

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR.

THE respectable middle-class man who has managed to rise in the world, perhaps never assumes so characteristically philanthropic an attitude as when he stoops to expound, to his less favoured fellow-creatures, the moral and material advantages to be attained by a close attention to business. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: that is the text upon which he will expend his most unctuous eloquence, dilating with infectious enthusiasm and pardonable pride on the pluck and resolution, the abstinence and thrift, which have landed him in his present position of superiority. At times, in the heat of his oratory, he seems to be wafted away on the wings of fancy out of his prosaic middle-class self to a good time coming, when the whole labouring population of the globe, by a titanic effort to embody in their tasks a double portion of kinetic, and simultaneously to reduce by one-half the quantity of foodstuff hitherto deemed more or less necessary to support the animal processes, shall have all risen in the world, all become the potent grave and reverend proprietors of family mansions in Bloomsbury and pews at the Foundling, and all hold railway stock, directorships, freedom of the city, and what not.

So beautiful a dream is this of an universal sleek bourgeois prosperity within reach of the meanest, that a humane man may well pause in the act of applying the pin of criticism to the bubble of a too fervid middle-class imagination. He will at least deal with this well-meaning gentleman with more tenderness than Mr. Matthew Arnold displayed when he riddled poor "Mrs. Gooch's Golden Rule" (or the divine commandment, *Be ye perfect*, done into British) with the shafts of his malicious mockery. "Ever remember, my dear Dan," that excellent mother would say each morning, as she tied the muffler round Daniel's neck before he started to his work, "ever remember that you should look forward to being one day manager of that concern." What is this but an individual application of the theory of our middle-class idealist, that everybody can, if he will, "get on," and that, in Napoleon's phrase, every private carries in his knapsack a marshal's baton?

We live, however, in an age of criticism, and the earnest enquirer will not allow himself to be turned out of the path of free research by the dread of current prejudice, however impregnable it may give itself out to be. In the first place, therefore, we will very gently ask our middle-class prophet, whether the life that seems to satisfy his aspirations, the life of broadcloth, politeness, and first-class season-tickets, the life summed up for ever by Dickens in the one word *Podsnappery*—whether this life is in truth so admirable and alluring as to entice outsiders in any number to attempt the pursuit of it? We exercise ourselves with extreme diffidence in these great matters, which are confessedly much too high for us; nevertheless, at the risk of exposing our plebeian inability to comprehend the higher joys revealed unto the bourgeois faithful, we would timidly enquire whether the life which finds its daily expression in "getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half-past five, and dining at seven," may not fall somewhat short of an ideal existence, and in fact be a trifle dull?

Having thus eased our conscience of this painful matter, and thrown out the most delicate hints that there may possibly be something lacking in the middle-class conception of life, we will henceforth assume, for arguments' sake, that the daily existence of the well-to-do family man is a thing of such transcendent charm as necessarily to stimulate the envy of all beholders. We will imagine the lower orders struggling in a body for admission into the blessed company of those who live upon dividends; but here the serious difficulty presents itself that such a wholesale invasion into the profit-getting class is an economic impossibility, seeing that no class would be left, out of whose underpaid exertions dividends could any longer be derived, and the idea of a community in which every individual should bask in the "sweet simplicity of the Three Per Cents," is untenable save by such as cull their economics from the leaders of the respectable dailies. The miserable grain of truth in this monstrous bushel of fallacies, is that the individual worker, here and there, is by no means unlikely, by servility, abstemiousness, and meanness, to better his individual position at his fellows' expense, and in some cases, by unremitting unscrupulous shrewdness, to help himself to a seat upon Commerce's Juggernaut-car, which grinds in its pitiless advance the bones of those

who should have been his comrades. But for the majority of the victims, release by this individualist, devil-take-the-hindmost method is, manifestly, quite impossible.

Now, a plain man, quite innocent of the metaphysical profundities of the Smilesian Philosophy, would probably expect the bourgeois apologist to be a little bit staggered by the very pretty discrepancy between his theory and plain facts when viewed on a larger scale. He would expect him to have some difficulty in explaining, on the basis of his dogma that "hard work pays best," the spectacle of a whole class manifestly useless, and at the same time enjoying every luxury, side by side with another class correspondingly useful, and deprived of everything except what will enable them to exist in slavery. He would imagine that the comparison as to social usefulness, say, of the sallow and stunted letter-carrier at Clanricarde's door in the Albany with the high-toned nobleman breakfasting within, would present points of considerable awkwardness to one whose object was to persuade us that it is hard work, after all, that "pays" in this world.

Well, anyone who expected such embarrassment to overtake our dear friend would only meet with disappointment. When hard pressed by a threatening array of economic certainties, there is one stronghold into which the bourgeois retires, imperturbably calm. He entrenches himself in the position that after all the material results of toil are far outweighed in importance by the moral, and that questions of mere bread and cheese must give place to considerations of ethical culture. He will maintain, at some length, that the working classes are, if they would but think so, highly fortunate in being furnished (by beneficent employers) with such ample opportunities for exercise of those faculties which otherwise would be only misdirected and abused. Human nature, says he, is so constituted that as soon as the increase of leisure was granted for which a few ne'er-do-weels are clamouring, always have clamoured, and always will clamour, the statistics of intemperance and crime would convince us of our mistake. No, Sir, let people push their own way in the world: everything goes to prove that the average man can push his way in the world pretty well. Of course there are a few who are stupid enough to have been born into this competitive world more or less ill-provided with pertinacity, more or less below the average. Well, they will have to go to the wall; but of course that's all they have a right to expect. The fittest survive, ahem! and it's perfectly fair—to the average man. As for people who pretend that the lower classes are really worked beyond their strength, they know nothing about it. Such persons are simply incapable of appreciating the moral support which the classes in question may, if not actually do, derive from the consciousness of their own special value. They evidently under-estimate the inward compensation bestowed, by approving Providence, upon labour which has unfortunately missed an adequate material return. It is truly deplorable that so many of the labouring class, owing to defective culture, are so miserably sordid in the view they take of their position, and are so much more anxious to discuss the distribution of wealth or the utility of landlords than that which should more nearly "come home to their businesses and bosoms"—the Dignity of Labour.

These counsels of well-nigh stoical perfection are pitched, we allow, in a high and dignified strain, but mere carnal considerations have an obstinate habit of declining to vanish at the bidding of rhetoric, and we have the ghost of a doubt, which our philosopher's glowing periods cannot entirely dispel, that the actual worker of flesh and blood, with aching back and empty belly, will probably, like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears, refuse to hear the voice of this charmer, charm he never so wisely. Sad that the worker's lack of cultured interest in higher things leaves him so meanly engrossed with his bodily wants. Sad, but true; he feels the need of more rest and better livelihood, and is shockingly indifferent to the moral self-satisfaction which is his due. He asks, in a word, for bread; the bourgeois, out of the fullness of his heart, offers him a stone.

Through the hopeless jungle of apology into which the respectable plunderer has decamped with his ill-gotten booty, we will not pursue him further. In the miserable web of hypocrisy and fraud which he has spread for his professional purposes, let us leave him,—for the present. Let him make the most of the ignorance of his victims, of their fatal disunion, their impossible hopes of compensation in the sky for privation "here below," or the awful apathy which tells of their

despair. Let him hug himself a little longer at the smooth prophecies of his faithful henchmen, the professors of political economy and the oracular scribes of the press, and rejoice while he may in the security of his burglar-proof safes. What does it matter? Neither the spiritual consolation which he purveys at a cheap rate for the beggaring of the disinherited masses, nor the "charity" dust flung in their eyes, nor the mercenary bludgeons with which he is so ready to break their heads upon the first symptoms of discontent, can stave off for long the inevitable day. The Competition which has agreed so well with him, and which he therefore insists on cramming down our throats, whether we relish it or no, is fast losing its savour, and nobody seems to know wherewith it may be seasoned. The very ripeness of Individualism is turning to its destined corruption before our eyes. The results of monopoly are abundantly visible in the increasing severity of the struggle for existence in the midst of increasing wealth; the strange combination of insecurity and monotony in every occupation; and the waste and degradation of human faculties which it involves.

Even for the monopolists themselves life is assuredly not an unmixed joy, since in the pursuit of gain they must needs sacrifice the natural development of their bent for truth, fairness, and brotherliness in acquiring those habits of shrewd selfishness which are the weapons of the business man. The pleasure of gambling is doubtless intense, but, even apart from the dread of ruin, it can hardly be satisfying. But if such be the lot of the slave-drivers, what must be the lot of the slave? We know well enough what it is. Mean taskwork, repeating itself with nauseous sameness, the stifling of every human instinct in the foul atmosphere of hopeless ugliness, the slavish dread of the master's frown, the jealous distrust of our own workmates, the sneers of our "betters" who owe to our unpaid labour even the charity they begrudge us, the risk of starvation through ill-health, freaks of "trade," or the rivalry of machines; and ever looming at the end of the dreary vista, the workhouse and the pauper's grave.

It cannot last very long. To those who can read the signs of the times (and they grow daily clearer), the social edifice based upon monopoly in the means of livelihood begins to give unmistakable warning of its speedy downfall. Nothing can save it; but much mischief and confusion may be averted by careful demolition before the whole structure comes rattling about our ears. The old foundations, resting upon the treacherous soil of privilege, must be removed, and the new building planted firmly and for ever upon its immovable base, the bed-rock of Equality.

In the true Society which then, and not till then, shall spring to light, the Dignity of Labour will lose its efficacy as a hocus-pocus wherewith the workers may be conveniently mesmerised into unconsciousness of their misery, and will gain such a reality instead as by no means enters into the hopes of the officious gentlemen who rejoice in the rôle of patrons of Labour. Common ownership of the necessities of industry, by establishing practical equality in production and distribution, and thus abolishing at one stroke both the pattern of idleness set by the rich, and also the loathing of work forced into the poor by the hopeless futility and monotony of their burdens, will leave to every man room for a pleasure and an interest in his work which are necessarily lacking to the mass of the toilers of to-day. In such a society it will be no longer possible that homage should be lavished upon an individual, whose sole claim to the gratitude of his fellow-creatures consists in the fact that he consumes without producing. Such useless mouths, if indeed they persist, will then appear what they are in truth, the "enemies of society." "A day," says Carlyle, "is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the solar system." That is one aspect of the day for which Socialists are striving. May it soon be here! C. W. BECKETT.

**AN APPEAL FOR THE CHAINMAKERS.**—Cunninghame Graham, who has been making himself once more "offensive" to respectable people in defence of the oppressed, replied to official folly in the following letter:—To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*: Sir,—I see that Mr. Smith, in answer to Mr. Conybeare, asserts that the misery of the Cradley Heath chainmakers is due to the fact that "their industry is passing through an economic change." Now, a good mouth-worn platitude no doubt carries weight in the House of Commons. Luckily, however, outside of those "sacred precincts" it is soon discounted. The nailmakers are passing through an economic change, as machinery is driving them out of the field. This is not the case with the chainmakers. Small chains cannot be (or are not) made by machinery. The trade is in precisely the same condition as it was forty years ago. What affects the chainmakers is the scandalous system of sweating (fogging they call it) to which they are subjected. The small chains they make have to pay several profits before they reach the consumers' hands. A dog-chain that costs the ultimate purchaser 1s. 6d. or 2s. is made at Cradley for a few pence. The backboard chain for a car, that is sold retail for 5s., is made for 6d. or 7d. Thus it is easy to perceive that a whole pack of flesh flies are supported by the chainmakers. Hence also no plan can be successful to relieve them that does not make provision for agents, both to buy the raw material and to sell the chains when made. If "I were Government," as the Spanish peasants say, I would make no scruple to pass a short Act in order to get at the middleman in Cradley Heath and the adjoining district under the Conspiracy Laws. Let me point out that the Government has all chains tested when made in order to save life from accidents. Why should they not equally endeavour to protect the lives of those who at Cradley forge a lifelong chain? I know that the habit of striking attitudes, quoting platitudes, &c., is a catching one, and may easily spread from Home Secretary to First Lord, but why should Government money be freely spent to relieve the victims of pseudo "economic changes" in the Highlands and in Ireland, and be refused to the Black Country?—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, R. B. Cuninghame Graham.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The annual reports of the superintendents of the poor of New York County for the year 1888, closing November 1st, are published. The reports deal only with paupers. The figures indicate a considerable increase of pauperism in New York City.

	1887.	1888.
Paupers in department on November 1	9,028	9,467
Paupers received	38,972	42,064
Paupers discharged	26,414	28,631
Children born in Poorhouse	511	434
Number of deaths	3,611	3,919
Lunatics in the department	4,260	4,660
Blind persons in the department	—	98
Idiots in the department	—	305
Native-born paupers supported	14,074	14,710
Foreign-born paupers supported	24,898	27,354
Male paupers supported	—	24,831
Female paupers supported	—	17,233
Received outdoor relief	—	7,607
Total number supported and relieved	—	49,671

The expenditure in connection with this service included 50,000 dollars for outdoor relief and aggregated 1,460,484 dols., as against 1,032,683 dols. in 1887.

The Charities Organisation Society in New York supported during last year about 60,000, and it may be safely estimated that about an equal number of human beings were kept above water through private help of relations, friends, &c. This shows that in a city numbering only a million and a half inhabitants, nearly 200,000 people are without "visible means of subsistence." Even in over-populated Europe matters could hardly be worse.

The Standard Sugar Refinery in Boston, Mass., will be closed shortly by decree of the Sugar Trust. "The supply must be regulated according to the demand. All for the good of the public, don-cher-know."

The Bureau of Statistics in Washington, D.C., has published the summary statements of the imports and exports of the United States for the first three quarters of this year ending September 30th. It appears that the exports have considerably decreased and the imports increased. Here are the figures:

EXPORTS for 1887,	481,464,674 dollars
1888,	445,355,256 "
Decrease,	36,109,418 "
IMPORTS for 1888,	544,511,634 dollars
1887,	535,824,664 "
Increase,	8,686,970 "
Excess of imports over exports, 1888,	99,156,378 dollars.

If these figures do not prove a most unhealthy state of trade, I know not what does.

I believe the following case is only possible in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Charles T. Parsons keeps an employment bureau in Northampton, Mass. He gains his living by dealing in "foreign pauper labour." Every week Parsons makes a trip to New York City, where he engages about forty or fifty of the newly-arrived emigrants. He takes them to Northampton and there sells them to the farmers of the neighbourhood. For his trouble he gets about fifty dollars for each man. The poor unfortunate men, glad to get employment so quickly, are made to sign the following "agreement":—

"NEW YORK, —, 188—.

"In consideration of the employment furnished us by Charles T. Parsons, of Northampton, Mass., not over six hours' ride distant, we agree to work for him, or where he places us under this contract, for — months, at — dollars, less expenses — dollars, payment to be made at end of time, excepting what we need for necessities. Understanding further, baggage to be held for all money advanced, and if we fail to fulfil this contract we do not expect our wages. The said employer also agrees if we do well at the expiration of our time to give us extra — dollars.

"(Witness) Interpreter — (Signed) —"

The men are promised regular wages, but the charges made against them by the farmers for board, lodging, cloth, generally cover more than the amount they have earned. On the 21st inst. Parsons caused a sensation. Here is the story as it is told by the capitalistic press:—

"At nine o'clock this morning Parsons drove to Holyoke, Mass., with one of these pauper immigrants in a wagon. His victim was bound hands and feet with a six-foot chain, which was fastened by a big padlock to the seat of the wagon. Parsons pulled up in a side street, and hitching his horse to a post, left his slave secured there while he went, it is said, to seek a purchaser. At ten o'clock Parsons had not returned, and as the mercury was only a few degrees above zero, the slave was shivering from cold. His condition was noticed and somebody went over to the wagon to invite him indoors. The tears were frozen on his face. A pair of overalls, a shirt, a coat, and an old pair of shoes made up his dress. It was then found that he was chained, and the rumour quickly went around that he was one of Parsons' slaves. Chief of Police Whitcomb and an officer were quickly on the scene, and the Chief was in the act of smashing the seat of the wagon when Parsons appeared and said, 'Hold on, I will unlock it,' at the same time taking a key from his pocket and unlocking the padlock that secured the chain. 'Are you Parsons?' enquired the Chief. 'Yes, sir,' said Parsons. 'Did you chain this man?' further enquired the officer. 'Yes, sir, I did. He is mine,' answered Parsons."

He was taken to the court-house, and the law-and-order people had difficulty in preventing the assembled crowd from lynching Parsons. A clear case was proven against him, and he was bound over to appear before the Grand Jury on the 17th of December in the sum of 2,000 dollars. The poor unfortunate Pole told the following story:—

"I landed in New York from Poland on the fourth day of last May. Next day I was hired by an agent of Parsons and taken with others to Northampton. In a few days I was hired out to a farmer on contract. I was to get 12½ dollars a month. I worked there until a few weeks ago, and never got a cent in wages. About two weeks ago I ran away. I wandered about and didn't know where I was going, as I didn't know the country. I finally found myself in Northampton, where I applied at the police-station for lodging. I stayed there over night, and the next morning Parsons came and took me away. I worked around Parsons' farm for a week. Then I asked for some money, and he struck me with his clenched fist and told me to go on and work. Yesterday morning early he told me to get into the wagon. When I was in the wagon he grabbed me and put a

chain around my feet. Then he drove to this town, stopping in four or five places on the way. I didn't know where he was bringing me to or what he was going to do with me."

Parsons is the same man who caused a sensation four years ago by making ice-water for his labourers with the ice that was packed around the dead body of his wife in a casket awaiting burial. He is a regular church-goer.

On the 17th inst., the Monongahela River coal operators at their meeting in Pittsburg decided to shut down the mines of the district for an indefinite period. This is done simply for the purpose of reducing the production and thereby increasing the price. Seven thousand miners, not to talk of a very large number of mine labourers and river men engaged in transporting the coal, are, through this arbitrary action on the part of the bosses, thrown out of employment; and this happens to them just at the beginning of a hard winter! Just think of it you labouring men! But things will be worse still shortly. Election is over now, and the votes of the voting cattle are no longer needed. The employers are preparing a general onslaught on organised labour. I believe we are just entering on the most trying period organised labour has ever been subjected to. The action of the Monongahela operators has only been a feeler, and more than likely it will be followed by an almost general lock-out or suspension of work throughout the entire anthracite and bituminous coal mining districts of the State of Pennsylvania. During the months immediately preceding the Presidential election miners had steady work; but no sooner was the result of the farce known than matters changed. In the Wyoming district of the anthracite fields, the men are at present working generally on three-quarter time; in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions, it is from one-half to three-quarters time, and after December 1st it is said it will be even less. And all this is done in spite of the fact that the coal business has never been more prosperous. "How long, O Lord, how long will the toilers stand such barbaric treatment?"

The enemies of the Knights of Labour are victorious. Powderly has been re-elected as General Master Workman, and what is more, his power has been increased to absolute autocracy. The General Assembly now sitting at Indianapolis simply says ditto to all his propositions. Asked whether he would consent to another nomination, he made the following declaration: "I will accept the position of General Master Workman again under certain conditions. They are that the opposition party shall have nothing to do with the administration of the affairs of the order, and that I shall be given colleagues in the general officers men who are thoroughly in sympathy with me. I will appoint the officers. On these considerations and on no other will I consent to take another term." The Committee on law suggested that the General Master Workman, after his election, present to the General Assembly the names of eight delegates, and from these names the four members composing the Executive Board should be selected by the Assembly; that the General Master Workman is given power to fill all vacancies among the general officers, even to members of the Executive Board. This report was adopted, and thereby the delegates inaugurated the "one man power." Powderly and the Executive Board were also given the power to expel members without trial and without the right of appeal. It is pretty sure he will soon ride the order to destruction. The miners are already threatening to leave the organisation in a body. Master Workman Lewis, of the National District No. 135 (the United Miners), made this remark to a reporter:—

"I believe that National District Assembly No. 135 will leave the order in a body. In the position in which I stand, and the power which has been given the General Executive Board to expel without trial and without the right of appeal, my hold would not be safe for three months. If I remained in the order I would run chances of having my character blackened by being unjustly expelled. The question of whether we will remain in the order or not will be settled at Columbus, Ohio, December 5, at the meeting of the Miners' Federation."

The Committee on finance proposed that the salary for the General Master Workman should remain at its previous figure, that is, 5,000 dollars a-year; that the secretary-treasurer should receive 2,000 dols. a-year, and that the members of the Executive Board be paid 4 dols. a day besides expenses. An amendment was offered fixing the salaries of Powderly and the secretary-treasurer at 1,500 dols. a-year. The amendment was lost by a vote of 88 to 52. Powderly was re-elected by a vote of 114 to 23. After his election he presented eight names, every one belonging to one of his creatures, from which the Assembly chose the four members composing the Executive Board. It may be truly said that the general officers of the Knights of Labour have solved the social problem—for themselves. It seems that some Belgian workers are deceived about the Knights of Labour, and steps should be taken at once to inform them of the real condition of affairs, that is, that the organisation simply exists to enrich half-a-dozen individuals. M. A. Delwarte, the delegate from the Belgian State Assembly, presented his report at Indianapolis to the Assembly. The report spoke of the great good being accomplished by the Assembly in Belgium, and of the influence it was beginning to wield in political and labour circles, and in the Courts of Arbitration there.

Newark, N.J., November 26, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 98,344, of whom 59,202 were indoor and 39,142 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,530 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,334 over 1886, and 5,634 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,237, of whom 1,040 were men, 173 women, and 24 children under sixteen.

**"OBSTRUCTION."**—Twelve months ago all the Tories and Unionists, and not a few of the weak-kneed Liberals, were assuring us every morning and night that there was no need for open-air meetings in London excepting in the parks. To hold public political meetings in public thoroughfares was declared to be an outrage on civilisation, and quite incompatible with the necessities of traffic. This doctrine was laid down with such immense emphasis in order to justify the claim of the Government to harry the people out of Trafalgar Square. What is it that we see to-day? An election is in progress in Holborn, and in this morning's papers we have a list of no fewer than seven open-air meetings to be held on behalf of the Conservative candidate, all in public thoroughfares, and all of which will be addressed by leading members of the Conservative party, beginning with the Prime Minister's son, Lord Cranborne, who will speak at South Crescent, Store Street. Surely there could not be a more crushing *reductio ad absurdum* of the daily outcry of last year than is supplied by the list of to-day's meetings.—*Fall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1888.

## "THE PRESENT CRISIS."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, 1854.

WHEN a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb  
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime  
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instantaneous throes,  
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to and fro;  
At the birth of each new Era, with a recognising start,  
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips apart,  
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill,  
Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympathies with God  
In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward, to be drunk up by the sod,  
Till a corpse crawls round unburied, delving in the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,  
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;  
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame  
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;—  
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?  
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,  
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng  
Troops of beautiful tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages and the beacon-moments see,  
That, like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through Oblivion's sea;  
Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry  
Of those Crises, God's stern winnowers, from whose feet earth's chaff must  
fly;  
Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record  
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;  
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great,  
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,  
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,  
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within,—  
"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,  
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have drenched the earth with  
blood,  
Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day,  
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey;—  
Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children play?

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,  
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his lord is crucified,  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonised for hurled the contumelious stone,—  
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,  
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back;  
And those mounts of anguish number how each generation learned  
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet-hearts hath burned  
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,  
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;  
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves  
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our father's graves;  
Worshippers of light ancestral make the present light a crime;—  
Was the *Mayflower* launched by cowards, steered by men behind their time?  
Turn those tracks towards Past or Future that make Plymouth Rock  
sublime?

They were men of present valour, stalwart old iconoclasts,  
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's;  
But we make their truth our falsehood, thinking that hath made us free,  
Hoarding it in mouldy parchments, while our tender spirits flee  
The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drove them across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires,  
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar fires.  
Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we, in our haste to slay,  
From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps away  
To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth,  
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,  
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD IT; NEXT, MOST MEN CONTENT 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, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

A. C., E. P., and others.—Reports too late; must be to hand first post on Tuesday morning.

UNDER CONSIDERATION.—J. S. (Birmingham); D. McC. (Glasgow).

CA IRA.—“Ca Ira” is said to have been first sung in Paris in May or June 1790. The “Carmagnole” became popular about two years later.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 12.

<p><b>ENGLAND</b> Blackburn—N.E. Daily Gazette Northern Daily Telegraph Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Social Demokrat Worker's Friend</p> <p><b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical</p> <p><b>INDIA</b> Bankpore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend</p> <p><b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung</p>	<p><b>ALARM</b> Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung San Francisco Chronicle Coast Seaman's Journal</p> <p><b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat Le Ca Ira Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution</p> <p><b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen</p>	<p><b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Lige—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker</p> <p><b>ITALY</b> Gazetta Operaia Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)</p> <p><b>SPAIN</b> Barcelona—El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad</p> <p><b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p><b>AUSTRIA</b> Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit</p> <p><b>HUNGARY</b> Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik</p> <p><b>WEST INDIES</b> Cuba—El Productor</p>
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IN AND ABOUT COTTONOPOLIS.

On Sunday the 2nd, I delivered my annual lecture to the Sunday Society at Ancots to an audience larger than usual. These lectures are not followed by questions and discussion, so there was not much opportunity for finding out what the audience thought about Socialism. The audience seemed, as usual, much made up of the “lower middle-class” and the “aristocracy of labour.” But there was a sprinkling of our comrades of the S.D.F., with whom to help I engaged in a good private discussion at tea (which followed the lecture) with enquirers and carpers, which is also a usual feature of these gatherings. In the evening I went with comrade Hunter Watts to the rooms of the Manchester Branch of the S.D.F., where I addressed our comrades. The members of the branch were almost all of the non-aristocracy of labour, but many of them were as eager and earnest as could be desired. I take it that the above-said aristocracy of labour in Manchester are very shy of Socialism, though it is making very good progress among the labouring class even in Manchester itself. There is also a good deal of sympathy (as it is called) from the definitely well-to-do, who say here as elsewhere: “We agree with you, but—”

On Monday the 3rd, I went to Bolton and lectured (by request) on “Art and Socialism.” The audience was fair only, the room not being full. The chairman was a middle-class man who really seemed in sympathy, and I think the audience was in the main socialistic. The condition of labour in Bolton is very instructive; business is brisk there, very brisk; but there are among the spinners at least 4,000 out of employment, and with no hope of it. Moreover, a great deal of the “employment” that there is, is at starvation wages; the “piecers” often fathers of families work for the noble reward of from 12s. to 13s. a-week! I was told that the engineers here were in a very depressed state of mind after last year's strike, with all its excitement, and were in an attitude of abject humility before their masters; which, dismal as it is, seems to be a natural consequence of defeat in a struggle which had no ideal in it, whose aim was the usual narrow one of strikes in this country.

On the 4th, I went to Blackburn and lectured in the Spinner's Hall, which was not quite filled; our comrade Sharman took the chair. The audience were very eager, and took up all the points well. One or two of the questions asked were to the point, but it seems that these were asked by Socialists. The others were of the usual type, questions asked by persons who expect the lecturer to say so-and-so, and are perhaps put out by his perversity, but nevertheless ask the question they had intended to ask before they heard him.

The open-air meetings have been very brisk in Blackburn, where there is a good open space in which no meetings are interfered with. The branch of the S.D.F. is good here, and there is a strong branch of the S.D.F. at the neighbouring town of Darwen.

On the 5th I had to address a very different audience to these; to wit, the ladies and gentlemen gathered together for the rather mild amusement of listening to artists talking about art. I was not able to get to Liverpool in the morning, and so missed hearing Walter Crane's address; but I was told that he spoke very plainly in condemnation of the present system of production. I myself had a large audience (in the Rotunda), and of course spoke nothing but Socialism. I challenged opposition, as I had heard that some of the capitalists were going to “smash me up”; but I am sorry to say that they thought better of it; and the little that was said turned out to be of a discouraging feebleness, turning on the village-industry and technical education. The next day I heard a paper of Cobden-Sanderson on Craft-Ideals, in which he preached Communism pure and simple. Also an architect, not a Socialist, received applause for asking the question, What was the use of museums and art education if the social condition of the people remained what it is now? I shall have a few words to say about this same congress next week, so I will say no more now.

The evening of the 6th I went to Rochdale and lectured to an audience fair in numbers and otherwise good. It was followed by a long conversational debate, the questions being, as a matter of course, the usual ones, but, by the working men present, asked and stuck to with the pertinacity and in the good-natured bullying manner with which I am familiar in Lancashire and the North generally. Two or three middle-class opponents were of great use to me in enabling me to state my position again and again. One of these said that as far as Rochdale and the neighbourhood generally was concerned I had exaggerated the poverty of the workers! But this I conclude to be a conventional tradition, the birth of the history of the sham co-operation which began with the good intentions of the Rochdale Pioneers, and has now by the confession of very moderate people become a reactionary force, “Divi” being the one thing looked to, and jobbing in “Co-op” shares being a favourite occupation among the small capitalists created by the system.

Anyhow our comrades gave me a very different view of the “proserity” of the workers of Rochdale, and told me that wages were very low and hours very long there, and that in short the masters had it pretty much their own way. The branch of the S. D. F. is strong in numbers, and has in it some very strenuous and sincere propagandists.

Altogether, except in Liverpool, where there is nothing doing, the S. D. F. branches are doing well in S. Lancashire; the drawback to their usefulness is that they are giving so much attention to electioneering matters; a course of action which, whatever else may be said about it, must trench upon the time which they ought to be giving to learning Socialism thoroughly, so as to be able to hold their own in argument with the non-Socialists around them. I say this in spite of the fact that I talked with some of our comrades who had mastered the subject by dint of very hard work done in the “leisure” which their slavery allows them.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LIVERPOOL AND ITS POOR.—The Manchester Guardian lately printed the following letter from a correspondent:—A week or two ago the Clerk of the Liverpool Select Vestry called attention to the fact that pauperism was increasing in the city. In explanation of the circumstance, he asserted that the accommodation offered to paupers in the Liverpool workhouse was so good that persons who formerly shrank with horror from “the house” were now flocking in, and were even advising their friends to haste to take advantage of parish good cheer. An outsider surveying the social condition of Liverpool may perhaps find some more probable explanation of the increase of pauperism than a desire on the part of the poor to rush into what is known in the Midland counties as the “Bastille.” Two causes operate to produce in Liverpool a large amount of chronic destitution. One is its geographical position, and the other is the nature of the employment offered to its labouring population. Liverpool is the place to which the Irish peasant, driven from home by bad government and landlord rapacity, first directs his steps. It is, in fact, a kind of junction where the poor, not only of Ireland but of Europe, change trains. And a very considerable proportion of these unfortunate persons never get any further, but remain year after year to swell the large squalid population. They are tempted to make Liverpool their home because they have in most cases no technical skill, and nothing but physical strength on which to rely for their daily bread. Now Liverpool affords comparatively little scope for the skilled artisan; it has no manufactures and no great industries requiring the higher kinds of manual dexterity. But it has a great shipping trade, which affords a somewhat precarious employment for men who have nothing to turn into daily bread but brawn and muscle. Great crowds of unskilled labourers herd together in the poor quarters of the city. It is estimated that there are between ten and thirty thousand (authorities differ) dock labourers and cotton porters in Liverpool, and these men do not make, on an average, more than ten shillings per week in wages. It is obvious that a labourer who has a wife and family, whose earnings do not exceed this sum, who is always out of work during many weeks of the winter, may easily—nay, must often—be brought face to face with the alternative of starvation or the poorhouse. It is indeed surprising that there is not a greater proportion of pauperism in Liverpool than actually exists. New persons realise how enormous is the disparity in numbers between the classes which enjoy comfort and comparative security and the classes which are actually destitute or hovering about the brink of poverty. In Liverpool there are over 600,000 inhabitants, but only 17,000 of them pay income-tax on their yearly earnings. That is to say, only about 17,000 persons in Liverpool make £3 a week and over by their daily labour, and of these only 7,000 are returned as earning more than £400 a year. These striking figures show that a little increase in the price of provisions is sufficient to account for an increase of pauperism, without the existence of any consuming passion on the part of the poor to seek the sybaritic retreat of a Liverpool workhouse.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Suakim business is growing, and England's hired slaughterers are lending a hand in getting rid of the Dervishes, of whose doings as much as possible has been made in order to give a fresh opportunity for pushing the fortunes of the market-mongers, and the persistent hammering at the story of this stupendous siege after the manner of the tremendous adventures of Major Geoghegan, appears likely to produce its fruits in some way or other. Only since the country is clearly not very anxious for any more "glory" in the Soudan, the gist of the plan now is to keep up Suakim as a running sore, and to push traders up the country so as to involve us in a tangle which shall end at last in a new expedition for the smashing of the Mahdi. The plan is not very new or ingenious, but it is likely to succeed.

Mr. Henry James, the American novelist, has been writing an ingenious paper on the impression made by London on his feelings; but as a matter of course, his view of the monstrosity is taken from the stand-point of the superior middle-class person, who looks upon the working-classes as an useful machine, and, having no experience of their life, has not imagination enough to realise the fact that the said machine is composed of millions of men, women, and children who are living in misery; that is to say, they are always undergoing torments, the fear of undergoing which would make many a "refined" person kill himself rather than submit to them. And to these torments they must get used, as the phrase goes; that is to say, hopeless suffering must be the element in which they live. It is this from which is born the "dreadful delight" on which clever but dull Mr. James expatiates so ingeniously. Does he ever ask himself what is likely to be the final price which his class, who have created this Hell, will have to pay for it?

I should like a view of London from a quite different kind of man from the clever historian of the deadliest corruption of society, the laureat of the flirts, sneaks, and empty fools of which that society is mostly composed, and into whose hearts (?) he can see so clearly. I should like the impressions of London given by one who had been under its sharp-toothed harrow.

But he should not be a man born and bred in the slums, nor even "used" to them, nor a man born poor anywhere, but someone who once lived in a pleasant place with hope beside him. From him I should like a true tale of the City of Dreadful Delight. If we could but have some new Defoe with the added bitterness bred of the tremendous growth of the burden of hideous tyranny to tell us such a tale! Or it may be rather that no words could tell it.

Besides, if it were attempted it would be brought into Court and judged by a jury of comfortable and respectable men, and a luxuriously-living judge, and be condemned as filthy literature, horribly indecent—in short, shocking, and its author would but add one fresh note to the song of suffering, which if it is good for nothing else, is good enough to tickle the ears of superior persons, more hypocritical and less naive than the ogre in the Eastern story, who, when his captives awaiting the spit were lamenting and moaning, said: "Hark how sweetly my nightingales are singing!" W. M.

Some simple-minded worshipper of the cheap idols of the hour was evidently made uneasy by my note of a few weeks back about the Harrisons, and has written to the president-elect to know if it is really all a pious fraud for campaign purposes his pretending to be descended from Harrison, the regicide. As if a tricky politician ever acknowledges his little games!

The ancestors of the president-elect were in Virginia loudly proclaiming their sycophantish loyalty to the king at a time when Thomas Harrison, the regicide, was at school. As a matter of fact, such time-serving tools of "property" thieves as Ben Harrison know nothing about the man. If they did, they would scoff at him and applaud his murder, as they scoff at, and applaud the murder of, his apostles to-day, such as August Spies and Albert Parsons. They do not even know Thomas Harrison's name. It is generally given wrongly in so-called histories and dictionaries.

The last grand scene at Charing Cross on October 14, 1660, reminds us forcibly of the present time. The London mob, as usual with all mobs, was jeering the prophet and applauding the work of the dissolute rascals just installed at Whitehall. "How about the 'grand old cause' now?" yelled one smug rascal. "I go to seal it with my blood," calmly replied Harrison, and ascended the stairway.

So to-day our friend the editor of the *Star* strokes his "fair round belly with good capon lined," and cries, See what great and mighty prophets I and Mr. George and the rest of us are. How the mob cheer us and elect us to office! What a poor little affair the *Commonweal* is! *Nous verrons*, says the Frenchman; *nous verrons*.

If he looks at the poem in another column he will find:—

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside—

S.

WE SHALL BE FREE.

ERNEST JONES.

BASE oppressors, leave your slumbers  
Listen to a nation's cry:  
Hark, united countless numbers  
Swell the peal of agony.  
Lo, from Britain's sons and daughters,  
In the depths of misery,  
Like the sound of many waters,  
Comes the voice, "We shall be free!"

Winds and waves the tidings carry;  
Spirits, in your stormy car,  
Winged with lightning, do not tarry,  
Spread the news to lands afar.  
Tell them, sound the thrilling story  
Louder than the thunder, go,  
That a people, ripe for glory,  
Are determined to be free.

By our own, our children's charter,  
By the fire within our veins,  
By each truth-attesting martyr,  
By their sighs, their groans, their pains,  
By our right by nature given,  
By our love of liberty,  
We proclaim before high heaven  
That we must, we shall, be free.

Tyrants, quail, the dawn is breaking,  
Dawn of Freedom's glorious day;  
Despots on their thrones are quaking,  
Tyrants' bands are giving way.  
Kinglycraft, priestcraft, black oppression  
Cannot bear our scrutiny;  
We have learnt the startling lesson  
That we must, we shall, be free!

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1687. Sir W. Petty died. 1689. Bill of Rights passed.
17	Mon.	1792. P. W. Duffin and T. Lloyd tried for seditious libel. 1830. Bolivar, liberator of Columbia, died. 1875. Violent Bread-riots in Montreal. 1881. Lewis H. Morgan died. 1883. O'Donnell, executioner of Carey, hung in Newgate.
18	Tues.	1773. Tea-riots at Boston. 1792. Paine found guilty of libel in 'Rights of Man.' 1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a parody on Wilkes' 'Catechism of a Ministerial Member.' 1876. Famous demonstration in the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg, where people were openly invited to strive for freedom and fatherland, brutally dispersed by the police. 1887. Funeral of Linnell.
19	Wed.	1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a seditious parody on the Litany. 1877. Riots at Montreal. 1879. Hanged at Odessa: V. Malinska, L. Madsuski, J. J. Drobianky.
20	Thur.	1789. Richard Oastler born at Leeds. 1817. Trial of W. Hone for publishing a seditious parody of the Athanasian Creed.
21	Fri.	1795. Trial of James Weldon for high treason. 1830. Trial of Prince Polignac. 1883. Ten dynamitards sentenced at Glasgow.
22	Sat.	1620. Landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers." 1797. Trial of Peter Finerty for seditious libel. 1881. "Ghost of the Czar" seen in Kazan Cathedral. 1884. Sentences on Reinsdorf, etc., at Leipzig.

*Simon Bolivar.*—The great smasher of the Spanish empire in South America was an example of how quickly all men are liable to outlive their usefulness. Although it was but forty-seven years from his birth at Caracas in 1783 to his death on the Spanish Main in 1830, he had much better have died many years before for his own fame and for humanity. Imbued in his youth with personal experiences of the French Revolution, being educated in Paris, he was a daring apostle of liberty so long as the mere question of Spanish domination was concerned; but, abolishing this, he wished to introduce the "constitutional" slavery of the so-called "United States of America," where he and his fellow oligarchs could reign supreme, and practice tyranny and spout liberty simultaneously. But the climatic and racial characteristics of the South American continent were not favourable, and Bolivar was practically fleeing for his life to England, chosen home of all "constitutional" clap-trap, when he died.—L. W.

*Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.*—On the 11th of December, 1621, or the 21st when accommodated to our present reckoning, the passengers on the good little ship "Mayflower" landed at what is now called Plymouth in New England, a waste to this day of swamp and rocks and barren woods. This was the actual foundation of those twin overgrown monsters of to-day, the British Empire and the United States of America. The previous settlements in the East Indies and Virginia were only traders' outposts, weak from their inherent formation. The Plymouth colony was the mother of the English communal settlements, self-contained, self-governing, and self-reliant, which to-day circle the globe, and which are, in all their lasting elements, united to-day in demolishing all semblance of centralised authority such as are at the bottom of all "unionist" and imperialist intrigues.—L. W.

It is no doubt a somewhat low ideal of human society which bases the respect paid to the rights of individuals or of classes, solely upon their ability to defend themselves when attacked or menaced; but in the present stage of civilisation, when combat seems to be the normal law of existence, it is simply suicidal for any class to trust to the benevolence and good feeling of its neighbours. A class or a nation which is not in a position to injure those who injure it, and that right speedily, is a class that will be trampled on.—*The Link*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The coalowners of West Cumberland have granted an advance of 5 per cent. to the colliers for the 10th inst.

The Arbroath mill and factory owners have agreed to increase wages 5 per cent. The first increased payment will be made on 21st inst.

**ABERDEEN JUTE-WORKERS.**—The directors of the Aberdeen Jute Company have decided to increase on an early date the wages of their workers to the extent of 5 per cent.

The Fife miners have resolved that if they do not get the other 5 per cent. advance, which will give them the same as other districts, a fortnight's notice shall be given after the new-year holidays.

**MACCLESFIELD WEAVERS.**—The strike at Lower Heyes Mill still meanders on; it has lasted more than 20 weeks, and no settlement likely. There was a little disturbance on Tuesday week, some of the strikers going for one of the rats and smashing his windows.

**CHATHAM SWEATERS.**—These are Admiralty officials who "deduct" from the women in Government employ to such effect that in some recent cases the deduction was half the earnings (6d. from 1s.), and in others more even than that (7d. paid for 1s. 3d.).

**BARROW BLAST-FURNACEMEN.**—The blast-furnacemen who have been on strike at Barrow held a meeting on Tuesday 4th in the Amphitheatre and agreed to resume work at wages based on a sliding-scale, the advance due under the scale from October 14th to be paid in a fortnight. Thirteen blast furnaces were damped down owing to the strike. Operations were to be resumed at both the iron and steel works on Wednesday. About 3,000 men have been idle.

**DOCK AND RIVERSIDE LABOURERS.**—The secretary of the Tea Operatives and General Labourers' Association writes to the press from 19, Huntslett Street, Bonner Lane, Green Street, Bethnal Green, E.: "Will you kindly assist us in the matter of calling the attention of dock and riverside labourers that the Lords' Commission is now enquiring into the grievances under sub-contract? Any one who has any information to give that would explain the evil need not fear publicity given to their name if they will send to the above address and the matter is *bona fide*."

**TRADES' FEDERATION MEETING.**—At a meeting called to consider the question of Trades' Federation, at the New Connexion Schoolroom, Brettell Lane, on Tuesday, 4th, Mr. R. Juggins, of the Midland Counties Trades' Federation, addressed the meeting. He gave a number of instances in which trade organisation had been of signal benefit to working men, and pointed out that its principles were becoming better known and understood than they once were. He urged them to organise.—A resolution was unanimously passed in favour of the principles of trades' federation.

**RIVET TRADE.**—In reply to appeals that have been issued to the employers in the rivet trade for an advance in wages, several of the leading firms have consented to take action with a view of conceding better wages to the operatives. For a considerable time past the masters in the Old Hill district have been underbuying the Blackheath employers, and it is contended that the Old Hill firms should at once raise the price of rivets to the same standard that is being paid in the upper districts. It is stated that the Old Hill masters are paying 4d. and 7d. under the employers of Blackheath. Efforts are being made to induce employers to adopt one uniform price. The rivet makers are receiving at the present time a lower rate of wages than has ever been known.

**CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.**—The Executive Committee of the Chainmakers' Association decided on Saturday, 8th, at Cradley Heath, to call a meeting of employers and men with the view of having the recognised scale of wages established, and a Wages and Conciliation Board formed. It is stated that although there is plenty of work at the present time hundreds of operatives were never in receipt of lower wages, and unless a substantial advance in wages is conceded a general strike will be declared after Christmas. A number of employers have conceded an advance.—On Saturday Mr. T. Homer (president of the Chainmakers' Association), acting upon the instructions of the Executive Committee, sent out invitations to the chain manufacturers in the Cradley, Cradley Heath, Old Hill, Reddall Hill, and Dudley Wood districts inviting them to attend a meeting at Cradley Heath during the week for considering the desirability of forming a Wages and Conciliation Board. At the present time there are numerous complaints of a section of the employers refusing to pay the recognised list of wages, and in some instances it is asserted that the wages are now lower than they have ever been, whilst in others it is stated the employers will only pay the price on a less size than the one specified in the list, the result being that the operatives sustain a loss from 2s. to 3s. per week. Unless the price lists are rectified at many of the factories it is stated that the operatives will come out on strike. It is, however, considered that some favourable arrangements will be made, and thus obviate difficulties.

**RAILWAY SWEATING.**—The Middleton goods train, which hails from Miles Platting, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, is likely to prove a formidable rival to the notorious Newport Pilot, lately referred to. Taking its working for 24 recent dates, we find there were—one day of 21 hours, one 20 hours, and one nineteen hours. The times on the remaining days were—over 18 hours, one; 17, two; 16, four; 15, six; 14, five; only once 12 hours, and once ten minutes less, while on a solitary occasion it completed its work in a reasonable time—viz., nine hours. These last three days, it should be mentioned, were Saturdays, when the work would be lighter. So long as this order of things is allowed to continue, the L. and Y. Company must not lay claim to having much regard for the safety of its goods guards, who, after such long spells of arduous work, cannot be in fit condition to jump about among wagons without running considerable risk. What forms an additional complaint in relation to the above excessive work is that the guards, instead of being paid overtime for the extra hours, have to play the time off, and, what is worse still, they have, when so laid off, to hold themselves in readiness to be called out to come to work if required, a system we have always protested against as being an imposition. When men are laid off duty the companies have no right to expect them to be at their command unless they pay them for it, which in this case is not done.—*Railway Review.* Hadn't you better begin publishing a few names, friend? Holding up to light of day the shareholders who draw profit from and are responsible for this kind of thing would have great effect. Mere complaining will do no good.

**DOCKERS' STRIKE.**—Those men who took a prominent part in the late strike have been excluded by order of the company from their employment for the future. Messrs. Sydney Buxton and Samuel Montague, M.P.'s, protested against this, saying: "It seems a very great stretch of power thus permanently to injure men by preventing them from earning their ordinary livelihood simply because they have been prominent in a legitimate, if unsuccessful, attempt to improve the position of themselves and their fellows? So far the protest has had no effect. Who are the shareholders? Let them have some salutary publicity *à la* Bryant and May."

**CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AT FIFE AND CLACKMANNAN COLLIERIES.**—The decision in the High Court of Justiciary on Friday 7th, by which it was found that the manager of the Dunfermline Coal Company had been guilty of a contravention of the Truck Act, affects the whole of the collieries in Fife and Clackmannan, as the general regulations and conditions of employment, which were adopted in 1874, are uniform. The fourth article of these regulations, which provides for the employer, at the end of an engagement, retaining the wages of any workman occupying a colliery house until such house is vacated, and exacting a rent of 1s. per day for every day the house is occupied after the miner leaves the employment, is practically declared illegal, and will have either to be amended or deleted, while the pay ticket signed by the men will also have to be altered. This is one of the rules of which the miners have frequently endeavoured to get rid, and there is consequently much gratification felt that it has been authoritatively settled.

**ARE THE GIRLS' PUBLIC DAY-SCHOOL COMPANY SWEATERS?**—A correspondent writes to the *Pall Mall*, "to claim your interest for the ill-paid and hardly-worked teachers of the Girls' Public Day-School Company. The sweating system that exists there is quite as bad as any at the East-end, which has evoked the sympathies of the public. The head mistress gets a good salary, with a capitation fee, but with that exception the other women employed in such schools are overworked and badly paid. I know of one school in London where the classes are so large that it is impossible for the one teacher to do justice to her pupils or herself, and yet the salary paid is less than you would give a cook, of course including the value of bread. While at the present time the shareholders, I see, are taking 9 per cent., the council is lowering the number, as well as the salaries, of the teachers. In *Murray's Magazine* for December there is an able article on this very subject by Alfred W. Pollard, who substantiates all I now write. If you would draw public notice to these facts you would receive the gratitude of hundreds."

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—The adjourned conference of employers and operatives in the nut and bolt trade took place on Thursday 6th, at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham. The operatives claimed an advance in wages of 10 per cent., in consequence of the improvement in trade and the advance in prices which had taken place. They pointed out that they had been promised an advance of 5 per cent. when trade improved. It was eventually resolved that, subject to the advance being paid by the bolt and nut manufacturers in the South Staffordshire and Birmingham districts, an advance of 5 per cent. be given to the men from January 1st, 1889. It was also resolved that a Conciliation Board be formed, comprising twelve masters and twelve men, six of each from the Smethwick district and a similar proportion from the Darlaston district, for the purpose of regulating wages. The operatives retired to consider the offer of the employers, and on their return said that as the employers had now fulfilled the promise they had made to advance wages 5 per cent. when the condition of trade warranted it, the men were willing to accept the offer. They hailed with satisfaction the proposed formation of a Conciliation Board, and would do their utmost to secure the adhesion of the men, and trusted employers would secure the support of manufacturing firms. The chairman said that the desire of the employers was to work as amicably as possible with the men. There was no doubt the interests of capital and labour went hand in hand together (!). If the co-operation of the men could be obtained, a Conciliation Board would become a valuable institution for the regulation of wages questions.

**BURY AND ELTON CARD, BLOWING, AND THROSTLE ROOM OPERATIVES' ASSOCIATION.**—A special general meeting was lately held in the Co-operative Hall, Knowsley Street, Bury, to take into consideration the revised code of rules and the proposed sliding-scale of contribution and benefits. Back-tenters by paying 3d. a week if working 20 hours to a full week, and 2d. when out of work, would be entitled to 5s. a week as strike or lock-out pay, 5s. victim pay, 5s. accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 2s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks, and 5s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and for stoppages for bad trade, from the local funds; while the benefits from the amalgamation would be for permanent accident £20, fatal accident £6, and funeral allowance £3. Female card and throistle room operatives on payment of 4d. weekly if working 20 or more hours, or 2d. when out of work, entitled them to 7s. a week for strikes, lock-outs, fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, and victim pay, 7s. a week for accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 3s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks from the local funds, and for permanent accident £25, fatal accident £3, and funeral allowance £4 from amalgamation benefits. Either male or female card, blowing, and throistle room operatives can participate in the following benefits: On payment of 5d. if working 20 hours or more, and 2d. when out of work, members receive 8s. 6d. a week for strikes, lock-outs, and victim pay, 8s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, 8s. 6d. a week for the first 13 weeks for accident, 4s. 3d. for the second 13 weeks, while the benefits from the amalgamation fund would be £30 for permanent accident, £10 for fatal accident, and £4 funeral allowance. The rules provide that all members must pay full contributions while upon the funds of the association, and also provide that members changing from one rate of contribution to another will, until they have paid the same 26 weeks, receive the old rate of benefits, and after 26 weeks the new rates. It was resolved that the new code of rules be adopted and brought into force on the first Saturday in January 1889.

**PREPARING!**—A "Landlord" writes to the *Pall Mall* as follows: I saw to-day, in a draft lease for a West-end shop, the following new covenant, which may interest some of your friends who are agitating for a reform of the Land Laws:—"And the lessees covenant that they will pay all rates and taxes, etc. . . and the land tax which now or shall or may at any time during the continuance of the said term be rated charged assessed or imposed on or in respect of the said demised premises or any part thereof or on the landlord or tenant for the time being in respect thereof by authority of Parliament or otherwise." It will be for those who draft any bills dealing with taxation of ground-rents or values to see that the intentions of the Legislature are not defeated by contracts of this nature.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The organising Committee of the Congress to be held at Troyes (Aube Department) on Dec. 23rd and following days, has issued its agenda-paper, which is very interesting indeed. It runs as follows:—1. Organisation of a great national federation of all the workers; 2. Creation of a daily collective paper, where the theories of all Socialist schools should be expounded and discussed freely; 3. National and International Congresses; 4. Strikes and their consequences; 5. Moral and physical results of women and children's work; 6. The using of peaceful means for bringing about the social transformation; 7. Necessity of uniting all the forces of the working-classes in order to resist the Radico-Opportunist reaction and the threatening dictatorship; 8. Economical and political mission of the syndicates; 9. Socialisation of the means of production; 10. Socialistic revision of the constitution; 11. Suppression of the public debt and practical means to come to it; 12. Free Communism v. State Communism; 13. Right of work; reduction of the hours of work; minimum wages; suppression of piece-work; employers liability as to accidents; institution of labour exchanges; suppression of registries' offices; society to provide for the old, children, and invalids; 14. Suggestions for social reforms after the revolution; 15. Ways and means for the application of the resolutions voted by the Congress. All communications concerning the Congress to be had from comrade E. Panne- tier, Rue du Paradis, 2, Troyes (Aube).

The Federation of the Socialist working-men of France have issued the following appeal, which we reproduce hereunder as document:—

"Citizens,—The International Conference held at Paris in 1886, at which England, Germany, Belgium, Austro-Hungary, Sweden, Australia, and France were represented, adopted during the sitting of August 28th, the following resolution:—'In 1889 an International Workers' Congress will be held at Paris, and the French Socialist Workmen's Party is entrusted with its organisation.'

"The International Trade Union Congress of London, at which delegates from England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy, and France were present, confirmed this resolution at its sitting of November 10th by coming to the following unanimous decision:—'That the international regulations of labour shall be definitely adopted at the International Congress which will be held at Paris in 1889 on the terms of the decision of the International Conference at Paris in 1886.'

"The National Committee of the French Socialist Workmen's Party have the honour to inform you that they have now commenced to organise this Congress, which will undoubtedly prove of considerable importance.

"Conformably with the decision come to at Paris, and confirmed at London, the Congress of 1889 will be the beginning of that international organisation the principle of which was voted at the sitting of Nov. 9, 1888.

"The workers of the entire world cannot remain indifferent in the presence of this Social-Democratic revival which is manifest in every nation.

"The organisation which will be the outcome of the Congress of 1889 in grouping and utilising the scattered Social-Democratic forces of to-day, will augment considerably the power of the organised workers, will ensure our witnessing in the near future the triumph of the workers and the suppression of those frontiers which separate us materially though not morally.

"We invite you then, to participate in the deliberations of this Congress.

"Circulars fixing the organisation and the business agenda will be sent in due course.

"You will oblige us by letting us know whether the groups of your organisation are disposed to send representatives to the Congress.

"Awaiting the pleasure of your reply, receive our fraternal salutations,

"THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—Lavy, Picau, Delacour, Ribanier, Allemane, André, Augé, Barthault, P. Brousse, Colas, Chausse, Dejeante, Dumay, Heppenheimer, Joffrin, Lamothe."

Next year also, during the Paris Universal Exhibition, an International Congress of women in the capital of France will be held. The first Congress of the rights of women was organised with zealous care by M. Léon Richer, founder and director of the journal *Les Droits de la Femme* (Woman's Rights) in 1878, and was attended by delegates from Alsace-Lorraine, France, England, America, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Holland, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland. It is hoped that next year, the memorable date of the centenary of the French Revolution, a new and imposing manifestation will be made to foster the objects and aims of the Society of Women. All communications as to date, agenda, etc., can be obtained from M. Léon Richer, 4, Rue des Deuxgares, Paris, or from Madame Jeanne Deroin, 58, Cobbold Road, Askew Road, Shepherd's Bush, London.

BELGIUM.

The miners of Belgium, before resorting to a general strike, have asked from their employers an increase of their wages, which has been refused by the mine-owners, under the pretext that the situation of affairs is not so good as the workers assert it to be. Now the following figures will show that the shares in the mining business have increased in four months from 10 to 28 per cent., which fully justifies the demand of the workers:—

Names of the Mines.	Aug. 1, 1888.		Nov. 28, 1888.	
	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
Charbonnages belges	135	150	135	150
Chevalières a Dour	760	810	760	810
Couchant du Flénu	169	197.50	169	197.50
Courcelles-Nord	580	620	580	620
Palnuée	406	420	406	420
Fontaine l' Evêque	222.50	252.50	222.50	252.50
Gosson Lagasse	1,300	1,400	1,300	1,400
Grand Bouillon	34	38	34	38
Grande Mach. à feu Dour	449	560	449	560
Hornu-Wasmes	1,800	2,100	1,800	2,100
Houillères-Unies Charleroi	159	180	159	180
Kessales-Jeneppe	1,375	1,520	1,375	1,520
Levant du Flénu	1,620	2,190	1,620	2,190
Marhay	606	650	606	650
Monceau Bayemont	445	547.50	445	547.50
Monceau Fontaine	1,450	1,750	1,450	1,750
Nord de Charleroi	745	845	745	845
Produits du Flénu	2,250	2,700	2,250	2,700
Sacré-Madame	1,356	1,625	1,356	1,625
Sars-Longchamps	430	535	430	535
Ouest de Mons	172.50	196	172.50	196

The mining districts of Charleroi, of the Borinage, and especially of the Centre, are in a state of great excitement. Meetings are held day after day, some in the morning, and others, the most important, at night and in the most complete darkness. (Hence the denomination of *black meetings*,

where the *black strike* is organised.) The strike is already complete at Housers, Sars-Longchamps, La Paix, La Louvière, and St. Eloi. All the miners of Morlanwelz have also struck. At Carnières, Châtelain, Les Vanneaux, several hundred miners are on strike, and general cessation is imminent.

Dynamite has made his appearance on the spot. Last Wednesday, two explosions occurred at Morlanwelz, causing some damage to property. At once the civic guard have been drummed out, and they are now patrolling day and night. By order of the authorities the inhabitants have to shut their houses at 10 o'clock at night, and nobody is allowed to perambulate in the streets after that hour.

At Carnières and Leval-Trazegnies, other dynamite explosions have occasioned some damage, one of them smashing to pieces all the doors and windows of the house of the police commissioner. Another explosion has taken place at the house of the director of the Houssu coal-mines, causing but little damage. A portion of the mine-owner's house at Trien-Kaisin has also been smashed by the same explosive.

The governor of the province of Hainault has been ordered by the Home Office to at once reinforce the posts of *gendarmérie* at Châtelet, Charleroi, Lodelinsart, and Bascoup.

Comrades Laloi, chairman of the Congress at which the general strike has been decided; Mignon, member of the General Council of the Socialist Republican party, and Georges Defuisseaux, general secretary of the same party, have been arrested and conveyed to the prison of Charleroi, which is watched by a cordon of gendarmes and policemen. Several other arrests have been made at Dampremy. Comrades Ledoux and Adam have had their houses searched by the magistrates.

SWEDEN.

Last week the police were working hard among our Swedish comrades. Three Socialist papers, out of four that are in existence, have been confiscated, and their editors will very soon be on their trial. At Stockholm the editor of *Sozial-Demokraten* is accused of offence against religion; at Norrköping the editor of *Proletären* is to be sent to prison for the same "crime"; and at Gothenburg the editor of *Folkets Röst* has committed a lot of crimes: he insulted his poor king, and then the Reichstag of his country, and afterwards even the chief commissioner of police. Our comrade Pehr Erickson, having committed so many crimes in one and the same week, must be a very wicked man indeed! He must be hung, forsooth, if there are Nupkines at Gothenburg. At the same time, our comrade Björk, the actual editor of *Arbetet* at Malmö (Axel Danielson being in jail), has got his sentence of four months' imprisonment confirmed by the High Court of Justice, and comrade Lyngholm is to be locked up for a couple of months because of his "riotous" conduct. Comrade Tanhakt, from Stockholm, has been arrested at Ystad while on a propaganda tour, and conveyed to Malmö, because he also offended the king at a public meeting held at Helsingborg.

By the way, all these prosecutions have helped our comrades there to carry on their propaganda afresh, and that's the fun of it. The Socialist movement, all through Sweden, goes on remarkably well, and the number of adherents grows day after day.

V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**Executive.**—At the meeting of Council on Monday, it was resolved that the Ways and Means Committee send out a statement of the position of the *Weal* to all branches and ask their opinion thereon.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. *Notice to Branch Secretaries.*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

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

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—Total, £36 2s. 5½d. Received—North London Branch, 10s.; Mrs. Lockhart, 6d. Total, £36 12s. 11½d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Dec. 9, after several revolutionary songs had been sung, Blundell opened very good discussion on "The Force Doctrine." Fair sale of *Weal*. 2s. collection.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, our meeting was opened by Wolff (S.D.F.), Catterson Smith and Groszer afterwards addressing a good audience. Several songs were given. On Sunday morning Lynes, jun., and Leonard Hall spoke to a capital meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, at the same station (opposite Railway Station), Lynes, jun., and Groszer got together an excellent meeting for J. Macdonald, who lectured on "Practical Socialism." Tochatti and Hall afterwards spoke; several *Weals* sold, and 1s. 9d. collected. All members are particularly requested to turn up at meetings of the branch.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting, addressed by Kitz, at Mitcham Fair Green. ABERDEEN.—Good meeting at Castle Street Saturday night, addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham, Choir singing "When the Revolution Comes." At indoor meeting on 3rd, lecture read by Leatham, "Why I am a Socialist."—J. L.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, at 5 o'clock, members turned out well at Paisley Road; Glasier and Joe Burgoyne addressed a large and attentive audience. Burgoyne had to compete with a harmonium some 30 feet away playing lively Salvationist airs. 1s. 1d. collected. Later on, in our rooms, arrangements were made for having a hogmanay gathering to bring in the new year with song and dance.—Comrade J. Fisher McLaren lectured to the Cambuslang Social Union on Thursday, on "Land, Law, and Money." There was a good attendance, and a very interesting discussion followed, during which many pronounced themselves Socialists, and became at the close members of the Union. This society is doing a good educational work, there being already over 80 members, and it promises to be of some assistance to the Glasgow branch of the League. There are lectures and discussions weekly on social subjects, and they have opened reading and recreation rooms in the principal street of the town, which are open daily. A number of League members are to be amongst the lecturers throughout the winter.

**NORWICH.**—On Thursday last Mowbray continued his series of lectures, subject, "Old English Guilds." On Sunday morning a meeting was held in the Market Place; audience not so large as usual, owing to inclemency of weather. At the Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "All for the Cause." Questions were asked at close of lectures.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 2nd a conference of delegates from the Scottish branches of S.D.F., S.L., and Christian Socialist Society met to consider proposals for the organised and effective teaching of Socialism in Scotland. It was agreed that a committee, consisting of delegates of Scottish Socialist bodies, should be formed, and should sit in Edinburgh for the first year; that the delegates should receive instructions as to voting on important matters from the bodies they represent; and that the committee should receive the proceeds of monthly collections from these bodies to be devoted, along with a tax to be hereafter fixed, to the support of Socialist lecturers to be regularly employed, and to the payment of expenses of lecturers brought from a distance on tour.—S.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

- Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 16, at 8.30, H. Davis on "Anarchist Communism versus Social Democracy."
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The Leprosy of Politics."
- Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wed. Dec. 13, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian), "Socialism the only Hope for the Workers."
- Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.
- London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.
- Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.
- White-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
- North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.
- Walworth and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.
- Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

### PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
- Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
- Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.
- Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
- Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
- Galashiels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.
- Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
- Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.
- Leamington.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.
- Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.
- Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday December 16, T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).
- Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.
- Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 9.30, a Prize Draw will take place in Gordon Hall; several useful articles will be disposed of; proceeds towards clearing off the debts of the branch. Comrades are earnestly asked to help us out of the present difficulties. Tuesday, 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Democracy in Europe"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SUNDAY 16.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner  
11.30...Regent's Park .....The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk.....Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Hicks  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho.....Nicoll  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Brookes & Hicks

### Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

### EAST END.

#### SUNDAY 16.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...McCormick.

#### FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Kitz & Parker.

### PROVINCES.

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

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

**WEST DEPTFORD REFORM CLUB, 31 Reculver Road.**  
—Rev. S. D. Headlam, "The Unemployed." Sunday Dec. 16.

**ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.**—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The Repentance of Society." Sunday Dec. 16, at 5 p.m.

**CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.**—Sunday Dec. 16, at 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier, B.A., "English Socialism."

**CENTRAL CROYDON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Crown Hill, Croydon.**—Wednesday December 19th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx-Aveling, on "Working Men and Politics." Men and Women invited.

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 15 and Dec. 22, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.
- The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.
- The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijuon edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.
- "All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
- "Vive la Commune!"** Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . 2d.

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