douglas for sedition. 1868. Michael Barrett hung. 1879. Osinski, Brandner, and Svidzenko hanged in Kieff for Socialist propaganda and resisting arrest.

*Trial of John Reeves.*—This, which was tried at the Guildhall before a special jury, was for a stupid reactionary pamphlet, that offended the susceptibilities of the Commons by belittling their place in the Constitution; it resulted in a verdict of "Not Guilty."—S.

*Trial of Arthur O'Connor, and others.*—This has been already spoken of under April 25, the date of O'Connor's death, in the account of his life. O'Coigly's life will be given under June 7, the date of his execution. The prisoners were arrested at Margate, Feb. 28, 1798, where they had gone to get across to France, with papers upon them addressed to the French directory from a revolutionary committee in England. Committed to the Tower, March 6, on a charge of high treason, taken to Maidstone gaol on April 7, and tried before a Special Commission there on May 21 and 22. Witnesses for the defence included C. J. Fox, R. B. Sheridan, and many others of repute. O'Connor was acquitted, but held on a warrant as already told; O'Coigly found guilty, sentenced, and hung; Binns, Allen, and Leary were acquitted and discharged.—S.

*Death of Richard Lalor Shiel.*—Poet, lawyer, revolutionist, M.P., office-holder, Whig, and reactionary. This is the exact order of things in the mental and social evolution of a man, who at one part of his career bid fair to be one of the most powerful elements in upsetting despotism in Ireland. He was the son of a merchant, at one time in a large way of business in Cadiz. Was born at Bellevue House, County Waterford, August 16, 1791. At 11 was a pupil at a school kept by Prince de Broglie at Kensington; from there went to Stonyhurst, and in November, 1807, entered Trinity College, Dublin, graduating 1811. His family's circumstances changing he was indebted to friends for the means of studying for the bar, adding to such support some rather large sums of money which he earned by dramatic authorship, some of his dramas being immensely successful, much of the success being due it is said to a very popular actress of the time. As a lawyer he was not a very great success. His political speech-making began as early as eighteen, and were tremendous successes. In 1822 he gave much labour to the Catholic Association, and was sent with O'Connell to plead at the bar of the House against the suppression of the Association (see *Commonweal* ante). This not being allowed by Parliament, when he returned to Ireland his speeches were so violent that he was prosecuted; but before the trial came on Lord Liverpool was seized with that fortunate attack of apoplexy which took him from the House of Lords to the House of Gods, and the proceedings were abandoned. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill allowed Shiel to be returned to Parliament, being elected in 1829 for Lord Anglesey's borough of Milbourne Port. His theatrical style of speech in the House were for a time rather a surprise, but he became a great favourite. In 1838 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital. Like so many others who for a time have almost held the fate of a whole nation at command, Shiel sold himself for a mess of pottage. He had, he said, "forgotten all his law" when Lord Melbourne asked him to take office, and so having been a lawyer and forgotten all his law, it was seriously proposed to find him a good job at the Ordnance. This is the sort of thing which makes our army and navy a gigantic fraud on the nation. Men who take any sort of post so long as there is good pay to be drawn. In 1839 he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and sworn in a privy councillor. In 1841 he was for a few months Judge Advocate General, and in 1846 was appointed Minister to the Court of Tuscany at Florence, which was worked for the purpose of relieving him from the necessity of voting directly for or against the Government in their anti-Catholic schemes of the time, and to have a friend close to the seat of the Pope to work the oracle in case of necessity. Naturally, when he had once touched Government gold he opposed all his old ideas and friends—

"We now  
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes;  
I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon  
Than such."

He died at Florence, May 23, 1851; his body was conveyed to Ireland, he had been betrayed, and buried at Long Orchard, Tipperary.—T. S.

*Trials of W. Cobbett.*—That on the 24th was for "libel" in having attacked the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, and other Irish officials, in a letter entitled 'Affairs of Ireland,' which appeared in his *Register*. He was found guilty but not called up for sentence, on condition that he appeared as Crown witness against Mr. Justice Johnson, the real writer of the letter; this he did. On the 26th Cobbett was tried for a libel on W. C. Plunkett, Solicitor-General of Ireland, who had prosecuted Emmett, and was bitterly attacked for his conduct on the trial by Cobbett in the *Register*; £500 damages.—S.

*Jerome Savonarola.*—The famous Puritan monk of Florence was born at Ferrara on the 21st of September, 1452, of a distinguished family of scholars in the age when rejuvenated Italy was the seat of all the arts, sciences, and luxuries of life. He had hardly attained manhood when, renouncing an almost certain prospect of being the petted idol of all the rich and powerful in a country commanding the tribute of all the earth, he secretly fled from his father's house and buried for life his commanding features and eyes of living fire in the sable hood of the Dominicans. As the careless world without was more gross and gorgeous in its heartless career of vice and crime than is recorded of any other age or clime, so did this disciple of Saint Dominic make his solitary cell the more severely mortifying to the tender flesh. From that cell poured forth to an astonished world before long such a flood of soul-stirring oratory as far surpassed the combined utterances of all other black friars rolled into one, although it is the special attribute and ambition of this sombre sect to be known as "preachers." Popes and kings shook in their shoes when they heard the fierce philippic of Frater Hieronymus, Fra Girolamo, or Brother Jerome. They sent humble messages to his convent to procure his good graces. He was arbiter of the disputes of nations. More than this, a society sunk in selfish sensual indulgence, which listened to

nothing else, yet listened to him. He became a social volcano, upheaving the rooted customs of centuries. Voluptuous lords and ladies flung their treasures at his feet, and begged him to lead them to a new manner of life. But in a fatal moment, at the height of his power, the great Jerome turned his scathing rhetoric at a power which has never brooked the interference of monk or monarch, angel from heaven or fiend from hell. Savonarola attacked the solid phalanx of the children of mammon, the money-changers and profit-mongers, the all-powerful gentry upon whose artful schemes of plunder every luxurious society is founded. The end was short and terrible. Though popes and kings had feared him, they were powerless to harm, for the people had followed him as a living god. Not so the Mammonites. They rose as one man against their latest enemy. They filled the very air with lying accusations against the fearless, incorruptible monk. They swayed the foolish mob like reeds before the wind. They caused the never wincing Jerome to be dragged to the public square of Florence, burned alive as he hung from a cross in chains, and then had even his ashes flung into the swift river, so that no vestige of his mortal frame should be left behind. Even as the Florence of 1498, so is the Chicago of 1887!—L. W.

*William Lloyd Garrison.*—The man to whom, above all others, the negro owes his freedom to-day from chattel slavery, was born on the 10th of December, 1805, on a spot which was even then a shrine to thousands, and is to-day a place of pilgrimage to thousands more. This is a certain church in the town of Newburyport, which town lies at the mouth of the Merrimac River in North-eastern Massachusetts. Within a few feet of the little house, where in dire poverty Garrison was born, still lies the embalmed form of the greatest pulpit orator who has used the English tongue, the man to whom in Tottenham Court Road so many thousands

"Came to scoff, and stayed to pray."

Above the body of Whitfield in the old church is the pulpit from which the venerable Jonathan Parsons (who lies now by Whitfield's side, and was in life second only to him) thundered forth the passionate appeal to sons of liberty among his parishioners to form a company in the broad aisle of the meeting-house on a famous Sunday in 1775, which company was one of the foremost in the little band which thrice sent the red-coated hirelings of British oppression reeling down the slope of what is now called Banker Hill. Born in such an atmosphere, how could Garrison be anything else but a child of liberty? His father, a clever but dissipated rover of the sea, died soon after the son's birth. The mother was left to struggle with a large family of infants. Young Garrison served his seven years in the printing-office of the *Newburyport Herald*, an obsequious political organ of the commercial aristocracy of New England, opposed to all Radicals and reformers, and of course to such social disturbers as "abolitionists," had there been any then existing. As is often the case in newspaper offices, those who are too near the throne or behind the scenes are influenced by contraries in regard to the ex-cathedra utterances of the editorial room, young Garrison became everything which the newspaper abhorred. He started an anti-slavery paper of his own. He spoke against slavery, and was promptly mobbed by the "respectable" elements of the day. He hearded the lion in his den, publishing an anti-slavery paper in Baltimore, the citadel of the most belligerent of the slave-owning class. Of course, Garrison was promptly thrown into prison. After getting released he began his well-known *Liberator*, of Boston, which thundered forth for thirty-five years a voice for freedom which had to be heard, and which only died with Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. Garrison was one of the most earnest, indomitable, and persistent of men, cold and courageous, casting aside all interest in nought but the work he had in hand. It was this concentration of energy which made him accomplish such a glorious victory. Yet he was not, like so many more puny-minded reformers, unable to see the importance of other work, although of necessity he left it to other hands. The familiar scoff of the slave-owners, that some abolitionists were upholders of worse slavery elsewhere, could never be applied to Garrison. As he was "without fear," so was he "without reproach."—L. W.

*Trial of Niel Douglas.*—This prisoner, who had been a member of the celebrated British Convention of 1793, in the proceedings of which he took a prominent part, was a Universalist preacher. He was accused of having, at the Andersonian Institution class-room, John Street, Glasgow, made certain "prayers, sermons, or declamations," in which King George was likened to Nebuchadnezzar, the Regent called a poor infatuated wretch and a worshipper of Bacchus, and the House of Commons told that its members were sold like bullocks and the House itself corrupt. Found by the jury not guilty, and told by the judge not to do it again.—S.

*Hanging Barrett.*—Michael Barrett was hung for his part in the Clerkenwell explosion, and was the last to suffer in public in England. His demeanour was admirable; no bravado, but firm, unshaken, dignified. The prison officials gave public expression to their favourable opinion of him gained from his conduct while in their charge, and all witnesses affirm the calmness of his face as he scanned the crowd who had come to see him die.—S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The time of meeting will be as follows—Morning, 10 till 1; Afternoon, 2 till 5; Evening, 6 till business is concluded. All members attending Conference must, before admittance, produce card of membership. Branches are particularly requested to supply their delegates with written mandates. Provender—Comrades wishing provision to be made for them are requested to send in their names at once.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Leeds—to end of March. Ipswich (?)—to end of May. Hull—to end of September. Norwich (?), Wednesday—to end of October. Edinburgh—to end of November. 1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Acton, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Hackney Leicester, L.E.L. (Hoxton), Oxford, Stamford Hill, Walsall—to end of March. Clerkenwell, Fulham, Hammersmith, Merton, North London, Mile-end—to end of April. Mitcham—to end of May.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

*Weekly*—W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 10s. 1d. Collected at Hyde Park, 1s. 8½d.

**East-end Propaganda Fund.**—May 8th, collected at Berners Street Club, 3s. 3d. May 15th, collected at Victoria Park, 4s. 4½d. Donation, Mrs. Sandham, 7s. 6d.—JCSFPH LANE, Treasurer.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday last, A. K. Donald lectured here on "The History of Land Holding in England." Slight discussion. On Sunday, Donald, Manly, and Bartlett addressed meeting at St. Pancras Arch. —W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, May 13th, Alfred Adams' Dramatic and Musical Class gave an entertainment for the benefit of the New Branch Premises Fund. The hall was well filled. The programme consisted of two very funny farces and vocal concert. According to a London evening newspaper, "everybody seemed very jolly, especially the women, who laughed till the tears ran down their cheeks. . . ." The Marseillaise finished a very pleasant evening. —B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, good meeting addressed by Morris; some opposition easily disposed of. Sunday morning Morris spoke. Fair sale of *Ward*; 2s. 2d. collected for branch. In evening, Catterson Smith and Groszer spoke outside, and Sparling lectured on "The Last Revolution." —G.

**HYDE PARK.**—Sunday afternoon, Donald, Mahon, and Samuels spoke; 1s. 8½d. collected. 31 *Commonweal* sold.

**KINGSLAND GREEN.**—Sunday morning, Charles and Parker spoke. Two new members.

**MERTON.**—This branch has now secured a new and commodious club-house, and are making arrangements for a fresh open-air station at Tooting Railway Bridge. Our premises will be opened on May 25th with a concert, to which all members of the League are welcome. —F. KITZ.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—Sunday morning, Mainwaring spoke on Mile-end Waste. Afternoon in Victoria Park, Mainwaring, Brooks, Davis, Charles, and Parker spoke to largest meeting we have ever held there; lasting three hours and a-half. Sold one quire of *Commonweal*. Collected for East-end Propaganda, 4s. 4½d. —H. M.

**MITCHAM.**—Sunday, good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Kitz, Eden, and Knight. Good sale of *Commonweal*. —H. G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Ossulston Street on Friday evening by Cantwell, Donald, Parker, and Bartlett.

**REGENT'S PARK.**—Our meeting here was a complete success. The speakers were Cantwell, Henderson, and Davis. Two quires of *Commonweal* sold, and 10s. 1d. collected.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—Brooks, Charles, Parker, and Mainwaring spoke here on Sunday evening. One new member.

**EDINBURGH.**—Weekly meetings for training speakers pretty well attended. On 3rd, Davidson on "How to realise Socialism"; on 10th, Donaldson on "Christianity and Socialism." Great many took part in discussions.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier, Pollock, and Gilbert held a meeting at Cambuslang. On Sunday afternoon Glasier addressed a very large and attentive crowd on Jail Square. In the evening at Paisley Road Pollock and Glasier spoke to another large audience. There are always a number of people waiting us at this station who appear to be greatly interested in our teaching. Afterwards, in our rooms, comrades Muirhead and Glasier were appointed delegates to the Conference, with instructions.

**IPSWICH.**—Sunday week, good meeting. Saturday 12th, meeting at Barrack Corner; many questions put and answered. Sunday, attentive meeting at Ship Launch.

**LEEDS.**—During past week we have been very busy in connection with a strike of Jewish tailors here. Over a dozen meetings have been addressed during the strike, and comrade Kemmelhor, the chairman of the Associated Societies, has worked indefatigably. On Sunday afternoon we addressed a meeting of about 3,500 people in Vicar's Croft. The crowd, besides being in hearty sympathy with the strikers, contributed towards their expenses. We hope to give details next week. —P.

**LEICESTER.**—May 13, Fowkes discussed "Socialism v. Individualism" with an anti-Socialist named Roberts at Highfields Working Men's Club, Barclay and Robson also present. All round discussion followed.

**NORWICH.**—Friday last, meeting on St Catharine's Plain by Mowbray. Another on Sunday morning at Catton; also at Eaton by Adams and Morley. In the afternoon at Market Place; in evening another enthusiastic and attentive outdoor meeting addressed by Poynts and Mowbray. Good sale *Commonweal*. Tuesday last Sutton and Nowbray elected delegates.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday Deakin lectured on "The Socialism of Carlyle." Saturday, Sanders spoke in open-air; many questions put and answered. Sanders also addressed meeting on Sunday on the West Bromwich Road. —J. T. D.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday last, W. C. Wade lectured to a good audience on "The Communist Manifesto." Discussion followed.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Owing to non-attendance of Lefevre last Saturday, a visitor opened a discussion on "The Organisation of the Different Socialist Bodies." Received with some opposition. —A. F.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday evening last, H. A. Barker lectured at the United Radical Club, Kay Street, Hackney Road, on "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism."

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Parnell's Dining Rooms). Sundays at 8 p.m.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 17, at 8.30, Concert in aid of Branch—Programmes 6d. 24th. Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday May 20, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "Socialism and Morals."

**Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. No lecture Sunday 20th, because of Conference.

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.).

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulston Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulston Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Irevigate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec *Dundee* (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec *Gallatown and Dysart* (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Payne, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. *Lochgelly* (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, open from 8 until 10.30 p.m. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. No lectures will be held in Gordon Hall on Sunday evenings during summer months. Sunday May 27th, at 11 a.m., a meeting will be held at Wymondham, addressed by comrades Adams and Sutton.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

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

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 20.**

11 ... Turnham Green—Front Common ... Acton Bch.  
11.30... Hackney—Salmon and Ball ..... Cores  
11.30... Hammersmith—Beaumont Road ..... The Branch  
11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
7.30... Stamford Hill ..... Charles & Mainwaring

**PROVINCES.**

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 10.30; Paisley Road at 5.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Monday: Thorpe village, at 8 p.m. Friday: St Catharine's Plain, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Catton, at 11.30; Market Place at 3 and 7.45.

**West Bromwich.**—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.  
**Smethwick.**—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

**On Saturday May 19th**

A Concert and Social Evening will be held at the L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE, 1 Hoxton Square, beginning at 8 p.m. Admission by programme, price 3d.

**NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND (CLERKENWELL).**—Will Branch secretaries kindly make their returns as speedily as possible. Received from Hammersmith Branch, 2s. 3d.; Wyand, 6d.; J. Flockton, 2s.—J. TURNER, R. TURNER, J. FLOCKTON, W. BLUNDELL, Entertainment Committee, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

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**CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE,** White Street, Moorfields (close to Moorgate Street Station).—A Russian Class has been started at this College on Mondays at 7 p.m., taught by N. W. Tchaykovsky. Terms 9s. per quarter.

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