

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

The present example of the sickening conventionality, called a Queen's Speech, is a fine specimen of its loathsome kind, but there is nothing in it to surprise anyone. Its framers are, of course, bound to praise themselves, whatever crimes or blunders they may have committed, but that people should tamely bear such a ridiculous and preposterous piece of nonsense is a sign, if but a small one, of the rottenness of the society we live in, and a token of the baleful officialism of our dead-dog constitutional monarchy, that finds it useful to have a cloak behind which to shelter its misdeeds; even when it is a cloak that would be openly laughed at but for the cant that guards English bourgeoisie from every breath of common sense.

Mr. Balfour's speech on the Mitchelstown massacre is accepted as meaning an endorsement of the murderous conduct of the police; that was all that we wanted to know of him. His *tu quoque* to Sir William Harcourt was as effective as you please in the atmosphere of the House of Commons, but has nothing whatever to do with the question which all honest men are asking: Are you going to govern Ireland by Peterloos? Mr. Balfour answers "Yes, if my colleagues' courage does not collapse." A very big "if" is that. If the age of miracles does not come back on us, the responsibility of Ireland will presently be shifted from the Tories to the Gladstonites, though perhaps the very confidence that most people have in the rapid approach of Home Rule, acting on the habitual laziness of the English people, will yet delay it somewhat.

The feeble forcible government has made another step in Coercion by specially proclaiming the Clrre branches of the National League. This will make no difference to the work that body has been doing (except to keep its name before the public), since it will be taken up in another form.

Mr. Cunningham Graham is to be congratulated on his suspension at the hands of the pantomimic actor who serves the House for Speaker at present; it is the only honour which an honest man who has strayed into that assembly can receive from it.

That political prisoners should be treated in our jails on the same footing as ordinary criminals, is certainly a-piece of English brutality; but I think it is so principally because it is intended for an insult against freedom on the part of the coarse blackguards who govern us. On the other hand, if the political prisoners protest against prison-torture applied to themselves only on the ground that they are high-minded and superior persons, they show their unfitness for citizens, and their fitness for governors. To treat *any* set of men in the brutality-plus-science manner that prisoners in English jails are treated, degrades the whole nation; not merely the poor devils of warders, jailers, and the semi-military fools of governors, but the whole of society, that in its indomitable cant takes it for granted that here as in other matters England is ahead of the rest of the world, is thoroughly respectable.

Indeed what words can express the baseness of the *vicarious* cruelty that sets a body of poor wretches of the "lower classes" to do the prison-torture for the behoof of the respectable; and these all the while know perfectly well, if they know nothing else, that their prisons are breeding-places of crime and slaughter-houses of the hope of a return to decent life; and if they choose can know that our English prisons are about the worst in Europe, and a disgrace to humanity. "Am I my brother's keeper?" quoth Cain, and the same sneer is practically the answer which our vile respectability makes to any doubts that may be suggested to it on this matter.

☞ The appeal of the Chicago Anarchists has been rejected; but they have a further appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Our friends, it may be hoped, will remember that the evidence on which they were convicted of the bomb-throwing or complicity with it, was quite worthless; and that the conduct of the police on the occasion was simply an exaggeration of that of the police in the first act of the Mitchelstown tragedy; only the American police used deadly weapons from the first. In spite of all this, it is only too probable that these men who have dared to speak of freedom to the republican people of America, will be sacrificed to that spirit of cold cruelty, heartless and

careless at once, which is one of the most noticeable characteristics of American commercialism. W. M.

*Jus*, the "organ of Individualism," has naturally a fling or two at the Trades' Union Congress because of the "manual labourers" daring to meddle with the concerns of better educated people. "Knowledge is a pre-requisite of sound practical politics"; and all the old truisms are trotted out for the occasion, that are tossed aside when they tell against our ingenuous friends. That workmen should endeavour to *combine*, and not accept the advice of Individualists and be beaten in detail, is gall and wormwood to the sensitive friends of "individual liberty."

"A crushing and overwhelming blow for the Socialists" administered by Mr. Broadhurst, however, is found by *Jus* in his dictum that "one of the chief causes of the want of employment is the tremendous development of the power of production"! Both the speaker of this portentous phrase and the commentator thereupon might have heard and read the same truth uttered from many a Socialist paper and platform without seriously harming the Socialists.

"This increase," says *Jus*, "must be set down to invention and organisation. The significance of this will be apparent to those who reflect. Ay, truly! Socialists wish to carry higher the "invention and organisation" that has produced the increase of wealth, *minus* the Individualistic exploitation that has produced the un-employment. "Hence these tears!" S.

## THE AMERICAN LABOUR PARTIES.

### II.—THE GEORGE PARTY.

IN stating the "platform" of the George party it will be necessary to boil it down. Among the sins of some American Labour leaders is that they are as roundabout and long-winded as British lawyers. A reprint of the platform of the "United" Labour Party would fill three columns of this paper; but here is the gist of it:—*Platform*: (1) Abolition of all laws which give judicial, industrial, financial, or political advantages to one class that are not shared by all; (2) repudiate Socialism and land nationalisation; (3) tax all land-values which arise from the growth of society as distinguished from individual exertion; (4) municipalities to supply water, light, and heat; government to issue all money and start a postal telegraph and savings-bank and take over the railways; (5) reduction of the hours of labour, stop employment of children, stop competition of convict with "honest" labour, secure sanitary inspection of houses, factories, and mines, and stop abuse of the conspiracy laws; (6) simplify legal procedure, secret ballot, relieve candidates from election expenses. *Resolutions*: (1) Calling national labour conference (of those who accept this platform only); (2) widening and deepening the State canals; eight-hour day for letter-carriers; (4) compulsory education of children from 14 to 16, and establishment of free libraries; (4) denouncing the public press and demanding a fair examination of their principles from "the people, the pulpit, and the press"; (5) establishment of a State printing-office; (6) no companies or individuals to employ armed men; (7) no class-legislation; (8) no public grants to private schools, charities, or other institutions; (9) equal civil and political rights to women as to men; (10) Home Rule and the destruction of landlordism in Ireland.

This platform was framed by a small committee, presented by George, and "swallowed" by the convention without the least discussion. The first features that will strike any one who knows George's works will be that free trade is not mentioned and land nationalisation is repudiated. George has not abandoned free trade; he has merely put it up his sleeve. It lurks, but not unseen, in the principle that all taxes are to be abrogated except a land tax, or rather "a tax on land-values." The *Irish World*, a true and free-minded friend of labour, has already ferreted out this, and predicts that the coming national conference will split on this point. Very likely, and little pity! A party which accepts such a platform as this will only hold together till it finds out the meaning of it—"which is nothing."

Those who thought that Mr. George was preaching the doctrine of the land for the people will now see their mistake a little more clearly. It is no use to turn upon George, as plenty will do, and abuse him for abandoning his principles. He never advocated land nationalisation. He used Socialist sentiment and arguments, he even talked about the

land being the property of the community, but his proposition never meant anything more than *State appropriation of rent*. The land for the people is a Socialist doctrine that can only be put in practice by Socialist methods. The rent for the State is an entirely different thing, and would never put the land to the service of the people at all. Least there be any doubt about this, here are the words of the new platform introduced by George at the Syracuse convention: "What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title [!], but . . . to devote to the common use and benefit those values which, arising not from the exertion of the individual but from the growth of society, belong to the community as a whole." This is plain enough. It means the land for the people—who can pay for it. George has found out by experience that an agitation on the land question alone will never make much lasting effect in an industrial country. In England and Scotland a few years ago George made a great stir, raised a storm of enthusiasm and enrolled tens of thousands of members in his Land Restoration League. But in a few months the League collapsed. The really advanced men in it became Socialists, the reactionaries went back to the mere Land Law Reform movement from which they had so timidly emerged. So long as George used Socialist sentiment and semi-Socialist arguments, he was simply recruiting for the Socialist movement. The people, once convinced of the wrong of landlordism, were soon further convinced of the greater wrong of capitalism. Once they got to understand how competition for land enabled the landlord to tax the farmer until all the produce of the soil, except a subsistence for those who worked it and other essential expenses, was stolen in the name of rent, they still more easily understood how competition for employment enabled the capitalist to reduce wages until the wealth-makers had but a bare subsistence also. And when the competition for plots of ground was shown to be caused by the monopoly of land, it was clear also that the competition for work was caused by the monopoly of factories, mines, railways—capital, in short, it was all very fine to argue that the land belonged to the people because God made it and gave it to them; but the Socialist, without questioning any part of this statement, could point out that the capital belonged to the people for a far better reason—because they made it themselves and didn't get it from anybody. "No man made the land." Very good: but no particular man made the capital. It is the result of the labour agencies of generations of men. Capital, at least in its modern form, and really in any form, is only possible where men work in co-operation, and the result of co-operative effort should not be used for private gain. George was never on a clearly-defined basis with his proposals. His profusion (and confusion) of arguments sent some of his disciples further forward than himself, and frightened the rest further back. In his recent change of position he is more muddled than ever. Bits like this occur in his new platform: "The advantages arising from social growth belong to society at large; we aim at the abolition of a system which makes such beneficent inventions as the railroad and telegraph a means for the oppression of the people and the aggrandisement of power"; "the opportunity to employ his labour and the security that he shall enjoy its fruits" is claimed for everybody; "do such things for all as can be better done by organised society than by individuals"; "Municipalities should supply their inhabitants with water, light, and heat,"—and similar statements. But surely a mine shaft, a dock, a line of steamships, a dwelling-house, a bridge, a museum, etc., are just as beneficent inventions as a railroad or a telegraph? If the municipalities are to "supply" (what George means, of course, is that municipal bodies are to organise the production and distribution of these things; he is aware that under all systems of society the working people "supply" everything) water, light, and heat, why not also supply houses, furniture, bread, beer, bibles, and shin-plaster as well? If the municipality is to own and control water and gas works, why not also engineering works, stocking-factories, mines, quarries, churches, and public houses? Once again George's proposal includes only a few things and his argument embraces nearly everything, and once again the people will take his arguments and make their own proposals.

There is some instructive points of resemblance between the American Georgeites and the English Cobdenites, though there is little between George and Cobden. Both movements are, though generally progressive, for the immediate benefit of the capitalist class; both are based on the fallacy that the interests of trade and commerce are the same as the interests of the people; both are looked at with favour by the far-seeing part of the middle class (note how the *New York Herald* butters up the George party); and both are threatened with a genuine though not maturely developed working-class movement. But Cobden was a man who thoroughly understood his one idea, and was quite conscious of its exclusiveness and relied upon the self-interest of the manufacturing class to carry it through. Though he agitated the people, he did so with middle-class money, and so far from trusting in the people he even scolded John Bright for advocating extension of the franchise. George, on the other hand, states general principles with a recklessness that will one day ruin his party and drive his followers to Socialism. He still further appeals to the people, relies on the people, and wants to put more power in their hands. Further, while Cobden won the support of the middle class for the sake of his proposal itself, George will only get that support, if he gets it at all, for the sake of making his party a shield against the Socialists.

But there is still one point, and the most important one. What Chartism in Britain was to the Free Trade party, so the Socialists of America are to the George party; but with this difference—that the times and surrounding circumstances are changed. It was not the Free Traders that crushed the Chartists, though they tried hard. Chartism

was unable to live because the movement was premature and capitalism had to enter on another phase of its development. However willing George may be, neither he nor any other power can crush Socialism in America now. It is not only that the present Socialists are an able, well-organised, and powerful set of men, but that the vigour of capitalism in America is spent as it is in every country; the times and the conditions demand a change, and the only possible change is to Socialism. If all the Socialists in America were expelled from the continent instead of from the convention, there would be another and a bigger crop spring from the native soil in a few months.

On another occasion, as soon as some expected communications come to hand, I shall deal with the future action of the American Socialist party.

J. L. MAHON.

## RIVAL CREEDS.

"BELIEVE or be damned," squealed out an excited street-preacher the other evening as I sauntered homewards. The vehement manner in which this comforting phrase was uttered caused me to slacken pace and pull up to "take stock" of the preacher and the congregation standing around him.

The preacher I discovered to be a local mechanic, whom the wiles of the Salvation Army had recently converted. Before his conversion he had not (according to his own account) comported himself with that moral rectitude he should; but now—thanks to the Salvationists—he was a changed man. He was happy, for he had renounced "the world, the flesh, and the devil," and was exhorting his hearers to do the same.

"Turn thine eyes unto me," he exclaimed, just as I came to a standstill. I did turn "mine eyes"—not "unto" him, however, but on his congregation. A glance round convinced me that I was among a body of people to whom nature had not been kind in any respect. A poor, miserable set of starvelings they were; all possessed of a vacant sort of stare, as though they had been looking all their lives for something they could not find. They did not notice my presence or the intense look I gave them, for the converted painter (for such he was) had so completely fixed their attention that they stood unmindful of all else, drinking in every word he uttered.

The painter pleaded his cause most powerfully; he went delirious and tearful by turns, and thumped and jumped by way of illustrating the change wrought in him since he had received the "truth."

"Here," he exclaimed, all of a sudden, holding out a book, "is eternal life; take it!" The suddenness with which he did this rather startled his audience, who didn't know exactly what he meant for the moment; but it managed to puzzle it out, I suppose, after he had explained the matter by telling it something about faith and souls and spirits.

The character of the gathering quite interested me, and I stood gazing and listening to all going on quite intently. I daresay I should have "stuck" the meeting out, had not an unlooked-for event happened which completely distracted my attention from it, and fixed it on a short, thick-set man, perched on a tall stool about twenty yards off, who was shouting at the top of his voice, and waving his arms about most furiously.

This little man soon drew a large audience, among it the larger part of the painter's; myself, of course, included. The few that remained at the painter's meeting gradually dwindled away, and at last left the painter and the glorious company of his apostles all alone, looking skywards, with hands clasped in pious agony.

But to return to the little man on the tall stool, who from his high perch continued to ~~orate~~ in the most vigorous manner.

"Why," exclaimed he, "in a land overflowing with riches do the people starve? Why do those that labour enjoy not the fruits of their labour? I will tell you," said he, violently shaking his fist; "it is because society is organised solely in the interests of a class of idle loafers, who rob—"

"What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world—" interjected the painter; who, since his audience had become absorbed in that of the man's of small stature, had been hovering about the outskirts of the meeting, interjecting remarks from time to time.

"Yes, that's the sort of blarney we're asked to swallow," said the man on the stool, without allowing the painter to finish his text; and in an exasperated tone he proceeded with his discourse, pointing out how the workers were robbed of the wealth their labours produced. "Look," said he, "at the effect of the depredations of this class upon those that form the bulk of the community! It has condemned them to a life of slavish toil, herded them together in miserable hovels—"

"In my Father's house there are many mansions," called out the painter.

"The person who is continually interrupting me," said the orator, "has completely lost his mental balance; pay no heed to him. The aerial mansions he talks of are but poor substitutes for those built here below by human hands. I know he doesn't think so, but those who are responsible for his present state of mind do; for although they prate of a 'despised Nazarine, who had not where to lay his head,' they take good care to rest their own on the softest pillows."

"For there are none righteous; no, not one," the painter threw in. "What fools we are to allow these oily-mouthed, canting hypocrites to bamboozle us," went on the orator, regardless of his interrupter; "that they may revel in luxurious idleness, we are compelled to

tug incessantly at the oar of labour, and yet, despite it, are hard pressed at times to know where to obtain the morrow's meal—"

"Take no thought for the morrow," exclaimed the painter.

This last utterance of the painter's quite overcame the orator. Red with rage, he screamed out to his interrupter, "Look here; if you've got anything to say, come and say it here. I want opposition!" So saying he rapidly descended from the stool on which he stood.

This challenge to debate was received by the audience with demonstrations of approval, and cries of "Now, then, 'Skibo,' 'Sankey,' etc., rent the air.

The painter would have backed out of the challenge if he could, but being detected "hedging" off, he was hustled to the front of the stool, which, after much hesitation, he timidly mounted. Cheers greeted him as he did so. A meek, affecting smile overspread his face, as with bared head and elevated eyes he began to speak. He told his hearers "to hearken not to the voice of the devil, but to bear with fortitude the misery of their lives, for they would surely be recompensed for their sufferings hereafter. That it had been wisely ordained that many should be poor and few rich"; and gradually warming up, he gave vent to a number of disjointed texts, and finally, in a state of nervous perspiration and excitement, quitted the stool with the threat of hell to all unbelievers.

The orator having taken his stand on the stool again, began his reply by saying "That though he differed in every way from the views just expressed by his opponent, yet he believed him, although a mistaken man, to be an earnest one." This, however, was all the sympathy he showed him, for he at once began to ridicule and mercilessly criticise his arguments.

Having finished the task the painter had set him to his own satisfaction, he was proceeding to exhort his hearers to combine together for the purpose of freeing themselves from their oppressors, when, to the great surprise and indignation of everybody, a policeman appeared on the scene and ordered him down.

"I have a duty to perform, and I will do it!" exclaimed the orator.

Loud cheers greeted this utterance, and the constable, noting the hostile attitude of the meeting, at once blew his whistle for assistance, and in a few minutes several of his comrades made their appearance, and drawing their staves charged the crowd indiscriminately. A general fight ensued, during which the orator was knocked off his stool, trod on, and ultimately carried face downwards to the police-station, as were several others—the painter among them—the crowd following the procession hooting and cheering.

Under the heading "Rival Creeds," I learned from the evening paper of the next day that a Salvationist and a Socialist had been charged at the police-court with "riotous conduct," and for this offence had been fined 40s. each, with the alternative of a month's imprisonment.

Both went to prison; and until their term expires the public will hear no more from them of the merits of their respective creeds.

H. A. BARKER.

## SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

[TO THE EDITOR.]

(Concluded from p. 301.)

THEN as regards dividends. The taking of these by idle shareholders in Co-operative Societies is opposed to Socialist principles root and branch. A Socialist Co-operative Society would not allow shareholders to receive dividends, that is, any portion of net profit for which they had not worked. As the great object of Co-operation on Socialist lines is to benefit in the first instance the workers, and next those who deal at the store, the surplus which remains after payment of all charges will be divided between the workers and the customers of the society. Under the item "charges," provision would be made for a reserve fund to cover risk, and a fund for extending the operations of the society in such directions as might be deemed advisable. Out of this last fund would come return of capital to shareholders when considered necessary. But all shareholders would be entitled to claim return after a fixed date. The security to shareholders would be all the property of the society, including of course the reserve fund. Into further details I need not now enter.

The next great differences between Socialistic Co-operation and that carried on at present, would be in the status of the workers and the hours of work. As regards status of the employés in the Rochdale and Civil Service Societies, they are exploited at the market rate of wages. And the aim being to obtain for capital 5 per cent. interest, and as high a dividend as possible to members consistent with low prices, the workers have to suffer. Socialist Co-operation will just reverse this. The workers will receive the first consideration. From general to drummer-boy in the great army of workers the pay will be according to the value of the work of each as nearly as it can be estimated in practice. And here I distinguish Socialistic from Communistic Co-operation. This last, a grand ideal when each will work according to his ability, and take according to his need from the common stock, cannot yet be realised. Until the time comes (if it ever does)—and it must be universal throughout the world if it is to be carried to its logical conclusion—we shall have to recognise differences. But under Socialist Co-operation all shall have a fair field and no favour, each finding the work best suited to capacity.

As regards hours of work. The aim of capitalistic Co-operative Societies is identical with that of capitalism generally, viz., to get as much out of the workers as possible. And therefore the shortening

of the hours of labour is not a plank in Co-operation as now carried on. There is also the same tendency as in capitalism, to work at high pressure. In Socialist Co-operation, lessening the hours of labour will be a *sine qua non*, and no workers will be required to work with the unnecessary and unnatural intensity which the demon of greed forces them to toil under capitalistic conditions. The grand principle that production for use and not profit-mongering is the end and aim of Socialist Co-operation, will be kept steadily in view.

I could enlarge on a further difference between Capitalistic Co-operation and Socialist Co-operation, viz., that under Socialist Co-operation there will not be the slightest temptation to adulteration. But space here is limited. I would simply say that it is true this exemption is also held out to those who now deal at Co-operative stores. They sell pure goods at present. But these are young days in Co-operation. The evil leaven of profit-making, whether in the form of interest or dividends to idle shareholders, will bring about corruption. There will be no security against adulteration except what now exists, viz., laws difficult to enforce.

There are other points of difference which I have not space to enter upon. I finish with a little bit of allegory.

Here are three roads, and here stands a sign-post. One arm points to "Individualism," another to "Co-operation," the third to "Socialism." We know well where "Individualism" will land us. We have already travelled the road, and weary and footsore we are at the sign-post again. We have, it is true, come upon many bright little spots and seen some fair prospects. But the net result of our experience has been that the further we travelled the greater became the misery and desolation. We therefore retraced our steps, and are back at the sign-post. Now we start upon the road "Co-operation." We are charmed at every step. By and bye, however, we come upon a parting of the ways, or rather a sudden turning out of the main road. No sign-post here. We prefer to keep straight ahead. It seems straight; but there is an imperceptible twist. This gradually increases. Things do not look quite so pleasant as when we started. At length, suddenly, we find ourselves once again in the old road, "Individualism." Disappointed but not disheartened we get back to the sign-post by the road "Co-operation," as that was decidedly more pleasant than "Individualism." This time we start on the road "Socialism." We find it very uphill to begin with. Still, we brace ourselves for the task and push on with a will. Every step takes us higher and increases our enjoyment. There is a freshness about the air that invigorates us, and instead of feeling fatigue we are stronger than when we started. At last we reach the mountain-top, and what a prospect spreads out before us, far as the eye can reach! Desolation there is none. The valleys laugh with corn, and happy voices swell forth in joyous song. We see a land fairer far than Moses beheld from Pisgah's height. We turn around to look back on the way we have come. Yonder is the sign-post. We see a bit of the road "Individualism." The rest is blotted out by a huge spur of the mountain. The road "Co-operation" is in view all the way to the point where it parted in two. We soon lose sight of the road which led back to "Individualism," while we note that the other, had we followed it, would have led us very soon into the pleasant land we see from the mountain-top. We find we shall get soonest to our journey's end if we descend the mountain and take the road at the foot which leads direct into that which turned out of the road "Co-operation." Thus we reach the haven where we would be. Socialism is Co-operation in its widest sense.

D. C. DALLAS.

We count every useful member of society, whether he works with brain or hand, as a labourer. Against this class stands the capitalist or cormorant class, who live upon the earnings of invested wealth, speculation, commercial gambling and monopoly. Every dollar made by the latter is taken without compensation from the former. Between these two classes there is an irrepressible conflict which can never be settled until men are made absolutely secure against either robber or robber-laws in possession of all that they honestly earn.—*Union Printer.*

A PROTEST AGAINST THE DOMINANCE OF MACHINERY.—Man, in his laboratory, has formed a creature that now has the mastery over him, that enslaves and uses him as a tyrant from which there is apparently no hope of escape. A machine is a working contrivance, with no insides—neither heart, lungs, nor liver. They who have fallen well in with the spirit of the age even maintain that the whole creation is just such a contrivance, without an inside, without a contriver, without heart or soul—and apparently they are pleased with the thought. And there are other philosophies and forces than the economic asserting themselves in the *unrest* which characterises the times; and this may be due, in part, to the fact that "there is a spirit in man," a something that refuses to be absorbed in the economics of the machine, and which cries out for better privileges than mere wealth or material benefit. One of the forms of protest against this dominance of the machine is a revival of *handicraft*. The plea for the revival of handicraft is a plea for the moral improvement of no inconsiderable portion of the people; for if we contrast the moral effect of work sweetened by a pleasurable exercise of inventive skill with labour that is simply a monotonous toil for wages, it is apparent that there must result therefrom a marked distinction in the character that is formed under the two systems. For work that affords pleasurable exercise to the faculties in its performance tends naturally to contentment, the very nature of the work is profitable in its mental and moral effects, and this constitutes no small part of the reward—perhaps the greater part. But work that is mere drudgery, an unending grind of toil in which mind and body are automatically engaged, is naturally productive of discontent, for there is no interest in it but the *wage*, and where money is the sole object of labour—notwithstanding its representative value as a commodity of exchange—there can be no contentment; and this prevalent spirit of discontent may be said to be largely due to that system of labour which the machine has engendered.—*Scribner's Magazine* for August.



"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.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. ROCH (London); R. DEMPSTER (Dundee); H. SAMUELS (Chelsea); N. W. (Laurencekirk); T. FLINN (Hampstead).—Letters will receive attention. N. W. SMEE (Hoxton).—We are much obliged by correction, which shall have place soon as possible.

U. C., E. C.—We especially regret to find your poem unsuitable—it is so beautifully written!

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 21.

ENGLAND	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	PORTUGAL	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	Oporto—A Perola	
Labour Tribune	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	HOLLAND	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Railway Review	La Socialiste	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	La Revolte	GERMANY	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	AUSTRIA	Brunn—Volksfreund
Jus	Lille—Le Travailleur	HUNGARY	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	BEELGIUM	ROUMANIA	Jassy—Lupta
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Liege—L'Avenir	DENMARK	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN	Malmö—Arbetet
New York—Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker		
Freiheit	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde		
Leader	SWITZERLAND		
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat		
Verbote	ITALY		
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio		
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta		
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	SPAIN		
Hammonton(NJ)Credit Foncier	El Productor		

FROM BUMBLE TO BALFOUR.

ALAS, for these poor officials, chief secretaries of Ireland, with captain-magistrates and police, and all the rest of the parliamentary Bumbles. "It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught, as men take diseases, one of another; therefore let me take heed of their company." Official ideas are caught in the debating-room at St. Stephen's coterie, as scarlet fever is, down in the slum foundation on which their palace is built. We may pity the respectables, for that some of their lesser myrmidons, having gone off their heads through the violence of the disease, should have run a-muck, as they did at Mitchelstown on Sept. 9. It is a most trying disorder, very prevalent now; patients suffering from it are subject to hallucinations, and see their sheepskin-law, justice, false witness, official information, truth, mercy, all mixed together as in a dream.

When the half-starved Oliver Twist, not content with the dietary of the Board, asked for "some more," the officials only threatened him with hanging in the distant future. When Irishmen, not duly reverencing the sacred rights of property, ask for "some more," our latter-day parliamentary Bumbles shoot some of them straight off, and then ask "what moved these unfortunates to bring upon themselves this unhappy and melancholy retribution?"<sup>1</sup>

We all know how official information is obtained and what it is worth. Our law-courts, both high and low, show the process in daily action. The judges and lawyers strive to get and mostly succeed in getting independant witnesses to answer in a way that fits in with some preconceived official theory, based on the tales of interested employes. The officials "have a great respect for these employes, who do their best under very difficult circumstances."<sup>2</sup> And this respect, it must be recollected, is not of that cold kind, which leaves those towards whom it is expressed to end their days in the workhouse, but offers "a lump sum of £150 and a pension of £40 a-year," with various other comfortable allowances.<sup>3</sup> An understrapper, before whose eyes is dangled a prize like this either for himself or for his widow after him, will naturally say under examination, "I will not answer, except I am instructed by my authorities;"<sup>4</sup> he will certainly not find it difficult to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. A. J. Balfour, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. J. G. Gibson, Attorney-General for Ireland, Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Dillon, in the Parliamentary debates of Sept. 10, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons, Sept. 12. The House of Lords, Sept. 14.

<sup>3</sup> See the Daily News of Sept. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Inquest, Sept. 14, on the Mitchelstown martyrs.

adapt his accounts to the wishes of his superiors. In this way "cowardly, wanton brutality" becomes officially "a melancholy retribution," or "a lamentable affray," or "a tragic occurrence which we all deplore."<sup>1</sup> It is of course true that the official account "differs in every vital and substantial particular" from that of an eye-witness with eyes. Official statements always do differ in that way, since they are accounts made up according to the Government pattern, with all the life left out. The pattern report is based on a simple formula—If a policeman shoots a citizen, so much the worse for the citizen: if a peasant threatens a policeman, so much the worse for the peasant. As one of the chief Bumbles explains, "anyone who resists an official and does not submit to be shot quietly, is engaged in resistance to the law."<sup>2</sup>

Circumstances alter cases to the official mind. I seem to recollect that a few years since "buckshot Forster" was a term of abuse. But the other set of officials being now in power, it is convenient to forget that, and to praise the reduction in the Irish constable's rifle-charge from bullets to buckshot, as "a merciful change, since, while buckshot strikes terror, it does not kill."<sup>3</sup> An ordinary enquirer might ask, why any one should wish to strike terror, and whether the killing of a few people is not as cheap a way of doing that as any other. But that is not the official's way of looking at it; it is one of his formulas that people should not be hurried into the presence of their maker. Buckshot, however, which only wounds, the evictor's tool which turn impetuous old men and women from their chimney corners out into the snow and slush, the sweater's screw, the crushing rules of the great shop, the unhealthy toil of the factory, the noisome air and dismal sights in which the workers have to live, these inflictions, it is true, do not hurry a few into the next world (except by official accidents), but in a quiet way they push all out of this life, when a mere half or third or even less of their natural days are gone. The official tongue will wag out formal laments and formal excuses, but the reasoning mind will see more mercy in the occasional Irish rifle-bullet, than in the everlasting torture of the English workshop.

We find in the newspapers a few expressions, which show that some even of those who sail under official colours, are shaking their minds free from the official uniform. Mr. Michael Davitt, alluding more particularly to the troubles of Ireland, has said, "The rent-evil was the beginning of it all."<sup>3</sup> That is it; the exaction of rent, of usury, of profit, the compelling of men to pay for nothing, is the beginning and the cause of all our troubles. Is that what Mr. Davitt means, or are his words to be read in connection with Mr. H. Labouchere's, who protests that the "Irish have never sought to escape from payment of rent," but that they want to know "what rent will be fair?"<sup>3</sup> If that is so, we do not get beyond the worn-out picture of the sturdy peasantry and skilful artisan, officially certified as prosperous.

Signs are clear to others, if not to our official newsmongers, that the Oliver Twists of civilisation will shortly ask not merely for more, not merely for an improvement in the dietary which their Bumbles think sufficient. They will demand all, all that nature allows, and will ask what need there is for the interference of officials between nature and themselves, and whether there is anything beyond nature and their own exertions, which goes to settle men's lives. They are beginning to see that all this official talk about fair rent and reasonable profit is but dust in the mouth, and will abandon elaborate calculations as to how much of nature's gifts they may throw away under these names, before the remainder will be reduced to the level of a livelihood officially certified as sufficient; and they will be assured that all such arithmetic has but the same relation to justice, that the cold and dreary existence in the workhouse under the tyranny of a Bumble, has to the full human life, warmed by the imagination and guided by reason.

C. J. FAULKNER.

THE TRADES' UNION CONGRESS.

II.

ON Wednesday the discussion on the formation of labour electoral associations was continued and concluded, State payment of members being added to the resolution, which was then adopted. Mr. Fenwick, M.P., still smarting under recent criticism, thought it a fitting time to follow in the same strain as his chief on the previous evening, and accordingly favoured his audience with a smirking, "cockey" speech, that reminded one of the attitude of a cheeky little boy after his "big brother" has cowed the enemy; crying out on the way, *apropos* of nothing, that the policy of the working classes had been a policy of reform and not of revolution—evidently having a very limited notion of the meaning of that latter word. It might perhaps improve Mr. Fenwick's education if I pointed out to him that "revolution" does not signify a fighting in the streets; and it would also be to his advantage if he recognised that the choice is not between "mildness" or violence. The decision of the Northumberland miners may perhaps help him to realise this.

Mr. Shipton followed with an ambiguous resolution in favour of land reform, and backed it up with a speech far more advanced than his resolution. This latter did not satisfy many of the delegates, and F. Maddison proposed as an amendment land nationalisation, and the imposition of a land-tax at once, which was ultimately carried unanimously—this being a distinct advance on preceding congresses. May the unionists quickly come to see that there is no logical halting-place between the nationalising of the land and that of capital, and that their emancipation from the thralldom of wage-slavery is inevitably bound up with its accomplishment.



A discussion on the eight hours' movement was initiated by a resolution favouring "a further reduction in the working hours," and expressing the opinion that this could be accomplished "by increased combination, assisted by the Government in reducing the hours of labour in all Government works to eight hours a-day"; and a clear issue was speedily raised by Mr. Parnell (London) moving an amendment declaring that the only effectual means of obtaining the same is by the passing of an eight hours' labour bill. A long discussion took place over this item, which was split up between the third and fourth days. The speeches were for the most part very weak, and there were but few who took into account the vast masses of workers outside the pale of the unions. C. R. Threlfall spoke vigorously, doubting the possibility of unionists accomplishing the work themselves, and favouring a bill; and he was followed by Mr. Broadhurst, who began by saying that Congress had never in its history had a subject more important to the trades' unions of the country, to the very foundation, than the one they were discussing, and then proceeded to throw the weight of his influence against any departure from the old ways. It was grievous to see him frittering away his time in detailing the trifling advantages his own union had been able to obtain in forty-five years, when the question, whatever its worth, was one affecting the whole proletariat class. W. Abraham, M.P., opened Thursday's sitting with a speech exhibiting a wider appreciation of the matter in hand, and favouring the amendment; and after him a Liverpool delegate supported the same view, remarking that the majority of the trades' unions were being driven into benefit societies and required reorganising on sounder principles, and suggesting that if Mr. Broadhurst mixed more with the toilers of the country he would recognise that the eight hours a-day must be accomplished by the most speedy means—i.e., by going to Parliament. After some more speeches a division was taken, when 29 voted for Mr. Parnell's amendment and 76 against; and ultimately it was resolved that a plebiscite should be taken of the members of the various trades' unions for or against an eight hour day and a full Saturday holiday, and whether this should be sought to be brought about by the unions themselves or by means of an eight hour labour bill.

Co-operation—one of the "annuals"—was then introduced, two delegates from the Co-operative Union attending and speaking. The Congress discussed this matter from the point of view of the co-operators' treatment of their employes, and complaint was made that in many instances co-operation encouraged "sweating" and the lowest form of cheap labour, and was merging more and more into joint-stock companies. Altogether, the deputation got some good advice. The resolution adopted was one expressing "strong sympathy with all well-conducted movements having for their object the securing to the worker a larger share of the product of his industry." After a growl of "indignation" at the Lords over the Truck Bill, it was resolved by a unanimous vote to call an international congress of the workers, to be held in London next year; Mr. Parnell pointing out that they were all fighting against the one class, and F. Maddison predicting a time when the workers of this country would be as closely associated with those of the Continent as they themselves now were through the medium of their Congress.

On Friday the Congress again fell foul of the Lords, this time over the Mines Bill; and after relieving their feelings by the despatch of sundry telegrams, the delegates passed to the subject of Overtime. This was denounced all round as an unmitigated evil, but the speeches did not suggest to one that any progress would be made in its correction. Some unpleasant information on the state of underground bake-houses was then given, and afterwards it was voted that the Factory Acts should be so amended as to prohibit the employment of females in chain and nail works; as also were some other amendments, including one enabling inspectors to enter the "sweater's" den. At this stage the president read a three-and-ninepenny telegram from Messrs. Kelly and Peters, having relation to their demonstration on the question of foreign bounties, and complaining that the Congress had not treated them with the consideration their merits deserved. This was promptly and properly consigned to the "waste-paper basket." Unimportant subjects filled up the rest of the day: labour federation only need be mentioned.

The concluding meeting opened with some remarks by W. R. Cremer, M.P., in which he complained bitterly of the treatment from Mr. Bradlaugh, who plainly told him he (Cremer) knew nothing about the Bill. He spoke of Mr. Bradlaugh's "imperiousness," and the obsequiousness with which his mandate was obeyed by the Tories. After this came a resolution in favour of Sunday opening of museums and art galleries, which this year the Congress adopted; and then the necessity for "a truly national system of free education" was voted unanimously. A Scotch delegate rose to repudiate the attack Mr. Broadhurst made on J. Keir Hardie, saying no one had done more for the Scotch miners than he, and no one was more respected by them; and then came a full dozen of items, which were knocked down with a rapidity appertaining to an auction sale, but which, indeed, got about as much attention as they were worth. And thus ends the summary of the business of the "Twentieth Annual Congress"—a miserable enough record, truly, if it is to be taken as expressing the aims and hopes of seven hundred thousand of the workers. But indeed it does not; and to the careful student, watching closely the progress made in the last few years—watching especially the tenor of the addresses of the presidents—there is evidence that the increasing knowledge of the toilers as to the causes of their degradation, combined with the forces at work intensifying their struggle for existence, will materially alter the nature and treatment of the subjects discussed at these gatherings in the future, and push forward the struggle for a better life with an ever accelerating speed.

The Eight Hour Labour Bill I consider by far the most important subject discussed at the Congress, and indeed it involves the "parting of the ways" in the history of the trades' union movement. It is not alone the intrinsic advantages the shortening of the hours of labour would bring to the workers—and a reduction of hours is a more positive benefit than an increase of wage—but the mere discussion and the struggle that would be involved in obtaining this would contribute immensely to lift trades' unionism out of the rut of stagnation in which it now is, and carry the unionists far onward in the path to Socialism; and it would be the especial duty of Socialists to take advantage of this activity to press home the truths of their principles, and see to it that the movement was recognised as but a stage onward towards the realisation of their ideal.

One thing which has signalled this Congress is the beginning of the revolt against Broadhurst and Co., for Hardie was not the only one who spoke out against the tactics of the labour M.P.'s. If trades' unionism is to make any progress it is clear that Broadhurst must go, and such men as Threlfall, Maddison, Bevan, and Hardie take up the work where he stops short. It may be very fine for him to declare in reports that the unionists have but cleared the brambles from the path to obtain freedom for striking out a policy; but the evidence is conclusive that he has gone as far as his narrow sympathies will carry him, and he puts his veto on everything which makes for an aggressive policy. It will not do for him to rest his claim for consideration on his past "sacrifices for trades' unionism," seeking to stifle the onward movement of organised labour, that he may gain popularity with the privileged classes and at the same time keep the secretaryship snug as something he may fall back upon when the Liberals are in Opposition; the labour movement is a serious business, with an idea in it, and those who endeavour to stay its progress must be sternly thrust aside.

In a last word I say to my fellow-unionists that it is time that they declared what is their aim—whether it be to free themselves from the slavery of working for a miserable wage and supporting the idle classes in luxury and extravagance, or whether their highest hope is the securing to themselves a shilling or two more or two or three hours less a-week. They must make their demands, and not beg a trimming here and there because their masters would object to grant them any more. They must get to know that they have not to beg but to take, and that nothing will be yielded up to him who humbly sues. Have unionists ever given heed to the words of Professor Cairnes and the verdict of Political Economy, that unless the workers can free themselves from their subjection to Capital the problem of their elevation is hopeless, and against the forces opposed to them trades' unions must dash themselves in vain? I say there is no compromise we can make with those who live on our toil; and the lesson the workers have before them is "to know their own, to know how to take their own, and to know how to use their own."

W. BINNING,  
London Society of Compositors.

#### "FREE LABOUR" IN MANCHESTER.

A Manchester friend sends us the following statement of facts illustrative of the working of the present system:

"There is a toffee-boiler in New Allen Street, Oldham Road, where the workmen are stopped twopence per week for the use of the w.c. If they work any overtime, and there happens to be any odd pence in the wage, this is struck off and kept from them. If they happen to have a day off, there is two days' pay stopped. A large grey cloth firm and shippers in Strangeways gave all the hookers notice a fortnight ago, that in future they would have to do double the quantity of work in the same time as before without any increase in wages. This, of course, means that the men have to almost kill themselves to earn just as much as will keep themselves alive. The majority left, but their places were soon filled. Where there are so many starving you will no doubt not understand how it is that they could do as much work again in the same time, but I will try to explain. In all our warehouses the hookers have a certain amount of work to do in the hour, which they can do in half-an-hour if they are at all smart, which has been the rule for half a century, although some take a little more time to do it in. Then there is what is called gaining, that is, when they are busy the men are given the opportunity of making double time, that is keeping continually at the hooking frame all day. This is very exhausting, and they deserve what they get. There is a firm in Hall Street, City, who employ jobbing packers at 4d. per hour, while the Packers' Society rules are that none shall work under 8d. These craven-hearted men, for this is what I call them, are non-society men who stand at the corners outside the clubs, and I have known these men to stand at a street corner in winter three days, eight hours per day, in the bitter cold and then take a job for three or four hours at 4d. per hour. These do not include all corner men, as having been one myself for three years I know plenty who would sooner starve to death, which we almost do sometimes, than work under 8d. and help against our fellows. You perhaps would like to know how it is I am not a society man. The societies are the Packers', Hookers', Stitchers', and Makers'-up. I am a grey cloth carrier, for which occupation there is no society. The packers', etc., have to serve their time to the trade, but amongst grey cloth carriers there are all kinds of tradesmen who cannot get a job at their own trade, and this is easily learned. I was jobbing at a firm in Fountain Street three weeks ago, and one of the employes in the grey department was going on his holidays, for which they are allowed ten days. The salesman, who is a captain of volunteers, very near-sighted, and with an inaudible voice, told him it was too long for a worker to have. He himself has a month, and for the rest of the year does not come to "business" before 10.30 and goes home at 4, and I don't know what he does when he is there, as he has a manager under him who conducts the business. These things illustrate our lot; I don't know whether the few words I tell them in are fit for publication or not, being uneducated myself, but seeing you depend on the workers for information I thought it my duty to let you know what little I have gathered, being, as I am, one who is slowly being crushed in the struggle for existence.

ONE OF THE CORNER MEN.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

**THE STRIKE OF WELSH COLLIERIES.**—The strike at New Tredegar, by which 400 men were idle, has been settled by a compromise, and any further dispute which may arise is to be referred to the sliding-scale committee.

For many years ship-building on the Clyde has not been so slack as at present. In the four ship-building yards in Whiteinch, a suburb of Glasgow, there is not a single ship on stocks. This has not occurred for twenty-seven years.

**COLLAPSE OF THE MINERS' STRIKE AT LINLITHGOW.**—After extending over ten weeks the strike of the shale miners at Champfleurie, near Linlithgow, has now collapsed. When the strike commenced, about 200 miners were employed in the mines of the Linlithgow Oil Co., and 160 miners have resumed work on the masters' terms.

At a public meeting of weavers at Padiham, it was decided to make weekly collections on behalf of the operatives now on strike at Higham. It was stated that the employers were paying 10 per cent below the Blackburn list before the strike, and they had refused over and over again to recognise the Blackburn rate of wages.

**THE STRIKE IN THE WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.**—On Thursday 15th a large open-air meeting of nail-makers who are out on strike for an advance in wages was held at Halesowen. Mr. J. Price presided. A resolution was passed to remain on strike until the whole of the masters agree to pay the 1879 list.

**DURHAM COLLIERIES.**—Owing to the committal to prison by the Gateshead County Magistrates of six miners for non-payment of damages and costs in connection with a recent dispute, the men employed at Felling, Wardley, and Asworth collieries, numbering 1730, came out on strike. The imprisoned men having been liberated, work was resumed at two of the collieries on Monday.

The action of the Midland Company has been, it appears, as a bugle-call to other companies to follow suit in a retrograde policy. The Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire is evidently preparing to follow. No one knows which will be next, therefore let all railwaymen take a timely warning and attend to that all-important and indispensable factor—Organisation.—*Railway Review.*

**THE CHATHAM DOCKYARD DISCHARGES.**—Sir John Gorst writes to inform his constituents at Chatham, on the authority of Mr. Forwood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, that the discharges en masse from the dockyard are now probably at an end, and that any further reduction which may be required will be allowed to effect itself gradually through deaths and age retirement. The information has caused great satisfaction in Chatham.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The voting on the question of continuing to maintain Messrs. Burt and Fenwick as Labour representatives has been concluded. The numbers are: For the present system, 3,300; against, 4,800. The resolution will not come into effect until next November, when Messrs. Burt and Fenwick will retire unless arrangements are made outside the Miners' Union for their continuance in political life.

**BLACKBURN—STRIKE OF COTTON OPERATIVES.**—On Thursday morning the loomers employed at Messrs. Hopwood and Sons, Nova Scotia Mills, Blackburn came out on strike through the employers refusing to give increased remuneration for a certain "sort" of work. The employers consider it not a "sort" entitling loomers to extra pay.—A strike of operatives also took place at Messrs. Thompson and Sons, Hollin Bank Mills. Four hundred operatives are out, and 700 looms stopped.

**THE BOLTON STRIKE.**—A conference of masters and representatives of the engineers on strike was held on Saturday afternoon, the result of which will be the submission of a communication to the men by the employers, which is expected to at once settle the points in dispute preparatory to arbitration on the wages question. *Wednesday.*—At a mass meeting last night the men decided, on a vote by ballot, to reject the employers' proposal. Large crowds awaited the result of the vote, which was ten to one. This is gratifying news, indeed.

**SHORT TIME IN CREWE.**—Last week notices were posted up in the locomotive-works of the London and North-Western Railway Company at Crewe, announcing that short time will be instituted there to the extent of seven and a half hours a-week. The hours of labour will be reduced on each Saturday and Monday to effect this economy. Between six and seven thousand employes are engaged in the Crewe Works. Full time was resumed on March last, before which the men had been on short time for the preceding eighteen months.

**YORKSHIRE MINERS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.**—On Thursday 15th inst. a largely-attended meeting was held to denounce the issue of the circular lately published suggesting the formation of a new miners' union. In various addresses it was declared that the circular was the production of a paid Tory agent, and was issued with a view of preventing Liberal members being returned for Yorkshire mining constituencies. It was added that the last two elections did not cost the Miners' Association a penny, and that the money the miners subscribed was in hand ready to fight the next election. A resolution denouncing the circular was passed unanimously.

A touching incident occurred a few days ago, when a group of Midland strike men from Toton were making their way through the streets of London towards the East-end, where they were to embark for Australia. One of the men suddenly stopped and picked up a withering flower which had dropped from his button-hole, when one of his companions good-humouredly laughed at him for treasuring so much a faded flower. "Ah!" said he, with a deep sigh, followed by a tear, "that flower came out of my little garden." The effect was so great upon the emigrants, who had all left neat and trim gardens behind, that they were quite overcome for some considerable time.—*Railway Review.*

**STRIKE IN THE BIRMINGHAM ENGINEERING TRADE—DAYWORK v. PIECEWORK.**—A portion of the men in the employ of Messrs. G. E. Bellis and Co., engineers, of Ledsam Street, Birmingham, have turned out on strike against a proposal on the part of the employers to extend the piecework system. The firm employ nearly 200 hands, but as yet only the society men have turned out. They affirm that the system on which they worked was unfair, inasmuch as a comparatively few hands were allowed the best work at "piece" rates, whilst the others with a full week's work were not able to earn what they consider a fair wage. They are supported in their action by the trade society to which they belong.

**WAGE DISPUTE AT THE HORWICH RAILWAY WORKS.**—The first contingent of smiths brought from Miles Platting commenced work at the new railway works at Horwich last week. Shortly after commencing, the smiths, about 16 in number, were informed that a reduction of 2s. per week would be made in their wages. The men demurred and left their work, most of them returning to Manchester to lay their case before the various branches of their trade society. About 12 smiths have since been engaged by the company, and they are working at the reduction.

**THE SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.**—The report that these men are about to give in is quite untrue. The men held a large meeting on Monday and determined to hold out till the masters submitted fair terms, and in the meantime to call no further meetings. The lock-out has now lasted eleven weeks, but the men are as steadfast as ever. Some days ago the masters made an indefinite offer to settle. The men agreed to go in, but put the proposed concession into plain terms. Then the manager of the Broxburn Co. refused to entertain the acceptance, on the excuse that it was made out in the handwriting of Mr. J. Wilson, the trades'-union secretary. All throughout the conduct of the companies has been shameful. The men have struggled gallantly and deserve to succeed.—J. L. M.

**WAGES IN THE LONDON DOCKS.**—A meeting convened by the Tea Coopers and General Labourers' Association was held on the 15th at St. Mary's Church Schools, Whitechapel, "to protest against the reduction of wages throughout the trade, and to point out the best means of protecting themselves against the pressure brought to bear upon them." The chair was taken by S. Montagu, M.P., who in opening the proceedings spoke of the advantages to the workers of trades-unionism. Mr. Tillet, the organising secretary, spoke at length of the necessity of forming a General Labourers' Association, embracing all the various grades of working men employed at the docks, and moved "That this meeting of tea operatives and dock and wharf labourers hereby expresses its unmeasured indignation at the reduction being made in the price of labour, and condemns as a source of impoverishment and shortness of work the sweating system of sub-contracts." This was seconded by Mr. Prentice, and adopted unanimously with cheers. A resolution in favour of the general character of the Association was also passed.

**THE CONDITION OF THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.**—Since the collapse of the Agricultural Labourers' Union in the Cambridgeshire districts wages have been gradually falling. The maximum price paid for "regular" hands is 10s. per week of seven days; occasional or casual hands are paid 11s. The harvest this year has been worked at the lowest wage known for years; and the number of men unemployed at this season of the year is unprecedented. In many parts of the county nearly one-third of the labourers had no harvest work at all. Now that the harvest is finished the casual hands are out of work, and starvation is staring hundreds of families in the face. The "casual farm-hand" is a product of the strike some years back, and the increased use of machinery. There is little work for this description of labourer during the winter. In the fields the ripe corn is stacked; in the cottages the labourer is in abject poverty. A feeling of discontent is prevalent among most of the men, and revolt against their miserable condition is eagerly looked forward to. The coming winter for those who plough and sow will indeed be a hard one, worse even than the phantomed "morrow of the revolution," the dreaded spectre of "advanced" politicians.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS AND POLITICS.**—The action of the miners in refusing to support Messrs. Burt and Fenwick out of the Union funds is a decided advance. The very first thing that working men have to do in organising a Socialist Labour Party is to clear out of the way the false friends of labour who so persistently truckle to the Liberal party. Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, Pickard, Arch, and the rest of the Labour M.P.'s have shown themselves mere bootblacks to the Whig whips, and have never had the courage to take an independent stand for even the paltry principles they profess. They deserve to be ignominiously pitched out of public life, and the only pity is that they ever entered it. Working men needn't care for all their foes if they only know rightly who their real friends are. The miners in the Northumberland Union cannot forget how these two men sat dumb in the House of Commons while 20,000 of their constituents were starving for eighteen weeks. They would be more than human if they could forget or forgive it. The very essence of the future of the real Labour Party must be its complete separation from Liberal or Tory political parties. These parties represent respectively the landlord and capitalist interest; their good favour can only be won by the desertion of the cause of labour.—J. L. M.

## AMERICA.

**LABOUR DAY.**—A general public holiday was held on the 5th of September and great parades of labour were held in the big towns of the States. In New York 30,000 men paraded, making a procession 10 miles long, with flags, emblems, etc. All sections of the labour party united harmoniously for this purpose. The demonstration made a great impression in the States.

**GEORGE AND THE SOCIALISTS.**—Great disaffection is being expressed amongst the American trade unionists at the treatment of the Socialist party by the Georgites at the late convention. A powerful Socialist convention has been held and full reports are expected shortly.

The Central Labour Union suspended a Musical Union because an orchestra in a theatre would not strike in support of the builders employed at the theatre.—Two hundred and sixty-five persons applied for an assistant book-keeper's situation advertised in the New York *Herald*.—At a meeting of the American Federation of Labour (which is supplanting the Knights of Labour) it was stated that 10,000 new members had joined since June 13th, and that the total strength was now 600,000.—The salesmen of Pittsburgh are forming a National Trade District of the Knights of Labour.—A great strike is impending on the Reading Railroad, the largest coal carrier in America. Seventy thousand men are concerned.—No. 3 division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians has been expelled from that Order for inviting the excommunicated Dr. McGlynn to lecture for them.—J. L. M.

When you hear a man say he has got through with the labour movement and that in future he will work for himself, depend upon it he never did anything else but work for "number one."—*Model Commonwealth.*

The Socialists know how to write, talk, and fight.—*Union Printer.* And what is of more importance, they use their knowledge to defend sound principles. But, after all, we think the Socialists are greatly overrated in respect to their abilities. It doesn't require near as much ability, from a logical point of view, to tell the truth and defend it, as it does to defend sophistry and falsehood. It is not the ability of Socialists, but the science of Socialism that appeals to men's reason.—*Workmen's Advocate.*

## CONTINENTAL NOTES.

## HOLLAND.

The scandalous bourgeois riot at Rotterdam has scarcely come to an end when we have to mention another, which happened at Utrecht on the 12th inst. The Socialists in that town had secured a new place of gathering, and on the above-named date they intended to inaugurate their premises. At mid-day a gang of rascals rushed into the house, and in a few minutes they had spoiled and destroyed all the furniture. The Socialists resisted, and a serious fight went on, with the result that the "rascality" was thrown into the street. At three o'clock they came back with re-enforced numbers, and a fresh attack was made on our friends, who again succeeded in repulsing the gang. Although there were several hundred men gathered there and fighting, the police did not put in an appearance until all was over. The police in Holland seems deliberately to encourage these attacks, but our friends intend on their side to resist by all means these scandalous provocations, and certainly they do very well.

Three Socialists of Amsterdam, having tried to introduce into the prison of Utrecht one or two copies of *Recht voor Allen*, to be handed over to Nieuwenhuys, have been sentenced to two months' imprisonment. They have been denounced, of course, by the prison warden. An appeal against the sentence has been brought in, and the decision of the Court of Appeal will be known next week.

Another Socialist, comrade De Ruyter, having thought it fit to congratulate Nieuwenhuys on his release in a piece of poetry, which, by the bye, is very well written, has been sent for trial on the ground of having slandered the Minister of Justice. In order that our readers may know what is meant in Holland by slanderous publication, we quote here the four incriminated lines:

"Die Tour van Belinckhave  
Die lage Koningsknecht  
Moest eindlyk buigen voor den wil  
Van 't volk, dat vroegom recht!"

(Du Tour van Belinckhave, this low-lived king's lackey, had finally to bow before the will of the people, claiming its right!)

All these bourgeois vexations and police prosecutions are far from doing any harm whatever to the spread of Socialism in Holland. On the contrary, every week we can mention several new sections in the remotest parts of the land, and a fact well worth noticing is that the Dutch women take their fair share in the propaganda business. In the principal towns, groups of Socialist women are at work. At Amsterdam, their section counts over two hundred members, and is chiefly busy in distributing literature amongst the landworkers.

## GERMANY.

Last week, the tribunal of Mülhausen, in Alsace, has sentenced two young Frenchmen in a most barbarous way, for less than nothing. The two young fellows, aged 19 and 20 years respectively, living at St. Maurice, in the Vosges department, having paid a visit to some friends at Wesseling, Alsace, returned home singing on their way the 'Marseillaise.' They were at once arrested by a Prussian gendarme and condemned by the "patriotic" magistrates, the first to 15 months' imprisonment and a fine of 500 marks (£25), or 100 days more imprisonment; and the second to 18 months and 1000 marks (£50) fine, or 200 days in addition. "God" may bless Germany!

On the 1st of October a great number of Socialists, including two deputies in the Reichstag, Grillenberger and Singer, are to be tried at Stuttgart.

Eight Socialists have been arrested at Halle-on-the-Saale, and expelled from the Prussian province of Saxony. Several workers of the Barfusserstrasse factory at Augsburg, have been arrested for having copies of the *Freiheit* in their possession. A real avalanche of trials are announced at Breslau, Posen, Dantzig, Cassel, Mannheim, Leipzig, in fact, everywhere, for the next month of October. As the magistrates cannot possibly find the necessary time for investigating each case separately, a comrade suggests that they should have their sentences (of condemnation naturally) made up beforehand in order to save the "culprits" the trouble of passing through the prosecution farce. We think our comrade comes too late with his suggestion. Surely, the German judges are in the habit of bearing their sentences in their pockets. Why shouldn't they? Time is money, in Germany as well as elsewhere.

## SWITZERLAND.

The cabinet-makers of Berne, who have been on strike for over two months, have issued a manifesto explaining the motives of their struggle, and appealing for help from their fellow-workers. Their claims are:—1. Abolition of task work; 2. Minimum salary of 4 fr. a-day instead of 3 fr.; 3. Suppression of job-work; 4. Nine hours work a-day; 5. None of the strikers to be dismissed after the struggle is over. The Swiss workers strongly support their comrades. The compositors, the tailors, and all the Grütli associations have sent important contributions to the strike fund. The Chambre Syndicate (Trade Union) of the cabinet makers of Paris has subscribed a large sum; Hamburg has sent 125 marks, Stuttgart 150, Mülhausen 50, and so forth.

A general strike of glaziers is also pending in several towns of Switzerland, if the "masters" do not accept the claims of their workers, who have given them a respite of a fortnight to consider matters.

The government of the Bâle canton have enacted a law regulating the work of women in factories. The maximum is eleven hours work a-day, and ten hours on Saturday! No work to be done on Sunday! One whole hour per day to be given free for meals! And, mind you, the Bâle government is a Radical one. What would it have done if it had not been so Radical as it is? One wonders really at the shamelessness of these Radical bourgeois.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Last week the police at Vienna made a perquisition at Karl Herman's lodgings, in order to find the correspondence which had passed between himself and a Socialist now in prison at Leipzig, who is to be tried for high treason. In spite of the advice given over and over again to Socialists, specially in countries where the police seem to have no other business than to watch Socialists, to destroy all their political correspondence, a considerable number of letters were found at comrade Herman's house, with the result of his being arrested and conveyed to the House of Detention at Prague. Comrade Herman had been expelled from Berlin, and it is the Prussian police who gave directions to that effect to their Viennese colleagues. Friends, once more, destroy your correspondence!

## FRANCE.

At Montluçon the glass-bottle makers are still on strike, with the exception of six workers who have abandoned their colleagues and hold with M. Duchet the exploiter. The strikers are well supported, and it seems likely that they will at last be victorious.

At Romans (Isere) twenty-one factories of hat-makers are closed, 2,000 workers being on strike. They claim an addition of one penny per hat to their wages. The hat-makers of Bourg-le-Péage, near Romans, are going to follow the example of their comrades, and then the whole trade will stand still.

We have received the first number of *La Révolte*, the new Communist-Anarchist paper of our Parisian friends. If we judge the new organ by its leader, entitled *Notrebut* (Our Aim), we may rest assured that it will follow the traditions of its predecessor *Le Révolte*, and we wish it good success. *La Révolte* announces that it will publish every fortnight a literary supplement, which will be a sort of continuation of *Le Glaneur Anarchiste* (the Anarchist Gleaner), a very useful undertaking which was obliged to stop some time ago. This literary part of the journal can do a great deal of good for the general propaganda, and we hope that it will be well supported by the workers.

A veteran of the revolutionary struggles of this century, Ferdinand Gambon, has just died in a little village of the Nièvre department. He was born at Bourges the 19th of March, 1820. His whole career has been one of abnegation and devotion to the interests of the proletariat. After the revolution of 1848, in which he took a prominent part, he was elected by the Nièvre department in the Constituante and afterwards in the Legislative Assembly. Sentenced to deportation by the High Court of Versailles, for having signed an appeal to arms, he was sent to the State dungeon of Belle Isle, and after the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, to the prison of Corte, in Corsica, where he remained until the amnesty of 1859. He was one of the most energetic opponents of the Third Empire, and on the 8th of February, 1871, more than 150,000 electors of the Seine department sent him to the National Chamber of Bordeaux from which he soon retired with disgust, after the insult flung by that assembly against Garibaldi. On the 26th of March, 1871, he entered the Commune of Paris, and our readers know that he was one of the last men who desisted from the battle, after having fought on the barricade of the Fontaine-au-roi Street. A long proscription followed, and as soon as the general amnesty opened again his country to him, he was elected a deputy by his fellow-citizens of the Nièvre. For a long time, he was almost the only Socialist in that gathering of reactionaries. Always, everywhere, in all circumstances, he has been on the side of the people, making boldly and generously the sacrifice of his fortune, of his health, and we may even say of his life, for he died from the consequences of the ill-treatment to which he was subdued during his various imprisonments. Born among the rich, he lived with the poor and remained with them, affirming his solidarity in their defeats as well as rejoicing in their triumphs. The memory of Gambon will everlastingly remain in the hearts of the proletariat.

## ITALY.

The advanced branch of the Italian Workers' Party, the Collectivist Federation, represented in Parliament by Andrea Costa, will hold a Congress at Milano in a few weeks.

A third Congress is to convene on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of October at Milano, viz., that of the Co-operative Societies. They will discuss, among other questions, that of an international federation of all similar societies.

Yet another Anarchist publication in Italy (*Lo Schiavo*, Nice) has sprung up this month. It is rather original in one way, for the editors do not commit themselves to its daily, weekly, or monthly publication as we other humdrum folk find ourselves pledged to do (by base superstition or the force of public opinion); they briefly announce that the paper will come out "when possible." This is "liberty of the press" with a vengeance, we cannot help exclaiming! A close column is devoted to an attack on *Humanitas*, vastly unentertaining *per se*, though some amusement may be derived from it for readers of 'Pickwick' by a certain resemblance to the Eatanswill style of journalism. Petty carplings and scoffings against other "groups" of one revolutionary body cannot be too strongly criticised as undignified in the extreme, and unworthy the serious aim towards which our thoughts and efforts turn.—M. M.

A Workman's Congress has been held lately at Rome, Monte Citorio, in spite of the hostility of the government. It was the most moderate of the two federations of Italian working-men, that which inspires itself with the traditions of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and which is composed rather of political reformers and co-operators than of revolutionary Socialists. Nine hundred and ten societies were represented at the Congress, which, among others, passed the following resolution: "The Congress condemns all privileges as being the direct cause of the moral decay and material impoverishment of the nation; claims the immediate recall of the Italian soldiers sent out on a culpable enterprise (the expedition on the Red Sea); sends their fraternal greetings to the French people, which has become the point aimed at by the European reaction; and, while despising henceforth all vain and unfruitful protestations, invites the Italians to manly action, in order to obtain by all possible means popular sovereignty in all political and social matters." D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Co-operative Store.**—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Donation—C. Bicknell, £3. Weekly Subscriptions—W. B., 6d.; Llednubh, 6d.; K. F., 1s.; C. J. F., 2s.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; Langley, 2s.; E. B. B., 1s.; P. W., 6d.—£3, 9s. 6d. P. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 20.

## THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (10s. weekly), for Sept. 10 and 17, £1.—Mowbray will be released on October 15, and it is requested that all monies and subscription-lists be returned by that date, so that the fund may be wound up as soon as possible after that time. J. LANE, Treasurer.

**South Wales Propaganda.**—Collected Sunday September 18; Hammersmith Branch—in Hall, 5s. 3d.; at Walham Green, 5s. 3d. Regent's Park, 9s. 1d. Hyde Park, 4s. 3d.—£1, 4s. 0d. J. LANE (for Strike Committee).

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—We had a fair meeting at St. Pancras Arches on Sunday, Davis, Dalziel, and Bartlett addressing the audience. A very successful meeting was held on Monday at the Polygon. Bartlett, Chatterton, and Walker spoke. There was a considerable amount of interruption, but no real opposition. One new member made. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Last Wednesday week, F. Lessner spoke on "German Socialism." Last Sunday, Sparling and Blundell addressed good audience on Clerkenwell Green. Afterwards, in hall, a "social" evening was enjoyed by members and friends. *Commonweal* and other literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

**HACKNEY.**—Good meetings on Sunday at the Salmon and Ball in the morning addressed by Lane, and at Warner Place in the evening, addressed by James Allman, Turner, and Brooks.

**HOXTON.**—Sunday morning successful meeting, and good sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, Miss Jessie Craigen lectured on "Anti-Vivisection;" good discussion. At close resolution carried protesting against vivisection.—C. J. Y.

**KINGSLAND GREEN.**—Good meeting on Kingsland Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Nicoll. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**MARYLEBONE.**—A very good meeting at Hyde Park, addressed by Parker and Mainwaring, 4s. 3d. collected for the Strike Committee.—M.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—Good meeting on Waste Tuesday night, addressed by J. Allman and Kitz. Some opposition answered satisfactorily. Davis and Turner spoke in Victoria Park on Sunday. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

**MITCHAM.**—Sparling spoke Sunday morning on Fair Green. At same place in evening, Hardisty, Bull, and Harman spoke. Both meetings good, and *Commonweal* sold well.—R. C.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Usual meeting on Tuesday last at Ossulton Street, Cantwell, Wardle, Dalziel, and Turner spoke. On Sunday morning at Regent's Park, very successful meeting; Cantwell, Arnold, Parker, and Blundell spoke to an attentive audience; 9s. 1d. collected for propaganda. A Mr. Whelan opposed, and Turner replied vigorously.—T. C.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—Good meeting here on Sunday evening, addressed by Flockton, Lane, and Parker. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and one member made.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday afternoon, Bullock and Paterson spoke at Kilsyth. Sunday forenoon, Glasier spoke on Jail's Square, and in afternoon good meetings held at Paisley Road Toll and Jails Square, Glasier, Bullock, Paterson, and Gilbert speaking. 1s. 8d. collected for Broxburn miners, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—A. M'K.

**IRSWICH.**—To very attentive audiences, Wade, of London, spoke last Sunday on the Irish question and general social problem. Some leading Radicals present; no opposition. *Commonweal* sold out.—J. R.

**LEENS.**—Prolonged meeting on Sunday morning, due to opposition of two local teetotalers. Good meeting in evening, although held in the dark.—T. P.

**NORWICH.**—Good meetings on Sunday. Barker and Turner, of London, spoke in morning at Wymondham, and Norwich Market-place at 3; Barker spoke on Agricultural Hall Plain at 7, and in Gordon Hall at 8 on "Evolution and Socialism." Slaughter and Bird went to Diss, Morley and Mills to Lowestoft, where Reynolds and Barker assisted.—T. M.

**CLAY CROSS.**—Drury, of Sheffield, was announced to lecture Tuesday, Sept. 13, but through a mistake about trains he did not arrive until too late. Unwin spoke instead. Saml. Smith in chair. At business meeting afterwards decided not to join League, but to make inquiries with a view to joining the North of England Socialist Federation.—R. U.

**DUBLIN.**—Tuesday, Sept. 13th, at Industrial League, in a debate on "Technical Education," O'Gorman contended that under the competitive system the workers as a class would not benefit by such education, and was well received. Thursday, Sept. 15th, J. E. McCarthy lectured to Labour League on "Labour and Capital."

**WOOLWICH.**—We held a good meeting at the Arsenal Gates last Sunday, Wardle and Banner being the speakers. All our *Commonweal* were sold out, and a large supply of pamphlets as well. We collected 4s. 1d. for propaganda and enrolled three members.

**YARMOUTH.**—Henderson held a good meeting on the Quay on Thursday evening.

**ST. FAITH'S.**—The agricultural labourers here are much interested in Socialism, and a good audience gathered on Sunday afternoon, when Henderson spoke on the Green.

**NORWICH.**—Our comrades Wade and Fred Henderson held two good meetings at Carrow and on St. George's Plain. On Saturday evening, Wade, Barker, and Henderson held a good meeting in the Haymarket. On Sunday morning and evening, Henderson addressed good audiences in the Market Place.

**DARLSTON AND BILSTON.**—Good meetings here Saturday, Weaver spoke.

**DUDLEY.**—Tuesday, Weaver spoke in Market-place, audience large and enthusiastic, police again interfered but retired after taking names.

**WEDNESBURY.**—Weaver spoke to large audience in Market-place on Thursday.

**WOLVERHAMPTON.**—Large meeting held by Sanders in Queen's Square on Saturday evening. Fair sale of literature.

**WEST BROMWICH.**—On Monday, Sanders spoke, and at close of meeting names were given in for a branch.

**WALSALL.**—Indoor meeting on Monday addressed by Weaver and Deakin. Several new members made. Sunday outdoor meetings held by Sanders and Weaver at the Birchills and Stafford Street. Good audiences.—J. T. D.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Donald addressed meetings on Sunday at the Bull Ring and Council House. Audiences largest we have yet had in Birmingham, and were in thorough sympathy with speaker. Several new members joined; we shall soon have a strong branch here.

**North of England Socialist Federation.**

**SEGHELL.**—Outdoor meeting last Monday, J. Macdonald, supported by Coombe, spoke on "Socialism and Suffering."

**ANNITSFORD.**—On Tuesday night, Macdonald lectured on "Socialism, what it means."

**NORTH SHIELDS.**—Business meetings held for appointment of secretary and re-organisation.

**SEATON DELAVAL.**—Good meeting on Friday in Market-place, by Macdonald, Whitfield, Swanson, Day, and other branch members.

**EAST HOLYWELL.**—This branch, which seems to be among the most energetic, held good meeting in Co-operative Hall Saturday afternoon, Macdonald lecturing on "Socialism from the Workers' Standpoint."

**BLYTH.**—Macdonald, Wm. Whitefield, and Coombe, of Seghill, addressed a large audience on the Irish question on Saturday night. Wm. Whitefield, who had just resigned the position of chairman in the "Northumberland Political Reform Association," as he could no longer crush his political opinions as he had formerly done for the sake of what was called "Liberal Unity," which he now believed to mean the damnation of the working-class, seconded resolution, unanimously adopted, "That this meeting of the workers of Blyth strongly condemn the recent brutal and cowardly murders perpetrated by the Irish constabulary at Mitchelstown, and further holds the Irish Executive and Tory Government collectively and individually responsible for the same."

**SOUTH SHIELDS.**—Usual Sunday evening meeting in Market Square, addressed by Macdonald.

M. MACK, Gen. Sec., 4, Back Marlow St., Blyth.

**Scottish Land and Labour League.**

Good meetings have been held at West Calder, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Cowdenbeath, Lochgelly (Fife), Boreland (Fife), Yallatoun (Fife), and Dysart (Fife). Mr. John McGough, of Broxburn, begs to acknowledge receipt of 10s. from the Portobello German Socialist Club, in aid of the Shale miners locked out.

CHAS. WM. TUKE, sec.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. on Thursday Sept. 22, Hubert Bland, "State Intervention." 29th. P. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8.30. **Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Sept. 25, at 8 p.m. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "Choosing a Career Nowadays."

**HOXTON (L. E. L.).**—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. On Saturday Sept. 24, at 8.30 precisely, Members' General Meeting. On Sunday morning, at Hoxton Church at 11 sharp, mass meeting on Free Speech in Ireland. Sunday evening, in the Hall, W. C. Wade, "Will Socialism Benefit the English People?"

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. **Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Members and those intending to join Branch are requested to attend Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m.

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

**PROVINCES.**

**Arbroath (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—59 West Abbey Street. Meeting every Friday evening. Secretary, Wm. Smith, 17 Lindsay Street.

**Braeford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Secretary *pro tem.*, D. M'Dougal, East Path.

**Cowdenbeath (Scottish Section).**—Secretary, John Duncan, 30 Arthur Place.

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

**Dumdee (Scottish Section).**—Branch meets Friday 7.30 Granite Hall, Overgate. Secretary, A. Simpson, 10 Fords Lane.

**Dysart and Yallatoun (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Sinclairtown and Boreland men may enroll in this branch. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. **Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Members' Business Meeting on Thursday at 7.30. Discussion Class at 8 p.m. Sunday night lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Sunday Sept. 25, meeting of members in Rooms at 8. Choir

Practice, Wednesday at 8. **Hamilton.**—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.

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

**Lancaster.**—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

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

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

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

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

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

**Walsall.**—Temperance Hall. Branch meeting every Monday.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 25.**

- 9.30...Starch Green.....Hammersmith Branch
- 11...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Demonstration
- 11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Cooper
- 11.30...Kingsland Green.....Wardle
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....Kitz & Parker
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....Blundell
- 11.30...Regent's Park.....Lane & Arnold
- 11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
- 3...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring
- 4.30...Victoria Park.....Brooks & Allman
- 7...Stamford Hill.....Parker
- 7...Clerkenwell Green.....Barker
- 7...Hackney Rd—Warner Place.....Allman & Brooks

**Monday.**

- 8...Polygon, Somers Town.....Parker

**Tuesday.**

- 8...Mile-end Waste.....Morris
- 8...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Kitz

**Wednesday.**

- 8...Broadway, London Fields.....Allman

**Thursday.**

- 8...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street.....Parker

**WOOLWICH.**—Arsenal Gates, Sunday Sept. 25, at 7 o'clock—W. H. Utley, "The Meaning of Socialism."

**PROVINCES.**

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

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. and 7.30 p.m.

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

**Dereham.**—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7.

Date.	Time.	Place.	Speakers.
24...	5	Willenhall	Weaver
24...	7	Wolverhampton	Weaver
24...	5	Darlaston	Sanders
24...	7	Bilston	Sanders
24...	5.30	Brierley Hill	Donald
24...	7.30	Stourbridge	Donald
25...	6.30	Birmingham, Council Ho.	Donald
25...	6.30	Bull Ring	Donald
25...	6.30	Walsall Birchalls	Sanders
25...	4	Walsall	Weaver & Deakin

**SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.**

Fri. 23—**Cowdenbeath.** Old Toll House, 4.30 p.m.

" **Dysart.** The Cross, 7 p.m.

" **Yallatoun.** The Big Brae, 8 p.m.

Sat. 24—**Dumdee.** Grassmarket, 8 p.m.

Sun. 25—**Dumdee.** Grassmarket, 11.30 p.m. High Street, 3 p.m. Foot of Hilltown, 6.30.

" **Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, 3 p.m. Trades Hall, High St., 6.30, lecture by Davidson, "Some Objections to Socialism Refuted."

Mon. 26—**Dumdee.** Granite Hall, Overgate, 8 p.m., lecture by Mahon and meeting of branch.

Tues. 27—**Lochee.** Top of High Street.

Wed. 28—**Carnoustie.** The Cross, 7 p.m.

Thur. 29—**Arbroath.** Mahon will address the Boot and Shoe Finishers and Rivetters Union in their Hall on "Socialism and Trades-unionism" at 7.30.

Fri. 30—**Brothock Bridge,** 7 p.m. Branch Business Meeting, 8.30.

**IRSWICH.**—Public meeting in Co-operative Hall, October 15, at 8 p.m., to welcome C. W. Mowbray on his release. Speakers—Mowbray, Kitz, Mainwaring, and others.

**'COMMONWEAL' PRINTING FUND.**

**A GRAND CONCERT**

IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND  
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**13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,**  
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WHEN AN ORIGINAL DRAMATIC SKETCH WILL BE PRODUCED FOR THE FIRST TIME.  
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