

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

Mr Chamberlain gained last Monday one of those curious reactionary victories which mark the progress of ideas almost as clearly as reactionary defeats do; because they draw the limits of the camps of reaction and progress, and force men to declare themselves for what they really are. Mr Gladstone might well say that his side on the division was on the flowing and the other on the ebbing tide, and he did well to renew his appeal to the heart of the people which his Midlothian manifesto contained. It is to be hoped that he will have the courage not to draw back from his words. At present, though beaten, he has the glory of the contest, and Chamberlain the victorious has its shame; but if Mr Gladstone now shrinks from a dissolution, or if he has the chance of bringing in a new Bill after the dissolution and makes any compromise in it, then Mr Chamberlain will have the laugh on his side. Meanwhile, what is to become of the Liberal party? Where will it be after this next election? Victorious Whiggery exults now, and probably it will now for some time to come appear to be the sole party that has any power; it is now only the unseen or utterly despised growth of the instinct towards real freedom which will be formidable to it. Vain-glorious inflation and sudden collapse are what await it now.

"A meeting was held at Lady Maxwell's, 15 Ennismore Gardens, on Tuesday last, to consider the interesting question of the prevention of pauperism by national insurance. The Earl of Derby, while passing over as by no means insuperable many of the commonly alleged objections to the proposal, indicated as stronger ones the difficulty of collecting the contributions from some wage-earners," etc., etc. Really, in common with Baillie Nicoll Jarvie, one finds some "glimmerings of sense in the creature"—which, however, were not strong enough to keep him away from Canon Blackley's meeting. Yet we ought to be rather thankful to the worthy canon for the resolution he displays in his *reductio ad absurdum* of the wages-system, and his exposition of the blessings of the "iron law." I have heard that some people have an inborn incapacity for seeing proportion between things; I know that some people are incapable of seeing a joke. The canon doubtless shares these incapacities, and hence his usefulness to Socialists.

The following is a curious example of another kind of philanthropy from Canon Blackley's—though like his it wants to take something from nothing—and is suggested, apparently, by a joker as unconscious of his humour as the canon is; it really is too quaint to be missed:—

"Sir,—A gentleman has offered to give £20 for a picture to measure about seven feet by five feet, and to be painted by a young artist for the pleasure of the working-classes; this picture to be then held in trust for them by the Kyrle Society. The donor's object is twofold—to enrich, so far, the lives of the poor, and to enable a struggling young painter to produce a high-class picture. The £20 will be sufficient to pay his expenses of materials and of models, and he will then be enabled to paint a thoroughly good picture, without lowering his conception to please the paying public."

"From those that have not shall be taken even that they have" must be rubbed very deeply into this "gentleman's" mind. My good sir, this is a job for baronet artists; they surely won't refuse it.

It is announced that an office is to be established for providing authentic information for emigrants; and the *Daily News* is righteously sarcastic on the circumlocution which has been so long making up its mind to this step at the moderate expense of £500 a-year. But working-men had better look to it that the remedy does not prove worse than the disease—that the office does not get into the hands of emigration agents and other sharks of a similar character. The following paragraph, among many of a similar character, may serve as a warning to them:—

"Sir John Rose, Bart., presiding to-day at the fiftieth Annual Meeting of the South Australian Company, said although the colony was passing through a period of temporary depression, he did not think they need be under any apprehension as to its future. The Company owns 80,522 acres of land; its property is of the estimated value of £1,135,650; and a dividend of 10 per cent., with a bonus of 4 per cent., payable half-yearly, was declared."

Indeed, one sees every day how hard our rulers are at work to give us information on subjects which concern the workers, as well as their keen insight into the nature of things and their freedom from class prejudice! As an example, the Commission which has been enquiring

into the depression of trade has finally come to the conclusion that it is all due to "the appreciation of gold and the depreciation of silver." Useful creatures! To drop irony, such stupidity fairly sickens one.

Meantime we might ask those who have a lingering idea that the present system of the distribution of wealth is a good one, or even a tolerable one, to take note that according to its supporters the welfare of huge populations, their very life or death, are dependent on the relative scarcity of two of the more useless metals. It is their opinion that the accumulated intelligence of the human race, having brought us after so many ages of ingenuity into this pass, will be contented henceforth and for ever to play such a huge game of hazard as this, in which circumstances play against us always with loaded dice.

Again, as to the depression in trade. I have thought it not unlikely that there are many whose faith in the stability of our capitalist society is shaken, but who are holding back from the acceptance of Socialism till they see whether after all the present condition of trade (which has been going on more or less for some seven years) will not mend, and things be on the upward road again. To these we may say it is not improbable that there will be a partial recovery, which will set the monied classes on their legs for a while once more, and will confer some temporary benefit on the upper part of the working-classes, and if that happens Socialism will be discredited for the time; but remember, that the causes which have produced the present depression will still be at work. Cut-throat competition, which is the real cause of the present depression, will be stimulated to fresh excesses by the relief from the burden which it now feels, and will produce new and increasing armies of lack-alls against the new evil day, when it will not know what to do with them save send them out of the country, or to try, perhaps, under a new Canon Blackley, to take something from their nothing. Those waverers may be assured that the first hour that the clock struck of evolutionary Socialism tolled the knell of capital and wage-labour, and was the tocsin of Revolution; the people was sure thenceforth of becoming conscious of the wrong it had so long blindly resisted.

"It is understood that in the majority of cases the Liberal candidates defeated at the last General Election are declining, when appealed to by the local Associations, to stand at the next election as supporters of Mr. Gladstone. The despondent view which the Ministerialists now take of the situation is to a great extent due to this fact, which adds seriously to the difficulty of finding Government candidates of wealth and local influence."—*Standard*. A fine tribute this to the beauties of our representative system, and a curious commentary it makes on Mr. Gladstone's appeal against class influence in his last Midlothian manifesto! Wealth and local influence are, after all, but a roundabout application of the straightforward bribery of Walpole's days.

The American funny paper, *Puck*, amidst a farrago of ferocious and brutal insults against those who fail to see the beauty of a tame life under the rule of Jay Gould, has the following kind of Balaam's prophecy on the subject of the emancipation of labour: "Wherever one brave man, or a handful of brave men, stands boldly up and insists on every man's natural right to make his own price for his labour, or to sell it for what he chooses to sell it for, a blow will be struck in the cause of the labouring man's independence. And it rests with the labouring man to work out his own salvation." *Puck* will not see these lines, but some half-converted American worker may, so for his benefit I ask the following questions: Can any working-man choose to sell his labour for less than it is worth? Is not every working-man in America, as well as other "civilised" countries, compelled to do so? If that is not the case, how did Jay Gould and his kind make their fortunes?

The same journal has a cartoon in which it uses the wife-and-child sentiment for the labour-thief's benefit. A workman is inclined to join that "handful of brave men," and "stand boldly up to insist on every man's right to sell his labour for what he chooses to sell it for." His wife, her infant in arms, and child with her, are saying to him: "Husband, don't waste your time here. What will become of us while you are neglecting your work?" The factory is seen through an open door; that factory in which both wife and child are compelled to work to reduce the husband's wages. Is this sort of thing the work of ignorance or malice? Well, well, probably of Journalism!

WILLIAM MORRIS

TRADES' UNIONS.

WHEN will the trades' unions waken up to the fact that the war between labourer and capitalist is entering on a new phase? As yet there is little sign of such an awakening. The class struggle is exciting interest and thought among all kinds of people; but strange to say, those whom it should concern most seem to care least about it. Among the rank and file of the unions, it is well known, a feeling of dissatisfaction prevails against the leaders who are mainly responsible for this apathy. If this feeling can be put into words, and some action taken, the sooner it is done the better.

The past work of the unions may be summed up very shortly: they have simply been trying to make their own members as comfortable as possible under the present wage system. Of course, in such a world—or rather, in such a social system—as this, no one can quarrel with a body of men for trying to make themselves comfortable—if they make no pretence of doing more. But the unions pretend to be an army fighting the battle of labour; whereas they are merely an ambulance looking after the sick and wounded.

Grumbling at the past is an easy and a fruitless exercise, in which I am not the least inclined to indulge. Besides, if the unions have been selfish in their action, there are plenty of reasons for it—not good reasons, but forcible, nevertheless. During the last forty years there has been a conspiracy of circumstances which has compelled the unionists into a narrow groove. England's trade was continually expanding; if new machinery lessened the demand for labour on one hand, the growth of trade increased it on the other. The action of the unionists was easily made successful in a rising market. The advancing wave of England's commercial prosperity carried her workmen with it, and gave the unions apparent success; but let them now look to it lest the receding wave pitch them back to the starting-point, and cheat them of the advantages which may still be reaped from their past work.

The question for unionists is, will you continue in your narrow exclusiveness, or will you become a set of organisations representing the whole of the labouring class and working for the general interest of that class? Let me, for instance, take the Amalgamated Engineers (to which I belong). Their motto is "All men are brethren." Now, what does this mean? The words are plain enough; but when did the Society prove itself worthy of its motto? Judging from the spirit of its doings, "All trades' unionists are brethren" would be more suitable. Again, in the preface to our rules we are given to understand that the immediate personal benefits assured by the Society to its members are but smoothing the road "until some more general principle of co-operation shall be acknowledged in society, guaranteeing to every member the full enjoyment of the produce of his labour." Now, in the face of this, is it consistent that the whole efforts of the Society should be devoted to sick-nursing, while the "general principle of co-operation" is left to look after itself? Of the personal benefits we hear continually, but of the ultimate aim of the Society we hear never a word. If any members of the Engineers should read this, I wish them to understand that I have no objection to what the Society is doing, but rather that I think it ought to do something more. What will it profit us if we gain perfection as a friendly society and lose sight of the greater aim of bringing about the acknowledgment of that general principle of co-operation, by which the full enjoyment of the fruits of our labour shall be secured to us, and all men be made truly brethren?

The difficulty is that unionists are untroubled by any fear that their future will be less (pecuniarily) successful than their past. They have imbibed the ideas of those short-sighted economists who confidently predict that the present system of classes will last for ever. Already time is falsifying these "cock-sure" predictions. England's commercial prosperity is ebbing away. There is no increase of trade now to swallow up the hands displaced by machinery. The scene has changed, and the forces that formerly made the ambulance policy successful have reversed action, and will soon make it impracticable. The army of unemployed is growing, and reduction of wages has begun and will go on. If we resist the reductions, manufacturers threaten us with the loss of our foreign trade altogether, and the bankruptcy of the British Empire. Foreign competition is a strange thing, playing queer pranks and abounding in curious paradoxes. When the workmen compete amongst themselves for work they impoverish each other: when capitalists compete among themselves for markets they impoverish—not each other, but each other's workmen. It is like the duel at which Mark Twain was a spectator: the two duellists fired several rounds, and all the bullets hit Twain. Thus it is with the fight between capitalists for profits: right valiantly they do all the firing, while the workmen have to do the suffering. Indeed, the workmen are rather worse off than Mark Twain, because he at least hadn't to supply the ammunition.

The remorseless logic of events will, sooner or later, compel the trades' unions to become revolutionary. But let us hope that reason and manliness will forestall the fiercer logic, and that the unions will soon, of their own accord, waken up to the fact that sick-nursing is of secondary importance, and that the great work before them is to fight the battle of labour emancipation.

I hope my fellow unionists will not misunderstand me and think I am attacking trades' unionism from the ordinary point of view. I quite agree that men are rightly following their own interests in combining to keep up wages and to support their sick or distressed comrades. But something more than that is required. The very fact that friendly societies are necessary shows that the workers are dependents of their employers. The argument may be briefly stated thus: (1) Trades' unions are trying to gain justice for themselves under a system which

is built upon the injustice done towards them; (2) The only way to get justice is to abolish the system which renders injustice at once a possibility and a necessity; (3) That, owing to the decline of trade, the unions cannot maintain their present position, and that the further decline will present two alternatives—gradual but certain extinction, or a change of action which will make them a revolutionary body. The next question of course will be, What is the distinct aim and policy of such a body as the unions would then be? This I hope to answer in a future paper.

J. L. MAHON.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER V.—PREPARING FOR REVOLUTION—ENGLAND.

THE English seventeenth century revolution was from the first purely middle-class, and as we hinted in our last it cast off most of its elements of enthusiasm and idealism in Cromwell's latter days; the burden of the more exalted Puritanism was felt heavily by the nation and no doubt played its part in the restoration of Monarchy; nor on the other hand was England at all ripe for Republicanism; and so between these two disgusts it allowed itself to be led back again into the arms of Monarchy by the military adventurers who had seized on the power which Cromwell once wielded. But this restoration of the Stuart monarchy was after all but a makeshift put up with because the defection from the high-strung principle of the earlier period of the revolution left nothing to take the place of Cromwell's absolutism. The nation was quite out of sympathy with the Court, which was un-national and Catholic in tendency and quite openly debauched. The nation itself though it had got rid of the severity of Puritanism was still Puritan, and welcomed the Sunday Act of Charles II. which gave the due legal stamp to Puritanism of the duller and more respectable kind. And though enthusiastic Puritanism was no longer dominant, it was not extinct. John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" shines out, though a religious romance, amidst the dullness of the literature of the time. The Quakers who represented in their beginning the peaceable and religious side of the Levellers, arose and grew and flourished in spite of persecution; the Cameronians in Scotland, as we mentioned in our last chapter, made an ineffectual armed resistance to the dying out of enthusiasm; while across the Atlantic the descendants of the earlier Puritans carried on an almost theocratic government, which, by the way be it said, persecuted the Quakers most cruelly. Little by little, however, all that was not quite commonplace and perfunctory, died out in English Protestantism, and respectable indifferentism had carried all before it by the end of the century. Politics and religion had no longer any real bond of union, and the religious side of Puritanism, Evangelicalism, disappears here, to come to light again in the next century under the leadership of Whitfield.

Yet, such as English Puritanism had become, its respectable, habitual, and formal residuum was strong enough to resent James the Second's Papistry, and to make its resentment felt; while at the same time the constitutionalism which began the anti-absolutist opposition in Charles the First's time, and which had been interrupted by Cromwell's iron and Charles the Second's mud absolutism, gathered head again and began to take definite form. The Stuart monarchy, with its "divine right" of absolute sovereignty, was driven from England in the person of James the Second, and a constitutional king was found in William of Orange, and constitutional party government began.

Thus, in spite of interruption, was carried out the middle-class revolution in England; like all other revolutions, it arrived at the point which it really set out to gain; but not until it had shaken off much which did at one time help forward its progress, and which was and still is mistaken for an essential part of it. Religious and Republican enthusiasm, although they (and especially the first) played their part in abolishing the reactionary clogs on the progress of the middle-classes, had to disappear as elements which would have marred the end proposed by that revolution; to wit, the creation of an all-powerful middle-class freed from all restrictions that would interfere with it in its pursuit of individual profit derived from the exploitation of industry.

Thenceforth, till our own times, respectable political life in England is wrapped up in Whiggery; tinged, indeed, on one side with the last faint remains of feudalism in the form of a quite unreal sentiment, involving no practical consequences but the acceptance of the name of Tory; and on the other by as faint a sentiment towards democracy, which was probably rather a traditional survival of the feeling of the old days of the struggle between King and Parliament, than any holding out of the hand towards the real democracy which was silently forming underneath the government of the respectables.

The first part of the eighteenth century, therefore, finds England solid and settled; all the old elements of disturbance and aspiration hardened into constitutional bureaucracy; religion recognised as a State formality, but having no influence whatever on the corporate life of the country, its sole reality a mere personal sentiment, not at all burdensome to the practical business of life. The embers of the absolutist re-action on the point of extinction, and swept off easily and even lazily when they make a show of being dangerous; the nobility a mere titled upper order of the bourgeoisie; the country prosperous, gaining on French and on Dutch in America and India, and beginning to found its colonial and foreign markets, and its navy beginning to be paramount on all seas; the working-classes better off than at any time since the fifteenth century. Art if not actually dead represented by a Court painter or so of ugly ladies and stupid gentlemen, and

literature by a few word-spinning essayists and prosaic versifiers, priding themselves on a well-bred contempt for whatever was manly, passionate, or elevating in the wealth of the past of their own language.

Here then in England we may begin to see what the extinction of feudality was to end in. Medieval England is gone, the manners and ways of thought of the people are utterly changed; they are called English, but they are another people from that which dwelt in England when "forestalling and regratting" were misdemeanors; when the gild ruled over the production of goods and division of labour was not yet; when both in art and literature the people had their share,—nay, when what of both there was, was produced by the people themselves. Gone also is militant Puritanism, buried deep under mountains of cool formality. England is bourgeois and successful throughout its whole life; without aspirations, for its self-satisfaction is too complete for any, yet gathering force for development of a new kind,—as it were a nation taking breath for a new spring; for under its prosperous self-satisfaction lies the birth of a great change—a revolution in industry—and England is at the time we are writing of simply preparing herself for that change. Her prosperity and solid bureaucratic constitutional government—nay, even the commonplace conditions of life in the country, are enabling her to turn all her attention towards this change, and the development of the natural resources in which she is so rich. The fall of the feudal system, the invasion of the individualist method of producing goods, and of simple exchange of commodities, were bound to lead to the final development of the epoch—the rise of the great machine industries—and now the time for that development is at hand. The growing world-market is demanding more than the transitional methods of production can supply. In matters political prejudice is giving way to necessity, and all obstacles are being rapidly cleared away before the advent of a new epoch for labour; of which, indeed, we may say that if no great change were at hand for it in its turn, it would have been the greatest disaster which has ever happened to the race of man. In our next chapter we shall deal with the elements at work in preparing the transformation of the commercial system, for which this development of the great machine industry was so necessary and so mighty a servant.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

With an assumption born of ignorance, the bipeds of this earth claim to be civilised! Civilised! Oh, ye gods! Civilised, while millions drudge like slaves, and dwell like brutes! Civilised, while cant and hypocrisy reign supreme! Civilised, and yet in no less than three-quarters of a century nearly 5,000,000 men have lost their lives in brutal wars for the benefit of a brutal ruling class. Let us be modest and confess that we are only emerging from the barbarism of Darwin's monkeys.—*Paterson (A. J.) Labor Standard.*

On the farm of a friend in New Jersey a hundred bushels of potatoes rotted in the ground and as many apples on the trees, because they could not be sold for sufficient to pay the cost of handling. Thirty miles away, in Philadelphia—not to mention nearer places,—thousands of people are starving for the want of those potatoes and apples. Is it not the first business of government to bring food and hungry people together? And if it fails in this why should we tolerate it anyway?—*Labor Enquirer.*

It makes me "tired" to see so many labour papers go out of their way to insist that the demands of the labour movement must be brought about only by legal means, and frown down anything that in any way looks towards unlawfulness, no matter how unjust the "law" is. I say that, whenever there is a fair probability of success to do a right act, whether it be lawful or not, why, do it. I contend that our demands are just; that we propose to have our rights; that we will try all the peaceable means within our reach, and if we can't succeed that way will resort to revolutionary methods. This whining and making faces at the revolutionists is beneath the dignity of any one who is honestly and earnestly in this movement. It is simply doing the work of capitalism.—*J. A. Labadie, in Labor Leaf.*

In truth the Revolution cannot wait for the decision of those who hesitate, being slow to grasp the great fact of its coming. It is necessary for the worker to hold himself in readiness with firm and steady bearing, that he may not be as the tree torn from the soil and swept on by the torrent in its impetuous course down the mountain. The "grand industry" sweeps him up in its course; the machine, that great agent of the Revolution, and her precursor, announces already her approach, uttering in its low thunder, "You wretched proletariat, slaves of capital, like to the old serfs of the soil, behold! I was created by your intelligence and for your use, but your indifference and the inaction which has taken possession of you have caused me to fall into other hands with a quite different result from that aimed at in the invention of me. Tremble, then, before my anger!"—*El Socialismo.*

Labour-saving machinery has of late years made such gigantic strides in every branch of industry, that manual labour is being rapidly supplanted by sinews of steel and muscles of iron; and since science and invention are the common property of our race and not the exclusive inheritance of the few, it is only just between man and man, that all should alike share the relief and blessings which they bring. So far, however, all those blessings have been quietly pocketed by monopolists and employers of labour, while, as J. S. Mill assures us, "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." We maintain, therefore, that the industrial classes should rise like one man in self-defence and demand that the hours of labour should be reduced from time to time, in the same proportion as machinery supplements manual labour in the production of wealth. If the hours of toil are not reduced to protect the industrial classes, a system of land monopoly assisted by labour-saving machinery must, sooner or later, in every country, starve the great majority to fatten the few, and it is simply amazing that labour has not long since rebelled against such a flagrant injustice.—*New Zealand Watchman.*

THE PALACE OF ICE.

(By FERDINAND FREILICHTH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

YE all, I well suppose, have heard of that enormous icy dome,
Where o'er the frozen Neva's flood there rose a house of frozen foam.
A Royal Russian woman's whim compelled her slaves to pile it high:
Tier over tier of solid ice the frost-bound folly faced the sky.

Against the polished panes without the wintry wind blew cold as death,
But balmy zephyrs breathed within their warm spring-scented flowery
breath;
Sweet music stole about the courts, bright lamps of crystal gleamed and
glanced,
And o'er the floors of spacious halls the high-born merry-makers danced.

Thus till the days of midmost March the wondering folk that palace saw;
But e'en in Russia comes a spring, and even Neva's icebergs thaw.
Hark! echoing louder than the loud South-western storm resounds the cra
As headlong in the weltering flood the myriad sparkling fragments flash.

The waves in triumph clap their hands—so tightly bound in frost before—
The angry waves that yesternight a court and all its folly bore,
That suffered all the pomp of state above their heads to flaunt or frown,
And meek and mild allowed a queen beneath her feet to tread them down.

Now Neva claps her hands indeed! Right onward through the solid snow
Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go;
Blot out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free,
Flow on in majesty and peace to mix with the eternal sea.

Ye who would fetter Freedom's flood, and dam her torrent back by force—
Like Neva she will burst her bonds, and rush resistless on her course;
Will break the yoke she bore so long, dissolve her fetters in a trice,
And whelm beneath her whirling waves the despot's royal dome of ice.

Full well ye prank it in your pride, or do your secret deeds of shame,
As if the iceberg never thawed, as if no spring-time ever came:
But see! the sun mounts slowly up; warm zephyrs whisper through t
land;
Your ceiling drips; your palace swims; the floor is floating where ye stand

Oh fools, that fain o'erwhelmed would be! Ye prate and strive to make i
plain
To yonder melting slab of ice its duty is to freeze again.
Good sirs, 'tis vain; your time is up! Your prate will not put back the sun:
The ice must crash and disappear when once the thaw is well begun.

Another Neva claps her hands! Right onward through the solid snow,
Right onward through the blocks of ice her furious waters foaming go;
Blot out all traces of her shame, and then, rejoicing to be free,
Flow on in majesty and might to mix with the eternal sea.

DICTIONARY FOR WORKING-MEN.

- Bee*—A stinging satire on human civilisation.
Capital—A subject which labouring-men must not talk about.
Charity—The remorse of selfishness.
Commerce—The Robin Hood of respectability, who takes from the poor to give to the rich.
Competition—A struggle in which millions are trampled to death that thousands may mount on their bodies.
Emigration—A quack medicine, prescribed for the cure of discontent.
Labour—A mouse invented as a plaything to a cat. Capital is the cat.
—A corn-field, where thieves get the harvest and the owner gets the gleanings.
Luxury—The rich cream taken by the few from the skim-milk allotted to the many.
Money—The largest slave-holder in the world.
Organisation—A conspiracy on the part of working-men to better their condition.
Party—An organisation to humbug the poor voter, run by wire-pullers in the interest of the monied men.
Pauper—A skeleton left by the wolves after feeding.
Political platform—A lot of planks covered with molasses to catch flies.
Poverty—The Siberian mine wherein slaves dig out wealth for their masters.
Prison—The grave where state-doctors bury their murdered patients.
—An oven, where society puts newly-made crime to harden.
Shop—The bellows of the industrial organ, the blower of which is paid better than the artist who executes the composition.
—A narrow sandy channel for wealth to pass through, which absorb much and partially distributes the rest.
Socialism—A word used to keep men from studying the labour question.
Statesman—A man who might improve his time by studying the problem of human welfare, but who generally studies the interest of the men and clique who put him into office.
Taxes—Feathers plucked from all birds to line the nests of a few.
Tyranny—Knocking people on to their knees for the crime of standing upright.
Wages—A collar round the neck of modern serfs, by which they proclaim their independence.
—Food for cows between milking times.
—Gold-dust thrown by capital in the eyes of labour.
Wealth—Something which most people want, but of which those who create the most get the least share.

The fact is, as individualism suppresses individuality, so nationalism suppresses all that is worth keeping in the special elements which go to make up a real and not an artificial nation. The sham community of the present—the nation—is formed for purposes of rivalry only, and consequently suppresses all minor differences that do not help it to supremacy over other nations. The true community of the future will be formed for livelihood and the development of all human capacities, and consequently would avail itself of the varieties of temperament caused by differences of surroundings which differentiate the races and families of mankind.—W. M.



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

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers as they may appear.

QUESTIONS bearing upon the principles propounded and the objects had in view by the *Commonweal*, will be welcomed by the Editors.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record—Imperial Federation. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social. Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Buda-pest). India: Voice of India (Bombay)—Hindu Patriot (Calcutta)—People's Friend (Madras). Italy: Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—La Lotta (Ancona). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Cam-pino—Voz do Operário—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social—Acracia—La Justicia Humana (Barcelona)—Bandera Social—El Socialista (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz)—La Perseverancia (Huelva). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country—Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung—Truthseeker. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal. Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer—Little Socialist—Chicago (Ill.) Alarm—Detroit (Mich.) Labor Leaf—Princeton (Mass.) Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter. Cincinnati (O.) Unionist—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.) Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.) Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Altruist. Kansas (Mo.) Sun—Pittsburg (Pa.) Labor Herald—Baltimore (Md.) Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.) Lucifer Newfoundland (Pa.) La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.) Radical—Manchester (N. H.) Weekly Budget—Evansville (Ind.) Neue Zeit Milwaukee (Wis.) Volksblatt.

ARTICLES RECEIVED.—The following will appear in due course: "The Meaning of Life Assurance"—"A Tramp's Wallet"—"The Worker's Song of the Springtide"—"Society and the Revolution"—"Malthusianism."

"FOREIGNERS" AND THE "FREE PRESS."

LET the people be turbulent in any place, let the labourer demand his hire, and if refused it be troublesome, and the press of that place is always on hand to prove that it is the foreigner and stranger within the gates who is making the disturbance. This was done for us lately, and is now being done for the Americans. The intrusive and ubiquitous "foreigner" has been causing mischief between the good kind capitalist and his docile American lambs; whereupon the press howls for his blood, regardless of the intensely ludicrous effect given to their clamour by the fact that two-thirds of the policemen, officials, judges, and so on, who have been concerned in the late troubles, have been German or Irish. In Chicago, the chief of police is German, and to the same nation belongs the coroner. Most of the police are renegade Irishmen, and only a few of the jury which returned a verdict against Spies and his comrades are American born. At Milwaukee the people were shot and clubbed by Irish policemen, helped by mongrel soldiery, under German officers, at the command of a German mayor.

"The foreign element must be taught its place," cries the press.

The incessant competition between capitalists compels them to have recourse to any and every means of cheapening and augmenting production; while machinery aids most powerfully in the achievement of these objects, it is still necessary to keep a constant supply of cheap and still cheaper labour on hand. As the immigrant from Europe conforms gradually to the customs of his new neighbours and seeks to live like them, as he becomes acquainted with his fellow-workers and enters their labour-unions, as his nature is stimulated by the relative freedom of the political atmosphere, it "becomes necessary to replace him" by a newer arrival—and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus it is that a continual stream of immigration flows in through the eastern ports, and brings

new citizens to the several States, and new grist to the commercial mill.

In 1776, when the famous "Declaration of Independence" was put forth, and two years later when the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution were solemnly signed by the representative of the thirteen States then composing the Union, no fear of the foreigner was felt, only the two highest offices in the service of the Republic—President and Vice-President—being placed beyond the reach of persons born outside the borders of the Union.

Then, and for many years after, there was plenty of room for the expansion of the people, capitalism had not developed itself, monopoly had not fastened its iron grip upon every means of production and avenue of supply, the extremes of wealth and poverty were unknown, production and consumption balanced themselves, and labour-troubles were undreamt of; everything, accordingly, was calculated by the "fathers of their country" to the end of transforming the foreigner into an American citizen in the least possible time with the least possible trouble. Gradually the times have changed; the growth of the money-king—the typical bourgeois—has kept pace with that of the dispossessed workman—the wage-earner, the proletaire, and an increasing dread of the monster they have been creating has shown itself on the part of the ruling class; but it is absolutely requisite for their continued existence that they keep on, and so for these many years past, no money, time, or trouble has been spared by employers of labour in putting before the European proletaire such temptations as are likely to induce him to go to America, and there underbid the native workman. But the higher standard of living has had its due effect, and association with one another has broken down the barriers of race-hatred; the workers, "native" and "foreign," recognise their common enemy and common need; wherefore it is that a hideous outcry is being raised against all those unfortunate enough not to have been born under the "Stars and Stripes." How could a man be discontented in such a free country, unless warped by the influences of European tyranny. It *must* be the foreigner. *Damn* the foreigner!

Born of kindred blood, readily absorbed into the body politic, alert and ready to seize upon and extend the advantages of Western enterprise and culture, the European in the States is far less of a "foreigner" than the Chinese, who stands outside, hopelessly irclaimable; yet the Chinese question is approached very differently, and the almond-eyed barbarian receives much more respectful treatment at the hands of the moulders-of-public-opinion-for-a-price. Can it be because he is such an unresisting victim, such a ready tool of the exploiters? "A fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind."

Guaranteed liberty by the Constitution, exempt from the vexatious restraints imposed upon Continental journals, and less hampered by any governmental control than even our own "free" press, it is in America that one would look most readily for untrammelled utterance of truth. Disappointment, however, awaits him who *does* look for it! The paralysing power of the system is upon the press as upon all else.

The bourgeois press in America, as here, recognises that its "freedom" only lasts so long as it will rant, crouch, whine, and snivel at the bidding of the money-bag; that even "Article I, Amendments to the Constitution" would cease to protect it, did it fail its "patrons" in their hour of need. To do them justice, American journals are no worse than English in their reluctance to leave off lying; it may be in both cases, as has been suggested, that the curse of wage-writing, of habitual intellectual prostitution, has unfitted them for aught else.

Though it may remain open to question whether the bourgeois press could tell truth if it tried, it is yet certain that the thing is not done. Nor can this be marvelled at. Even as the system compels production for profit in manufactures—the making of goods to sell—so it compels the writing of papers to sell. Papers are written to tickle the ears of this or that party, or support this or that commercial potentate or ring of speculators, and it is as idle to expect truth from men so situated as honesty from the average merchant.

"Freedom of the Press" is a magnificent phrase so long as there is a decent pretence of truth behind it; but is there? What "established" organ would dare to speak truth about any labour troubles?

It is time for the workers of all countries to recognise that it is not the "foreign" workman but the native employer who is their enemy, that their alleged free press is, like themselves, enslaved by capitalist supremacy, and that the only way to freedom is through the Social Revolution for which we work.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

ALARMING CONDITION OF THE WEST-END.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

IT has long been generally understood that most of the inhabitants of the West-end are permanently out of work, but the extreme gravity of their condition has never yet been sufficiently realised. A house-to-house visitation which I have recently made (by a series of "morning calls") in the worst quarters of Belgravia, reveals an alarming state of affairs, which may at any time result in a dangerous social crisis. I shall be speaking within the mark when I say that fully ninety per cent. of these unhappy people are at the present moment quite resourceless and wholly dependent on the public charity, under a gigantic system of out door relief. The whole manner of their life is deplorable in the extreme. From the cradle to the grave they are nothing better than pensioners and paupers; for having no work, and consequently no property which can correctly be called their own, they are fed, clothed, housed, educated, and altogether provided for, at the expense of the

community, and thus reduced to a state of pitiable dependence and imbecility. Time hangs so heavy on their hands, that they are fain to get through the day by rising as late as possible in the morning, loafing in the park in the afternoon, and devoting their evenings to dinner-parties or dances. Some few of the more conscientious among them make a pathetic pretence of having something to do, by carrying on a sort of make-believe occupation which they call "business", but which is in reality merely a more systematic method of receiving and registering the doles of that public charity by which they are supported. Perhaps the worst sign of all is the moral degradation of the majority, the natural result of their deplorable way of living. The reckless granting of outdoor relief has so entirely undermined the independence and self-respect of the recipients, that they seem positively unaware of their beggarly and undignified position, and are devoid of any sort of gratitude towards the working-classes to whose generosity they owe all that they nominally possess. Before proceeding further, I will give two typical instances.

(1.) No. —, Sybarite Square, S.W. On visiting this dwelling, I found the inmate, Mr. —, reclining in a state of extreme prostration in an easy chair. By means of some questions put in a very guarded form, for fear of wounding his susceptibilities, I gathered that he was completely out of work, and that his family was compelled to choose between starvation and the disgrace of receiving several thousand pounds annually from the national purse. In desperation they chose the latter alternative. Mr. — had been educated at the country's expense at Eton and Oxford, but at the end of his academic career had been quite unable to find any employment for which he was qualified. It had, oddly enough, been the same with his father before him, and there seemed no hope that it would be otherwise with his sons.

(2.) No. —, Plantagenet Mansions, S.W. Of all the dwelling-places I visited this impressed me most mournfully. It formed one of a line of immense houses, each precisely like its neighbours, and all of them bald and hideous in the extreme. One could scarcely believe that life could be supported under such depressing conditions; and yet it is so; for on entering, I found the tenant, a widow, Lady —, sitting with her two daughters in the chief apartment, and conversing with some show of cheerfulness with some visitors, neighbours presumably, who had looked in to offer such assistance and consolation as lay in their power. The house was furnished with a tawdry magnificence which was truly heartrending. I could scarcely bear to think of this poor soul thus "residing" (for that, I believe, is the usual term among the inhabitants of these dismal quarters) in a dwelling quite devoid of any real comforts, where even the furniture was wholly provided at the cost of the parish. I learnt afterwards from a trustworthy source that this poor lady's story was at once a sad and a typical one. Utter resourcelessness had compelled her to marry at an early age. Her husband, himself invariably out of work, could afford but little comfort to the partner of his blank and aimless life; he was at last carried off by a severe attack of *ennui*, aggravated by a system of heavy eating and drinking, and left her a widow, with two daughters, and no hope or prospect in life but to continue the usual round of eating, sleeping, idling, and gossiping on the treadmill of "Society."

From these instances it may be seen what is the state of affairs in the West-end districts. What then is to be done? Some will doubtless advise that the wise teaching of the illustrious Malthus should be more rigidly enforced, and that these unhappy pensioners should be instructed not to marry and bring children into the world until they see some prospect of supporting themselves in honest livelihood. Others will enlarge on the various advantages of wholesale emigration, and will draw attention to the fact that recent telegrams from Noodieland and Goose Island report that there is now a good opening for State paupers of this class. Others, again, will recommend thrift, frugality, and temperance, as the means whereby these poor people may best reinstate themselves as self-supporting citizens. I feel sure, however, that the initiative must come, not from the paupers themselves, who have now fallen too low to extricate themselves without assistance, but from the working-classes of this country, who, if truth be told are primarily to blame for having lavished indiscriminate charity on these unworthy applicants. Working-men, will you not bestir yourselves, in order to save your fallen fellow-countrymen? Do not continue to demoralise them by thus supplying them too generously with all the needs of life, for it is only by cutting off their supplies that you will ever bring them to a right and proper sense of their desperate position. This may seem a hard saying; but, remember, that you are now dealing with impoverished classes who have been hardened into shamelessness by long periods of idleness and mendicancy. Hitherto, you have been too generous and tender-hearted; henceforth you must apply the Poor Laws more vigorously, and sternly refuse to give any further outdoor relief. This is the first and only sure step towards reform.

Everything, however, cannot be effected immediately; and in the meantime the lot of these unhappy creatures may be undoubtedly alleviated by the consolations of Religion. It might be well to establish a mission in the very centre of Belgravia, and to appoint some earnest man to superintend so pious an undertaking. Such a pastor would probably have no difficulty in assuring the members of his flock, by a timely and comforting reference to the after-life of Dives in the Parable, that the extreme dulness and monotonous satiety which they find so hard to endure in this world are likely to be replaced hereafter by a more emotional and less frigid state of existence. H. S. S.

A power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will.—*Alexander Hamilton.*

THE DECAZEVILLE STRIKE.

THE strike at Decazeville, owing to the incidents and the complications it has brought about, and the influence it has exercised on the Socialist movement in France, is one of the most considerable events of this fifteen years of the Lower Republic.

The strike opened with the execution of the engineer Watrin, which was the explosion of a working-class population tortured and enraged by the injustice of the mining company. The workmen, mad with fury, hurled themselves upon one of the agents of the company, and after stunning him with blows from sticks flung him from the window. Similar revolts have occurred in the prisons against the warders. The Government, among whom were two Radicals, Messrs. Lockroy and Jeanet, determined to bring the miners to reason. We have seen in Belgium the course of events. The workmen exasperated, with no idea but to destroy, to avenge themselves, ravage the country like mad bulls, burning factories, laying the bourgeois under tribute, and generally producing "a hell of a funk"; the army on the Continent, always employed at once against workmen, mitrailleuses these poor devils, who made more noise than anything else, and at the end of a few days the glorious Van der Smissen announces to the trembling bourgeois that he has saved society and re-established order. In fact, the Belgian miners and glass-workers, severely and brutally repressed, have re-entered their industrial galleys, and the most perfect calm would reign in that El Dorado of bourgeois liberalism, if the organised Socialists did not continue the agitation in transporting it to the ground of universal suffrage. This agitation, which neither burns factories nor lays the bourgeois under tribute, will not be suppressed by Van der Smissen. The miners of Decazeville would have shared the fate of their Belgian brethren, fusillades and cavalry charges would have driven them back into their pits, and order would have been established in the blood of the workmen, but for the energetic and courageous intervention of the Socialist deputy, Basly.

Monsieur Clémenceau and his Radicals, who court the workmen in order the better to dupe them, had judged it politic to procure the election of two workmen, Basly and Camélinat. They pictured them as second Broadhursts and Burts, ready to serve them in all circumstances. They were deceived. Basly, without deigning to consult Clémenceau, left immediately for Decazeville, and after two days' enquiry he returned to Paris to accuse the government of having permitted a handful of thieving financiers to cynically exploit the mining population of Decazeville. Since 1848, no such indictment of the capitalist order had been heard at the Palais Bourbon. The effect was immense in Paris and in France.

The miner Basly, for he had himself passed eighteen years in the pits of Anzin, unbinged the parliamentary machine, tore the *prestige* of the Radical party from the eyes of the working-classes, and opened up a new path for Socialist propaganda. For nearly ten years we militant Socialists have been working to spread the ideas of revolutionary Socialism, by means of journals, meetings, etc., in Paris and the provinces, not excluding even the villages. We can say without boasting that we have done our "level best," and notwithstanding this our action has remained limited to the narrowest circle, as was manifest at the election of last year. In fact, it was the already convinced who read our journals and pamphlets, and attended our meetings. Our propaganda penetrated slowly, very slowly! The masses are so slow to move. All agitators commencing a movement dash themselves against this impenetrability of the masses. But with Basly, with Camélinat, the Socialist deputies, a new era commences. When a Socialist deputy speaks in the Tribune of Parliament, he does not address himself to the more or less bald heads of the Chamber, but to the whole of France. His words penetrate to the smallest villages. The bourgeois journals are obliged, willy-nilly, to reproduce his words, to discuss and to attack them. Socialism thus spreads from the small lecture-hall to the market-place. In France it was five deputies who caused the rebirth of the Republican idea under the Empire. When you have your Baslys and Camélinats in the House of Commons, you will appreciate like us, what powerful instruments of propaganda are Socialist deputies.

The Bourgeois parties, without distinction of opinion, are leagued against Basly, Camélinat, and Boyer. All the journals, Monarchist and Republican, Conservative and Radical, abuse them. A little journal, the *Proletariat*, the organ of the Possibilists, joins the bourgeois crowd. The Radicals arranged a plot against Basly; under cover of commercial interests, they convoked a great meeting, choosing the Radical minister Lockroy as president. They hoped to obtain a vote of censure upon Basly, and to force him to hand in his resignation. But the Socialists, forewarned, invaded the hall and carried the meeting, which passed a vote of confidence in Basly by acclamation. The blow was terrible for the Radical party.

Basly left immediately for Decazeville, and interposed between the strikers and the troops. He declared he would place himself at the head of the workmen in his insignia of Deputy, and that the first balls fired by the soldiers should strike himself. Never before had a Deputy been known to regard his Parliamentary mandate in this light. The Government was intimidated. The Mining Company desired a massacre, to abruptly terminate the strike. The Minister ordered the soldiers to make demonstrations, but forbade them to use their arms. The capitalists, furious at being done out of their massacre of the miners, and being unable to touch Basly and Camélinat, whose inviolability as Deputies protected them, turned their anger against Duc Quercy and Roche, correspondents of the *Cri du Peuple* and *Intransigent*, whom

they caused to be arrested and condemned to fifteen months' imprisonment.

Basly had been, with Fauvian, the organiser of the great strike at Anzin of 1884. He set to work at Decazeville. In a few weeks he disciplined and organised the miners. The bourgeois journals are obliged to confess that his influence with the strikers is immense. The workmen of Decazeville began by being merely rebels: to-day they are Socialists, who know that they will not be emancipated until after they have expropriated the capitalists. The scenes of disorder which characterised the beginning of the strike have given place to order, to the great despair of the capitalists, who desire tumults in order to justify the intervention of bayonets and rifles. They have not even had recourse to the anarchist weapons—charges of dynamite—which displace innocent stones. But neither provocations nor dynamite-plots of capitalists have shaken the strikers, who continue the strike in the most perfect calm.

This firm and calm conduct of the miners has given to this economic quarrel between wage-earners and masters a great social importance. The workmen of Decazeville are no longer simply strikers claiming some ameliorations in their social situation, but champions of the Socialist idea, throwing down the gauntlet to capital in the name of the entire working-class. And in this struggle they are sustained by all Socialists and workmen; the journals have opened a subscription, and one journal alone—the *Cri du Peuple*—has already received more than forty thousand francs.

Never before has an economic struggle assumed such a character. It has separated society into two classes: on the one side the workmen and the Socialists, and even the small middle-class, who are despoiled and crushed by the great companies, financial, industrial, and commercial; on the other the great capitalists, sustained by the Government, the bourgeois press, and all political parties, from the Monarchists to the Radicals. At the recent May election the case stood thus: Gaulier, the candidate of the Government and of the great companies, was patronised by the Radical press and supported with more or less of good grace by the Opportunists and the Monarchists; Roche, condemned to fifteen months imprisonment for defending the workmen, was supported by the Socialists and Revolutionary Radicals. The Clémenceau Radicals, furious at seeing the consolidation of the Revolutionary party, attempted to sow division by running an opposition Socialist candidate—Soubrié. In this foul design they employed as tools the Possibilists, who for some years past have occupied themselves with sowing division in the Socialist ranks. But in spite of this perfidious manœuvre, of an election agitation of only eight days, and of an expenditure not exceeding £216, we succeeded in uniting under the name of Roche more than 100,000 electors.

What do the good people who breakfast on dynamite and sup on nitro-glycerine say as to the significance of these 100,000 voting-papers? It signifies that we have succeeded in penetrating the Parisian masses, in hurling them into a movement of social revindication, that we have beaten it into the heads of 100,000 electors that they are bound to protest against the present social order and its government. It is true all the voters were not Socialists, but they have performed a Socialist act; it is true these 100,000 voting-papers are not the Revolution, but they are a great step towards the Revolution. The elections of 1886 dealt a mortal blow at the Empire, from which it never recovered. The election of May has cut in two the Radical party, throwing its bourgeois elements into the Opportunist camp, and attracting to the Revolutionary Socialist party its working-class and Socialist elements. The election of May is the pick-axe laid at the foundation of the bourgeois Republic—the trumpet-call, rallying the Socialists to the final battle.

PAUL LAFARGUE.

PARIS, MAY 22, 1886.

“SUFFERING FROM HUNGER.”—With reference to our “Notes on Passing Events” last week, a correspondent sends the following cutting from the *Manchester Evening News* of June 4th:—“At Warrington, to-day, John Ward, last from Manchester, who conducted himself like a madman in the streets yesterday, was ordered to the workhouse, suffering from hunger.”

Our best thanks are due to the *Irish Times* for the interestingly skillful way in which, under cover of an alleged attack upon our leaflet “Shall Ireland be Free?” they gave us bold advertisement in their issue of Monday last.

Land will produce nothing without labour, therefore labour pays the rent. Taxes are assessed on the value which labour gives to the land, therefore labour pays the taxes.—*Labor Leaf*.

THE GREED OF MONEY.—The greed of money is most ravenous in the richest; that of despotic power in generals, kings and emperors, which is as if the more one ate the hungrier he becomes. The passion of accumulating, like that of ruling, has no self-imposed limits, and therefore dangerous to the general interests of society which now blindly legislates in its favour by class privileges. While we have been amusing ourselves with illusions of political liberty we have been pandering to the great slave power of monopoly, the stock-jobbers, the usurer, the landlords, and other industrial tyrants. While we have been throwing loaded dice for them from that child's toy, the ballot box, financial feudalism, the despotism of capital, has steadily advanced in its conquests, and now treads under foot the last vestiges of republican liberty. Change of masters avails nothing, for the true rulers do not depend for their power on the result of elections. All governments are equal before the money power, and in ours it has the option of controlling elections or buying the elected. To the people this makes no practical difference. All the arbitrary power—of the Purse, of the State, and of the Church—are at once against labour and the tributary masses.—*Gilberton News*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Adel, Leeds, 24th May, 1886.

GENTLEMEN,—I have just read with astonishment in your issue of Saturday the 22nd inst. the following words, referring to the closing of a large flax-mill in Leeds: “What is to become of these creatures [the women and girls employed] is a question which has never disturbed the minds of their employers.” As an inhabitant of Leeds possessed of a long and intimate acquaintance with these employers and with many of those employed in their Leeds mill, I can most emphatically deny this statement. They have always sought to keep their mills running and avoid the evils that result from irregular employment in times of bad trade, and have been able to carry this policy out (at what cost to themselves does not now signify) to an extent that is quite unusual. When for irresistible reasons they were compelled to close the mills, it was a keen personal trouble to them; and in the actual closing of the mills they made their arrangements in such a way as to minimise the unavoidable distress. The spirit of friendly liberality with which their workers were treated created a very different feeling between them and their employers from that of the bitterness and hostility described by your correspondent. Much as one may deplore the present state of inequality in wealth and in justice, and much as one may endeavour to advance the “New Life,” it is impossible to allow absolutely erroneous statements to pass unnoticed and uncorrected.—I am, etc., E. H. FORD.

[Awaiting further answer from our Leeds friends, we may point out to our correspondent that the position of the employers forces them in the long run to disregard what even they consider the interests of the workers, and that while they are employing them they are wronging them by living on their unpaid labour.—Eds.]

THE BOYCOTT.

THIS weapon of defence and redress is no longer an experiment. While, like a strike, it is not a final remedy, it is a powerful auxiliary. It is far ahead of a strike, for many reasons. It costs those who employ it nothing; the damage is all done to the enemy, and if used judiciously, all the patronage and trade taken from the enemy can be given to the friends of labour. This makes it a tripartite weapon. It punishes and reforms the enemy, encourages and benefits the friend, and helps build up co-operation. It is the old weapon that monopoly has always used against labour, and now, when it is used against the monopolist himself, he rises up and says, “What is the meaning of this boycott?” It is not necessary for any one to answer. Let him find out the meaning when his customers leave him and he has no longer work for the scabs. Every one should apply the boycott, whether he belongs to a labour organisation or not.—*Knowville Globe*.

It is reported that Col. Carroll D. Wright says, “The man who, by boycotting, shuts up a shop is preventing some other man from getting an honest living.” It is doubtful if he made such a loose statement. The fact that a shopkeeper is prevented from getting a living by selling, for example, oleo-margarine as butter, and a dozen other substitutes for the goods he pretends to keep, is no sign he is prevented from getting an honest living.—*Boston Herald*.

Judge James G. Maguire, of San Francisco, has given an extra-judicial opinion of the legality of the boycott, as follows: “Since the legality of the practice popularly known as boycotting has been called in question, and since you have adopted that practice as the means of accomplishing your purposes, those who are charged with the administration and interpretation of the law are bound to seriously consider the question in all its phases before giving approval or encouragement to such a movement. Having carefully considered the methods and principles involved in the peaceful system of non-intercourse known as ‘boycotting,’ and especially your definition of the term as used by your association, I have reached the conclusion that the practice, as thus defined, is not only the legal, but the inalienable right of every human being, and it has my unqualified approval. The practice of enforcing conformity to the moral sentiments and material interests of communities by the social, political, and commercial ostracism of those who violate such sentiments or invade such interests, is as old as civilisation, and is, indeed, the vital principle of its growth. It has been suggested that this practice has a tendency to lead those who engage in it to resort to violent measures; but it is a well-recognised principle of human nature that an opportunity to accomplish any purpose speedily by peaceful means is the most certain of all safeguards against violence.”—*John Swinton's Paper*.

The progress of converting a boss is slow but sure, and more wonderful than anything Moody and Sankey ever did:—Chapter I.—Men ask for more wages or shorter hours or change of rules. Boss is shocked at their impudence. Won't give in. Chapter II.—Committee of Arbitration calls on him and are told to get out, after a short conversation. Chapter III.—The boycott is declared. Boss waves his bank-book aloft and swears he will sink every cent in the fight, and pretends to glory in the free advertising of the boycott. Chapter IV.—Advertising don't pan out worth a cent. Everybody gives him the go-by. Don't want to have anything to do with him. Things look awfully blue. Chapter V.—Citizens' Committee wait on him. Boss denies he knows what is the matter! Why don't the men tell him all about it? He always wanted to do the fair thing. For God's sake take that boycott off! And here is 500 dols. to pay expenses. Chapter VI.—“Boys, go back to work.” Boss shakes hand all round.—*Workman's Advocate*.

A high class without duties to do is like a tree planted on a precipice, from the roots of which all the earth has been crumbling. Nature owns no man who is not a worker withal. Is there a man who pretends to live luxuriously housed up, screened from all work, from want, danger, hardships, the victory of which is what we name work; he himself to sit serene amid downy bolsters and appliances, and have all his work and battling done by other men? And such a man calls himself a noble man! His fathers worked for him, he says; or successfully gambled for him; here he sits; professes, not in sorrow but in pride, that he and his have done no work, time out of mind. It is the law of the land, and is thought to be the law of the universe, that he, alone of recorded men, shall have no task laid on him, except that of eating his cooked victuals, and not finging himself out of a window. Once more I will say, there is no stranger spectacle shown under the sun.—*Thomas Carlyle*.

FREE SPEECH AT STRATFORD.

A MEETING was held at Stratford last Saturday on the same ground as on the former week. Comrades Aveling and Morris spoke for the League, and Messrs. Ellis (of the Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club) and Rose (Whitechapel Liberal Club) also spoke. A solid and attentive audience at once came together as soon as the first speaker began; about 300, I should think, was the number of the actual meeting. Our two Radical friends spoke well and strongly on the right of free speech, and the audience was obviously in complete sympathy. At the close of the meeting, which lasted an hour, comrade Aveling called for a show of hands in favour of free speech generally, and of maintaining it on that spot, and all hands were held up. The police did not interfere, although there were many about and in the crowd in plain clothes, and an inspector came up to the skirts of the meeting several times to take note of our proceedings.

It must have been clear to all those present that there was no real obstruction caused by the meeting; and it should be the opinion of all those interested in free speech that it is most important to keep up the meetings here. Most meeting-places, except those held in parks or on commons, are attackable on the same grounds as this is. Nor will it do merely to challenge the police to remove bodies speaking there other than Socialists. In their zeal for getting rid of Socialist meetings, the Respectables are quite capable of accepting the challenge and getting rid of Temperance, Christianity, and Radicalism at one blow, in order to get rid of Socialism. All those, therefore, who care at all about the expression of advanced opinion should take warning, and remember that it is no use standing aside to be eaten up last. Any excuse will be made use of in order to clear the streets altogether of everybody but proletarians hurrying to and from their daily toil and sauntering fine ladies and gentlemen. To make the world outside Respectability one huge prison is the darling wish of the Respectables, from Matthew Arnold the pensioner down to some petty vestry tyrant at Stratford. Sweet alliance of the Superfine and the Bumble! Lovers of freedom, combine to overthrow this alliance, which is dangerous though ridiculous.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, the editor of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for all) has at last been prosecuted by the Government of Holland for seditious libel. The trial will commence on Thursday the 10th of June at 10 o'clock. Great interest is manifested by our comrades in the Netherlands.

SPAIN.

Thirty or more dead and four hundred maimed and injured by the recent cyclone in Madrid, nearly all the sufferers coming from the ranks of the "disinherited." These facts give eloquent testimony, says *El Socialista*, that we live in a world so *well-balanced* that even natural catastrophes fall almost exclusively on those who endure already those of an artificial origin. A public washhouse and several wretched houses gave way before the hurricane, burying their unfortunate inmates in the ruins. Pitiful is it to think that bourgeois greed and extortion rob the workers of the cheapest luxuries; for the foul sties where they are compelled to "live" are not only devoid of pure respirable air, but do not allow them to enjoy a sense of security in time of storm. Hygiene and solidity of building are reserved for the palaces of those who, when such misfortunes occur, cry to heaven and shed insincere tears over the victims of their own rapacity. We have had touching descriptions in the bourgeois journals of the queen displaying her kind sympathy and tenderness of heart on this occasion by visiting the scene of the disaster. She did so with the sanction of her physicians, and it is with heartfelt satisfaction we learn that the drive did her more good than harm. Long may the perfume of her gracious sympathy hang over the ruined homes!

In a certain printing-shop in Madrid the employés receive about 21s. wage for a week's work of from 75 to 80 hours. This is (unfortunately) not remarkable, but the master justifies the exploitation of his men in the following truly farcical manner: The work-day, apparently so heavy, he explains, really consists of the regulation ten hours *net*, for it is necessary to abstract from it two or three hours which it is calculated the employé loses in talking and smoking (and breathing!).

The Northern Tramway Company of Madrid intending to increase the working day from sixteen to eighteen hours, and the employés striking in consequence, the authorities have put a considerable guard at the disposal of the Company in case of an emergency. What courageous men these capitalists are! With what eagerness do they plunge into danger with their eyes open!

In a cotton-factory at Juan las Fontes lately, a boy of ten was caught by a machine and had his arm broken. So as to lose no time, the overseer called in another little lad to take his place the same day. He was immediately caught in the machine by the hand, and had three or four fingers crushed. Human food for the machine-monster! Bring more and yet more; the supply is surely inexhaustible!

M. M.

From the enthusiasm of Socialists arises a new danger for the coming generation—in Spain at least. In the civil register of a Spanish town a child has been entered under the names of *Anárquico Neptuno Washington*,—"not without serious difficulty," my informant, a Socialist paper, gravely remarks. While congratulating the parents on gaining their point, I am inclined to think that the "difficulty" raised by the registering clerk was nothing more seriously political than the impulses of a kindly heart and a good-natured expression of sympathy with the unfortunate Señor Anárquico Neptuno Washington X—, when arrived at years of consciousness! In another town one blameless infant has had bestowed upon him the names of *Progreso Universo Libre*. In the name of the coming generation I must protest against such an abuse of parental authority! Think of a letter signed "Yours fraternally, Fraternity Jones;" or, "Yours in the Cause, Human Progress Robinson!" The mind reels before such a possibility!

M. M.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The *Paterson* (N. J.) *Labour Standard* is rendering itself unpleasantly prominent by its constant use of "news" drawn from sources of information controlled by the enemies of labour, thus giving currency to many malicious lies and unfounded slanders. During the excitement occasioned by the "riots" here on February 8, and also during that arising from the Chicago and Milwaukee troubles, it gave prominence to many sensational items obviously concocted with a view to foster prejudice against "foreigners" and Socialists. From the contrast between the tone of its editorials and that of the "news," we should imagine that the latter is purchased by the yard ready-made, or that it is another case of "patent outside."—S.

We are very glad to note the rapid growth of revolutionary papers in Spain, and the high quality of their articles. They are more fortunate than their Italian contemporaries, which have but a precarious existence, owing to their constant suppression by the authorities. We have received lately the first few numbers of several organs of the various Spanish revolutionary parties. *La Justicia Humana*, Barcelona (Communist-Anarchist), contains leaders clearly and well written, in spite of the modest assertion in the manifesto of the first number that the editors lay no claim to a literary or cultivated style. There are several interesting articles and extracts from foreign papers. *El Socialismo* (Cadiz) has some good original matter, several well-chosen extracts from the writings of Krapotkin and others, a translation of E. B. Bax's lecture on the "Coming Revolution," an original poem, and various "Echoes." *Acracia* (Barcelona) for May contains a long report of a meeting of the Anarchists of that city, in celebration of the Paris Commune. The programme consisted of revolutionary discourses, interspersed with instrumental and vocal music, etc. Such a meeting, familiar enough in one form or another to us in England, is something of a novelty in the South.—M. M.

Truth—"in small doses, from the women for the men"—is a little paper started by four women comrades of San Francisco, who are not quite satisfied with what the men are doing, and intend to keep them up to the mark by weekly advice and encouragement. To these women of the far West success in their unpretending but most useful effort is assured if they only make every number of their tiny organ as smart and readable as the first.—S.

To-Day for June has a brightly-written dissertation upon the advantages and disadvantages of the teaching to children what their parents no longer believe, by Frances A. Blackett: some dainty verses, "A Lover's Prayer," by Philip Marston; and the continuation of "Broken Lives."—S.

The Home Ruler. H. Vickers & Co. A small weekly journal, advocate of Home Rule and Imperial Parliamentary Federation. No. 1, dated June 5, contains some scathing remarks on some of the prominent opponents of the Home Rule Bill, and the first instalment of what promises to be a valuable exposure of the London press, under the heading "London Public (?) Opinion on Home Rule."—B.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Notices to Members.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

Notices to Lecturers and Branch Secretaries.

To avoid confusion and mistake, lecturers and Branch secretaries are requested to at once advise the Lecture Secretary of all engagements made by them. Branches will find it more convenient to make their arrangements with speakers through the Lecture Secretary, who will undertake to make all necessary announcements unless otherwise instructed.

Second Annual Conference.

13 Farringdon Road, London, June 13. Delegates assemble at 10.30 a.m. and adjourn at 1.30 p.m.; resume at 3 p.m., and continue till business is disposed of.

Agenda.

First sitting, 10.30 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Appointment of Secretaries and Secretary; (3) Reports from (a) Executive Council, (b) Treasurer and Financial Secretary, (c) Secretary, (d) Editor, (e) *Commonweal* Manager; (4) Report of Branch Delegates for their respective Branches.—Second sitting, 3 p.m.: (1) Appointment of Chairman; (2) Motions of which notice has been given, (a) by Lane and Charles on Constitution of the League, (b) by Leeds Branch on Rules; (3) Election of Officers; (4) Discussion on Policy and Tactics.

Excursion.

Train leaves Cannon Street at 8 a.m. on the 14th, returning at 8 p.m. All intending to go must advise Committee by Friday night 11th, at latest.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Marylebone to March 31. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, Leeds, Norwich, Oxford, Dublin, to April 30. Manchester, Bradford, Croydon, North London, to May 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to June 30.—P. W.

The "Commonweal."

Branches are reminded of the absolute necessity of their paying for the paper week by week.

Copies of the cartoon by Walter Crane given with the first number of the weekly issue, can now be had printed on fine hand-made paper for framing, price 6d., postage 1d.; protection roll, if desired, 2d. extra.

Boards for the use of newsagents can be supplied to Branches at 1s. each.

Branch Reports.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—This Branch opened their new place, Arlington Hall, on Friday 4th, with a lecture by William Morris, which was attended by a mixed audience of from 250 to 300 people. Sale of literature and collection good.—T. E. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday evening, June 2, comrade Sparling lectured to a very fair audience on "Killing no Murder;" a tolerably good discussion followed, but one or two members expressed dissatisfaction at the extreme mildness of the lecture, considering the "gory" title.—On Sunday, June 6, comrade Blundell lectured on "Poverty, Disease, and Crime," and was well received; questions and discussion lively, and some slight opposition, which was satisfactorily answered. Literature sale has not come well up to the mark.—Members of this Branch are earnestly requested to attend an important business meeting on Wednesday, June 16, at 7.30 p.m.; amongst other matters the open-air work must be arranged.—W. B., sec.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning at 11.30, comrade Graham spoke to a large audience in Well Street, Hackney. We have every hope of making this a good Branch; *Commonweals* sold well; we had the attendance of ten policemen and an inspector.—In the afternoon at 3.30, we had a meeting in Victoria Park, which was addressed by comrades Graham, Allman, and Flockton.—J. FLOCKTON.

HAMMERSMITH.—During the past few weeks this Branch has held meetings as usual every Sunday evening, and arranged for occasional lectures on Wednesdays. The lecturers have been Edith Simcox, John Pearse, George Bernard Shaw, P. Webb, H. H. Sparling, and William Morris. The average attendance has been good, on two occasions the room being even inconveniently crowded. Outdoor meetings have been held on Sunday mornings in the Beadon Road. This is not a very suitable spot, but no better place has been found in the neighbourhood, there being no recognised place for open-air meetings. The most satisfactory circumstance we have to record is a considerable increase in the number of members. These are chiefly recruited from the Liberal club, and among them are some good speakers, who will be great accessions to the Branch. It is just two years since we held our first Socialist meeting in Hammersmith, and comrade Scheu explained to a somewhat incredulous audience that Socialism didn't mean unlimited dynamite and throat-cutting. It is only by looking back that we measure the advance since made.—E. W.

MARYLEBONE.—We held our usual meeting in the Harrow Road on Saturday evening. Although there was an attempt made by three or four drunken men to interrupt the meeting about nine o'clock, it was a great success; two quires of *Commonweals* were sold.—On Sunday morning, comrade Nicoll and others addressed a large meeting at the corner of Bell Street.—At Hyde Park, in the afternoon, we found our position taken up by the Church Army, and had to pitch between them and the Secularists. After a short time we managed to get a large audience, which listened very attentively to addresses from comrades Wardle, Arnold, and Donald. Several questions were asked and answered, and the enthusiasm of the crowd showed that the majority were in favour of Socialism. The meeting was kept up for three hours, breaking up at 6.30.—H. G. A.

STAMFORD HILL.—On Sunday evening a meeting was held on Stamford Hill, when comrades Parker and Dobbin addressed a good audience composed of workers and some middle-class respectabilities on the road home from church, on the Gospel of Socialism, and a quire of *Commonweals* were sold. Several names have been received towards the formation of a Branch in this neighbourhood.—OWEN LLOYD.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday evening, May 30, comrade Mahon lectured at the New Market Hotel on "Radicalism and Socialism," pointing out in an eloquent manner that Radicalism, if carried to its logical consequences, should end in Socialism. The lecture was followed by a discussion, in which the opposition was of the usual vague character.—C. H.

DUBLIN.—A large and enthusiastic meeting was held on the Nine Acres last Sunday, in connexion with the strike of the stonecutters. This meeting was attended by the Branch; 5,000 leaflets were distributed, and some *Commonweals* sold. The *Irish Times* of Monday was very wrath over "Shall Ireland be Free?" a copy of which found its way into their possession.

LEEDS.—A new open-air station—Hunslet Moor—was visited on Sunday morning. A good audience gathered, and gave an attentive hearing to our speakers. The *Commonweal* sold very well.—T. M.

MANCHESTER.—Comrade Wakefield from Halifax addressed a meeting on the waste croft near Grey Mare Corner on "Why I am a Socialist." Much interest was shown, and several names taken. Two comrades went to the lamp at Gorton afterwards, but it was too late to attempt a meeting. Three policemen informed us that they had orders to stop all meetings there, of any sort.—At the Viaduct, in the evening, a good meeting was held, which resulted in some interesting discussion. I think we shall make members at both our open-air stations as soon as we can get rooms to meet in.—R. U., sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, June 11, at 8.30 p.m., Edward Aveling, "The Labour Christ." Music at 8 p.m.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Wednesday June 16, at 8.30 p.m., P. Webb, "The Necessity for Socialism." Important business meeting before lecture, at 7.30 p.m. Branch members please note.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every Monday at 8, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. June 13, no lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m. June 13, no lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Mile-end.—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. June 15. T. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."

North London.—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

South London.—Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sundays at 7.30.

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Glasgow.—Lecture and discussion in new rooms of the Branch, 84 John Street, every Sunday at 7 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. Donations of books for library will be gladly received.—J. B. G.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

Leeds.—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—County Forum. Thursdays, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Café. Every Monday at 8 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.					
Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 12.	Harrow Road—opposite the "Prince of Wales"	7	H. G. Arnold	Marylebone.	
	Stratford—at end of Church	7		Lane and Mowbray Central.	
S. 13.	Canning Town (Beckton Rd.)	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Central.	
	Edgware Road—Bell Street	11.30	H. Graham	Marylebone.	
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	T. E. Wardle	Hackney.	
	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	11.30	The Branch	Hammersmith.	
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	D. Nicoll	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	I. S. Vanderhout	Mile-end.	
	Regent's Park	11.30	The Branch	N. London.	
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	"	N. London.	
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	"	Marylebone.	
	Victoria Park	3.30	"	Hackney.	
	Merton—High Street	7	"	Merton.	
Tu. 15.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7.30	T. E. Wardle	N. London.	
Th. 17.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	The Branch	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste	8	T. E. Wardle	Mile-end.	

PROVINCES.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds.—June 13. Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

CHAMBERLAIN CLUB, 21 Choumert Road, Peckham. Sunday June 27, at 8 p.m., A. Scheu, "The Essence of Freedom and of Servitude."

NOTTING HILL DEBATING SOCIETY, "Monarch Tavern," Manchester Street (near Latimer Road Railway Station).—Sunday June 13, at 7.30. W. Royston (S.P.E.L.), "Church and State."

PROGRESSIVE DEBATING SOCIETY, "Bee Hive," Warner Street, New Kent Rd. Sunday June 20, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, "Woman: Her Position under Socialism and To-day."

BOOKS FOR SOCIALISTS.

The question is so often asked, "What shall I read?" that the following partial list of works is given for the benefit of enquirers into Socialism,—not as being authoritative either singly or collectively, but as being distinctly helpful to a right understanding of the social problem.

ENGLISH.	FRENCH.
AVELING, E. and E. M., Woman Question from a Socialist Point of View.	BRISSAC: Vive la République Européenne.
BESANT, ANNIE: Modern Socialism.	BUCHNER: (1) Force et Matière; (2) L'Homme selon la Science.
BLAKE, LILLIE D.: Woman's Place To-day.	DEVILLE: Exposé de Marx.
BRASSER, THOS.: Work and Wages.	ENGELS: Socialisme, Scientifique et Utopique.
CARRUTHERS, J.: Communal and Commercial Economy.	FOURIER: Réalisation d'un Commune Socialitaire.
COBBETT, W.: Political Works.	GRAVE: La Société au lendemain de la Révolution.
Communist Manifesto of 1847.	KROPOTKINE: Paroles d'un Révolté.
ELY, RICHARD J.: (1) German and French Socialism; (2) Recent American Socialism.	LAFARGUE, GUESDE and DEVILLE: "Socialist Library"—Pamphlets.
FAWCETT, H.: Regulation of Hours of Labour.	LAFARGUE: Le Droit de Paresse.
GEORGE, H.: (1) Progress and Poverty; (2) Social Problems.	MARX: Le Capital (<i>trans. fr. German</i>).
GRÖNLUND, L.: Co-operative Commonwealth.	MICHEL, LOUISE: (1) Les Méprisés; (2) Mémoires.
HOWLAND, MARIE: Papa's Own Girl.	PELLETAN, E.: La semaine Sanglante.
HYNDMAN, H. M.: Historical Basis of Socialism in England.	PROUDHON: (1) Idée générale de la Révolution; (2) Histoire de Socialisme; (3) Confessions d'un révolutionnaire; (4) Qu'est-ce la Propriété?
MILL, J. S.: (1) Social Science; On Liberty.	ST SIMON: Réorganisation de la Société Européenne.
OWEN, R.: (1) The New Existence of Man; (2) New Order of Society.	
ROGERS, THOROLD: Six Centuries of Work and Wages.	
SKETCHLEY, JNO.: A Review of European Society.	
<i>Translations.</i>	
BAKOUNINE, M.: God and the State.	BUCHNER: Kraft und Stoff.
BEBEL: On Woman.	ENGELS, F.: (1) Die Umwälzung der Wissenschaft; (2) Die Ursprung der Familie.
BUCHNER: Force and Matter.	HERZEN: (1) Briefe an Bellanger; (2) Vom Andern Ufer.
FOURIER: (1) Social Destiny; (2) Theory of Social Organization.	JAEGER: Modern Socialism.
KROPOTKINE: (1) Appeal to the Young; (2) Law and Authority.	LASSALLE, F.: (1) Macht und Recht; (2) Modern Socialism; (3) Principien des Socialismus; (4) Wissenschaft und Arbeit.
LASSALLE, F.: (1) Appeal to the Workers; (2) Working-man's Programme.	MARX, K.: Das Kapital.
LAVELEYE: Primitive Property.	MOST: Die Freie Gesellschaft.
MARX: Extracts on Wage-Labour and Capital," by J. L. Joynes.	ORTO-PETERS, LOUISE: (1) Recht der Frauen; (2) Neue Bahnen.
MAX NORDAU: Conventional Lies.	SCHAEFFLE: Kapitalismus und Socialismus.
RECLUS, ELISEE: Evolution and Revolution.	
STEPNIAK: (1) Underground Russia; (2) Russia under the Czars; (3) The Russian Stormcloud.	

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and W. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

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