

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE dockers have won their victory; for with all drawbacks it must be called a victory. They have shown qualities of unselfishness and power of combination which we may well hope will appear again before long. For one thing, they have knocked on the head the old slander against the lower ranks of labour, and shown that the mere "fringe of labour," the "roughs," the "vagabonds"—in short, the men named by the insults of the real criminal class, who have thrust them into their terrible position,—that these men can organise themselves at least as well, and be at least as true to their class, as the aristocracy of labour. No result of the strike is more important than the effect it will have as a blow against class jealousy amongst the workers themselves. Henceforth any working-man attempting to make distinctions between skilled and unskilled will be obvious to his fellows as a traitor and reactionary.

The *Daily News*, which, like several other definitely capitalist papers, espoused the cause of the strikers, was nevertheless very anxious to show that the strike had nothing to do with Socialism. Now if that means that it was no artificial agitation, but was caused by dire necessity, we can all agree with that. If it means anything else it is nonsense. For in the first place, although mere combination amongst the men, with no satisfactory ulterior aim, is not itself Socialism, yet it is both a necessary education for the workers, and it is an instrument which Socialism cannot dispense with. Furthermore, the attitude of the *Daily News* itself and of the well-to-do sympathisers with the strikers (including, doubtless, a large part of the lower middle class), remains, when all deductions have been made, a remarkable fact; and a fact, moreover, quite impossible to be explained except by admitting that the preaching of Socialism has frightened some and, at least partly, convinced others of the respectable classes. They are becoming at once terrified and shocked by the horrible poverty of London. Is that the result of the efforts of the Charity Organisation to make poverty respectable? of the efforts of the philanthropists to make it dumb? of the parsons of all sects to make it religious? No. It is the result of the efforts of the Socialists to make poverty actively discontented.

Let us go on with those efforts then, encouraged by the step that combination amongst the workers has taken, but remembering that the new epoch of combination is only just beginning. Let us make it clear to the middle-class sympathisers with labour, that very little has been done even to palliate the most obvious evils of the system which makes them a middle-class, *i.e.*, a class of sweaters. The Dockers are to have their "tanner" (if the companies keep faith with them, which is very doubtful), but what will be their position when they reap the result of their hard won victory? Let us be plain on this matter. They will receive precarious mere-subsistence wages for the hardest of hard work. They will be lodged in hideous and foul slums; they will have no reasonable pleasure, no taste of the comforts and the luxuries which their labour helps to win for others. In a word, they will still be slaves as far as their material condition is concerned, though they have shown that they are not the stuff of which it is safe to make slaves.

For us, it is our business to make them understand that they never can be anything else than slaves till they have swept away class domination and privilege; that in spite of all the soft words of the capitalist press, they and the capitalists are and must be irreconcilable enemies; that whatever either gains must be at the expense of the other. When they have learned that, their combination will both be infinitely improved as an instrument, and they will also be compelled to use it for its one real use, the realization of Socialism, to which undoubtedly this strike has been a step, as part of the labour struggle, as part of the attack on our enemy—Capitalism.

W. M.

I am very glad to see that "The Middleman," Mr. H. A. Jones's new play, has made a success at the Shaftesbury Theatre. Despite some extremely orthodox morality mixed up in the love-interest, and

a great deal too much talk of "shame" and the "child of shame," and a woman who has been "dishonoured" being "better dead," and so on, it remains a really well-planned and well-wrought play, which is distinctly worth seeing. From the moment of the opening, which strikes the keynote at once, to the last dropping of the curtain, there is no fall from a very high level of economic and social thought. Not that there is any "preaching"; in so clearly reproducing, without obvious comment, a striking phase of the present system, the author has answered his evident purpose with tenfold effect. The man must be dull indeed who can rise from witnessing the performance of "The Middleman" without some measure of awakening to the crying injustice of the social arrangements which deliver one man bound hand and foot, body and brain, into the hand of another, because he is poor and the other rich.

Making all needful qualifications, "The Middleman" remains the healthiest production of an English dramatist in modern times, and the one which a Socialist may witness with least weariness, even in its worst places. For myself, I must confess that I have seen it twice and mean to see it again. Of course, the success of it is not altogether due to its high tone and progressive standpoint, though I hope and think that a great deal of it is. Something of it—much, indeed—is due to the magnificently careful and unaffected rendering of the old workman-inventor by Mr. Willard.

If anyone go and see it upon my recommendation, and, not liking it, blame me for beguiling him of his hard-earned entrance-money, I would ask him to think of the tawdry rubbish that has been hitherto, and still is, and will continue to be, served up to the British public in the place of a rational drama with some wholesome relation to ordinary life. Let him for a corrective go and see "A Man's Shadow" at the Haymarket, where he will see a powerful actor wasting his energies and those of a good company upon a melodrama, strong enough as melodramas go, but entirely designed and built upon the lines of the most debased and brutal of the superstitions which go to make up bourgeois "morality."

To say that Mr. Robert Buchanan, who assailed Ibsen for indecency, is its author or adapter, and that the *Pall Mall* is its most enthusiastic admirer, is to say that "social purity" is rampant throughout. Except in the "comic element," that is; for Mr. Buchanan's "morality" fails him when he tries to be funny, and his jokes are all turned upon the alternate condonation of adultery by two men who change places as the lover and husband of one woman. S.

The Liberty and Property Defence League has issued another list of Bills requiring "your opposition." There are 34 of them, all of which seem to have already come before Parliament, and, with two exceptions, to have been withdrawn or dropped. It is a striking testimony to the uselessness of Parliament for effecting any change worth the name, when 32 out of 34 bills, presumably for somebody's good, have to be dropped.

To be sure, it was of little consequence what became of these bills. Misbegotten things as most of them were, it cannot matter that nearly all were still-born. For no bill has the least chance of passing through Parliament, unless it is framed in such a way that it really makes no difference—except to place-hunters—whether it passes or not. So that one wonders what the Liberty and Property Defence League sees in them to object to.

But the fact is that the old watch-dog of Property is near going mad. These little puddles of watery bills have frightened him, and there are signs of imminent rabies. What else but madness can it be, in days like these, to waste hope or fear on Parliament—that huge gas-works and light of the world—which, in the middle of the dockers' strike, goes out with a little sputter and stink of Queen's Speech, all unobserved as a dying candle when the day is come?

Yet here are these poor creatures of the Liberty and Property

Defence League busily patching their rotten roof at Westminster, not seeing that the sea is coming in at the door, in the East End, and undermining the foundations. For a tide is rising, with John Burns to the front, which may, if taken at the flood, lead straight to the better fortune of Socialism. Yet a little while, and the yelping, snapping, mad dog of Property may be washed away.

And John Burns? Will he keep his place on the advancing wave? He might help the working-classes, as perhaps no other man could, through the critical years to come. Or will he be persuaded by the politicians of Dundee or elsewhere, that the best thing he can do is to try to *muzzle the dog* in Parliament? If so, the tide will not wait, even for him. He will be left behind to help Cunningham Graham give decent burial to further abortive bills—struggling over their remains with the Liberty and Property Defence League. All which would be a pity, for we don't see a man like John Burns every day.

G. S.

Since I wrote the notes in last week's *Weal*, the manager of the Mauricewood Pit has explained through the press, that the lower workings of the pit had a downcast and upcast passage. Whether these passages met the requirements of the Act I cannot, of course, say; but one thing is certain, they did not help the men's escape, and it was possible by the outlay of more capital to have made these workings so that such a fate as overtook the men therein would have been impossible.

At the annual meeting of the owners, held last week, the report showed a nett profit of £4,969 2s. 9d., and the chairman mentioned the fact that the accident resulted in the death of 63 men. Some are in the pit yet, and the pit is sealed up. The men who risk and those who have lost their lives in the making of that £4,969 2s. 9d. have no claim upon it. That is the toll they have to pay for leave to toil.

The miners of the Lothians are apparently not satisfied with the manager's statement and "explanation" regarding the upcast and downcast shaft. At the usual meeting of their association they passed a resolution demanding a public enquiry to be made into the cause of the accident, and at the same time to call upon the inspector of mines to make a thorough inspection of all mines, especially where steam power is used underground, and that the seams worked have a *proper* outlet according to the Mines Regulation Act. The inspector has opened an enquiry—in the Company's office! At Carnyle the other day the shaft of a pit caved in, and it took the men twelve hours to get out by the second shaft. What is the use of this Act if the second shaft is not fit for instantaneous escape in emergencies?

G. McL.

## LIFE AND LABOUR IN EAST LONDON.

(Concluded from p. 290.)

BUT what a question to ask. The entire removal of a whole class. Is it impossible? Why, of course not! who that has read any history can doubt the possibility of removing a whole class? The real question to discuss is, Which is the class most likely to be removed?

"History," says Carlyle, "feels bound to consider that starvation is starvation; that starvation from age to age pre-supposes much; History ventures to assert that the French Sansculotte of Ninety-three, who, roused from a long death-sleep, could rush at once to the frontiers and die fighting for an immortal Hope and Faith of Deliverance for him and his was but the *second*-miserablest of men." It may be Carlyle would agree that the *first* most miserablest of men has been "conned and set down in a note" book by Charles Booth; and if so, the next passage from French Revolution, Book vii., is still more pertinent. "History confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with, in which the general twenty-five millions of France suffered less than in this which they name Reign of Terror! But it was not the *Dumb Millions that suffered here*; it was the *Speaking Thousands, and Hundreds, and Units*; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail: that is the grand peculiarity."

The class which was removed was *not* the class which had starved and suffered from age to age; the millions who had borne the cross so long in silence now had bread, while they who had had all the bread and all the cake now ate grass, and made the world re-echo with their plaints; just as to-day, more fuss is made when some aristocrat breaks his one neck in the hunting-field, than over *ten* miners crushed by fall of pit roof.

Our author is getting on dangerous ground when he lays so much stress upon the fact that the poor are subject to a crushing load; a little further on he says the standard of life is rising, and again, further on, "Those who obtain better wages and more regular employment, receive only in proportion to what they give, and are more profitable servants." The standard of life is rising, but not so fast as is the knowledge among the poor that they have to bear a crushing load, and that the class responsible will have to be removed.

"The question of those who actually suffer from poverty should be considered separately from that of the true working classes, whose desire for a larger share of wealth is of a different character. It is the plan of agitators and the way of sensational writers to confound the two in one, to talk of 'starving millions,' and to tack on the thousands of the working classes to the tens or hundreds of distress. Against this method I protest. To confound these essentially distinct

problems is to make the solution of both impossible; it is not by welding distress and aspirations that any good can be done" (p. 155). But methinks he doth protest too much and idly, for he is flying in the face of his own book and all history. "Agitators" have no need to draw upon "sensational writers" other than Charles Booth and his collaborators to make out a case for a big upheaval, and social upheavals *do* only come by the "welding" of "distress" and "aspirations."

Assuredly Classes *G* and *H* will not do much for a change; they have, as Elisée Reclus says, just dined, and toothpick in mouth are simply impatient at the cries of the suffering. Classes *A* and *B* have probably had every hope and aspiration trampled out, but *C*, *D*, and *E* have among them enough of sorrow and distress to spur them on, and enough of knowledge and hope to see the way to salvation, which will come not by way of Mr. Booth's peddling enlargement of the scope of our present Poor Law, so as to allow, for the benefit of Class *B*, the formation of Pauper or semi-Pauper Communes, much after the fashion suggested by H. V. Mills, or those of the Netherlands.

"To bring Class *B* under State regulation would be to control the springs of pauperism" (p. 166). Not while capitalism causes competition in production wholly for profit and not for consumption, and all Boothian suggestions will be waste and beside the mark, no matter how laboriously worked out, while "Life" and "Labour," "Poverty," "Poor," and "Comfort," are defined and measured as in this book. "Life and Labour" is a misnomer. Ruskin says "There is no Wealth but Life. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings" ('Unto this Last'), and few enough are there out of the whole of Mr. Booth's 909,000 who come within measurable distance of such Life and Wealth.

"Agitators" and "sentimental writers" owe thanks to Mr. Booth for the completeness and care with which an exceedingly complex piece of work has been done, often under very unpleasant and at times dangerous conditions. As every author sees his best thanks in a wide use of his work there can be little doubt that great use will be made of this book, although it is very probable that in some cases the arguments drawn out of it may be somewhat different to what Mr. Booth intended.

The solidarity just shown among the dockers and kindred labourers may possibly cause a reconsideration of the statement that there is no "danger" in having in our midst a quarter of a million with positively little more than bare existence to lose, come the very worst.

At the beginning of the century the total army of the kingdom was not more than the total of Classes *A*, *B*, and *C*. A hundred years ago the total strength of the French army was about 150,000, the total population of Paris was under half a million, and yet—well—they have an exhibition in Paris to-day by way of celebration.

It may be urged that in 1640 the population of our city and kingdom, and the whole of the conditions were very different from what obtains to-day; but then, as now, apparently the classes had all the advantages. What army there was, was in the hands of, and *really in favour of*, their rulers; and these rulers felt as assured in their position, aye, more assured, than does the same class to-day. Small as was the armed force at the disposal of tyranny in 1642, it was larger than to-day in comparison to population and extent of territory.

Cromwell's ever victorious army did never equal the population of the smallest London parish of to-day, leaving out the one or two exceptional parishes, such as where one building covers a whole parish, and where—as once remarked Colonel Perronet Thompson—in one building is stored up a £100 a-piece for 200,000 men, the finest prize-money offered since the Creation.

When smug optimists blind themselves to the readings of history, and insist there is only "disgrace but no danger," they overlook wholly the immensely increased value of the stakes of to-day as compared with any previous period in the world's history.

"Your idle people . . . are not merely waste coal beds. They are explosive coal beds" (Ruskin in 'Queen of the Air'). And every city of the kingdom has its explosive bed! What if a spark be applied?

A demand made by Ruskin in the work just quoted, "that sooner or later, we shall have to register our people; and to know how they live; and to make sure, if they are capable of work, that right work is given them to do," is to some extent answered by Mr. Booth's book; so far well; but much more must be done before it can be really and truly written, "There is no danger."

"You respect no hoary wrong,  
More for having triumphed long;  
Its past victims haggard throng,  
From the mould  
You unbury. Swords and spears  
Weaker are than poor men's tears,  
Weaker than your silent years,  
Hunger and Cold.

"Let them guard with hall and bower,  
Through the window you will glower,  
Patient till your reckoning hour  
Shall be tolled.  
Cheeks are pale, but hands are red,  
Guiltless blood may chance be shed,  
But ye must and will be fed,  
Hunger and Cold.

"If the gods of this lower world will sit on their glittering thrones indolent as Epicurus' gods, with the living Chaos of Ignorance and

Hunger weltering uncared for at their feet, and smooth Parasites preaching Peace, peace, when there is no peace, then the dark Chaos, it would seem, will rise;—has risen, and, O Heavens, has it not tanned their skins into breeches for itself? That there be no second Sansculottism on our Earth for a thousand years, let us understand well what the first was" ('French Revolution,' Book vii.).

THOMAS SHORE.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### MERLINO'S RESOLUTION.

Comrade Hall has thought fit to criticise Merlino's resolution in a way more gaudy than convincing, and in my opinion utterly beside the spirit and the obvious meaning of the words themselves. Space is too valuable and the subject too serious for one to use any of the "sulphurous big words," etc., etc., that even comrade Hall indulges in to a great extent. In plain English, Hall asks (of us who agree with the whole of Merlino's resolution), "Do we imagine that either the obtaining of the whole in one lump is possible scientifically or desirable as to expediency?" (strange words to follow one another—possible, scientific, desirable, and expedient!). To which the answer is, No! But when Hall pretends that Merlino's words mean that free education is bad, and that an eight hour day is reactionary, *in themselves*, then I for one feel that Hall himself is "gassing and anticipating," and won't understand that all these palliatives are absolutely scientifically inevitable, and we should therefore only preach *our ideal*, and not stop for one moment, and waste valuable time and material on "red herrings," but leaving the various political place-hunters to fight each other for place, power, and profit, with their ideals, knowing full well a result of this *must* be the introduction of "carefully [*very carefully*] framed though far-reaching measures, practical working-class reforms,"—which, in my opinion, will be greatly accelerated and brought "within the range of practical politics" (in spite of us) by really earnest uncompromising propaganda of our ideal, and by various signs of our determination and energy, which alone will teach the people how to use these *possibly* necessary stepping-stones towards that end for which all honest Socialists strive. One remark, in conclusion, anent the "boy getting too big for his clothes," which, as is often the case with "figures of speech," is rather misleading to the uninitiated. From what I have gathered from the "concrete facts of weekaday life," I have no hesitation in declaring that the little boy *does* "don a brand-new rig-out" next morning (if he's got 'em).

H. SAMUELS.

### A "FRIENDLY" ATTACK.

In the September number of *Unity*, "a monthly journal for Foresters, Odd-fellows, and kindred societies," there is one of the stupid old attacks which ignorant men are fond of making; all about "professional agitators" with "delicate uplifted palms and oily tongues," "the commentary upon" our preaching "afforded by the Paris Congress" and its quarrelling, and so on. It winds up with the cheerful and Chadband-like reflection, "that while Socialists are trying to set the world at rest and peace by stirring up the dirty waters of discontent, true Friendly Society men are advancing the cause of humanity by thrift and thoughtfulness." The blinking screech-owl who cannot bear the light is a great personage in this country—there's a good many of him—and he never comes out of his hole without hooting at somebody who is throwing light on the dark places of the earth. So that we ought to be, and are, pretty well accustomed to him. But just now I am not in the humour to hear this particular belated specimen hoot without chucking a pebble in his direction.

We have just been passing through a trying time; are not out of it yet. The greatest labour battle ever fought in London has been going on around us; and, while we of the League have avoided intruding upon, or hampering in any way, the men's own elected leaders, we have been working with all our might to supply them with the sinews of war, and to bring public opinion to bear on their enemy. But where have been the "Foresters"? the "Oddfellows"? the "Hearts of Oak"? the "Druids"? the "Rechabites"? Where have been the powerful and wealthy bodies of which *Unity* is always boasting? Skulking in a safe, if cowardly, obscurity; displaying "thrift" and "thoughtfulness" in shapes that would bear other names a good deal better. What has *Unity* itself to say on the subject? Sympathy? Support? Notice, even? *Not one word!* It can write of the "choice little investment, yielding quite 7 per cent.," made by the London District of Foresters, or of similarly important matters, but the desperate struggle for life of a hundred thousand men is ignored, not even chronicled. Were it not for the "Sons of the Phoenix," a plebeian order that *Unity* does not often deign to notice, there would not have been one "friendly society" on the side of the men. The "Foresters," the "Oddfellows," the "Hearts of Oak," the "Druids," and the "Rechabites" gathered their unspotted skirts around them and passed by on the other side.

To such people it must, of course, seem unnatural that middle-class men, themselves not suffering in a factory-hell, should seek to lighten the burdens of their less fortunate brothers. "Thrift and thoughtful" men of the *Unity* type, organised for their own advantage, and "advancing the cause of humanity" by paying their own poor-rates and looking after number one, are not to be expected to trouble themselves to "stir up the dirty waters" even by dragging drowning men out of them. Not long ago *Unity* made a great fuss over some order—the "Hearts of Oak," I think—which was going to pay trade-union rates for some work that was to be done for it; so loudly did it proclaim the fact, that one instinctively felt how rare a thing it must be for these men to be "thoughtful" of others, and not "thrift" at their expense.

The glorification of the money-bag, the gospel of organised greed, has no attractiveness for Socialist ears, and if *Unity* would have them listen it must learn some other. While it and those it represents remain on the wrong side—or none, which is as bad—in the labour battle, it and they must expect to be looked upon with small favour by the growing multitude who are conscious of the wrong and mean to right it. It and they must put off hypocrisy, and declare themselves definitely. Are they organised for the gain of a few, or for the good of all?

S.

John Swinton, although almost a confirmed invalid, still retains his interest in the labour movement.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The International Anarchist meetings which we announced some weeks ago took place on Sundays, September 1st and 8th, from 2 to 7 p.m., at the Salle du Commerce, Rue du Faubourg du Temple, Paris. The questions chiefly discussed were: Authoritarian Socialism and Anarchism, Collectivism and Communist Anarchism, Individualist and Communist Anarchism, and the position of both with regard to individual acts of expropriation, the propaganda amongst women and country people, organisation, the attitude of anarchists in wartime, etc. These and a number of minor questions were discussed at these meetings, consisting of Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans. The proceedings were most harmonious, and the best possible order was preserved, with neither chairman nor agenda, a strong contrast to the Marxist Congress, with its six days of useless preliminary business not connected with the order of the day, forcible repression of the very first one who wanted to speak on the supposed subjects of conference. The contrast struck all present, and comrade Merlino, in his last speech, expressed a justifiable gratification in the fact, saying that even he had not expected these wholly unorganised meetings to pass off in this way without the slightest incident. Our friends are justified in claiming that they were a practical demonstration of Proudhon's words, that "freedom is the mother, not the daughter of order."

A daily anarchist paper, *La Sociale* (22, Rue des Martyrs, Paris), has been published since Sept. 4th. From a copy which has reached us we see that it carries on a strong anti-electioneering agitation, to which is also devoted the last number of the *Attaque*. Abstentionist placards will also soon be published by the *Père Peinard*.

The bourgeois and Social Democratic parties are busy with electioneering. Yves Guyot, Member of the present Government, Minister of Public Works, known as one of the most blockheaded men who still exist of the Manchester school, figures on the placards in the 1st Arrondissement, the quarter of the Rue Rivoli and the Louvre, as the candidate of the Comité Républicain Radical *Socialiste*, as does likewise the former minister Floquet, in an eastern Faubourg. Thus far the confusion between Radicals and Social Democrats has gone. The Possibilists have started local socialistic papers in the 11th, 17th, 19th, and 20th Arrondissements (*L'Electeur du XI<sup>me</sup>, La Voix Electorale, Le Réveil du XX<sup>e</sup>, etc.*). Longuet's paper is the *Banlieue Socialiste* of St. Denis. All these papers will be dropped after the election, when the voting cattle have performed their duty.

### GERMANY.

The *Fraenksche Tagespost* a while ago printed two lengthy articles under the title of "Anarchists—Swindlers?," which were reproduced by other Social Democratic papers in Germany and America. It is not worth while to deal with this tissue of misrepresentations and lies, which is of the notorious type that has been only too popular with German Social Democrats hitherto, but I note with pleasure that the Social Democrats of Stuttgart, Wurtemberg, have published a sharp protest against this "odious filthy article," as they call it. They say that these articles were written "with but one intention, *i.e.*, to represent the Social Democratic party as being thoroughly harmless and innocently persecuted, while marking the Anarchists out as worthy of the strongest repression and of the fullest possible annihilation." Such an action, say they, taken by a party itself proscribed for ten years past by German law is "simply a shame; . . . everyone capable of thinking *further* on than the Social Democratic programme allows, and who is energetic enough to act according to his opinions is proscribed and excommunicated for this, and stigmatised as an Anarchist, which we are told is equal to being a swindler"! These remarks agree fully with some made by Bebel himself in 1885, but have been met with stern rebuke from the official paper, which tells the Stuttgart workers simply that they did not understand the benevolent intention of the articles at all.

A new monthly paper, *Der Zeitgeist*, is published at Hamburg, addressing itself to the "friends who exist in all classes of a labour movement, proceeding on lawful paths" and to "the mass of progressist elements." Of the 30 German papers which we know this seems to be about the dullest, containing on 40 pages of two columns each 25 articles on palliative questions of all kinds. A worker who manages to read all this will either be stupified for some weeks afterwards, or, perhaps more probably, be made conscious of the humbug of which he is the victim.

The *Westfaelische Arbeiter Zeitung*, of Dortmund (the mining district), has been suppressed. The *Thueringer Tribune* has been started.

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### ITALY.

TRIAL OF MEMBERS OF THE ITALIAN LABOUR PARTY.—We read with interest of this trial before the Assizes at Como, as the very fact of the paltriness of the accusations shows a determined vindictiveness on the part of the official prosecution, not unmixed with anxiety at the growth of agitation among the working-classes. The trial lasted three days, the various imputations being founded on speeches made by the defendants at public meetings held at Buguggiate and Malnate, without the interference of the police and officials present. They spoke ably in their own defence, and their speeches were received with general applause, which was of course repressed by the court. Altogether popular feeling was strong in their favour. The trial threatened to end unsatisfactorily for the Government, when the timely interference of the President put things straight again, for he addressed the jury with that beautiful disregard of the law, which orders that the twelve empanelled citizens shall give their unprejudiced verdict, to which we are so well accustomed here, saying: "You find yourselves confronted again with that terrible association called the International, which has for aim to take from you all your goods and property, and which carries on its banner the motto: 'The emancipation of the workers must be achieved by the workers themselves.' The Association is increasing everywhere, and it is our duty to protect ourselves from it, and in so doing protect likewise the State and the country." One of the defendants was sentenced, on several counts, to one year's imprisonment altogether and 700 francs fine; another to one month and 100 francs fine; the others seem to have been let off.

CROCE-MOSSO.—A very obstinate struggle has gone on here between the weavers and their employers for the last three months, we understand from the *Fascio*. Many of the workers are on strike, and at a demonstration held one day by them socialists were arrested for inciting the people to strike, etc., etc. I have not yet heard if either side has given way.

M. M.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEED IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTEMN IT; LASTLY, ALL MEN ACCEPT IT—AND THE CAUSE IS WON

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"SOCIAL DEMOKRATEN" (Stockholm).—Your paper has not reached us for some time past. Ours is sent regularly; does it reach you?  
 DR. MARY HERMA AIKIN (Grinnell, Iowa, U.S.).—Many thanks for cutting, which will prove useful in several ways.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 18.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY	ITALY
Brotherhood	Paris—Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	La Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Freedom	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Copenhagen—Arbejderen	Barcelona—El Productor
Labour Elector			Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Labour Tribune			A Revolta
London—Freie Presse			
Norwich—Daylight			
Social Demokrat			
Seafaring			
Worker's Friend			
INDIA	HOLLAND	SPAIN	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Madrid—El Socialista	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
UNITED STATES	BELGIUM	SWEDEN	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	Goteborg—Folkets Rost	Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts
Truthseeker	Ghent—Voeruit	Malmö—Arbetet	
Volkzeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokrat	
Twentieth Century			
Workmen's Advocate			
Boston—Woman's Journal			
Investigator			
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung			
Chicago—Knights of Labor			

THE WHITEWASHING OF SHYLOCK.

THE Trades-Union Congress, held the other week at Dundee, white-washed Shylock by a vote of 177 against 11; and the editor of the Glasgow Herald rejoices that "the proceedings illustrate a strong reactionary feeling against the Socialists." This vote, however, cannot honestly be taken as a criterion of the feeling of the labouring class towards the Socialists, for the total of 188 has, according to what transpired in the discussions of the Congress, a very questionable pretence of being representative of a million workers; but even that number cannot be said to be a representation of the workers in a population of thirty-five millions. All labour is not organised, and all organised labour was not represented at the Trades Congress. The bosses of the Trades Congress have always been opposed to Socialism, and that for cause—viz.:

"You take my life  
 When you do take the means whereby I live";

consequently it is not right to take their proceedings as "a strong reactionary feeling."

Their vote is a guarantee that they are in favour of the principle which justifies the robbery of those who labour, to provide dividends to those who do not labour. They have justified Shylock's claim to the pound of flesh, and have declared it to be no part of their business to protect the labourers from being robbed of more than the stipulated pound of flesh. The blood of the workers, according to them, is not so sacred as Broadhurst's shares. Mr. Broadhurst said he never denied

that he held shares in the firm of "Mr. Brunner, the notorious sweater"; and whether or not Mr. Hill "had reduced the cost of locks 50 per cent., and therefore those engaged in the lock-trades had been the losers to the extent of this 50 per cent., . . . Mr. Hill was a candidate who approved to the furthest extent of the great question then agitating the party of which he was a humble member and poor worker."

That statement of Mr. Broadhurst's simplifies the issue between the Socialists and the trades-unionists. The former aim at securing for the workers the full results of their labour; the latter such fractions of the products of their labour as will keep the workers from removing the institutions which provide the Broadhursts, Hills, Chisholm Robertsons, and Weirs with position, pay, and platforms. I sincerely hope the miners of Scotland will soon see through the petty palaver of the two last, and realise the hopelessness of any improvement in their lot so long as these worthies block the way towards the solidarity of labour, which apparently is the key that will unlock the chains that bind the workers to perpetual toil in the interests of the Shylocks. Mr. Broadhurst based his defence of shareholding—that is, the pocketing of wages the workers do not get—on the assertion that the workers in other places did not get so good wages as his firm paid. That has been and is always the argument of the enemies of labour, as Jeremy Bentham caricatured it—"What is the matter with you? What would you have? Look at the people there, and there; think how much better off you are than they are. Your prosperity and liberty are objects of their envy; your institutions models of their imitation"; and as Sydney Smith puts it, "When a particular suffering, produced by an assigned cause, has been pointed out, the object of the exploiters is to turn the eyes of their victims into any other quarter in preference. Why should the smallest evil be endured, which can be cured, because others suffer patiently under greater evils?" Mr. Broadhurst condoning, with the applause of the Congress, an injury done to labour interests, because a candidate "approved to the furthest extent of the great question then agitating the party of which he was a humble member and poor worker," is good, very good, and demonstrates wherein the one-plank platform of the Gladstonians has been used as an unredeemed pawn-ticket to hide the poverty of Labour's parliamentary representatives. The workers of Scotland and England have hitherto been persuaded, in the interest of the one-plank platform, to make the sacrifice of placing their fates in the hands of those with whom breach of trust was certain—due fulfilment of it morally and physically impossible. The Catholic endowment scheme will demonstrate whether the Parnellite party is prepared to sacrifice anything in return for the platform which concerns them most; and Mr. Broadhurst's avowal is an assurance to the workers that trades-unionists such as he place their selfish ambitions before the greatest good of the greatest number of workers.

Trades-unionism, as represented by the Congress at Dundee, is played out, and only holds together by the interests of salaried officials, who shrink from any forward step in the labour movement. Their highest ideal is the regulation of wages, their own not the least important, and to leave a big enough margin for Shylock. Indeed, a Mr. Cowie of Normanton, whose hold of the labour problem appears to be as firm as to a one-year child, affirmed in a hey presto manner that "trades-unionism had done more in the last twelve months to advance the wages of working-men than the Socialists would do in five hundred years." It is not possible to condense ignorance of Socialism into fewer words than Mr. Cowie can, and comrades near to where he blows off his bombast might do worse than use him as an instrument of propaganda.

It was amusing to note how often the "past service" argument was trotted out as a justification for doing nothing now, and for covering anything, perpetrated by old leaders of the past, calculated to injure the interests of labour to-day. The same argument would not hold with those labour "leaders" in giving Mr. J. Chamberlain his old position in the party of which Mr. Broadhurst "was a humble member and a poor worker." The old-time argument was principally used by those "leaders" who felt that their only strength lay 'neath the shadow of Mr. Broadhurst's wings. Although they knew that it was impossible for all workers to rise by the aid of such wings, still they were led on their way by a like hope in individual chance as lures the gamester who stakes his all to his doom. They were ready to use any veil for trash—any pretext to repel the innovations of conscience and duty.

It was no use, according to those "leaders" of labour, to endeavour to do without the Shylocks. A Mr. Walsh said that, "although he came from London, he wished to dissociate himself from the Socialists." It would appear from this genius's remark that the workers of London are all Socialists, and that forbodes ill to the Trades Congress. Mr. Weir, the Fife Miners' agent, who has in the past worked up his union and security for salary at the expense of the Lanarkshire miners, has given his word that he will not help on the "solidarity of labour." His action which led to the defeat of the strike in Lanarkshire was a sufficient guarantee that he would not march forward with the development of labour troubles, in Scotland and England, but to his action he has now added his word. He said, "The Socialists were entering on the conflict with a broken reed. When trades-unionists departed from the lines on which they had been going they would be departing from the principles of rectitude. Let them fortify themselves as they had been doing in the past, and they would be prepared to meet both employers and Socialists." That was said in support of Mr. Broadhurst's shareholding—Shylock's pound of flesh—and it is a fine illustration of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. It is the key-note of the issue between these paid trades-unionists and Socialists.

The editor of the capitalist Glasgow Herald says: "The unions have

been working for their own improvement, not for a social regeneration, and it must be frankly said that they have done less to grapple with the great problem of poverty than have the monied classes. Unionism has been in the past essentially selfish and radically opposed to Socialism." The class of men who have been better off by means of trades-unionism had better give their names. We will then see that their success has been at the expense of labour as a whole and not taken from Shylock at all. Trades-unionism has somehow got intermarried with the Shylock family, and its president, Mr. Ritchie, has to admit that "unionism has not touched the kernel of the problem." The opposition it gives to Socialism is the measure of its breach of trust, and its relationship to the spirit and methods of Shylock is the bottom cause of its opposition to Socialism.

GEORGE McLEAN.

## BLANQUI.

(Translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.)

*He fought a pitiless race  
For the people that have no bread;  
Alive, four stone walls were his dwelling-place,  
And four planks of wood when dead.*

THE crowd with heavy steps toiled up the stair  
To the fourth-floor room where dead Blanqui lay:  
Working-men's Paris, in working array,—  
Men, women, children, with a sickly air.

Their mourning had prevailed o'er that day's care  
Of bread-winning; three days and nights, alway,  
Friends crowded in, a last farewell to say:  
Waiting my own turn, I stood dreaming there.

This heart that beats no more aye beat for thee,  
Equality! . . . Deaf world, thou wrinkled slave,  
That turnest in thy cage, or slow, or faster,

Now he is dead wilt thou attentive be?  
This warrior, passing from the gaol to the grave,  
From forth his silence cries: Nor god, nor master!

January 4, 1881.

EUGENE POTTIER.

There are two subjects upon which men still consider it becoming and right to judge without evidence, and to condemn without examination. Those subjects are social science and theology.—*John Stuart Mill.*

**SOCIALISM AT BRADFORD.**—Though rather late in the day, and after waiting for the Trades' Council to move our branch along with the Labour Electoral Association, arranged a meeting in favour of the dockers and the machine makers who are on strike in Keighley (which is ten miles from here), so on Saturday last we got the collecting sheets from Park Band committees, and put them in the streets, and ten of the Keighley men and some local men looked after them; and at a meeting at night we collected £20, and sent the Keighley men home with £10 of it, the remainder to come to London.—P. B.

**SOCIALISM AT LEICESTER.**—For the last three weeks we have devoted ourselves to the strike, but have not neglected our usual meetings. Barclay and O'Sullivan have been the principal speakers; Taylor, Richards, and Carter have also given short addresses. We have been the principal organisers in forming a committee to collect for the dockers; over £60 has been sent off. A fortnight ago meetings were held every night in Humberston Gate, and we utilised them to preach Socialism. We leave groups long after every address, hotly discussing our proposals; literature selling fairly well.—T. P. B.

"Facts for Londoners," Fabian Tract No. 8, price 6d., 4s. 6d. per dozen, or 32s. per 100, being a clear statement of the public questions arising out of every department of Metropolitan administration, with full figures, explanations, citations of authorities and references to official reports, for the use of Londoners who desire not only to understand their civic and political duties, but to argue upon them from exact statistical information, has been published by the Fabian Society, and may be obtained of the Secretary, Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Road, W.; of the Freethought Publishing Co., 63 Fleet Street, E.C.; and of W. Reeves, 185, Fleet Street, E.C.

**FOREIGN LABOUR IN FRANCE.**—A certain M. Fondi, of Niort, who is a member of the Aude County Council, made a Protectionist speech before that body, in which he said that frequent renewal of "Battle of Fontenoy politeness" would land France in ruin. He ended by moving the following resolution, which was passed: "Whereas there are 1,100,000 foreigners in France, that is to say, one to every 34 inhabitants, and whereas it is unjust and dangerous to let these foreigners, who are nearly all agricultural labourers, enjoy the civil privileges of Frenchmen without being subject to the corresponding duties, and whereas it is intolerable that French farm labourers who go to serve in the army find their places taken by aliens, this Council-General demands of Government and Parliament (1) That aliens be excluded from employment in public works and railways; (2) That all employers be obliged to declare what foreigners they employ and to pay a tax of from 25f. to 100f. a head per year upon them; (3) That all who do not make such declaration incur a fine of from 1,000f. to 3,000f." The Councils-General of the Pas de Calais and of Calvados have passed similar resolutions. Our own reactionary Jingoese have been beaten at their own game. What a wail will go up from the Primrose League at not having originated these brilliant resolutions! Who speaks next?

**A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.**—Course of Lectures to be given by members of the Fabian Society, at Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W., on Friday evenings at 8 o'clock. October 4, William Clarke, "Early Radicalism." 18th, Frank Podmore, "Early Socialism." Nov. 1, Graham Wallas, "The Chartist Agitation." 15th, Hubert Bland, "The Protest of Literature and Sentiment." Dec. 6, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 180 Portsdown Road, W.

## THE LABOUR REVOLT.

THE last week was lacking in excitement down to Saturday. The smell of negotiations was in the air, and there was an evident belief that the strike would soon be over. Although the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London had left town, disgusted because the men wouldn't knuckle down at once to the terms which had doubtless been drawn up in the dock offices before their submission to the men by the reverend and noble group of conciliation, yet Cardinal Manning still hoped to get the men to agree to a "reasonable compromise." Unfortunately, the leaders were too willing to listen to the right reverend conciliator. The boldest of them were worn out by the continual work which the strike had entailed upon them. Others, too, were doubtless awed by the rank and station of the right reverend conciliator, and perhaps, seeing that he was friendly to them, thought that he must be right in his well-meaning suggestions. They forgot that the Cardinal, being a man of the middle class, could not, however much he might sympathise, thoroughly understand the wants and the needs of the starving workers. He could not see that men who had been fighting desperately for a better life would hardly like to have their paradise put off for six weeks. The leaders, probably fearing that such a respectable person as the Cardinal should declare that they were "unreasonable," consented to the compromise. They feared to lose the support of the middle-class papers and the subscriptions of the middle classes,—precious few of the latter, by the by. They therefore agreed, and the Dock Company, delighted at the chance so kindly offered them of climbing down, and also of pocketing the increased profits consequent upon the resumption of work after its long cessation, with a well-feigned reluctance consented, only upon the condition that all the workers connected with docks and wharves should return to work. This the leaders agreed to do; and though they had a little trouble to get the lightermen and the South-side men to agree, yet rather than injure the dockers whose battle they had so gallantly fought, they agreed, and Burns and Tillett announced late on Saturday evening at West India Dock gates that the strike was ended. The men didn't like going back without their "tanner," but Burns by his "oratory and tact" gradually won them over, and they foolishly consented.

All London thought the strike was over; and the capitalist papers—Liberal, Radical, and Conservative, recovering from the pitiful funk in which they had been thrown, exhausted themselves in praise of the "moderation" of the men and their leaders.

It seems, however, that they won't praise the moderation of the men much longer, whatever they may say of the leaders. The men are intensely dissatisfied with the agreement; they say their leaders had no right to stipulate that they should work with "blacklegs." They will not see their comrades starve for the benefit of these wretches. They complain that when they get the advance they will no longer be paid for their dinner-time—half-an-hour—and that means a deduction of 3d. from the increased wage of 6d. an hour. Here is the new and old scale contrasted:

OLD SCALE.		
8 a.m. to 4 p.m.—Eight hours at 5d. per hour	. . .	3 4
No deduction for meal time.		
NEW SCALE.		
8 a.m. to 4 p.m.—Eight hours at 6d. per hour	. . .	4 0
Less half an hour for dinner	. . .	0 3
		3 9

This specially affects the regular hands, who are usually employed for the day, and will when they get the advance be much in the same position as they were before. The "tanner" has, therefore, not been obtained. An article in the *Daily News* of Tuesday, September 17th, will give the reader an idea of the intense dissatisfaction among the men. That dissatisfaction has found a vent in furious attacks upon the "blacklegs," several of whom have been sent to the hospital. The men accuse the leaders of climbing down, and very threatening cries were raised against Tillett on Tuesday when he recommended the men to go into work and treat the "blacklegs" as fellow workmen. At present, although work is partially resumed, matters look more threatening than they have done at any time since the beginning of the strike.

The conflict grows; "blacklegs" are chased; their legs are broken; they are thrown out of railway carriage windows; and they are having what the Yankees call a "high old time." Dissatisfaction with the leaders and the agreement is spreading, and the general idea is that Burns and Tillett were very foolish to agree to the strikers being forced to work with the mean sneaks who are depriving hundreds of honest men of their work, and starving their wives and families. The dockers are determined to get rid of the "blacklegs," and the "blacklegs" will have to go, and they are "going."

### Wage-Slavery in Sheffield.

Discontent is everywhere on the increase, and strikes are the order of the day. We have them in Sheffield. But it is the strike of the fibre-drawers to which I am going to refer, and to call attention to the rules and regulations attempted to be enforced by the Messrs. Laycock and Sons, of Sheffield. About two years ago, when trade was much depressed, every worker was required to sign a set of rules, of the most stringent character. How any man or woman could sign such I cannot understand. The rules are fourteen in number. Rule 1 provides for seven days notice on leaving or for dismissal; but *misconduct* subjects to *instant* dismissal. Rule 2 also provides for instant dismissal for certain offences. Rule 3 is as follows: "All work must be twice drawn (unless otherwise instructed), thoroughly solid, and well finished. Work in any way imperfectly done will be paid less an amount proportionate to the imperfection. The amount to be fixed by a member of the firm or the manager." Rule 4: Any drawer whose work is found damp will be paid 3s. per cwt. less than the regular rate of wages on cocoas, and 2s. per cwt. less on Mexican fibres, etc." By rule 5, any drawer making his bunches too large is fined 2s. or 3s. for each such mistake. Rule 6: "Any drawer filling a card more than 12 inches deep will be fined 2s. on each occasion." Rule 7: "All hacklings must be worked up short, and all hacklings and clippings kept separate and free from twine and rubbish. Any drawer not doing this will be fined 2s. for each offence. Any drawer bringing down work to weigh in without tickets on will be fined 2s. for each offence." Rules 10 and 11 also provide for payment of fines, and always of 2s. each; and rule 12 provides: "Any drawer unnecessarily burning gas will be fined 2s. for each offence." Rule 14 provides for fines of 2s. for mere neglect of duty; and rule 13 for fines of 5s. each. Now of the fourteen rules,

two provide for instant dismissal, one for unlimited fine, nine of them for fines of 2s. or 3s. for offence, and one for fines of 5s. each. Nothing less than 2s. fines will satisfy the Messrs. Laycock and Sons. What a monstrous system! And the workers having submitted to this heartless tyranny for two years, the Messrs. Laycock and Sons proposed another turn of the screw. Three weeks ago a notice was put up that from "on and after August 31," each drawer was to carry his work down to a lower room, there to be examined, etc., then carry it back, giving each a large amount of extra labour; and for what? To enable the firm to carry rule 3, as above. This, both men and women declare, means practically a reduction in their wages of from 20 to 30 per cent. What a state of things! Against this last act of tyranny both the men and the women turned out, and I hope will remain out till the above rules are swept away. Let every worker connected with the trade, directly or indirectly, note well the character of the rules, and any assistance that can be given will be most thankfully received by the workers.

J. S.

### Eight Hours.

The following list of the voting on the eight hours question among trade societies may be of interest to many of our readers, without mentioning its value for future reference:

	Members.	Eight Hours.		Obtaining by Act of Parliamt.	
		For.	Against.	For.	Against.
Alliance Cabinetmakers' Association	1,700	436	31	391	75
Bakers of Scotland, Operative	3,214	1,271	—	1,181	90
Barge Builders	172	60	—	60	—
Bookbinders and Machine Rulers' Union	1,909	620	167	467	139
Bookbinding, Soc. of Women employed in	230	—	100	—	—
Boot and Shoe Makers, Amalg. Society	4,000	169	27	60	103
Boot and Shoe Riveters and Finishers,	20,117	629	162	584	24
National Union of					
Cabinetmakers, Amalg. Un. (Westminster)	38	15	—	6	8
Carpenters and Joiners, Associated	3,966	680	60	427	119
Compositors, London Society of	7,400	2,201	1,411	1,578	561
Coopers, Mutual Association of	3,744	3,744	—	—	3,744
Cotton Spinners, Amalg. Assn. of Oper.	17,125	—	17,125	—	—
do. do. (Oldham)	5,660	—	5,660	—	—
Cigarmakers, Mutual Association	850	324	155	229	101
Hosiery Union, Amalgamated	800	697	5	697	7
Ironfounders, Friendly Society of	5,664	3,605	1,350	1,843	1,410
Ironmoulders of Scotland, Associated	5,500	358	928	—	1,286
Miners' Union, Ayrshire	1,000	10,000	—	10,000	—
Miners' Association, Cumberland	3,000	3,000	—	3,000	—
Miners' Association, Derbyshire	4,000	2,253	15	1,851	60
Plasterers, Edinburgh District Operative	250	250	—	—	250
Plasterers, Metropolitan. Soc. of Operative	95	41	—	41	—
Railway Servants, Amalgamated Soc. of	13,000	3,344	350	2,190	1,504
Razor-Grinders' Protection Soc., Sheffield	150	150	—	150	—
Rotary-Power Frame-work Knitters,	390	366	20	339	1
Nottingham					
Scissor-Grinders, Society of	200	200	—	200	—
Shipwrights' Society, Associated	5,000	854	134	339	564
Steam-Engine Makers' Society	5,350	1,429	97	629	650
Stonemasons, Operative Society of	11,000	578	17	388	165
Typographical Association (H.R.S.)	7,590	1,505	1,191	1,269	1,141
Typographical Society, Edinburgh	740	371	42	239	110
Northern Counties Amalg. Weavers' Ass.	33,756	—	33,756	—	—
Zinc-Workers, London Operative	70	—	70	—	—
Associated Blacksmiths' Soc., Scottish	1,000	476	10	331	162
Liverpool United Trades Council	10,000	20	7	22	2
Wolverhampton do.	—	—	4,500	—	7
Accrington and District do.	4,500	—	—	—	—
	178,376	39,656	67,390	28,511	12,283

It is curious that the cotton-spinners of the Lancashire towns, who used in the times of the old Radical and Chartist movements to be in the forefront of the battle, should now prove so reactionary. Of course, I am not speaking from a revolutionary standpoint, but merely from that of the ordinary trade-unionist; for we must remember that though we may consider the eight hour question as the essence of moderation, yet from a trade-unionist point of view it is almost a revolutionary measure. The only conclusion I can come to with regard to the Lancashire men is that they have been spoiled by too much prosperity. They are too comfortable, that is all about it, and they want a severe depression in the cotton trade to wake them up. Only this will enable them to shake off their Manchester Radicalism, with which they have become inoculated by the great John Bright. This alone will arouse them from their comfortable creed of let them starve and die who will, as long as we are all right. It seems by no means improbable, through the beneficent operations of the cotton ring, that they may soon have a rude awakening from their creed of enlightened selfishness and unrestricted competition.

### Fair Wages.

Advocates of parliamentary and municipal action for Socialists are very fond of pointing to the good work achieved by Mrs. Besant and John Burns in the direction of forcing all governing bodies to pay fair wages to men employed by their contractors. Our reply to this theory is that it may be good work, but it is work which the ordinary Radical or trade-unionist can do just as well. Socialists can surely employ their time far more profitably in spreading their own ideas. That even the most reactionary of trade-unionists are in favour of "corporate and other bodies" insisting upon their contractors paying fair wages is proved by the fact that the recent Trade-Union Congress—the most stupid and pig-headed of all trade congresses—passed unanimously a resolution in favour of this exceedingly mild reform. If Socialists cannot find better work to do upon the School Board, Municipal Council, or in Parliament, than merely insisting that these bodies should carry out unanimous resolutions of Trade-Union Congresses, they had better stay outside. They will find more useful employment in organising the sweated workers to secure "fair wages" by their own action and not by grandmotherly beneficence of the governing bodies of this "free and happy" country.

### East-end Tailors.

The sweated tailors have gained a victory. In the early part of the week the number of the strikers greatly increased, and the masters, alarmed at the spread of the strike, have now granted most of the men's demands.

"The terms of the agreement were that ten and a half hours were in future to be the limit of a day's work, and that no overtime beyond the limit of four hours a-week could be demanded from the workers. As, allowing for half an hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner, this means work from seven in the morning until seven at night, with the possibility of four hours' overtime during the week, it cannot be said that the men's demands were otherwise than moderate, especially when it is recollected that the work is but too frequently carried on in close and ill-ventilated rooms." This is taken from a leader in the *Evening Standard* of Saturday Sept. 14. When a Conservative newspaper compliments workers upon being "moderate," they must make up their minds to be more "extreme" next time they come out. It is a great mistake to get praise from Conservative newspapers.

The strike is not over. On Saturday the masters shuffled out of the agreement; then on Sunday they agreed to everything but would not sign the agreement. Then they would not have anything to do with the Strike Committee because they objected to "agitators," and when the delegates of the London Society of Tailors, who have taken up the cause of their sweated brethren, wrote to them asking for an interview, they would only act with the Strike Committee. So up to the present the strike continues. The tailors, who are not patronised by Cardinals and Lord Mayors, have been boycotted by the *Star* and other papers, and have had to make a gallant fight for three weeks on very small subscriptions. D. N.

### Tailors' Strike in Manchester.

Last Sunday a demonstration was held in Cheetham Hill, to support the claims of the tailors on strike. The meeting comprised between two and three thousand people, who were addressed by Diemshitz (London), Marshall (S. L.), Ritson (S. L.), Cannerick (S. L.), and others. The collection amounted to £4 4s. 10d., and over £10 has been collected for the strike fund. The resolution, which was carried unanimously, called upon all shades of workers to assist each other in the attempt to prevent capitalists from crippling them. The masters visited the committee last Saturday, and asked the men to return to work; the latter refused, except on condition that they were paid three days wages, which a few masters paid immediately, and the remainder are certain to follow their example. So strong has the union become, that those who refused to join when it was formed have found it to be to their advantage to remain no longer isolated from it. J. M.

### The Printers' Labourers' Strike.

The strike among these workers is, for the present, at an end. About fifty of the largest printing firms have been compelled to grant an increase in wages, amounting to as much, in many cases, as eight and ten shillings per week. This has been done, too, by unorganised workmen, with but a small group of Socialist workmen directing and leading them. A strong Union has also been formed, cards and rules printed, and offices taken in the heart of the newspaper and printing metropolis, Fleet Street. Although strike relief has been granted to a large number of men, the agitation carried on and organisation has been successfully set on foot at the small cost of £25. If this agitation has done nothing more, it has at least taught these workers that they have the right and power to revolt against the oppression and exploitation of their masters. G. C.

STRIKE IN DROGHEDA.—On Friday a strike took place at the Greenhills spinning works of Mr. Thomas A. Dickson, M.P., 600 hands turning out in protest against the system of imposing fines of 6d. for every five minutes late in the morning. J. O'G.

SCOTCH STRIKES.—Strikes for increase of pay have been entered on by plasterers' labourers at Edinburgh, the Glasgow lathsplitters, the furnacemen at Coatbridge, and the joiners and plumbers at Falkirk. The lathsplitters, joiners, and plumbers have each demanded 7d. per hour. G. McL.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 28, 1889.

22	Sun.	1792. National Convention meets; proclamation of French Republic; <i>L'ère Républicaine</i> begins. 1822. Bories, Pomier, Gonbin, and Raoulx, sergeants in the 45th regiment of the line, guillotined at Paris for a republican conspiracy. 1855. Meeting in London to commemorate proclamation of the Republic. 1862. Lincoln threatens abolition. 1865. Two peasants, the brothers Unisoff, shot for refusing to pay taxes.
23	Mon.	1829. Major John Cartwright died.
24	Tues.	1798. Bartholomew Teeling hung. 1866. Great Reform meeting at Manchester.
25	Wed.	1870. Siege of Paris begun. 1877. Communist Club intervenes in strike at new Law Courts, and causes German masons to return home.
26	Thur.	1618. Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded. 1848. Trial of Chartists.
27	Fri.	1798. Thomas Muir died. 1803. Trial of Henry Howley at Dublin for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Berne. 1885. Dod Street demonstration; 70,000 present.
28	Sat.	1792. Siege of Lille by Austrians begins; lasts till October 8. 1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy, secretary of the London Corresponding Society, for high treason. 1840. Trial of Louis Napoleon, before the Court of Peers at Paris, for Boulogne attempt. 1843. Trial of Smith O'Brien for high treason. 1862. Fight in Hyde Park between Garibaldians and the Irish. 1864. International founded. 1870. Capitulation of Strasburg; rising at Lyons. 1832. Miss Kutitomskaaya attempts life of the governor of Chita, Siberia.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday September 22, at 8.45 p.m., Mr. John Chandler, "The Labour Question of the Day."

YE OLDE RED LION DEBATING FORUM, Plumtree Court, Shoe Lane.—On Tuesday, September 24th, at 8.30 p.m., Wm. Blundell will open a discussion on "Something Good."

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, High Street, Streatham.—A Debate will be opened by Mr. Crickmay on Saturday evening—subject, "The Eight Hours Question." Local Socialists please turn up.

Anarchist meetings will be held at Princes Street Club, 3 Princes Street, Spitalfields, every Friday at 8. All comrades are invited to take part in the discussion. Speeches in English, German, and Yiddish.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888.—Oxford, to end of September. 1889.—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, and Clerkenwell, to end of June. Manchester, and North London, to end of July. Leicester, North Kensington, and St. Georges East, to end of September.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Council collection, 6s. 8d.; C. Beckett, 1s.; Mitcham Branch, 2s.; and R. Turner, 1s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Webb, 1s.; C. Saunders, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Fraser McFarlane, 2s. 6d.; Rose, 2s. 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Schack (4 weeks), 4s.; F. C. S. S., 1s.; M. M., 1s.; H. H. Sparling, 1s.; Samuels (2 weeks), 1s.; and J. B. G., 1s.

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**—*Battersea*—Kitz and Reynolds addressed a large meeting at Princes Head; 2s. 7½d. collected and 28 *Commonweal* sold. *Chelsea*—A splendid meeting was held here on Wednesday evening last, when Kitz, Mowbray, and Samuels spoke to a very sympathetic audience; 21 *Weal* sold and 4s. 4d. collected for dock strikers. Also good meeting on Sunday morning (when a comrade presented us with a fine platform), Samuels and Beckett spoke; sold 29 *Weal* and collected 1s. 4d. for propaganda. *Hoxton*—Mowbray, Kitz, and Parker addressed a very large meeting outside Hoxton Church on Thursday evening; *Weals* sold well. *Islington*—A capital meeting was held at Prebend Street on Friday night by Reynolds (Yarmouth), Mowbray, and Parker. *Mile End Waste*—A large meeting held on Saturday night, addressed by Mowbray, Davis, and some members of S.D.F.; 27 *Commonweal* sold.

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting, collected 2s. 2d.; speakers, Kitz and Reynolds; *Commonweal* sold 37; we are organising the labourers hereabouts to obtain shorter hours and better pay.

**NORTH KENSINGTON.**—A good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers, R. J. Lyne, Maughan, Charles Watson, S.D.F., J. F. Lyne; two quire of *Weals* sold; 2s. 8½d. collected; St. Anne Road, fine meeting; speakers, J. F. Lyne and Crouch; several of our members held a meeting in the Park in the afternoon; in the evening we held a good meeting at Cornwall Road; speakers, R. J. Lyne, Crouch, Maughan; we expected here that we would have had the order to move, but strange to say the police came and looked, but passed by on the other side.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Ossulston Street on Thursday; speakers, Cores, Mrs. Lahr and Cantwell; some opposition; collection for the Dockers, 5s. 7½d.; at Regent's Park on Sunday morning Mowbray addressed a splendid audience; good sale of *Weal*; 5s. 1d. collected for propaganda.—T. C.

**STREATHAM.**—Good meeting; speakers, Kitz and Reynolds; 27 *Commonweal* sold; Branch is increasing; 6 new members.

**ST. GEORGE'S EAST.**—A new station was opened at Union Street, Sunday morning; large audience addressed by Such, Turner, and Leggett, the last-named comrade having been discharged from his employment as carman, for daring to go on strike; good sale of literature; *Weal* and pamphlet on "Organised Labour" sold out, besides a good number of *Freedom* and League manifestoes. A concert has been arranged for the benefit of the Branch at the Berner Street Club on Saturday evening, the hall being kindly lent free by club comrades; for full particulars see elsewhere in *Weal*.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Downie, and Antony Smith spoke on Jail Square. At the same hour Glasier lectured to the Legislative Independence Branch of the Irish National League on "Ireland and Socialism." At 5.30 Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, Downie, and Gilbert spoke at Paisley Road Toll to a large audience. Our ancient enemy the Orangemen, in the form of half-a-dozen by no means well favoured or well mannered specimens of humanity, turned up, obviously with the view of creating a disturbance; they expressed great anxiety to "debate" the question with us! As we have no ill-feeling towards the poor fellows, we could not of course think of being the means of displaying their ignorance and folly to the uncharitable crowd.

**MANCHESTER.**—Sunday morning at Philip's Park; meeting addressed by Mason and Stockton; afternoon, Stevenson Square; Speakers, Parkinson and Bailie; Chester Road, at 8 p.m., Bailie and Ritson spoke. At Oldham, in the morning, a meeting was held by Bailie and Oldham comrades; Heywood was visited in afternoon; good meetings addressed by Mason and Stockton; over 100 *Weals* sold altogether.

**NORWICH.**—On Saturday evening a large number of comrades went and heard Fred Henderson lecture in one of the local schoolrooms upon the Political Policy of Socialists. The meeting was well attended; chair taken by Mr. Burgess; the lecturer was opposed by comrades W. B. Parker (London) and W. Moore, Parker particularly pointing out the misstatements Henderson made in reference to the late strikes, and strongly condemned the use of politics. Henderson was subjected to much interruption from the audience; Sunday morning Parker addressed a good audience. At the Market Place, in the afternoon, a large meeting was held; Parker opened, followed by the Treasurer of the Local Trades Council, Mr. Crouch, and an Irish American, who spoke in favour of a resolution congratulating the dockers. In the evening another good open-air meeting held, comrades Parker, Hardy, and Poynts spoke; opposition was given by an individual who advocated thrift, etc., and advised the working-man to save up out of his weekly earnings. Parker replied at some length; meeting lasted over two hours; good sale of *Commonweal*.

**YARMOUTH.**—In the morning on Priory Plain the meeting was addressed by Ruffolds and Henderson. In the afternoon, at the same place, by Ruffold, followed by Adams; in the evening on Colman's Granary Quay. We opened by singing the "Starving Poor of Old England," followed by addresses from Ruffold, Moore, and Darley; we finished the day's propaganda with a song from Comrade Darley; 33 *Weals* sold, and fair collections for local propaganda. A meeting was held at Colman's Granary on Monday evening by Parker (London) and Poyntz; labour songs sung.—J. H.

**DUBLIN.**—At Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, September 14th.—T. Hamilton delivered an address on "Labour and its Remuneration," dealing with the various politico-economical theories. An interesting discussion followed; in which King, Graham, Wilson, O'Gorman, and others took part.

**NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.**—In Smeinton Market on Sunday morning Peacock and Proctor addressed good meeting. In the evening in Great Market Rotke presided, and Peacock and Proctor spoke on School Board affairs. A local trades unionist who defended Broadhurst was snuffed out by Proctor; collection for School Board Fund, 5s.—P.

# LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

*Clerkenwell.*—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (4-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). On Sunday September 22, at 8.15 p.m., H. Davis (S.L.) will deliver a lecture on "Communist-Anarchism—Defined and Defended." Members are requested to attend a very important Business Meeting on Sunday at 6.30 p.m., to decide about new branch premises and the putting of branch into more active work.

*East London.*—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

*Hammersmith.*—Kelmcott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 22, at 8 p.m.—A Lecture, French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday evening. Teacher, M. Mille. Des Roches. The fees are quite nominal; members of the League are invited to join.

*Mitcham.*—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

*North Kensington.*—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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

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

## PROVINCES.

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

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

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

*Halifax.*—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

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

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

*Manchester.*—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m.

Secretary's address, 5 Llandaff Street, Harpurhey.

*Norwich.*—Tuesday, at 8 p.m., Quarterly meeting of Members for election of officers and other important business; all comrades requested to attend.

Hall open every evening from 8.30.

*Oxford.*—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

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

*Yarmouth.*—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SATURDAY 21.

- 7.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... Reynolds
- 8.30..... Battersea—opposite Christ Church ..... Kitz and Mowbray
- 8.30..... Mile-end Waste ..... Davis

### SUNDAY 22.

- 11 ..... Latimer Road Station ..... Crouch, J. F. Lyne, and Smith
- 11.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels, Turner, Davis, and Mordhurst
- 11.30..... Eelbrook Common ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane ..... Mainwaring
- 11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road ..... Maughan and Lyne senr.
- 11.30..... Shadwell—Leman Street ..... Mowbray
- 11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Kitz and Reynolds
- 11.30..... Regent's Park ..... Turner
- 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch ..... The Branch
- 3.30..... Victoria Park ..... The Branch
- 7 ..... Chelsea—Town Hall ..... Samuels
- 7 ..... Clerkenwell Green ..... Nicoll
- 7 ..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 7.30..... Streatham—Fountain, High Street ..... Kitz and Reynolds
- 7.30..... Walham Green—back of Church ..... The Branch

### TUESDAY 24.

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

### WEDNESDAY 25.

- 8.30..... Chelsea—Embankment ..... Samuels, Kitz, and Reynolds

### THURSDAY 26.

- 8 ..... Ossulston Street ..... Parker and Nicoll
- 8.15..... Hoxton Church ..... Kitz

### FRIDAY 27.

- 8 ..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk ..... Graham and Davis
- 8 ..... Islington—Prebend Street ..... Parker, Kitz, and Mowbray

## PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

*Manchester.*—Saturday: Middleton Market Ground, at 7.30. Sunday: Stevenson Square, at 3; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

*Norwich.*—Saturday: Haymarket, at 7.45. Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

*Yarmouth.*—Priory Plain, every Sunday at 11 and 3. Colman's Granary Quay, Sunday at 7. Bradwell, Sunday at 11.30. Belton, every Monday at 8.

**DEPTFORD LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway, Deptford.**—Sunday Sept. 22, at 8.30, W. S. De Mattos, "The New Radical Policy."

**STAR RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.**—Sunday Sept. 22, at 8.30, Mr. P. Hennessy, "Strong Government in Ireland."

**WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Chalotte Street, S.E.**—Sunday September 22, Graham Wallas, "Practicable Socialism."

**CENTRAL FINSBURY RADICAL CLUB, 241 Goswell Rd., E.C.**—Sunday Sept. 22, at 11.30 a.m., J. Hunter Watts, "The State and its Proper Functions."

**DUBLIN.**—Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, on Saturday September 21, at 8 p.m., H. Sutton Frizelle will lecture on "Hope for the Proletariat."

**SPECIAL NOTICE—A SOCIAL EVENING.**—A Benefit Concert and Dance, under the auspices of the St. Georges-in-the-East Branch, will be given at the Berner Street Club this Saturday evening, September 21, at 8 p.m. Comrades Mrs. Harris, Presburg, Mrs. Tochatti, Nicoll, Mrs. McKenzie, Turner, and others, will assist. Dancing at 10.30; comrade Rochmann, M.C. Admission by programme, 3d. All members of the League or other comrades invited, and it is hoped as many as possible will support, and so make it a success. Any information of the Branch Secretary.

# WHERE TO GET THE 'COMMONWEAL.'

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