

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 65.

SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## LAW AND ORDER IN IRELAND.

THE Coercion Bill and the attempt to drive it through Parliament is really a matter of great simplicity, although the whirl of party politics has made it seem somewhat intricate. It is the mere "outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual grace" of that Conservatism, Toryism, or Reactionism, whichever you please to call it, to which all the respectability of Parliamentary life gravitates, and which has engulfed not only the grave and portentous Philistinism of the once Tribune of the People, John Bright, but also the gathering ambition and vague aspiration to do something remarkable of Joseph Chamberlain; besides many other luminaries of a lesser order, some of whom have been set down as Radicals, and perhaps thought themselves to be so, but surely only because other people called them so.

However, even this outward and visible sign is a serious thing, not only for Ireland but for England also, and must at the outset be admitted to be far more serious than any other Coercion Bill, not because of any speciality in its provisions, nor even because it is to last permanently (which may mean perhaps as long as next year), but rather because it is to be enacted in the teeth of the disapproval of a great part of the English population. That is to say that the ordinary Englishman supposed that former measures of coercion were passed to restrain a band of plotters and miscreants in Ireland from injuring the ordinary peaceful law-abiding people there, who had no sympathy with their doings. Therefore, though some of the more advanced politicians might oppose such measures on principle, and others because they thought there was no special need for such strong measures, yet the greater part even of those who usually take some interest in politics would pass such matters by with the vague idea that it was a necessary step to take against Fenians and moonlighters, and other rebels, as unreasonable as only Irish can be. All that is changed now, and it is only in Parliament that any one pretends to think that the Coercion Bill is directed against a minority of the Irish people. It is, however vaguely by some persons, felt to be what the *Pall Mall* called it the other evening, a declaration of war against Ireland; to say to a part of the Empire: "We are going, not to suspend, but to abolish your civil rights by the strong hand, and let us see what you dare to do in resistance to this violence," is to admit that such people are in rebellion against the central authority, and are perfectly conscious of their solidarity as against it; and if they had, I will not say any chance of success, but any opportunity, they would make that manifest by rising in armed revolt against the central tyranny, and to a large part at least of the peoples of England, Scotland, and Wales, that rebellion seems a righteous one; to how large a portion no general election will make clear to us, but rather the march of events.

It is a pity indeed that agitation on a really large scale cannot be at once set on foot, so as to show the reactionists that they are rashly playing with fire; but though it can scarcely be doubted that a genuine poll of the country would give a large majority against landlord-magistrate law in Ireland, yet it is hopeless to expect a serious expression of opinion at all in proportion to the dissatisfaction that doubtless exists, still less any expression of opinion which would mean a serious threat of "Don't try that on again!" The politically minded part of the workers who can claim to have any approach to organisation, have unhappily been organised to be at the beck and call of their leaders at election time, and also to forbear even the mildest agitation unless the wire-pullers give the sign. They have been so debauched by allowing themselves to be treated as the mere machinery of a Parliamentary party, that now when the time comes that even that organised hypocrisy, their party, would be glad of their help they can do but little; at the best they can but show that they exist as dissatisfied persons in some numbers, which the reactionists know already, but any genuine

strong and fierce outburst of feeling from them is scarcely to be expected when one thinks of the deep respectability of the gentlemen that lead them.

However, what can be done must be done, and that out of Parliament. The Bill will certainly be passed. The Radical Unionists, all but two or three, will have a sop thrown to them by the withdrawal of the clause for changing the venue of the bigger trials,<sup>1</sup> which was probably put in to be withdrawn, as also perhaps was the "permanency" of the bill, which, however, these precious Democrats have swallowed so sweetly. And then the Reactionists will have their way in Parliament, as is but natural, and all one can hope is that the country will wake up after the bill is passed; though it is no use hoping that anything more will come of that but a dissolution and general election. Home Rule may follow that, though of course only a compromise Home Rule, and the ground will be cleared so far for the question of property in Ireland—and elsewhere. The day of the Tories proper has passed with this Coercion Bill. To-morrow the Liberals in the English Parliament will have to be dealt with, criticised, and resisted. The day after it will be the turn of the Dublin Parliament. Let us hope that true social feeling in Ireland will not have exhausted itself in combining to defeat the English landlords, but will rise with the new condition of affairs and demand freedom not only for the tenants but for all.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## LEGALITY.

THE respect for law as law is one of the most marked characteristics of the bourgeois mind. One is particularly struck with the strength of this superstition on occasions like the recent attempt at St. Petersburg. There are probably few middle-class Englishmen who would in so many words condone the atrocities and murders of the Russian Government. And yet there are probably few who would refuse the word crime to any act of self-defence initiated by its victims. Here is a case in which you have on the one side what every Englishman (bourgeois though he may be) that knows anything about the matter would in his heart admit to be an organisation of brigands, a mass of corrupt officials, seizing and secretly torturing or murdering, on the slightest pretext, any person they imagine to be obnoxious to them, tearing men away from their families at a moment's notice to serve in an army, not of defence, but of oppression—in short, establishing a reign of terror in all the towns of a vast territory. On the other, you have their victims, the population, who are endeavouring to defend themselves against this organised brigandage. There is a difference, however, a vast line of cleavage, between the two. The one operates under the name of "established government," and hence all its transactions, however criminal in themselves, are protected by the trade-mark "legality." The other does not operate under the name of established government, and hence all its hostile transactions, however justifiable in themselves, are contraband as not bearing the trade-mark "legality." For this reason the average bourgeois hesitates or refuses to denounce the one as criminal or to uphold the other as righteous. In this course he is insincere. It may be unhesitatingly affirmed that any sane man who says he believes it wrong to kill the Czar, lies. No man's conscience is so grotesquely twisted as to make him think thus. For it must be remembered this is not a case of Socialism *v.* anti-Socialism, but of the most elementary rights—liberty and life.

The Czar and his bureaucracy render life, even from the bourgeois point of view, all but impossible in Russia for any one outside their own body. The man, therefore, who hesitates to justify to the full any action that may be taken in self-defence is plainly dishonest. But his dishonesty has its explanation; "this defect defective comes by cause." And the explanation of his dishonesty is to be found in his unwillingness to violate that "blessed word," "legality." But whence the magic of this word? Thereby hangs the tale, of personal property, crime, and contract—in short, the tale of civilisation. Law, nowadays, is not usually identified as in Russia with direct personal violence. On the contrary, one of the great planks of the bourgeois in his struggle with Feudalism has ever been security of person and property from overt violence. To this was subsequently added liberty

of conscience and the free expression of opinion. Now these principles are (with one partial exception) at least nominally upheld by bourgeois law throughout Western Europe. So that speaking generally the bourgeois can appeal to *legality* as embodying his notion of justice and the rights of liberty and property—the two things being in the main identical. In Russia, on the contrary, they are for the most part altogether opposed; the pet political nostrum of the middle-classes, constitutionalism, is unknown, all opinion is crushed out. Here, then, our worthy bourgeois finds himself on the horns of a dilemma. He cannot consistently with one side of his principles champion or even condone the Russian Government. On the other hand he cannot without endangering the basis of his social order openly pronounce in favour of conspirators against any established government, however bad even from his own point of view. To do so would be to take the side of lawlessness against law. And is not the sacredness of private property enshrined historically in the conception of “law” and “government”? This is awkward, very. The issue, however, is not long doubtful. Class-interest triumphs. With more or less of hesitation, and in violation of his conscience, he denounces as “assassins” the executioners of a murderous Czar, and as criminals the manufacturers of the munitions of war designed for self-defence against the most infamous band of oppressors the world has ever seen.

For the reason above given, the Socialist alone dare speak the naked truth in the matter of Nihilism *v.* Czarism. He has no obligation to respect “established government” or legality as such, inasmuch as the right of property it enshrines has for him no eternal sacredness. For him it is indifferent whether social and political ends are realised by lawful or lawless means. He has not the slightest objection (if he is sensible) to obtaining what he desires by legal and constitutional methods, but neither has he any moral objection to employing or seeing employed other methods where these fail. Not discerning any sacredness in the fact of legality, not recognising any patent right to criminality as vested in constitutional authorities or governments, he hesitates not to brand their ringleaders as miscreants when crimes are committed in their name. Just as little does he hesitate to recognise as agents of judicial retribution those who, always at the risk, and in some cases the certain sacrifice of their own lives, take upon themselves the social function of judge or executioner. The fact of wearing a particular garb, being paid a high salary, and propounding unctuous platitudes from a “bench,” is not for him the *sine qua non* of an administrator of justice. The test of criminal conduct or of judicial functions with him lies in the actions themselves and in the circumstances giving rise to them, and not in the social status or character of those performing them.

The Socialist alone, then, can unreservedly speak what others only dare to think—can express his conviction plainly where others casuistically prevaricate. Even the Radical, inasmuch as he still clings in theory at least to the absolute sacredness of private property, can hardly, if he be consistent, help squirming at the notion of illicit justice. He may have given up many things, but at this he draws back. There is a story of an ancient Tartar prince who one day issued the order to his retinue to draw their bows at every object at which he let fly an arrow, on pain of instant decapitation. He first of all shot one of the royal game. Some of his men hesitating, lost their heads. He thereupon shot one of his best horses. Some of his train held back. Their heads fell immediately. After that he discharged an arrow into the body of his favourite wife. (*N.B.* It must not be supposed that this wife had done anything particular; but as she happened to be there the prince used her as an illustration, which, though it may seem to argue an inadequate sense of the respect due to woman, does not imply any malice on his part). But however, some of his men hesitated, with the same result as in the former case. Striking at higher game, he then proceeded to pierce with his arrow the finest steed of the reigning khan. On this occasion all the bows were drawn and all the arrows flew. Now for the first time the prince saw that he had got his men well in hand, and that henceforth they were ready for the final coup. So the next day, riding out with the khan to the chase, he “drew” upon him. The unhappy monarch, to employ the phraseology of historians, fell pierced with a thousand darts, and the prince was that day installed in his place. The moral of this story is evident. Before the working classes are prepared for the Revolution they must place the demands of the Revolution before everything else. The Radical, until he is prepared to transfix that leading steed in the stable of class society—bourgeois legality—is not ready to immolate that society itself and install a more virile one in its room.

But, says the bourgeois, to come back to the case in point, if you admit what is commonly called political assassination, where are you to draw the line? I will tell you. What is commonly but often incorrectly called political assassination may or may not be morally justifiable. In the opinion of the present writer, and that of most Socialists, it is morally justifiable when the right of discussion of social or political questions, either by speech or writing, is suppressed as against those who suppress it, and only then. The reason is that from the point of view of social progress such suppression being the strangulation by brute-force of social aspiration, the removal of its author or authors is a mere act of self-defence. So long as free discussion exists there can be no excuse for the use of terrorist methods, which are in this case at once a crime and a blunder. For in these circumstances, when the people are free to organise for this end, if they do not overthrow, either by constitutional or other means, a system whose rottenness has been exhibited to them on platform and in press, it is clear as the noonday that conditions are not as yet ripe for such a change. When this is so, no amount of terrorism will avail aught. Terrorism

is only effective as the result of a strong but suppressed popular movement; never as the cause. “Rover’s cross this morning and won’t play,” says the little girl to her brother; “what shall we do?” “I know,” replies the latter, “wag his tail for him.” The idea of the Anarchist to stimulate an unprepared proletariat to revolt by wagging the popular tail with dynamite is just as reasonable.

Applying these remarks, we may observe in conclusion that in Russia, where not only is opinion suppressed, but no man’s life or liberty is safe from the autocrat or his myrmidons, terrorism must be pronounced unquestionably both morally justifiable and expedient; in Germany, where discussion is suppressed, though morally justifiable, for various reasons inexpedient; in this country at the present time, and wherever discussion is free, neither morally justifiable nor expedient.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST.

(Concluded from p. 107.)

ONE naturally expects remarkably good reasons to be advanced in justification of a practice so prejudicial to the interests of the people. This is not done, however, the arguments used being ridiculously feeble. Many indeed do not deign to discuss the morality of the custom, and merely sneer like Professor Flint at the inconceivable folly of resuscitating a “medieval economic error.” The stock argument is the “abstinence” one. Our masters claim a reward for their meritorious conduct in abstaining to use their capital. The fact, of course, is that they would do anything rather than consume it, for they know the value of having a grip of the means of production. In this demand of theirs, there is a half-expressed truth which we Socialists recognise. It is that in conditions of equal freedom an able-bodied man has no right to expect another to supply him with the capital necessary for the production of the articles he uses. In my opinion this truth should be, and under Socialism would be, acted upon; the capital required to carry on any industry being supplied by the consumers of the products of that industry, each contributing in proportion to his consumption. As the order of things, in which the producer owned the tools or capital required in his trade, has been superseded by the present one in which the machinery or capital is supplied by people not necessarily either makers or users of the goods turned out with the help of their capital, so this again will be succeeded by a new order in which the consumers alone will contribute the capital. The existence of such a system would by no means imply the right of the consumers to determine the conditions of work for the producers. But to return to the argument, the paradox is that at present a capitalist may both eat his cake and keep it—may abstain from using his capital, and yet derive as much, nay more, enjoyment from it than if he did not abstain. The possessor of fifty thousand pounds invested here and there, not virtuous enough to “abstain,” might live in a humble way on a thousand a year, and only after the lapse of fifty years get to the bottom of his purse. His philanthropic brother, however, owner of a similar sum, with a laudable desire to benefit the workers, might “abstain,” claim and receive his reward in the shape of two thousand five hundred a year, and at the end of fifty years, when his brother had spent his fortune, would still possess his undiminished. My poor Socialistic brains are quite unable to discover that the latter would exercise greater abstinence than the former. In connection with this, too, there is a rather curious problem to be solved. Suppose the workers one fine day were to say to the capitalists, “We really cannot allow you to make such sacrifices for our sake, so pray do not abstain any longer.” What would happen? It is evident the capitalists would require to realise their property, for they could not make a personal use of their farms, mines, factories, railways, or ships, of their cottons, woollens, coal, iron, or grain. But the only purchasers to be got would be the workers, who would then have at their disposal the sum up till then paid away as reward for abstinence, viz., the interest. This, or part of it, could be handed to the capitalists each year until the sum paid equalled the principal in value. This request of the workers would be quite a legitimate one, for surely the recipients of a service for which they pay are quite entitled to refuse such a service and keep the price of it. In connection with this argument it is often said by thoughtless people that there would be no inducement to save if no interest was received. Under Socialism, if people wished to accumulate wealth in various forms for personal enjoyment they would require to provide the capital necessary for the production of this wealth, and moreover, in order to entitle themselves to be supported by the community in sickness or old age, would require to help those already unfit for work by paying what may be called a premium to the Commonwealth—a form of saving too. In short, if they did not save, they would reap none of the benefits which flow from saving.

It is sometimes said that interest is merely a premium for insurance against risk. This is not so, however, for much more is paid as interest to capital than what is sufficient to cover insurance. The principal cannot be increased by premiums for insurance, as such, for these payments are merely sufficient to replace that part of the principal which may be lost. A capitalist would be virtually living on his principal were he to consume this payment.

But the most ingenious and far-fetched defence of usury is that of Henry George. He maintains that in certain branches of industry there accrues a natural interest which is due to the generative force of Nature. For instance, in agriculture labour is assisted to a very great extent by natural forces. Between seed-time and harvest the farmer

does comparatively little in his fields, the growth of the crops depending chiefly on the seed, the soil, and the atmospheric conditions. He holds, therefore, that capital utilised in industries of this kind, in which it has the benefit of the co-operation of Nature, has a return which capital employed in such as the manufacturing industries has not. While the farmer rests from his labour, his flocks and herds and crops continue growing; but when the blacksmith or carpenter throws down his tools, no progress is made with the work he was busy with. So, George argues, it is only just that all capital should be put on the same footing, and consequently that which receives no natural increase or interest should receive an artificial increase. It seems to me that he misses the point altogether. Instead of demonstrating that interest of any kind should be allowed to capital, however employed, he merely asserts that there are two kinds of interest, one natural, the other artificial, and that it is right that capital debarred from getting the first should get the latter—which is not what was to be proved. We hold that private property in all natural powers (the sources of interest, according to Henry George) should be abolished, in such wise that no charge for their co-operation with labour would be made. The price of commodities should depend only on the labour engaged in their production. The price of wheat, for instance, should depend only on the quantity of labour required to produce it. Nothing should be charged for the part played by Nature.

Well, then, these are the principal arguments used in defence of usury, by no means such as are likely to convince an unbiassed mind. Every social instinct man is endowed with revolts against such a practice when the iniquity of it is laid bare; and the sense of injustice which I believe exists in greater or less degree in every man's breast condemns it in the most unhesitating manner when its full significance is grasped. Usury, that curse of humanity, is the outcome of greed and selfishness, of the anti-social qualities of human nature, and therefore we will work day and night, in season and out of season, to sweep it clean away.

J. H. SMITH.

THE REVIVAL OF TRADE (?).

The promised revival of trade is long a-coming, apparently. Here are some cuttings from the *Daily News* of Monday 28th March, chiefly concerning the textile trades.

*Cotton Goods, Manchester.*—In the cloth market the week has been on the whole rather dull but firm; business for the larger eastern markets much restricted by the uncertainties of exchange. . . . The home trade is doing rather more. . . . "printers" quiet. . . . Business in yarns has fallen below an average in most departments.

*Woollen Goods, Leeds.*—The week's turnover, all kinds of cloth, has been far below the average, buyers being very cautious in their operations, and showing not the least disposition to speculate.

*Wool and Worsted, Bradford.*—The wool market has a rather more cheerful tone; but the business is still of a restricted character and to cover orders recently taken in yarns.

*Leicester.*—In the hosiery business as a whole is quiet. . . . Orders are scarce, and profits narrowed by the keenness of competition.

*The Boot and Shoe Trade.*—But the chief drawback is—not any despondency as to the outlook for the second quarter, which is cheerful—but the narrowness of profit owing to the activity of competition.

In elastic webs the recent revival has not been maintained, there being now a lull and dullness all round.

*Nottingham.*—Nothing very cheering can be said of the lace trade this week. Although the season is advancing, the business does not appreciably increase. Indeed, so far from business expanding, it is doubtful whether orders are coming to hand so freely as they did earlier in the year. The local manufacturers, as a rule, have little reason to congratulate themselves on the aspect of commercial affairs. . . . Accounts of the hosiery trade are somewhat discouraging.

*Birmingham, Hardware Trade.*— . . . New orders are not coming forward very freely, and prices are kept on an unremunerative level by the keenness of competition. . . . The shipping trade continues abnormally quiet. . . . Travelling-trunks of the cheaper kinds are in brisk request, though the profits are limited. The fender and fire-iron branch is rather dull.

*Sheffield.*—There is a decided check in the progress of the iron and steel trades. . . . Steel makers are experiencing a rather slacker demand for the best qualities. The production of heavy steel castings is fully equal to the demand, which is less boyant than of late. . . . For bar and hoop iron there is a rather better demand than for some other kinds of manufactured iron; but business is not so brisk as it was hoped it would be.

The italics in the above cuttings are, of course, my own. W. M.

Professor Levi told the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce that he was not in the least disposed to say that there was any great reason for the trading community of the country to be seriously depressed. Of course the learned professor can see no reason for the depression; he is not supposed to. However, the depression of trade has had a serious effect upon trades' union funds. At the close of 1883 the United Society of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders had an accumulated fund of £108,545. It now stands at £21,895, as much as £1000 having been paid in some weeks to members out of work. The struggle to obtain employment gets keener every day, and when obtained the conditions are more burdensome. Last week the coroner had to hold an inquest on William Crocker, a painter in London. He said to his wife, "I can't stand this any longer. I shall go mad!" He had been all day in search of work, and had been unable to obtain any. Afterwards his body was found in Regent's Canal. Professor Levi must reckon all in, and not rely too much on his own figures. K.

MEETING OF WORKING MEN IN VIENNA.—On Monday a great meeting of working men was held here, at which very strong revolutionary opinions were expressed, so much so that almost every speaker was stopped in the middle of his speech by the police who were present. The congratulatory telegrams from the provincial associations were of so extreme a nature that they were not allowed to be read out.

AT THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE.

FELL fifty years o'er these fair isles  
Plump lady Vic had held the sway,  
And all the courtly lords had met  
To celebrate the crowning day.  
"For sure," said they, "it is but right  
That loyal subjects every one  
Should praise our queen for all the deeds  
Her gracious royal hands have done."

So on a glorious day in June  
A glittering pageant moved along,  
And knights in gay attire were there,  
And men in armour stout and strong;  
And banners in the sunlight waved,  
And trumpets filled the air with sound  
While in the midst Victoria rode,  
Her head with gaudy jewels crowned.

And far away to right and left  
The great crowd stretches silently;  
No sound of cheering rose from them  
While all the pomp and pride swept by,  
But mutterings from clenched teeth,  
And angry murmurs rose and fell,  
And as she passed, the men-at-arms  
Had no light task to guard her well.

The good archbishop all the while  
Thought of his goodly golden store,  
And pondered deeply in his mind  
How to increase it more and more;  
And all the bishop friends of Christ  
Thought of the very self-same thing;  
While at the ropes in many a tower  
Stout arms made all the church bells  
ring.

Far on the outskirts of the crowd  
A tattered beggar viewed the pride,  
And scorned and jostled by the throng,  
Hugged his rags closer to his side,  
And muttered underneath his breath,  
While down the street the banners  
passed,  
"How long shall earth go rolling on  
Ere idle pride shall breathe its last?"

How long before you sun on high  
Shall look upon the earth and see  
Freedom's red banner borne aloft  
By brave men struggling to be free?  
Go on thy way, oh queen, awhile;  
Enjoy thy little day of pride,  
But all around thy pomp and show  
Riseth red revolution's tide.

Go on thy way, the robes thou hast  
Are woven out of sighs and tears,  
And every hope thy proud heart knows  
Is built upon the people's fears.  
Hide from thine eyes the sight of those  
Whose lives, as mine, are full of woe,  
Live out thy little day in peace  
Till comes the day when thou shalt  
know—

That underneath thee all this while  
Surges and boils a rising fire;  
Whose flame of discontent each day  
Grows ever fiercer, ever higher;  
It undermines thy throne. E'en now  
Methinks I see thy jewelled crown  
And all thy pomp and rotten pride  
Into the wild flame falling down.

The people waken. All too long  
Their ignorance hath kept thee up,  
But knowledge spreads with misery,  
And while they drink deep sorrow's  
cup,  
Fierce curses in their hearts arise  
At thee and all thine idle show,  
Thou puppet on a gilded throne  
The time shall come when thou must  
go!

Defender of a useless faith  
That tricks the people into prayer,  
They find that all the gods are deaf,  
And they are crying to the air.  
Unconscious heaven will give us naught  
Lo, we must up and act as men;  
Vampires, who draw our blood to-day,  
How we shall sweep you from us  
then!

I envy not thy pampered ease  
Though with keen hunger I may cry,  
My rags may flutter in the wind  
And life may drag on wearily;  
A little longer I can wait,  
Nor shall the time be overlong,  
Till thou and all thy lordly state  
Learn how despair can make men  
strong!

Ours is the power to destroy  
What by our toiling is upheld,  
And out of ruin once again  
A bright new world of hope to weld.  
But thou and all thy crew must go,  
Earth has no place for such as thou;  
When men shall rise and strike the  
blow,  
Would they were ripe for striking  
now!"

FRED HENDERSON.

[The above verses which it is to be hoped will voice the sentiments of the workers far more faithfully than the fulsome Jubilee jingle of Baron Tennyson, acquire additional interest from the fact that the writer is now unjustly imprisoned in Norwich Castle for directing attention to the injustice of present society.]

LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received the first issues of *Humanitas* (Naples) organ of the Communist-Anarchists. It contains interesting articles each week by F. S. Merlino and others, is well filled up with foreign notes and so forth, and is, in short, a "good halfpennyworth."

In April *Longman's* E. Nesbit has "The Ballad of Ferencz Renyi" in which a revolutionary incident is well and strongly told.

In our *Corner* Mrs. Besant has an admirable reply to Mr. Bradlaugh, and there is, as usual, a good selection of readable articles.

'The Labor Problem,' is a pamphlet by G. C. Clemens of Enterprise, Kan., U.S., in which the problem is fairly well "stated for the busy and the tired" without any attempt at a solution. No price is stated.

'Our Great Social Problem' is a reprint from the *Southport Guardian* of a most interesting correspondence between our comrade Walter Crane, and a Mr. C. H. Brown. The letters of the latter are chiefly of interest as showing the strange mental contortions an intelligent honest man may unconsciously indulge in.

'An Autobiographical Sketch of August Spies,' with notes, and reports of speeches, and portraits of himself and his noble young wife, has been published by the latter at 25 cents, and may be procured from Julius Bordollo, 104-106 E. 4th St., N.Y.

Articles of Interest to Socialists: *Nineteenth Century*: "Science and Pseudo-Science," Huxley; "An Act for the Suspension of Parliament," Trill; "On Well-meant Nonsense about Emigration," Osborne Morgan; "Liberal Unionists and Coercion," Reginald H. Brett and Earl Cowper. *Blackwood's*: "Free Trade and Depressed Trade," A. Williamson. *Contemporary*: "The Plan of Campaign," S. Laing. *Fortnightly*: "Fluctuations in Trade and Wages," Geo. Howell; "A Model Landlord," A. Williams, M.P. [*N.B.*—It must not be assumed that every article given in this list from time to time is thereby praised. Some are so included, but some for their foolishness and some for their dishonesty; but all in some way are of interest]. S.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH IRELAND.—Both Houses of the New York Legislature have unanimously adopted resolutions expressing sympathy with Ireland, and protesting against the injustice of the new Coercion Bill. Six other States have adopted similar resolutions.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors.

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 6.

ENGLAND	Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir
Justice	John Swinton's Paper	Antwerp—De Werker
Jus	Der Sozialist	HOLLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	The Question	SWITZERLAND
Cotton Factory Times	Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Glasgow—Pioneer	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Christian Socialist	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Turin—Il Muratore
Our Corner	Vorbote	SPAIN
INDIA	Albino (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	El Productor
Bombay—Behar Herald	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance and Labor Leaf	AUSTRIA
Bombay Gazette	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	Vienna—Gleichheit
Allahabad—People's Budget	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	HUNGARY
Calcutta Statesman	FRANCE	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	ROUMANIA
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	L'Insurgé	Jassy—Lupta
CANADA	BRUXELLES	DENMARK
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Le Combat	Social-Demokraten
UNITED STATES		
New York—Volkzeitung		

"DOES EDUCATION DIMINISH INDUSTRY?"

THIS is a question often asked and answered by people, well-meaning enough in their way, but most usually unable to grasp anything like a true solution of the apparent enigma. The *Daily News* some time back, in its endeavour to support "technical training" in Board Schools, restated all the old pleas against educating the "common people," but, of course, in these democratic times with somewhat more of circumspect periphrasis and euphemistic expression than the ancient arguments were wont to masquerade in heretofore. The *Spectator*, commenting upon the *Daily News* article, utilised with great effect its long-practised art of sitting upon the fence, but leant as strongly as it dared in the same direction.

Education, runs the doleful song, is destroying the appetite and aptitude for work once possessed by the "lower classes"; "the boys make less trusty workmen, and the girls worse cooks, and housemaids, and laundrywomen"; they "are less handy and more conceited than a former generation, have less liking for work, and more notions." "Education is in itself inimical to continuous industry." "Education cannot be stopped, and if, therefore, education develops an aversion to hard work, humanity will stand in presence of a nearly insoluble problem."

Now, whatever be the impatience with which a Socialist must hearken to these and similar Jeremiads, there is yet some necessity for his answering them when they are put with plausibility and are like to deceive the folk. This terrible pothier about education when examined is found to arise from quite other causes than regard to the welfare of the people or the future of education. No, the fear is for the ending of the period in which the masses consent to be degraded and misused that a few may "devour all the gain, or lasciviously consume with phantastical expenses." But, stated plausibly, and backed by loud-sounding declamation, the pinchbeck philanthropy and assumed foresight of the self-appointed prophets of evil lend a superficial look of validity to their contention, and may confuse the unthinking or unreflective.

Education, so-called to-day, in so far as it is concerned with the working-class, is either a concealed attempt to "fit them for their station in life," to train them to a tame acceptance of their "natural" inferiority, or, more dishonestly inhuman, a pretence at their due development as men and women while it is known that, leaving school, they are to be beaten down again into factory slaves. What it should be is the careful, assiduous drawing out of each faculty possessed by an individual to the fullest extent, consistent with its healthy exercise.

There is only so much of true education as cannot be avoided in that accorded to the children of the workers to-day. But an educated man is a free man, and little of true education as it is that they receive, there is yet enough to make them discontented with their allotted slave-labour and subordinate position.

To define Education and Work is sufficient to explode the fallacy that they are inconsistent, the one with the other. Education, the preparing of human faculties for most effective exercise. Work, the exercise of human faculties toward desired ends. Under the present system, however, work is directed, not to the desired ends of the labourer, but to those of his employer, of the man to whom he has been compelled to sell himself, his power of labour. His labour-power is for a certain period the property of another, and to be exerted only as that other bids; he has sold it, and has no further interest in it than to receive the price agreed upon. Monotonous, intense, degrading toil, constant anxiety, and dread of enforced idleness, while he is "fortunate" enough to be employed; misery and helplessness when "unemployed"; these things are the appointed portion of a worker. If he be ignorant, undeveloped, brutish, indifferent of higher things, he may perchance endure it all with dull, stolid patience, "a poor servile drudge, a very slave"; but the more manhood he possesses, the more that his powers have been stimulated into life, the more bitterly will he resent his unjust subjection and chafe against his fetters.

It is not against work in itself that he revolts, but against its commercial accompaniments, its compulsoriness, monotony, intensity, and want of relation to his own benefit. Knowledge, even though it be of the "commercial" kind, furnished him now-a-days, enables him to see with ever-increasing clearness that his energy, exerted for an employer, bears little or no relation to his needs or to his sustenance. Nor can his aroused mind with its acquired knowledge, scant as that may be, find outlet in his work, save in the rarest instances, for he is becoming continually more absorbed into mere machine-minding; into the servitude of a machine, over which he has but slight control, and which he seldom understands. Even where it is not so, his employer cannot allow any latitude for thought, does he wish to win in the competition-struggle for commercial existence, but must compel him to produce goods "that will sell," with as little expenditure of his brain or body as may be.

But it is not only from its avowed enemies that the education of the working-class is made to suffer. Many a time could education with reason cry out for rescue from its "friends." To these, the Board School and the teaching therein given, is to make everybody healthy, wealthy, happy, and wise. Wage-slavery and learning have met together; profit-making and culture have kissed each other!

What was said of the pupil-teachers by one of H.M. Inspectors in 1880 remains true still and of children as well: "The minds are crowded with numbers of ill-digested facts, and there is no power rightly to appreciate or assimilate these facts." The whole system of teaching in Board Schools is radically wrong; none are readier to admit this than teachers whose heart is in their work. One most intelligent and enthusiastic man, head master of a large school in an important provincial town, admitted to me when showing me over his school, that it was one of his keenest regrets that the system forced upon him allowed no adequate scope for special abilities, but was based upon cut-and-dried competition and the passing of cast-iron standard. This is but part, of course, of the whole method of "education" in vogue at the universities, public schools, and so on; it is, nevertheless, of special import for evil to the working folk.

Children are turned into animated small hoppers; the names and dry bones of ever so many sciences and arts being crammed into them by means of cumbersome, expensive, and wasteful machinery. A multitude of bare facts and figures are forced into them willy-nilly, the meaning and application of said facts and figures being left to the chances of their future life. There are but few faculties called into play in a worker's daily task; fewer still of the things he has learned in school have any bearing thereupon; it is no wonder therefore that most of his faculties become atrophied from disuse, and that his brain rejects the unrelated "learning" got by rote. Thought, long-sustained, is absolutely essential to education, but which of us finds leisure for thought, either while we are at school eagerly preparing for examination upon examination, or in after-life amid the mad struggle we must keep up—or die!

To all but the Socialist, the Education question is a dilemma from which there is no escape, and either horn of which it is equally undesirable to be impaled upon. To maintain Society as it is the workers must remain in subjection; to so remain they must be ignorant. "Wise men are free; fools are slaves." To educate the workers is to rive Society asunder, for it is based upon robbery and buttressed with a lie. Justice and truth alone will satisfy an enlightened people. To a Socialist the dilemma is none, for he sees upon which horn of it Society must impale itself. Some learning is among the people, and as Burton well said: "So sweet is the delight of study, the more learning they have (as he that hath a dropsy, the more he drinks the thirstier he is) the more they covet to learn, the last day is *prioris discipulus*; harsh at first learning is, *radices amaræ*, but *fructus dulces*, bitter rooted but sweet fruited, according to that of Isocrates, pleasant at last; the longer they live the more they are enamoured of the Muses."

Man slowly but surely humanises himself, regulates his desires and directs his powers by a reasoned knowledge of his surroundings. As knowledge increases and the application of it is made sure, man sees not only how he lives but how he might live; and forms of faith or of society, however ancient and respectable, must give way before his



will. Then, when men are leisured, unoppressed by anxiety for the morrow's food, or fear of what the week may bring, it will be possible to train men as never heretofore, and Education will at length have opportunity to show what it can do for man.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

## A DAY IN THE COUNTRY.

It was towards the close of a clear bright day in early spring that, leaving the quaint little village of West Wycombe behind, I found myself at the summit of the Chiltern Hills, that intersect the county of Buckingham. For some miles now the road ran along the lofty ridge, affording beautiful prospects of the country on either hand, and only at the rarest intervals varied by a clump of cottages or a solitary farmhouse with its deep-rutted cart-road skirting a sluggish duck-pond. Indeed the desolation seemed almost oppressive; and I felt vaguely that this was a true instinct. Here was proof-positive of the absurdity of "over-population." It is true, indeed, that Malthus dwelt amid the beautiful wilds of Surrey; but then, added to the sophistical training of his order, he had a strong turn for arithmetic: and after all, it is the perplexed dwellers in towns who chiefly support his theory, so true it is that one-half the world does not know how the other half lives. And so commerce desolates the country to crowd the cities, and persuades its imprisoned victims that they are miserable because there is not room enough. A Malthusian should be dropped in the middle of Salisbury Plain.

With such thoughts as these I pursued my way along the lonely heights; and, now that the sun touched the horizon and the air began to grow keen, welcomed the sign-post that showed me the way to the village of Bledlow; and following the winding road deep into the fresh green valley, reached at last the place I sought. I hastened at once to the "Glyde," for which it is celebrated in the guide-books, and found it a sort of leafy precipice, from whose sides innumerable springs trickle with a gentle noise into the pool below, where the cattle are driven down to drink. High above stands the old square-towered church, seemingly in great danger of fulfilling Mother Shipton's ancient prophecy by "falling into the Glyde." And now in the fading light the trees around it seemed to mingle with the glow of the western sky, and nothing but the voices of the birds and the lowing of kine disturbed the stillness of the evening air.

It was twilight when I reached the door of a little alehouse, and stepped, weary and hungry, into the dim parlour. As nothing was to be had but fiery cheese and sour ale, I took them cheerfully: had I been disposed to repine, I should have felt ashamed of it when two or three labouring fellows entered the darkening room and began to talk. The poor widow who kept the house had enough to do to live, they said; and in that little village alone there were twenty men born in those parts then without work. This may seem a slight matter; but if such a thing could be in that little unknown village on the borders of Oxfordshire, what must it be elsewhere? The farmers complained that the land would not "pay" to cultivate. These poor fellows needed no telling that *something* was wrong; the question was, *what*? One of them had a vague but rooted notion that the queen and royal family were at the bottom of it; and I fear that when I spoke of France and America I only helped to destroy the hope he had. Indeed I felt shamed into silence in the presence of these slow-witted peasants, who live and labour and suffer on the land. There was little said; and I looked out of the darkness into the glimmering landscape with a mind full of pity and misgiving.

That morning I had been in London, with all its crowds and noise: now I was in the heart of a beautiful country. With what result? Misery here, misery there. Commerce has done its work, and brought all to extremes. Just as it has created an unhappy rich class and an unhappy poor class, so it has made the towns fierce gambling hells of life and death, and the country an abomination of desolation and cold isolated poverty.

Sentimentalists and lovers of the picturesque should journey on foot among the lovely country districts, using their eyes and ears. It will be strange if they do not come back with the sham sentiment knocked out of them and something more real put in its place. If they really believe in country life, they will do their best to give the whole people a chance of enjoying it, together with *real* social life.

Perhaps on the whole my tour had not been profitless so far, I thought, as I sat late at night in the chimney-corner of the "Rising Sun" at Prince's Risborough; and that which I had heard and seen was with me as I fell asleep, and came to me again through the open casement with the twitterings of birds and the morning light.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

Some villagers in Egypt have been flogged and their sheik imprisoned for six months *because* a party of British officers first wounded a villager and then on a disturbance arising shot another dead. Justice can scarcely go further than this; even flogging the whole population for having the rebellious impudence to exist, though it would be harder on them, would be a trifle more logical. It will now be a sacred social duty for the Arabs to avoid being shot by British officers, lest their recklessness should involve the whole of their village in a flogging. Bah! the man of modern civilisation is a sickening animal on a silver plate.

## NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.

No alteration has yet taken place in the situation. The mine-owners have been dumb, except that one of them threatens to close his pits unless the men surrender in a fortnight. But this is an old dodge, and the miners know the value of the threat. To have read the Newcastle papers a week ago one would have thought that the miners were just about to give up the fight. But on going amongst the men one finds something quite different. I put this to the test last week. The sensational articles on the distress were then appearing, expectations of the miners' surrender were rife, letters from anonymous wisacres counselled them to fling up the sponge, impudent editorials and fussy relief-committee memorials demanded the immediate capitulation of the strikers. During three days I went to six or seven different parts of Northumberland and questioned scores of men. They all admitted the distress; some of them were very bitter at the thought of the suffering inflicted on their wives and children by the capitalist power, but *none* of them spoke of giving in.

I cannot say that the miners have much hope of preventing the reduction. It is a dreary fight for them. Victory not very likely, or barren if they gain it. They will have used up nearly all their resources in the endeavour to keep their position, and if the masters try again they will be much surer of success. Again, if the miners do lose, they will be getting less than enough to feed themselves. "Give up the strike," cry the relief committees; "take the masters' terms, we can't keep the soup-kitchens open any longer." But if the men take 12½ per cent. less than they have been getting, the soup-kitchen will have to be made a permanent institution.

The general feeling is that the miners will be beaten, though I think that with better tactics, and the help which they should, but do not, get, a victory might have been secured. But the capitalists will not get an easy victory. There is a dogged determination about the men which bodes no good to their masters. Already the loss of confidence in the ordinary useless labour leaders is very widespread; and it will be lack of ability or industry on the part of the Socialists only that will prevent the general acceptance of Socialism amongst the miners.

The miners have now made advances to the masters to end the dispute by referring it to arbitration. It is not very clear what the result will be, but it looks like the miners losing. However, it may be best for the strike to end. This at all events is clear. The miners have suffered keenly, and their bitterness against the wrongs inflicted on them is greater now than ever before. The mineowners have greatly hastened the spread of Socialism by their inhuman attempts to grind the men lower than they are. The miners feel, too, that it is time they went in for more thorough-going action than hitherto they have done.

The Socialist propaganda has gone on better than ever. Two meetings every day, and all the halls crowded with people. We now find organised opposition and this proves the efficacy of the work done. The opposition is bitter but not formidable and helps to give a zest to the proceedings. I shall send a fuller report next week. The matter of organisation has again been postponed for a fortnight.

Newcastle, April 5.

J. L. MAHON.

## BREAKERS AHEAD!

THE present time is a favourable one in which to watch the governments of Europe tremblingly steering their course between their twin great dangers—the Scylla of foreign war and the Charybdis of internal revolution.

Watching one another and "their" peoples the "armed strong men" sit and none can tell what a day or week may bring.

The one thing certain in the uncertain business is that war and rapine—one almost might say also pestilence and famine—depend upon the great financiers, who at a nod can shake Europe.

Peace and war depend upon which the Moneybags can make most out of, by which particular method the blood of the peoples can most conveniently be transformed into the fortunes of financiers.

The *Spectator* says: "If we look below the surface, it is almost everywhere the governing classes who are heartily loyal, but the machine nevertheless rolls on." It explains the secret by the division among the governed peoples as well as the jealousy of nations.

The people are becoming more solidary every day, and day by day the distrust and hatred of "foreigners" decreases. How then for "the machine"?

In another place the same journal admits that "the strife between capital and labour rises black and menacing above the near horizon." How then for "the machine"? H. H. S.

THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.—At Ravenna Cipriani has again been elected. 't' time the Socialist convict has been returned.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

*This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINNING, at the Offices.*

### BRITAIN.

Owing to the continued slackness in the North Wales slate trade several batches of men have been discharged from the South Carmarvonshire quarries in the Nantlle district. At Bethesda there is no prospect of full time being worked, and many of the younger quarrymen are emigrating.

At a delegate meeting of the branches of the National Labour Federation held at Newcastle, Mr. Judge, the president stated that within five months they numbered 10,000 members, and there was every prospect that the progress of the movement would continue.

**SCOTTISH MINERS.**—A settlement of the present dispute has been arrived at between the employers and the employés at Meiklehill Collieries and Solsburgh Colliery. The employers accept the men's proposal to work eight hours per day and eleven days per fortnight, a holiday being observed every alternate Thursday.

**REDUCTION IN SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—Last week a crew was shipped at Greenock for the ship *Orissa*, proceeding from Maryport to Townsville, Australia, at the rate of 40s. per month. This is the lowest rate paid to seamen for many years past.

**MASONS.**—On the 28th ultimo, at a meeting of the operative masons held in the Masons' Hall, Edinburgh, it was agreed to intimate to the employers that the operatives considered that the state of trade warranted an advance of wages from 6d. to 7d. per hour on and after 9th April, and a committee was appointed to notify this to the employers and the different squads in the town.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—The chainmakers strike in the Midlands still continues, having now lasted for nearly eight months. At a meeting just held at Cradley Heath, it was stated that the public sympathy had not died away, and never had the operatives of any trade met with such liberal support as the chainmakers now on strike. The men express their firm determination not to resume work at the old rate of pay.

**BURNLEY—THE STRIKE OF WEAVERS.**—The strike at Messrs. Jas. Walton and Sons, Bishop House and Elm Street Mills, still continues. The strike pay is at the rate of 1s. 6d. per loom, the weavers in the great bulk of cases receiving 13s. to 15s. per week from all sources. The prices in dispute are 3½d. to 4d. per cut under what is being paid at Nelson, and also what the Ashton employers are willing to pay. The weavers have entered on this struggle with a determination to win, and the Messrs. Walton are likely to find they have undertaken a tough job.

**VIOLATION OF FACTORY ACTS.**—In Oldham and its districts the Factory Acts are taken little notice of by mill managers, and are daily and openly violated in various ways. The chief department in London makes no effort to cope with the evil from which thousands of operatives suffer. It was only last week that the inspector for the district had to admit to the borough bench that he was not so sanguine as to suppose that any penalty they could impose would stop overtime in Oldham. Overtime will be resorted to so long as it is more profitable to practice it and run the risk of a small fine.

**THE UNEMPLOYED AT BARROW.**—The unemployed at Barrow have been holding a series of open-air meetings. The crowd assembled in front of the Town Hall asking to see the mayor, and threatened to break the windows. They also displayed a black flag, on which were a skull and cross-bones, and the words, "Bread or work." The mayor afterwards received a deputation, and said their case would be brought before the Council. He advised them to get out a list showing the number of unemployed, and to interview the Guardians. The list has already been signed by over 600 men. A deputation waited on the Guardians on the 30th ult., at which Mr. Henley, of the Local Government Board, was present. *He pointed out that the Guardians were powerless to do anything except to offer the men the workhouse.*

**AN EIGHT HOURS' LABOUR BILL.**—A public meeting of working-men, convened by the Trades' Unionists Eight Hours' Conference Committee, was held on Thursday, 31st ult., at the Feathers Tavern, Warren Street, Fitzroy Square, to consider the above questions, and the following resolution was passed:—"That this public meeting of workers is of opinion that the best means of obtaining permanent work for the vast number of persons at present unemployed is by a reduction of the hours of labour, and sees no other means of obtaining the same except by political action, and therefore pledges itself to endeavour to obtain the passing of an Eight Hours Labour Bill by all legitimate means in its power." Other meetings will be held in different parts of London as early as possible, due notice of which will be given.

**HADFIELD—CAUGHT IN THE ACT.**—One of the firms in the Hadfield district has been caught by two inspectors. It is the custom in that district to commence at 6.30 in the morning and stop at 6 o'clock at night, but the firm in question one Friday morning commenced before 6.30, and about thirty names were taken. Nearly all the mills in the Hadfield district work a great amount of overtime. At some of the mills the weavers get their meals before stopping time, and are pulling cuts off or picking them, or otherwise cleaning, all the meal hours, which causes the Factory Acts to be a dead letter. It is awkward for the inspector to catch them, as the overlookers have to be on the watch during the meal hours, and go to their meals afterwards, thus breaking the Act of Parliament with impunity.

"A DANIEL."—Mr. Raffles was rather wide of the mark when he said that he thought the South End Dock Labourers' Association was a most stupid and absurd society altogether. It seems that a labourer who was a member of the society was fined 10s. for working with non-society men. He refused to pay the fine, and because the society members refused to work with him he summoned three of them for intimidation, but the case was quashed on the ground that refusing to work with a man was not intimidation in the sense implied in the Act. Mr. Raffles seemed to find fault with the society for making rules of which he could not see the force, but which the labourers had been compelled to frame in their own interests to secure for themselves the terms which are found necessary in their employment. He stated that shipowners had told him that they could not get men to do their work owing to the rules of the society, and for this he condemned them and called it a stupid and absurd society. Dock-labourers have learned from bitter experience while following their laborious employment what is best calculated to serve their cause, and they are far better capable of judging what rules are requisite to harmony, as regards work and wages, than such as Mr. Raffles.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

### THE ASHTON STRIKE.

The high-handed and unscrupulous behaviour of the capitalists towards the workpeople engaged in this struggle is severely commented upon by the *Cotton Factory Times*. We quote the concluding remarks of an article in that excellent paper, which are worthy of serious attention. It is, however, strange and regrettable that the writer should have thought it necessary to use such an utterly fallacious and ridiculous phrase as "socialistic robbery":

"We are no supporters of socialistic robbery, but we are hip and thigh opponents of employers having the whip hand. They have no more right to try to intimidate their workpeople than the buyer of a pound of butter has to menace the man who sells it. These matters are gradually finding their level. The working classes will not always allow themselves to be humbugged and divided by those whose interest it is to have it so. All over the world the feeling of solidarity is growing, and whatever be the result of the Ashton strike, it must advance the movement. We are slowly getting down to the point where employers will, like working men, be respected exactly as they deserve to be, irrespective of their wealth. If the chasm which has for many centuries divided one class from the other be widened instead of the reverse, no one will be to blame but employers themselves, and it is bound in the long run to bring a terrible reckoning. Our remarks will be sneered at, just as those were scouted who, fifty years ago, thought that working men should have the rights which they now enjoy. Whether they come true or not depends on the action of employers, but a few more strikes like those now going on in Northumberland, Staffordshire, and Lancashire will do much to make our words true. An incident has occurred in connection with the strike which ought to open the eyes of the workpeople at Hurst. It appears a considerable number of the cottages in the village belong to the firm, and some of the weavers on strike have lived in these houses for fifteen or sixteen years, and some a great deal longer. In consequence of the strike taking place, these people have received notice to leave their homes. The tenants have received an intimation that an application is to be made to the magistrates on the 6th of April for power to remove their goods by force. This is a nice spectacle in a Lancashire town. These people have worked for the firm, some of them, for more than thirty years, and have in no small degree helped to make it what it is, and now, because they refuse to surrender their just rights, the firm is prepared to cast them into the street. This sort of business may have been carried on in Ireland, but we very much question it being carried on in the heart of Lancashire. If there was any evidence wanted as to the way in which labour is respected by capitalists, surely these threatened evictions at Hurst will supply it, and if there is now anything wanted to convince the workpeople of the necessity of acting in a body in order to protect themselves, they are hard to convince indeed. We don't believe for a moment that the firm wishes to turn these people out of their houses; nothing of the kind. The firm want to strike terror into the hearts of the greater number who reside in the village; and if these people allow themselves to be terrified in this way, we think their fellow-workers in the cotton districts may sympathise with them, but unless they take a stand collectively against this conduct they cannot do much to emancipate them. It appears the firm are desirous of standing strictly on their legal rights, whatever the consequences may be. We sincerely hope the tenants will also stand on their legal rights, and that every working man and woman in Ashton will combine in lodging a protest sufficiently strong to put an end to this attempt on the part of capital to crush the very last spark of independence out of them."

### FRANCE.

**VICOIGNE (NORD).**—A general strike of the miners here has taken place. Reports have been spread by the bourgeois press that it has ended by a compromise with the Company, but this is distinctly denied by the correspondents of the Socialist journals.

**FIRE-DAMP IN THE MINES.**—M. Laur, deputy for the Loire department, has intimated to the Minister of Public Works that he intends to take advantage of the general discussion on the law relative to the delegate miners, to demand the suppression of the use of explosives in mines containing fire-damp, and the institution of a prize of 50,000 fr. for the invention of an explosive or some other method of extracting the coal, which will not be dangerous in such mines.—*Cri du Peuple.*

**A BANQUET OF EXPLOITERS.**—A number of representatives of the exploiting class dined together last week at the Hôtel Continental; they harangued and mutually congratulated each other; one among them made it known that he had received the cross of the Legion of Honour, another that his last year's illness had left him, etc., etc. Having exhausted these soothing little personalities, they proceeded to deplore the deplorable state of industry. Yet they were not cast down, but with valiant hearts and hopeful minds looked forward to the impetus that they hope will be given to trade by the Exhibition of '89 and the works decided on by the Municipal Council. Let us imitate the spirit of these courageous men, and hope—with a different hope—for better times!

**REGISTRY OFFICES.**—The agitation against the Bureaux de Placement is still continuing in Paris, and will, we hope, finally lead to their total suppression, after the inevitable long and stupid resistance on the part of Law and Order and their servants. Law and Order distinguished themselves the other day at a manifestation held in Java for this very necessary reform. A numerously attended meeting was held at the Salle Favié. The meeting over, those taking part in it traversed the streets and "manifested" before the Bureaux de Placement. The said manifestation seems to have been of a moderately calm and orderly nature, but the end of the scene was rendered dramatic by the entrance of Law and Order personified by the police, who dispersed the would-be reformers with many blows and buffets, and arrested about a dozen of them. These, of course, have since been convicted of violence to the police and destruction of property, and some of them sentenced to one and two months' imprisonment and fines.

### BELGIUM.

The emigration movement is increasing in the Charleroi district. The other day three families left for Anvers, where they embark for Texas. The hamlet of Sart-Allet contains several women, whose husbands emigrated several months back, awaiting impatiently the passage money that their husbands have promised to send from America. Several miners at Gilly set off, leaving wives and large families behind. . . . Several other families are preparing to leave for Brazil. Will they be better off over there than here? That is always the question. In answer we may recall the case of two brothers some time back who set off, and thought themselves lucky in being . . . . . so as to make up the sum necessary to secure a . . . . .  
—*L'Avant Garde.*

"The Belgians have the right to combine together; this right may be subjected to no preventive measure whatever."—The Belgian Constitution, Act 20. "The Belgians have the right to meet together, peaceably, and without arms."—*Id.*, Act 19, etc., etc. A goodly country is Belgium truly! Fifty-seven years of liberty have made of her a Land of Cocaigne where larks tumble ready roasted into the mouths of those who work not, while those who labour are plunged in the depths of misery. Liberty of association, religious liberty, liberty of the press, of opinion, of education, etc., etc., all liberties do we possess, to be found on every page of our Constitution—a very plethora of liberties! But these liberties resemble the collections in our museums; you may look but you must not touch.—*L'Avant Garde.*

AUSTRIA.

BRUNN, March 21st.—On March 13th, as on the anniversary of the March Revolution, garlands were laid on the graves of those noble men who shed their blood for liberty by the Social Democratic Union Wahrheit, by the editors of *Gleichheit*, and by two working-men in the name of the Radical Labour Party. In the afternoon at four o'clock, about 700 labourers assembled at the graves, and with uncovered heads saluted the fallen with thundering cheers. Then they returned to the town in a procession, but were harassed by the police, who as the bourgeois papers report, on horse "cleared" the streets. Two were arrested. Already two days ago some comrades were arrested and forced to sign a document pledging themselves to abstain from unlawful actions. It is to be remarked that the March revolution was a revolution undertaken by bourgeois and proletarians who were the extreme Democrats; but the bourgeoisie has now become, as in 1848, so cowardly as to deny the past, and shelter itself under the wings of Absolutism, fearing the proletariat who grow more and more conscious of the class warfare.

To-day the process began against the fifteen Anarchists who were arrested in the beginning of October, 1886. Six months already wasted. They are charged with having set, or attempted to set on fire, with fire-bottles, several wood magazines in Vienna, in order, as they themselves have confessed, "to excite terror and noise, and to terrorise the great capitalists into complying with the demands of the labourers;" with having attempted to extort money by disguising themselves as policemen searching for forged money. The indictment states further that in Vienna and suburbs secret unions have been formed, who, in order to promote Anarchist means, debated on plans for crimes, procured or prepared means to commit them, and partly also undertook their execution. In order to procure a greater amount of money for the party cash, and also type for an Anarchist printing office, it was resolved to chloroform a pawnbroker and steal his money, then to carry out a burglary at the printing-office of a Jos. Frostler. Shortly the same story, the same use of the known dynamite policy, practised by men thinking to improve their situation, but misled by agents-provateurs, à la Thring-Mahlow, who furnish them with dynamite for bombs, teaching them to use these against and rob innocent private individuals. That the police have concocted the story there is no doubt. It is not by chance that whatever these defendants undertook was prevented by policemen who passed by "accidentally." The process will last about eight days. The entrance into the room of the proceeding is allowed only to men provided with special tickets. The police will ensure a decent public, and therefore communications of bourgeois papers on the process must be accepted with great caution.—F. S.

It is to be regretted that all the notices served upon the North Wales coalowners, demanding an advance of wages of 10 per cent., have been withdrawn by the men, and work resumed on the old terms. This will have a bad effect on the strike in Northumberland; more organisation amongst the miners must take place before there will be any chance of a successful strike.

Constable Dorney, of Kiltely, who threw down his arms and refused to take part in the arrest of Father Ryan, has been placed under arrest and conveyed in plain clothes to Bruff. The incident has caused great excitement, and already a movement is on foot to collect funds for a testimonial to the constable, who has 11 years' service, and has always borne a good character. The authorities are apprehensive that Dorney's example may be followed by other constables.

BOYCOTTING MR. CHAMBERLAIN.—The Crofters' Aid Committee met at headquarters in Glasgow on the 1st inst. to consider the question of Mr. Chamberlain's visit to the Highlands, and the attitude the crofters should adopt on the occasion. The following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That this meeting calls upon the crofters and their friends to stand aloof from Mr. Chamberlain until he severs himself from the Tory coercionists of their struggling Irish brethren, and returns to the party of progress led by Mr. Gladstone." The secretary was ordered to send copies of the resolution to branches of the Highland Land League and kindred societies throughout Scotland. The action of the Crofter Aid Committee may prove effective in boycotting Mr. Chamberlain. It was this Committee which furnished the funds to support the families of the imprisoned crofters, and it consequently wields powerful influence amongst Highland agitators. A second resolution was passed inviting Mr. Davitt to address meetings in the Highlands about the time of Mr. Chamberlain's visit.

It would be interesting to know the history of the men who were at Biggleswade each sentenced to a month's hard labour for stealing potatoes, valued respectively at 9d. and 1s. One man said he was hard up; and the other, who has a wife and three children, said he was driven to the deed by starvation after having walked far in search of work. The cases appear to have been quite independent of each other. At assizes the judges generally make inquiries when such pleas are put in by prisoners, with the result, of course, of severer sentences when the plea is found to be false. We fear, however, that in too many cases the plea represents an amount of actual privation which it is exceedingly painful to think of. Among the destitute the poverty that is unavoidable and the poverty that results from idleness or lack of principle cannot always be distinctly separated; but it is the grossest injustice to judge with iron inflexibility those whom ignorance and starvation almost irresistibly thrust into crime.—*Bedfordshire Times.*

I see no reason why an epicure or idle drone, a rich glutton, a usurer, should live in ease and do nothing, live in honour, in all manner of pleasures, and oppress others, whereas in the meantime a poor labourer, a smith, a carpenter, an husbandman, that hath spent his time in continual labour, as an ass to carry burdens, to do the commonwealth good, and without whom we cannot live, shall be left in his old age to beg or starve, and lead a miserable life, worse than a beast of burden.—*Sir Thomas More, 'Utopia.'*

DAME USURY AND HER GEESE.

DID it ever occur to you how many chances we missed in our boyhood to become posted on sound principles of political economy? This is what rushed into my mind when I travelled back on the wings of memory, the other day, and thought of a fine flock of geese my mother used to have. What have geese got to do with political economy? did you ask? Why, a very great deal I should say, judging by the kind of gabble one hears from political economists. But that's not what I was going to say. This flock of geese, of which my mother was proprietor, used to be caught in the early summer and they had to submit to a process called plucking. It hurt considerably, I judge, as they used to squawk and struggle under the operation. I know now of a pretty large flock of geese who are owned by an old lady named Usury. She catches these geese not only in early summer but at all seasons of the year, and plucks every feather which they can live without, and continue to grow more. The geese miss the feathers, but just when or how they are pulled out they don't seem to be able to discover. Here and there a goose makes an outcry and declares that old dame Usury has no right to steal the feathers which the geese have raised, but the old dame always calls it a demagogue, and can always get enough other geese to hiss it down. I used to feel sorry for my mother's geese, for it wasn't their fault. They couldn't help themselves, and somehow I think that if they had possessed the power of successful resistance they had enough intelligence to have used it. The big flock I've been speaking of have the means of preventing the plucking operation, but they don't seem to have enough intelligence to use it. Indeed, they are always ready to hold the one whose turn it is to be plucked, and thus help old dame Usury to amass feathers. The old dame is cute; of late years she has grown fat and lazy, and to save herself the trouble of plucking the geese herself she sets them fighting and plucking each other—she calls it playing competition—and in that way she gets all the feathers with scarcely an effort.—*Labour Reformer.*

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 18th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Anti-Coercion Demonstrations.—Voluntary help is wanted for the purpose of selling the 'COMMONWEAL' at Clerkenwell Green on Easter Sunday and at Hyde Park on Easter Monday. All who are willing to give assistance are requested to communicate at once with the Secretary at the League Offices.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

FRENCH CLASS will not meet until Tuesday April 19, in consequence of holidays.

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

Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.

General Meeting of London members adjourned to Monday April 18th.

Reports for "Commonweal".—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

Resolutions of Council.

I.—J. L. MAHON: "The Executive Council of the Socialist League endorse the actions of their comrade Mahon in Northumberland, and express their fullest confidence in his personal integrity and discretion."

II.—IRELAND: "That this meeting desires to record its indignation at the attempt by the present Government to continue the infamous and effete policy of Coercion in Ireland."

The Council Meeting will be held on Tuesday 12th, instead of Monday.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Walsall, to February 28. Clerkenwell, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

Collected in Regent's Park, per Cantwell, 3s. 1d. English, 11d. in French coins. X., 6d.; E. P., 6d. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. E. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d. M. M. (weekly), 1s. Ph. W., Treasurer, April 5.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to 250, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

International Club, 49 Tottenham Street, 11s. 3d. Gleaner, 1s. 6d. Arthur, 6d. P. Webb, 1s. Socialist Union:—Bellamy, 1s.; Harrison, 3d.; J. R. Macdonald, 6d.; A. Graves, 6d.; Thos. Brown, 6d.; John Connor, 6d.; David Brown, 6d.; W. Price, 6d.; J. Beasley, 6d. Samuel Smith, 5s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—£1, 14s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 30, Frank Kitz lectured on "The Russian Nihilists" to a large and attentive audience; good discussion followed. On Sunday, April 3, the members of this branch held their usual monthly business meeting, after which a social concert, attended by members' friends and others, was held, songs and recitations being given by several well-known comrades. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

**HOXTON.**—Comrades Allman, Barker, and Pope addressed a large meeting at Hoxton on Sunday morning. Geo. Bernard Shaw (Fabian) lectured in the evening on "Some Illusions of Individualism." In the discussion that followed, the violent language used by some who think they are preaching Socialism was strongly condemned. The lecturer in his reply endorsed this condemnation, and said that such language hindered the spread of Socialism; he also urged the workers to combine to benefit their immediate condition, whilst working towards the complete change in the basis of society. These remarks were highly appreciated by the audience.—E. P.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday evening in our club-room, Harrison lectured on "The Progress of Human Nature." He traced the development of Society through its various stages up till the present time, when the progress of man had so far advanced that it enabled one part of the world to live on the production of the other. A warm discussion followed, which finally ended with a challenge to debate, the question being, "Does Socialism advance the Progress of Human Nature?" Affirmative, C. Harrison; negative, T. Gullup; to be held on Sunday evening, April 17th, at 8.30 p.m.—S. G.

**NORTH LONDON AND MARYLEBONE.**—Cantwell, Arnold, and Walker (S.D.F.) addressed a meeting of about 200 in Regent's Park. A middle-class man offered some opposition, which was easily disposed of. Sale of *Commonweal* fair.—D. J. N.W.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday, we held a meeting on St. Mary's Plain at 11, addressed by comrade Morley, upon the definition of Socialism; afternoon, at 3, a good meeting in the Market Place, addressed by Slaughter and Crotch on "Ireland or Hell." Crotch spoke strongly upon the grievances of the Irish people. A resolution was carried condemning the Coercion Act and the rent grabbers of Ireland. At 7, Morley and Slaughter spoke to a meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, and were listened to very attentively. At 8, comrade Crotch lectured in the Gordon Hall upon Ireland; opposition was given by Slaughter, who contended from a Socialist point of view we ought to keep to our own doctrines, and not bother about Coercion Acts and other Parliamentary machinery. A challenge was offered by the lecturer upon this question of Parliamentary business, and accepted by Slaughter. The debate is fixed for next Monday night week. Collected for Defence, 3s. A meeting was held at St. Faith's, addressed by comrades Mills, Houghton, and White.—A. S.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at one o'clock we held an open-air meeting on Jail Square. After Glasier had spoken, comrade William Morris addressed the meeting, his concise and vigorous statement of the labour question being listened to with great attention and sympathy by the audience. Comrades Rae and Belbin also spoke. In the evening in the Waterloo Hall, Morris lectured on "True and False Society" to an audience of 800 persons, a large number, when it is remembered that the charge for admission was 3d., 6d., and 1s. The meeting was a unique one. For the first time in the history of Scotland a Scottish M.P. took part in a political meeting held on a Sunday, and for the first time in the history of Britain a British M.P. presided at a Socialist meeting. Although disclaiming the title of a Socialist, Cunningham-Graham expressed himself deeply in sympathy with the aims of Socialists, and paid a high tribute to the genius and zeal of William Morris. Morris's lecture was received with great enthusiasm by the audience, and a resolution in favour of Socialism was carried unanimously.

**HAMILTON.**—On Thursday evening, comrades Muirhead, McLean, and Glasier visited our meeting. Arrangements were made for Morris's forthcoming lecture. On Saturday evening, Glasier, addressed an open-air meeting at the New Cross.

**LANCASTER.**—We have now opened a club-room in Sun Street, believing the idea of having a rendezvous on the "home" principle to be good. A meeting was held on the Quay on Sunday morning, followed by good discussion.—L. Hall.

**BARROW.**—The distress here is very keen just now, and there have been some unemployed demonstrations, with the equivocal result of getting a few pence in "relief." Leonard Hall, of Lancaster, accordingly went over there on Saturday, and having been rebuffed by the salaried Liberal official, who was till Saturday supposed to be the friendly mediator between the 1500 unemployed and the powers that be, and with whom he conferred as to the advisability of a little Socialist agitation, he went accompanied by several working-men, who eagerly caught what is quite a new idea in Barrow, to the Market Place. Here a crowd of 500 quickly assembled, and Hall proceeded to address it until turned off by the officials. The ever increasing meeting then unanimously adjourned to the "Monument," where a large quantity of literature was distributed, and the speaker held the unqualified sympathy of the crowd for nearly two hours. Another meeting was held at night, numbering at least a thousand, who cheered every point scored. A discussion of much value ensued.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Thursday April 14, at 8.30. A. Weiler, "Organisation of Labour."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday April 10, at 8.30. L. Gronlund, "The Familistere at Guise." Wednesday 13, at 8 p.m. A Public Meeting to protest against the Government Coercion Bill. See announcement.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday April 10, at 7.15 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Inhuman Arithmetic."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

**Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday Apr. 10, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 10, at 8 p.m. George Bernard Shaw (Fabian), "The Rent of Exceptional Ability."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road. Sunday April 10, at 8 p.m. W. C. Wade, "Socialism and Radicalism."

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

**North London and Marylebone.**—SPECIAL NOTICE. An important meeting will be held at Cleveland Hall on Friday April 14, at 8.30 p.m. Business: To make arrangements for the summer propaganda, and to elect a delegate for the coming Conference.

## Country Branches.

**Btngley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. Until a suitable hall is found, our Monday evening meetings will be held as formerly in our Rooms at 84 John Street. A Business Meeting will be held in Rooms on Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Thursday at 8 p.m., Political Economy Class.

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

**Leicester.**—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Newcastle.**—Meets every Sunday night at the Temperance Hall, Gallowgate, at 7 p.m. Sunday April 10, J. L. Mahon will lecture on "The Meaning of Social Revolution."

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. See open-air meetings below.

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

**Seaton Delaval (Northumberland).**—Meeting-place will be announced next week.

## Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 10.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" .....Wade  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. ....The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ...Barker & Pope  
11.30...Garrett—Plough Inn .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Cantwell & Nicoll  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Wardle & Dalziel  
11.30...Walham Green .....The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring & Wardle

## TUESDAY.

8...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Cantwell & Donald

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, 3; Agricultural Hall Plain, 7.

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

**Leicester.**—Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

**DUBLIN.**—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

## ANTI-COERCION DEMONSTRATIONS.

**THE Merton Abbey Branch of the Socialist League** will hold a Demonstration on Clerkenwell Green on Easter Sunday morning at 11.30. The speakers will come in a brake from Merton.

**Hyde Park.**—THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE will have a Platform at the Great Demonstration in Hyde Park on Monday. Procession will start from Clerkenwell Green at Two o'clock. The League Office will be open from 12 o'clock. All members rally. Committee: Barker, Mainwaring, Sparling, and Utley.

## ANTI-COERCION.

A PUBLIC MEETING will be held at FARRINGTON HALL, 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

On WEDNESDAY April 13, at 8 p.m.,

To protest against Coercion for Ireland.

Several speakers will address the meeting, and the following Resolution will be put:

"That this meeting expresses its deep abhorrence of the Coercive Measures levelled against the Irish nation, and is of opinion that, the Land Question being at the root of the Irish troubles, no political change can have permanent value unless accompanied by, or be in the direction of, the abolition of Landlordism in Ireland; and is further of opinion that the Irish nation should be left free to settle with the landlords without any restriction whatever from the English Parliament."

See handbills for further particulars.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . 1d.

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . 2d.

**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . 1d.

**The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.

**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . . 1d.

**The Woman Question.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. . . . 2d.

**Art and Socialism.** By Wm. Morris. Bijuou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 1s.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. (*Now Ready*). Bijuou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Co-operative Commonwealth.** By Lawrence Gronlund. Author's Edition, revised and enlarged. Paper covers, 2s.; Cloth, 2s. 6d.

**The Religion of Socialism.** By E. Belfort Bax. Cr. 8vo, cloth gilt. . . . 4s. 6d.

**"All for the Cause!" Song.** Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

**Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . . . 6d.

## THE 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886

(VOL. II.)

Neatly Bound in Red Cloth,

Price, 5s. 6d.

Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

**Echoes of Truth.** Twenty-four Sermons by the late E. M. GELDART. Selected and arranged by his Widow. Bound in cloth, 6s. Kegan, Paul, Trench & Co., Paternoster Square; or Mrs. Geldart, 82 Lansdowne Road, Croydon.

*Now ready, 240 pp., 1s. 6d., post free; Cloth gilt, 2s. 3d., post free.*

## A REVIEW OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY,

With an Exposition and Vindication of the Principles of SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

By J. SKETCHLEY,

Author of 'The Irish Question,' 'The Funding System,' 'German Democracy,' etc., etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

The Work treats of all the great questions of the day—political, social, and economical; of European thought during the present century; the revolutionary movements of 1848-49—why they failed; the Paris Commune of 1871; etc., etc.

"This book is a remarkable production."—*Christian Socialist*.

"Nowhere will be found so much important information in so short a space."—*Justice*.

"The book is admirable. It must be placed on the shelf of the library of every earnest student of Socialism."—*Commonweal*.

"A capital examination of civilised (?) society."—*Anarchist*.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

**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, US.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London