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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

At the meeting for considering the housing of the poor, Mr. Rowlands said that the present movement in that direction was not "political bird-lime." We may thank Mr. Rowlands for teaching us that word, and go on to say that it would be indeed disgusting if it were; a quite horrible thing to think of, that it should be possible for any set of men to make a false pretence of raising an agitation to house those like men who are now housed worse than dogs! To pretend that you are going to take trouble to make a man happier, when in fact you are only taking trouble to get his vote!

Yet "he who excuses himself accuses himself," says the proverb; and it is clear that Mr. Rowlands thinks that there may be people who would bring this accusation with some show of reason; for "politics" have waded through such seas of mud and blood, that it has become impossible to clean them.

However, though we are forced to allow that there are probably some of those who are setting on foot this matter who are really on the bird-liming business, it would be unfair to assume that of all of them. After all, politics must have hardened a man's heart to stone, if he (being otherwise than a malicious fool) is not disturbed by the thought of a London slum, and would not do something to amend it. Besides, the fact that the political bird-lime is spread on this twig shows that the workers are beginning to think something of their own condition; and that is the first step to their changing it altogether.

It is certainly an indication of the direction in which things are moving that our friend the *Star*, which, once for all, whatever may be its merits or demerits, is the London Radical paper, has this sentence in its leader on the St. James's Hall meeting: "*There is no scheme which the wit of man can devise by which the poor can be made less poor without making the rich less rich.*" This is not Radicalism of ten years ago; not even the five years ago "Socialism plus the Ten Commandments"—which latter some people think were made in the interests of the "property" of the nineteenth century—*i.e.*, to control the poor and leave the rich free. On the contrary, it is a direct attack on private property.

When, however, we get to looking into what it is proposed to do, we Socialists cannot help seeing that the measures proposed are not only timid, but are insufficient also. Sir C. Russell said in his speech that the model (ugh!) lodgings of the Peabody and Waterlow companies were not inhabited by the poor of the working classes, but by those earning large wages (considerably less than Sir Charles "earns," however!), and were let at prices that could not be paid by the ordinary working-man. If that is the case—and I have not seen it denied—then this means that the ordinary working-man cannot pay the market price for tolerably (or not quite tolerable) decent lodgings: so that the least the municipality can do is to see that no lodgings are below that standard of decency, the price for which the ordinary working-man cannot pay: for if any such lower lodgings exist, he will infallibly be driven into them by the force of the action of the market.

But if all lodgings come up to this standard of decency, and the ordinary working-man is able, owing to the action of the municipality, to occupy them, that will mean just this, that the house-rent of the worker will be lowered. "Well," some will say, "a very good thing too." Doubtless, in itself; but please, my friends, note the weight of the chain which binds you. If your house-rent were lowered, you would with your present wages have more to spend on your clothes and food. Therefore, since though there would be a law keeping lodging up to a certain standard of decency, there would be none for keeping wages up to a certain point, your wages would fall under the influence of competition. Paying lower rent you would not need so much wages to buy your food and clothes, and consequently would not get as much; since the pinch of hunger would always force the poorest to undersell the others in the labour-market. This would happen unless you brought some form of compulsion to bear upon your masters,

and forced them to pay you the same wages as before your rents were lowered; and even then they would find some means of evading any agreement you might come to.

For you must understand that you workmen are not paid in proportion to the work you do, but are paid just as little above mere subsistence (or starvation) wages as you will take without rebelling in some way. The natural operation of the labour-market forces you to accept subsistence such as a stingy slave-owner provides for slaves, whose labour can be done by almost any one, and whose places as beasts of burden can be readily supplied when they drop. Whatever any of you have got more than this, you have got, as the *Star* hints to you, by forcing your masters to give back to you some of the plunder they have stolen from you; stolen by means of the very poverty of you, which some of them are even now, hypocritically or ignorantly, deploring.

Some of the plunder you have forced them to give back to you, but how little! And even that little you get from them on the terms that you shall allow a vast number of the workers to be not in the least above that lowest standard of the over-driven underfed horse; to live a life as miserable as that of any slave that the world has yet seen. A life that would be but mere torture to any one who had not been compelled by the habit of his slavery to renounce the hopes and feelings of a man.

It is little indeed that you have forced your masters to yield to you; but you see you can force them to give up something. Put your hands to the task and force them to leave off plundering you altogether! That also can be done when you are determined to do it.

It is good indeed that London slums should be abolished—perhaps on any terms. But if only they could be abolished at the expense of those whose robbery has bred them! These half-measures if they succeed in abolishing them, which they will not, mean abolishing them at the expense of the poor who have suffered and do suffer by them. If this is all democracy can do, let it make haste to melt into Socialism, which alone can destroy poverty and riches, and all the grist of misery which these two mill-stones have ground between them. W. M.

FREE versus STATE COMMUNISM.

SINCE the introduction of the new Local Government Bill by the Tories, and in view of the establishment of the County Council, there are many well-meaning persons whose hopes have been raised by the prospect of this measure. There are also many who point to it as the silencer of the clamorous Free-Communist.

Now, although much might be said to the former set of well-meaning persons, as to their position with respect to this "reform," I intend to deal more particularly with the latter—*i.e.*, those who think that it will form a basis for all that the Anarchist-Communist desires.

This group may be broadly described as Parliamentary Socialists, who have hitherto regarded the State-machine—the House of Commons—as the undeveloped Hercules, which will, when grown sufficiently strong, take the burdens of the country on its strong shoulders and thus relieve us of any further trouble. Again and again have we been told by these people that every modern Act of Parliament, from the first Irish Land Bill to the last Employers' Liability Act, unmistakably indicates the direction whither we are tending. "Our modern civilisation," says Gronlund, "mainly consists in this: that the State—that is, society in its organised form—has been constantly expanding its jurisdiction, and has more and more contracted the sphere of individual ownership and control. Why, nearly everything the State now manages for us was once entrusted to private individuals" ('Co-operative Commonwealth,' p. 94). Gronlund may be considered something of a master of State-Socialism, and there are many, both in this country and in America, who have followed his teaching. "In the fulness of time," according to his dictum, Parliament will take over the land, and all other means of labour, and administer them from the centre in the

interests of the whole community. *Centralisation* was the ideal of his followers, the House of Commons the great engine by which this was to be brought about: in fact, the perfection of the State was the end of all things.

Now, however, with many who but a short time ago held this view all is changed. The new Local Government Bill has acted like a magic charm on them—they are Communists now, and their ideal is *decentralisation*! "We are in favour of the establishment of local communes, each retaining its own autonomy—that is to say, each commune self-governing." This is the description one often hears nowadays from our friends the State-Communists; and we are as often assured that the free-communal system advocated by the anti-Parliamentary Socialist and this scheme is really identical. Let us therefore examine both schemes and see whether it is true.

After the establishment of the State-communal system, the representative body in each commune would wield authority quite as much as the central representative body of to-day. Monopoly is carried on mainly by individuals to-day, who are more or less divided in their mode of doing "business," and may really be described as scattered. In one place we behold a landlord, in another a capitalist, in another a money-lender, each engaged in backing up "his own private interests"; and although it is true they, when taken together, monopolise the whole of the resources of the country between them, it is also true that they are separate in their general mode of working, their motto being "Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Thus we are afforded the opportunity of choosing, to a small extent, our immediate master. But under the State-communal system the means of labour would fall under the entire control of the communal committee. This committee being the only monopolist, would constitute itself landlord, capitalist, and money-lender. Monopoly in each commune having now become intensified to its utmost capacity, there would be but one master—viz., the communal committee.

Now, the Free-Communist, on the other hand, would destroy all such monopoly, and thus prevent authority arising therefrom. The commune, as I understand it, does not imply the "legislative" committee at all. All committees, under Free-Communism, must, in every sense, become the servants of those who have sanctioned their formation, but they must not attempt to legislate. The functions of the legislative committee is to make laws for others to obey; which again implies representative government, and its necessary counterpart—*masters and slaves*.

The Free-Communist believes that the people, once having obtained the free use of land and tools of production would group themselves in industrial circles, in such a way that each individual would be enabled to obtain the necessaries and luxuries of life with the expenditure of the least labour-force.

I can imagine the necessity for committees, even under Free-Communism, the work of which may be of a varied character; but for all that, their duties would be essentially of a transitory and superficial nature. I can even imagine one of these committees trying to assume more important functions than those conferred on it. The instant it attempted to do so it would commence to legislate, and if it were to succeed it would become the *governor* of those whose servant it was before. Any such attempt, however, on the part of the committee is doomed to failure, because the people are now economically free, and cannot again be made slaves. Committees may make laws to their heart's content, but if they do not possess the "resources of civilisation" with which to enforce their rule, they may save themselves the trouble, for no one will dream of obeying their mandate.

Our sufferings to-day may be truly said to be due to the enforcement of too much prescriptive (committee-made) law, which we recognise to be an artificial means of supporting an equally artificial system of society. "Would you have people do as they like?" is often asked when we urge this view. We answer in the affirmative, and point out that it is only necessary to place people under conditions in which the interests of the individual are identical, and then we need not fear the result from each doing as he likes. Of course, in a society such as we live in, which is, first, divided into classes, the individuals in each class divided, their interests ever conflicting, *competition*—i.e., war—being the arbiter as to who shall succeed—is it any wonder that we forbid each to do as he likes? But when the classes are welded together, and the concern of one is really the concern of all; in short, when there is but one class, governed by voluntary *co-operation* instead of *competition*, the conflict in society which we now witness will come to an end. Emulation will doubtless find a fitting place in such a society. As J. S. Mill ('Political Economy,' Ch. 1, Book 2, p. 127) has very ably pointed out: "But the power also of emulation, in exciting to the most strenuous exertions for the sake of the approbation and admiration of others, is borne witness to by experience in every situation in which human beings publicly compete with one another, even if it be in things frivolous, or from which the public derive no benefit."

Before we can obtain this condition of society, however, we must destroy all State-regulated authority, whether national or communal.

The contention that the people are not good enough to manage their own affairs is no longer regarded as serious; the people are even beginning to question the democratic motto, "Government for the people and by the people," as something that is not all perfect. At every turn of the overburdened lives of the toiling masses they are face to face with the creature of government—authority—which seems to lie at the bottom of all their miseries; and we may be sure that when this view of the situation is well established in the minds of the workers, woe betide those who clamour for more government.

H. DAVIS.

THE END OF A WORLD.

A VERY interesting review of the remarkable work lately published by E. Drumont entitled 'La fin d'un monde,' appears in the last issue of the Socialist magazine *La Société Nouvelle*. The author, as the reviewer remarks, shows to what a state of decomposition society has arrived, highly civilised as it is supposed to be. By "the end of a world" M. Drumont means the end of one form of civilisation, of a particular social system. It is the end of bourgeois society, of capitalism, to which he points; and his cry, Down with the Jews! Death to the Jews! must be interpreted, Down with the exploitation of labour by capital.

The author points out in a very forcible manner how the change from theocratic monarchic society—that which was founded on divine right—to the bourgeois democracy, to capitalism, affected prejudicially the great mass of the workers.

"Capitalism deeming itself bound by no moral obligation to those whose labour it utilised, conceived the toil which suffers no repose, allows no truce, toil which leaves to the human being not one minute for recreation, for prayer, for thought, and called it Progress, the Triumph of the Nineteenth Century, the Glory of the new era. Theocratic society had made work a means to gain heaven without suffering too much upon earth; (the Church guaranteed to the worker ninety days rest in the course of the year, days on which it was strictly forbidden to work); Capitalism made it the path to immediate hell."

But the most interesting portion of the work is that which indicates the signs that capitalism approaches dissolution. As the great feudal system was established at the cost of the holders of small fiefs, so the great capitalist system has been constituted at the expense of the small capitalists. This concentration has been going on for some years with terrible rapidity; it crushes the weak with pitiless might, and it is dividing the bourgeoisie into two bodies—the wealthy, who use their wealth as a means to exploit labour, and that more meritorious body which does some sort of work but which is being thrust back into the proletariat. The reign of the bourgeoisie, then, draws to a close, for it is dismembered; the one part is being absorbed into the proletariat, the other resolves itself into a form of aristocracy which has no analogy in history—a titled plutocracy rather than an aristocracy in the old sense of the word (the government of the best); a hybrid class, luxurious, timid, greedy, daring nothing without the permission of Rothschild.

The last fortress of the bourgeoisie is government and the House of Commons. There the family is assembled, bourgeois from head to foot. The Conservatives submit themselves willingly to the Liberals, provided they don't touch their property; the Republicans will put up with a monarchy, provided they keep their offices. They exchange opinions on these matters in the lobby, where they are boon companions; then they take their seats in the house and pretend to wrangle so as to amuse the people and make them forget that they are dying of hunger.

M. Drumont is of opinion that it needs only a spark to set in full blaze the heap of combustible matter upon which society rests to-day. A great change has come over the people since 1870, a new sentiment has taken possession of the French people—that of hatred. There is more difference between the people of that time and the people of to-day than there was formerly between men who lived two centuries apart. Even their faces have altered. A man of the people in face of a bourgeois can scarcely disguise the aversion with which he regards him. Women, young women, who were formerly unacquainted with these matters, who endeavoured rather to calm, to appease, to humanise, have become even more passionate than the men.

To sum up, says the reviewer, it is evident that in M. Drumont's opinion our social organisation, which has no other foundation than the love of wealth, the pursuit of wealth by all and any means, cannot longer endure; it is irretrievably condemned to destruction, and order no longer exists save in appearance.

A sad conclusion this for those who, like M. Drumont, fail to see how order will be evolved out of this disorder, who have not the hope that is in our hearts, who have not the conviction that is in our minds, that the end of a system, the crash of a world, heralds the birth of the new society, the triumph of Socialism and of humanity.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

TRAMWAY SLAVES.—These poor creatures must feel rejoiced at the success of the masters they slave for. Why should they not? Surely their hearts must rejoice when they hear £1,000,000, the results of their labour, have gone into the pockets of the shareholders of the North Metropolitan Tramway Company. The company is flourishing. People who want to live without labour, and who have already monopolised some of this world's common wealth, will hasten to speculate if they have the chance. Imagine 9½ per cent. half-yearly dividend, £53,837 clear half-yearly profit. Here are tidings of joy. The slaves have their paltry weekly wage docked upon this or that excuse, real or imaginary. But are they not receiving a constant wage? Have they not regular employment? What matters it if a trifling deduction is made now and again? They must consider themselves fortunate that their masters have been so good and kind as to employ them. So much for popular errors of the passing age of ignorance. Now behold the faint light of the new age struggling to dispel the darkness in which we find ourselves enveloped! The slaves are beginning to ask what does it all mean. Should we who have toiled for the past six months, we who faced the inclemencies of the weather, we who have slaved harder than the horses that drag the cars, should we not have had that £53,837? We have done the work, but the men who have got the money have done nothing for what they have received. Surely there must be fraud somewhere? Yes, there most undoubtedly is, and it is because our whole system is based upon similar fraud, sanctioned and enforced by law, that the wage-slaves have been so long in discovering it.—A. B.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

The great strike on the New York tramcar system is practically ended, and, as might have been foreseen, with a defeat of the workers. Never since the year of chronic strikes, 1886, has New York been confronted with a conflict between capital and labour of such magnitude. The strikers, to their honour it must be said, have stood up like men till the last moment for their rights and the rights of organised labour in general, and the complete failure of the strike, or rather the crushing defeat of the men, must be attributed to bad generalship—bad beyond degree—on the part of the leaders. This cowardly and at the same time stuck-up gang belong to the miserable crew who had ill manners enough, even after the Indianapolis disclosures, to present General Master Swindler Powderly, when last in New York about two months ago, for the "eminent services rendered by him"—in ruining the Knights of Labour organisations—with a gold-headed cane.

Ever since the beginning of this year trouble has been brewing between the bosses and the employes of the railroad companies. The workers through their executive committee had drawn up an "agreement" to serve as basis for the relations between masters and men for 1889. The two principal points demanded in this document were two dollars minimum wage a day and ten hours work instead of twelve,—surely demands none too revolutionary, and which certainly might have been easily conceded by the companies, especially when it is considered that each of these companies pays at least 25 per cent. dividend a year, in spite of "watered" stock. But the smart, business-experienced presidents of the soulless corporations knew their day had come; they were determined to break up the organisation of their men and to substitute the trip system for the wages system. By the trip system the men are paid for each trip made, and through this they frequently have to be on duty for sixteen hours while only getting compensation for about ten hours work done. The employes were flatly told that the companies did not feel disposed to sign any "agreement," and all attempts made by the men to induce the companies to submit all matters in dispute to a board of arbitration chosen by the companies themselves resulted in nothing. "There is nothing to arbitrate," coolly answered the presidents. After that, nothing could be done by the workers but to strike or to sacrifice their organisation. A secret ballot had been taken in all the New York assemblies belonging to Knights of Labour national district assembly No. 226, and they all voted for a tie-up. In the early morning of January 29th twenty-one roads were tied-up, throwing altogether about 6,500 men out of employment. Hardly ever before were men animated by a firmer spirit of solidarity, of devotion to a cause. They all seemed to fully grasp the idea that they had either to win or submit in future to the most unjust and arbitrary treatment. Even after everybody, even the most optimistic, had to admit that the strike was lost, the desertions from the ranks were few and far between. However, an element has appeared of late in labour struggles which will make it hardly possible for any strike to be won: a superabundance of unemployed workmen—"scabs," in other words. For each man who goes out on strike ten instantly stand ready to take his place. So large have the numbers of the unemployed become that even a capitalistic paper like the *Herald* is compelled to say editorially:

"The whole story, on all sides of it, is a tragedy. It is full of suffering, misery, a struggle for life in a city that is overcrowded with workmen who vainly seek for the means to buy bread and coal. There is a question for political economists, for charitable church people to discuss, and it is an enormous question. We confess that it seems to us far greater than any problem presented by current politics. The tariff is a side issue and can be left to solve itself; the federal surplus is insignificant. But how shall we provide work for willing hands? how shall we enable these thousands of idlers to get an honest living? how shall we prevent them from settling down into a discontented, revolutionary and dangerous class? There, gentlemen of New York, you have the most solemn, the most pressing and the most impressive problem of the hour. It is not disposed of when this strike breaks. Not by any means. It will come up again, in a new shape perhaps, but come up it will in some shape, until the wisdom of the country has established right relations between capital and labour."

The companies soon had more applicants for work than they had jobs to distribute. Police-superintendent Murray was at once notified of the tie-up, and set about arranging ostensibly for the protection of life and property, in reality for helping the companies to win. The police, as usual, through the whole trouble acted like the wild beasts they are. The following story, which I clipped from a capitalistic paper, may give an idea of the brutality of a free country's police:

"You three men go and clean out that saloon; use your sticks gently." Captain Killilea, of the Twenty-second precinct, gave this order to three of his policemen yesterday afternoon. The place designated was 'The Belt Line Oyster and Dining Saloon, with seats reserved for ladies,' that is operated, as the name suggests, for the refreshment of the employes of the Central Park, North and East River Railroad Company. It is directly opposite the stables, on Tenth Avenue, between Fifty-third and Fifty-fourth streets. This restaurant is a rendezvous for strikers and their allies during each cessation of hostilities. Two of the policemen forced their way into the place, where about fifty hungry strikers thought themselves secure from persecution. The third officer stood at the door without, and as the inmates of the trap emerged as if under propulsion by a powerful spring, he was hit by the stick of the officer in waiting on the most convenient part of his anatomy. Captain Killilea's admonition for gentleness may have been obeyed, but the horrid cries of pain that were wrung from each striker as he was struck sounded as if uttered in sincerity."

They used their clubs in the most brutal manner; they were instructed to "shoot to kill," as Inspector Williams, the Bonfield of New York, put it.

The second day of the tie-up the cars began to run again, in the beginning generally "passengered" by policemen. There was, considering the action of the police in protecting the interests of the companies, and the facts of the existence of the unemployed, but one course open to be pursued by the strikers: To make it by any or by all means impossible for the companies to run any car. "But we would through such action lose the sympathy of the public," one of the leaders remarked to me. The sympathy of the public be d—d! Mere sympathy does no good to a starving man. Might only can as yet ensure right in this world. The sympathy of the public never—anyhow, not in this case—took any substantial shape; in fact, as soon as the cars began to run again they were soon used by the public, and amongst the first persons who availed themselves of the opportunity to ride in cars happened to be that queer specimen of exquisite and comely womanliness—the American lady.

On some points the strikers tried the obstruction policy. Rocks were piled on the tracks, barricades were built, ashes and dung were dumped in the streets, but as this was only done in few instances it produced hardly any effect. Many collisions occurred between the strikers and the police,

but no life was lost. The strike is over, and organised labour let it be hoped has gained one more experience. In Brooklyn, things took much the same shape.

On January 30th, Judge Barrett, of the New York Supreme Court, dissolved the North River Sugar Refining Company because, as he decided previously, it forfeited its charter by becoming a member of the Sugar Trust. The judge also appointed a receiver of the company's property, who is required to realise all assets and distribute the cash among the stockholders. As this company by order of the trust has for some time ceased to manufacture sugar, the ruling of the judge will not alter the position of the trust.

Hugh O. Pentecost, the brilliant seceder from the Protestant Church, says in the issue of the *Twentieth Century* of February 2nd, referring to the legal decision about trusts:

"Judge Barrett has decided that the North River Sugar Refining Company has forfeited its charter by joining the Sugar Trust, and this is called by the papers a 'great blow at trusts.' But a stockholder in the Sugar Trust told me the day after the decision that he did not wish to sell his stock because, as he explained, this case will be appealed, and if Judge Barrett's decision is confirmed it is only against one of the smallest concerns in the trust, which has been idle for some time, and there are fifteen other refineries which will each have to be proceeded against in the same manner and whose cases must be similarly decided before the trust is destroyed, and if it ultimately is broken up, by that time 'some other method' will have been discovered to accomplish the purpose which the trust has in view, which, this stockholder says, is 'to make more money than by the old methods.' When we consider 'the law's delays' and that the Sugar Trust represents about fifty millions of dollars, I presume the stockholders are right in not wishing to sell their stock. But Judge Barrett's decision was a great opportunity for the moral editors of the daily papers. There is nothing like being zealous for reforms which cannot be accomplished and would amount to nothing, economically, if they could."

The different express companies, eight in number, of the United States, have signed an "agreement," that is they formed a combination commonly known as a trust. In their circular the following significant paragraph occurs: "It will be necessary to call a convention of the several superintendents of the express companies so as to arrange the future conduct of the business relating to the fixing of rates."

A gigantic combination of the leading cattle men of Kansas, Texas, Colorado, Montana, Indian Territory, and New Mexico is about to be effected. The principal purpose of the combine is to avoid the commission merchant. So the game of combination is going on swimmingly.

The Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company on the 1st inst., shut down sixteen of its collieries in the Schuylkill region, and 4,000 men are thrown out. The remainder of the company's collieries, thirty-five in number, are working three-quarter time. The men have not yet recovered from the effects of the strike they lost about a year ago. Starvation will be the lot of most of them.

Newark, N.J., February 5, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 2, 1889.

| | | |
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| 24 | Sun. | 1468. Gutenberg died. 1794. D. I. Eaton tried for publishing a seditious libel. 1796. Trial of Patrick Hart for high treason. 1806. Trial of Governor Picton for inflicting torture. 1810. Trial of John Lambert and James Perry for libel. 1817. Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act. 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated: Second French Republic proclaimed by Louis Blanc from the steps of the Hotel de Ville. |
| 25 | Mon. | 1847. Samuel Fielden born. 1848. Tricolor Flag adopted by French Republic. 1858. Trial of Orsini. |
| 26 | Tues. | 1786. D. F. Arago born. 1793. Thomas Spence tried for selling 'Rights of Man.' 1797. Banks suspended cash payments. 1852. Thomas Moore died. 1884. Explosion at Victoria and attempts at other London railway stations. |
| 27 | Wed. | 1534. "Kingdom of God" established in Münster. 1833. From July 26, 1832, to this date 254 persons imprisoned in London for selling unstamped papers. 1843. Amouroux born. 1854. Lamennais died. |
| 28 | Thur. | 1533. Montaigne born. 1799. Thomas Muir died at Paris. 1869. De Lamartine died. 1878. Insurrection in Thessaly. |
| 1 | Fri. | 1769. Williams pilloried for publishing <i>North Briton</i> . 1787. First Convocation of Notables during administration of M. de Calonne. 1789. J. R. McCulloch born. 1791. Riot at Dublin, provoked by police at annual masquerade at "The New Rooms," Rutland Square: police beaten, several of them killed and many wounded. 1796. Reform riot in Manchester Theatre. 1843. Trial of Feargus O'Connor and 58 others begun at Lancaster. |
| 2 | Sat. | 1629. Speaker held in the Chair while the House of Commons passed a motion condemning the king's policy. 1882. Attempt to shoot the Queen. |

Adolphe Clémence.—Born at Paris, 1842; died in the same town, Feb. 5, 1889. In the last years of the Third Empire, he joined with Varlin, Malon, Franckel, and others the International Workingmen's Association (1st Parisian Bureau) and devoted all his leisure hours to the propagation of the social revolutionary ideas mainly embodied at that time in the above-named organisation. In March 1871 he was elected by 8,000 votes member of the Paris Commune for the fourth district of Paris. After the defeat he succeeded in leaving Paris and went to Lausanne, where he lived in exile for more than fifteen years. He also spent some time in London. He came back to Paris in 1886. Adolphe Clémence was a bookbinder by trade, and soon became an artist in his profession. In 1867 he wrote for the Bookbinders' Trade Union a book on Bookbinding as an Art, which was eagerly looked for by all bibliophiles at the time, and is now very scarce. When the Paris Municipal Council was engaged on the "Ecole du Livre," it at once consulted Clémence, who was abler than any one else to give them valuable technical hints as to the ways and means of creating such an institution under the best circumstances. Comrade Lefrançais retraced his career over his grave in the Cemetery of Bayeux.—V. D.

The Dundee rope and twine spinners have resolved to demand an increase of 2s. per week.



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, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. A.—In addition to the books we named last week, a Polish friend highly recommends J. Pnyjemski's 'Sketches of the Polish Mind.' Lond. 1857, 8vo. WILL BE USED.—'Growing Respectable,' J. H. W.; 'Liberal Malignity,' Edgworth; 'To West-end Tailors,' Myer Wilchinski.
H. C. (Newark, N.J.)—Send on conclusion of translated paper.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--|-------------------------|
| Notes on News | WILLIAM MORRIS 57 |
| Free versus State Communism | H. DAVIS 57 |
| The End of a World | J. HUNTER WATTS 58 |
| Tramway Slaves | A. BROOKES 58 |
| In the United States | H. F. CHARLES 59 |
| Revolutionary Calendar—Adolphe Clemence | VICTOR DAVE 59 |
| A Straight Talk to Working Men | 60 |
| The Grinning Ape | L. W. 61 |
| Housing the Poor | D. J. NICOLL 61 |
| Out-of-Work Members | 61 |
| Our Brave Protectors | 61 |
| The Labour Struggle | 62 |
| International Notes | H. SCH. & MAY MORRIS 62 |
| Executive Announcements, Reports, Lecture Diary, and Notices of Meetings | 63 |
| Advertisements, New Publications, etc., etc. | 64 |

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 20.

| | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ENGLAND | Detroit—Der Arme Teufel | ITALY |
| Justice | Port Worth (Tex.)—South West | Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia |
| Labour Elector | Milwaukee—National Reformer | Rome—L'Emancipazione |
| Labour Tribune | Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung | Milan—Il Fascio Operaio |
| London—Freie Presse | San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung | Cremona—L'Eco del Popolo |
| Norwich—Daylight | San Francisco—Pacific Union | SPAIN |
| Railway Review | St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole | Seville—La Solidaridad |
| Social Democrat | Denver—Arbitrator | Madrid—El Socialista |
| Telegraph Service Gazette | Valley Falls (Kan.)—Lucifer | PORTUGAL |
| Unity | FRANCE | Lisbon—O Protesto Operario |
| INDIA | Paris—L'Egalite (daily) | Porto—A Revolucion Social |
| Bankpore—Behar Herald | Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) | GERMANY |
| Madras—People's Friend | La Revolte | Berlin—Volks Tribune |
| UNITED STATES | Le Coup de Feu | AUSTRIA |
| New York—Der Sozialist | La Revue Socialiste | Wien—Gleichheit |
| Freiheit | Pobudka | Brunn—Volksfreund |
| Truthseeker | HOLLAND | Brunn—Arbeiterstimme |
| Volkzeitung | Hague—Recht voor Allen | HUNGARY |
| Jewish Volkszeitung | SWITZERLAND | Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik |
| Workmen's Advocate | Arbeiterstimme | DENMARK |
| Boston —Woman's Journal | BELGIUM | Social-Demokrat |
| Liberty | Ghent—Vooruit | SWEDEN |
| Chicago—Knights of Labor | Antwerp—De Werker | Malmo—Arbetet |
| Vorbote | Liege—L'Avenir | WEST INDIES |
| Baecker Zeitung | | Cuba—El Productor |

A STRAIGHT TALK TO WORKING-MEN.

FELLOW-WORKERS,—The time has now come when we, the workers of all countries, should begin to consider the causes and effects of our present poverty and wretchedness. Poverty which we have battled against so long and often, by all means, including thrift, abstinence from alcohol, from meat, and from necessary recreation, but in vain. It seems that the harder we work and the more work we do, the more profit we make for our masters and the less time and opportunity for ourselves. And in the struggle to get on, we often become victims to some form of chronic disease, and die a slow and miserable death long before our time. Even when we can provide against sickness and slackness of trade, and the many other unexpected cares which are part of our lives, we find that it is impossible, even for a skilled mechanic, to live in anything like the comfort that he desires. On our insufficient and uncertain wages we are expected to be self-respecting, independent, and honest—virtues which the rich themselves have not as yet cultivated.

Now we propose that all people shall have equality of opportunity and the right to use all the great gifts of Nature according to their

needs. We do know this, that the land and all the means of producing wealth are in the possession of a few—a small class—and this class came by these things not by honest toil, but by force or fraud, either by past robberies or from the unpaid labour of their workers; and we Socialists intend that the workers shall get possession of the land and machinery, and means of transportation and transit, and that these shall be used by all and for all. The land, which no man made, is claimed and now held by a few idlers, who, because of the increase of the population and their needs, manage to extort enormous rents from the actual workers, for the use of that which the landlord class have not in any way helped to produce or enhance in value. In 1810 they took from the people of the United Kingdom twenty millions as rent, but now they get more than two hundred millions yearly.

Now it does not require a great amount of education to understand that all persons who do not work, are living on those that do. Call them princes, priests, bondholders, politicians, or by any other name, they are all the same as pickpockets, for they consume the best of everything and produce nothing—except it be vice and misery of all kinds. And when our masters kindly allow us to work for them, they give us back a week later, just to keep us going, a small part of what we have previously produced, and they call that our wages. Their horses and mules they feed as soon as they buy them, and doctor them when sick, but we have to keep ourselves and families a whole week, and sometimes longer, before we can get back less than a third of the wealth that our own labour has produced; and if we fall ill we may go to the hospital or workhouse.

Now, we have eminent statisticians recording that out of the thirteen hundred millions that are annually produced, only four hundred and fifty millions go to the workers as wages. The other eight hundred and fifty millions are divided amongst the landlords, shareholders, money-lenders, and other sweaters, who "rob the workers all the week and praise their God on Sunday." They thrive on our misery and degradation, no matter on what part of the earth we were born. They and their so-called newspapers have succeeded, unfortunately, in setting us against one another, so that they may be better able to keep us in ignorance and fleece us. And when they can no longer make "enough" profit out of us, they invest their money in other lands where the people can live cheaper, or import cheap labour, and so make the desired profit. Then we are turned adrift to compete with the thousands of other victims of this rotten commercial system, at the dock-gates or at other similar drudgery. Our savings, if we have any, soon go; our clothes and other things that were so long coming, have to go to pawn; and as we get more shabby and miserable-looking day by day, our chances of employment get less and less, till at last we drift into the ever-increasing army of the unemployed—outcasts of the present diabolical system.

Therefore, we must combine with all workers and would-be workers, and agitate by night and day, using all available means and standing all together against the common enemy—the Exploiter. It is now that we begin to feel the effects of our boasted Civilisation, Christianity, Arts, Sciences, and English freedom, and what good Governments are, or ever have been, to the workers. We cannot get credit to the smallest amount; our property is not sufficient security for a single day's food. The rich man, who has never worked, can get credit from anyone to an enormous extent, and if he cannot or does not pay, then he may by some legal process get off with a shilling in the pound. Now we claim that all wealth is produced by labour of head or hand, applied to natural resources. Therefore, all wealth belongs to labour. Machinery which is supposed to lessen labour, does under the present system in reality lessen wages and also our chances of employment, and is continually putting us out—which causes a great deal of what is wrongly called over-population. Although only ten men may be employed in making a machine, hundreds of others are displaced by it. We learn from this that the workers must get possession of all the inventions that are made, improved and perfected by man, and use them for the benefit of all.

We specially urge our fellow-workers to use any and every means to avail themselves, at every opportunity, of all the vast accumulations of wealth that are stored up on all sides, which have been produced by us and our forefathers. And we further call upon all workers to at once educate themselves in these matters; to educate themselves to know and feel the discontent that breeds resolve; and organise, so as to be able to repudiate the right of all non-workers, whether as individuals, companies, cliques, or Parliaments, to own or control the land, machinery, or anything that is necessary for the production, distribution, or enjoyment of wealth.

We desire freedom, economic, social, and political, but we must first learn what that means. Learn from our fellows, and take advantage of all the means of education, such as reading-rooms, public libraries, lectures, Socialist papers, etc., how the emancipation of the workers shall be brought about and by themselves, independent of and in spite of the rich and ruling classes, who have so long kept us in the ignorant and degrading conditions with which we are so familiar. And then, when the majority of the useful people have prepared themselves, we shall be able to live and work as men and women ought, honestly and happily. In conclusion, we ask you individually to circulate the Socialist idea at every opportunity, and help to bring about this great and beautiful change.

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Readers are asked for criticism, and might suggest improvements.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

THE GRINNING APE.

"A MERRIE CONCEITED JESTER."

THERE are two little islands,
Which in the ocean stand,
And on those little islands
The folk are very grand :
They are so grand and mighty
They say they rule the sea,
And yet their little islands
Are dens of misery !
That they are freemen ever
Is still the people's boast,
Yet a Monkey and his Nunky
Are left to rule the roast !
O the Monkey and his Nunky
Are a pair of precious knaves,
They seek to play their panky tricks
To make the people slaves !

The Monkey thinks it precious fun
A-harassing the poor,
By shutting them in prison walls
Or flinging out of door,
And taking every honest man
To stretch him on a rack ;
And this he thinks so comical,
It makes his sides to crack !
He chatters and he jabbars,
And his chops are all a-grin,
And "Go it, Monkey !" cries his mate,
"Your Nunky bets you win !"
O the Monkey and his Nunky
Are a pair of precious knaves,
They seek to play their panky tricks
Or find the people graves !

Now the over-fattened Nunky,
The greedy gross Baboon,
Has lived a lurcher on the land
For many a changing moon :
He and his race before him
Have sucked the people's blood,
And coward stabbed each noble heart
Who 'gainst their thieving stood.
So the Nunky cheers the Monkey
For playing every trick,
To leave himself a freer hand
The people's pence to nick !
O the Monkey and his Nunky
Are a pair of precious knaves,
They're bound to play their panky tricks
Whoever mercy craves.

O it is so fine and funny
- It makes the people smile,
To see how they are murdered
And laughed at all the while !
The people are so merry
(At least I've heard it said)
They're asking as the richest joke
To have the Monkey's head,
To use it as a football
To play upon the green,
And ask his Nunky if such sport
He ever yet has seen !

O the Monkey and his Nunky
Are a pair of precious knaves,
They're bound to play their panky tricks
To make the people slaves !

L. W.

DEMONSTRATION AT VICTORIA PARK.

At Victoria Park last Sunday, long before the time appointed for the proceedings of the demonstration to begin, processions began to march into the park with bands playing and flags and banners flying. By 4 o'clock (the time advertised to begin) the park presented a very interesting spectacle. As far as the eye could reach were to be seen the upturned faces of the immense crowd of persons of both sexes and all ages. At least 50,000 were present. When the Socialist League banner entered the park, heading a monster procession, the Bethnal Green branch of the S.D.F. united with the S.L. and held a joint meeting, at which Bentley presided, and was addressed by Harding, Power, Hicks, and Mowbray. The audience were both attentive and enthusiastic, and received the remarks of each speaker with applause.

At the East London Working Woman's Association platform, H. Davis presided, and the speakers were Mrs. Schack, Miss Sumpter, F. Henderson, D. Smithers, and C. W. Mowbray. The audience at this platform were decidedly revolutionary. The various speakers were received with enthusiasm, and the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That while we protest most emphatically against the brutal conduct of the Tory Government against Mr. O'Brien and the coercion of the Irish people, we no less most emphatically protest against that coercion existing in this country as well as in Ireland, which doom thousands of our fellow men and women to slavery and death by starvation."

H. D.

HOUSING THE POOR.

THE meeting at St. James's Hall the other night was interesting for several reasons. Foremost we note with gratification the timid approaches of the Liberal party towards State Socialism. They advance not quite with the alacrity of a duck taking to water, but more with the air of a timid tight-rope dancer whose main fear is that he may topple over into unknown depths. Their anxiety to stand well with the respectable classes and persuade them that their proposals are not revolutionary, while they seek to make the people think that if they stick to the great Liberal party they will find it very much to their advantage, is truly ludicrous.

How in the name of that genius of humbug, the G.O.M. himself, is it possible to improve the condition of the people without being revolutionary? And yet these middle-class impostors seek to make the people think that they are going to do something serious, when they exclaim at the same time, with their tongue in their cheek, to the middle classes, O don't be alarmed; it's only our fun, bless your innocence!

Let me say a few words in vindication of my assertion that, according to the statement of one of their own speakers, it would be impossible even to remedy in the slightest degree overcrowding in London, without doing something that the Liberal and Radical Union would consider very revolutionary indeed. The Rev. Mr. Price Hughes stated at this very meeting, according to the *Daily News* report, which I presume may be relied upon as tolerably accurate, that in Soho "there were people living in single rooms the rent of which varied from 5s. 6d. to 8s. a-week, while the comfortable classes assumed that a man ought not to pay more than a tenth of his income in rent." Does Mr. Hughes or his friends propose to reduce these rents to a tenth of the income of the people who live in these rooms? Their income averages about 20s. a-week; the fair rent of these rooms would therefore be about 2s. weekly. I wonder if Mr. Cremer, one of Mr. Hughes' colleagues, would consider this reduction "revolutionary." I wonder how he would like it applied to the house property of which he is the happy owner?

Let us ascend a little higher in the social scale. The respectable artisan who earns an average wage of 30s., pays 9s. 6d. or 10s. 6d. for three rooms. Looked at from the view of the comfortable classes, he ought to pay 3s. Please, Mr. Hughes, is the London County Council going to let its new dwellings at this rate? If it does, either the social revolution or its speedy suppression by the horse and foot of Mr. James Monro is near at hand. Why, what would become of the house-farmers, or that public benefactor the ground-landlord, if rents were to be reduced in this ruthless fashion? Why, the Plan of Campaign would be nothing to it!

But don't be alarmed, my most respectable friends, the County Council is going to do nothing of the kind. It is far more probable that aspirations soar in the direction of those of that very moderate reformer Mr. James Rowlands, M.P. (I like to give the full title), who announced that "the Radicals of London" were determined not only to obtain a reduction of sixpence a-week in the rent of an industrial dwelling (N.B. What a pity these great people cannot condescend to talk English), but to secure sanitary conditions and some approach to comfort in the homes of the poor. (Tremendous applause.) How grand, how inspiring is this great, this unrevolutionary reform! Those who live in single rooms will pay 5s. instead of 5s. 6d. to the great and good County Council, and the respectable artisan will also be rack-rented to the tune of 9s. weekly. Don't be alarmed, house-farmers and ground-landlords, your turn is not yet.

Still, I must own to a certain amount of anxiety as to how a reduction of sixpence a-week in rent will raise the slum-dweller from his present misery to comparative affluence and comfort. We heard from the magisterial bench that 4s. 2d. is a monstrous rack-rent. What, then, would Mr. James Rowlands' reduced rent of 5s. be? Surely it would not be much consolation for the dwellers in Soho to be rack-rented by a Liberal County Council instead of a Tory house-farmer; and yet this is what this grand reform comes to. Though the Liberal party may believe in throwing sops to Cerberus, it is quite clear that they don't mean to over-feed the noble animal. We can trust them at least not to injure the people's health by too much kindness. And the impostors call this Socialism! Well, if the people are taken in by this shallow humbug, they deserve to be, and that's all.

D. J. NICOLL.

OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

Two painters, one general labourer, and a member who makes carriage-cushions and tarpaulins. If any of our readers know of anything that will give employment to them, they will be doing a good turn to deserving members (Hammersmith Branch).

One member who would be glad of odd jobs, another in want of situation, as bootmaker (Clerkenwell Branch).

The sale of "licenses" of any kind whatever, must be iniquitous; for a license must be an authorisation to do wrong or to do right; and it must be an iniquity to authorise anyone to do wrong, or to forbid anyone to do right.—W. H. R.

OUR BRAVE PROTECTORS.—*Scene*: New Cut, an odorous fried fish shop, and a penny show, a group of hungry little ones staring and smelling at both; a brave policeman busy in cuffing their ears and driving them into the gutter. Says a youngster, "Er, yer can clout us yer bacon-gobbler, but yer can't catch Jack the Ripper, can yer?" *Scene No. 2*: Crossing from Wellington Street, Strand, hear feeble old woman say to a stalwart defender of law-'n'-order, "Please, sir, will you see me across the road?" "Get along, you old bitch, what next?" and the next minute stops a string of 'buses in order that a carriage laden with surfeited human beings may get to Gaiety Theatre door.—F. K.

THE SOCIAL TREND.—"I feel the symptoms of matrimony creeping all over me," says Mr. Graves to Lady Franklin in Bulwer Lytton's "Money," and forthwith he makes her proposals of marriage. This half-consciousness of an abstract sentiment is often the prognostic of some practical step. It cannot be denied that during the last few years the symptoms of Socialism have been creeping all over us. This creepy sensation indicates a social trend in the public mind of no small importance. It is too patent and too general to be pooh-poohed. It cannot be long before it is followed by practical measures, more extensive and far-reaching than recent reductions of these social ideas to actual practice, . . . and the Christian Church must not let its heart be troubled nor let it be afraid, though it does feel the symptoms of Socialism creeping all over it.—*Christian Leader*.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The employers in the Blackburn cotton trade have declined to assent to the operatives' demand for three additional holidays.

A "manifesto" is to be printed and circulated by the Edinburgh Trades' Council, with a view to the better organisation of the labour of the city.

The Bo'sness miners have been offered an advance of 7½ per cent. in lieu of the 10 per cent. asked, and they are continuing to work on these terms.

A majority of members of the Aberdeen Trades' Council are opposed to compulsory insurance as tending, among other things, to weaken the strength of trades' unionism.

The shipwrights on the Wear have agreed to accept an advance of 1s. 6d. a week this month, and another shilling in July. They originally asked for an unconditional rise of 3s. on their present rate of 34s. a week.

BATHGATE MINERS.—At a meeting of the coal-miners employed in the Boghead mines, belonging to Young's Paraffin Light and Mineral Company, on the 15th, it was unanimously resolved to let the works stand "till the grass grows on the wheels" unless they get the advance of 10 per cent. demanded.

THREATENED STRIKES.—The men employed at the Askam-in-Furness Iron Works have given notice of their intention to strike unless a man named Dutton, who has refused to become a member of the National Association of Blast Furnacemen, is dismissed.—The iron-workers at the Millom Iron Works in South Cumberland are also threatening to strike.

LONG HOURS AND SHORT PAY.—We are informed, says the *Railway Review*, of a signalman near Ripon whose regular hours of duty are twelve or thirteen per day, frequently having, during the excursion season, to stay on duty seventeen hours or more. For these extra hours he is rewarded with ninepence by his generous employer—the rich North-Eastern.

STRIKES AND WAGES.—Several conferences on the wages question have been held between the employers and representatives of the men engaged in the shipyards and engineering works of the Tyne and the neighbourhood. A settlement has been effected with the drifters, time men, and shipwrights in the Tyne and Blyth yards, they having received very substantial increases in their wages.

KIRKCALDY STRIKES.—The tier boys on strike at Messrs. Nairns and the Kirkcaldy Linoleum Works resumed work on the masters' terms on the 16th. Those employed by Barry, Ostler, and Co. still remain out, and work there has been brought to a standstill, all the printers having been sent home. The mill-workers are still out, and appeals are being made to the public for support.

HOLLOWWARE TRADE.—The chances are that the whole of the hollowware manufactories in the United Kingdom will be stopped within a fortnight. Notices were handed in three weeks ago; suspended on Saturday week for a fortnight; arbitration suggested and accepted; and now the disputants are putting the finishing touches to their respective statements. It is difficult to compute the number of workmen affected; the total is variously stated at 8,000 to 20,000.

SCOTCH MINERS.—The Lothians men have now got the 10 per cent., and the advances got in the different counties are as follows:—Fife, 15 per cent.; Lothians, 20 per cent.; Stirlingshire, 20 to 25 per cent.; Lanarkshire, 17½ per cent.; Ayrshire, 22½ per cent. Ayrshire men are still keeping up the agitation for another 7½ per cent., which they expect to receive this week. The demand still keeps good, all the collieries working full time, while in Fife alone over 300,000 tons have had to be taken from stocks to meet the demand. All this too, be it remembered, during the "dull season."

SHOEMAKERS' STRIKE.—The strike of the workmen employed by D. and J. Smith, boot-manufacturers, Newton-on-Ayr, still continues. Seven or eight "scabs" continue at work, and the strikers testify their displeasure by waiting at the factory gate at meal hours, and selecting a particular man, they escort him with a flute-band home and back to the works again, and take means to draw public attention to the obnoxious individual by holding a cap over his head. Procurator-Fiscal Brown has declined, we are informed, to prosecute the men under the Trades' Union Acts. The firm have raised an action in the Circuit Court to have the apprentices ordered to resume their work.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—A telegram from New York on the 12th states that a number of men visited a wharf at Boston the previous night, and induced several seamen to desert the ship upon which they were employed. They also assaulted the captain because he ordered them away. The agitators claimed to be acting on behalf of the Liverpool strikers. On the 14th it was reported that the strike in Liverpool had practically ended in a complete victory for the men. A deputation of seamen again had an interview with the heads of the mail steamship companies, and those of the Allan, the Inman, the International, the Cunard, and others expressed themselves heartily sick of the strike, and prepared shortly to concede the Union demands. Several large liners are lying in the docks waiting to commence the emigration season, when several hundred seamen will be required. The companies say that they will then give the Union rates, but will reduce the number of seamen carried on each boat. The Clyde seamen and firemen's strike terminated the same day after two hours' interview between the men on strike and the shipowners. The men agreed to accept the masters' terms of 27s. weekly, in the hope that as times improve they will get something more. They had 25s. at the beginning of the agitation, and came out demanding 30s. The Leith men have received for months 28s. and 27s. 6d. per week. The majority of the vessels at Leith are weekly traders. In London on the 15th it was reported the Navigation steamers Starling, Granton, Virgo, and Gannet, have paid the National Union rate of wages. At night there was a meeting in connection with the Union at Edward Street, Deptford. At Gravesend same evening, a representative meeting of sailors and firemen was held for the purpose of establishing in the port a branch of the National Amalgamated Sailor's and Firemen's Union. They adopted the following resolution: "That we firmly resolve that we will support the Union, and also all the sailors and firemen of the General Steam Navigation Company, by helping them to obtain Union wages." The chairman then briefly described the history and work of the Union, mentioning that although it had been in existence for only sixteen months, its present number of members amounted to 35,000. Before the meeting terminated the chairman said that a branch meeting of the Union would be held at the same place next evening (Saturday).

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

In consequence of the Roman riots, the authorities have at last started some road-work on the banks of the Tiber, which will give employment to some 1,200 hands. That is very little relief of the prevailing distress. The unemployed number many thousands, mostly workers in the building trade, who suffer under an acute crisis, brought on by the wildest speculations of the jerry-builders. Many of the workers had with their families been decoyed to Rome from the provinces by splendid promises, and were, after the collapse of the swindling concerns (the promoters of which had meanwhile filled their pockets), abandoned to their fate. Since last autumn they have continually demonstrated, without any other result but vain promises from the Government and the Municipality, until at last the measure of their sufferings was full to overflowing. The terror of the middle-classes gives great impetus to the police and a cheap pretext to the Government to suspend the right of public meeting all over Italy. Wholesale arrests have been made in Rome, and many hundreds of those immigrants from the provinces will be expelled from the holy city, to starve in the obscurity of their native place. The hackneyed assertion that it is the "foreign agitators," and not the misery, that incites the loyal and contented natives to open rebellion, must hold good once more. In Parliament the prime minister pretends, even, that most of the rioters were no real workers at all, and hinted vaguely at paid agents. In reply, our comrade Costa denounced in passionate and vigorous language the cursed commercial system of the present society. Honourable members tried to howl him down at the outset, but were silenced by the force and passion of his speech.

There is trouble brewing everywhere. The misery is alike in town and country. Fresh demonstrations of the unemployed are reported from Cecina, Ravenna, Parma, Lugo, Ferrara. At the two last named places the mayors appeased the hungry crowd by the magnanimous distribution of 25 centesimi a-head—that is, 2½d. They will return and ask for more.

At Livorno, female coral-workers and rag-gatherers have struck work for an increase of wages. There was some slight encounter between the women and the police, and several arrests have been made.

The police of Florence have outdone their brethren of Messina. They "discovered" their bomb in the right time and proper place, and had thus a pretext to secure a few obnoxious Anarchists of that town. H. Sch.

SPAIN.

TARRASA.—Acted upon by fear of the growing Socialist feeling everywhere, the authorities have recently distinguished themselves by magnifying a molehill into a mountain, and bringing before public notice that very revolutionary feeling they want to suppress. Not long since, a few lads met in the public square on leaving the factories for the singing of a song containing local allusions, for which they were dispersed by the municipal guard and police. The following night those who met in the square were men; the next night again, and more and more of them, thus intimating that a public square was for the public use, and putting to the test a question which, unfortunately, is always solved negatively. Finally an announcement was published forbidding groups to be formed "of more than three persons." The combative nature of man was naturally fired in the citizens of Tarrasa by this, and they turned out in larger numbers than before. The next night they tried to assemble again, but found the square "occupied" by the civic guard and a certain number of cavalry, who dispersed the gathering crowds after the fashion some time back familiar to the inhabitants of our peaceful isle.

SPANISH MINERS.—By mining statistics for the year 1888, lately published, we gather that there has been an increase on the preceding year in accidents and deaths, but on the other hand it is satisfactory to learn that the revenue for the year shows a considerable increase on previous years—a fact which, as our informant *El Socialista* says, should be very consoling to the families of those killed while contributing to all this wealth. The wages of those employed in and about the mines in some provinces are 2 francs, 1 fr. 50 c., and 1 fr. for the men, and 1 fr. and 0.75 c. for the women and children.

PORTUGAL.

OPORTO.—The stevedores employed on the Duro have declared themselves on strike. As the movement will be prejudicial to the capitalist interest, the Government are arranging to send to Oporto a company of military engineers to "spoil sport" for the strikers. Thus the armed workers will serve not only to shoot the unarmed workers, but also to depreciate the value of the labour-market at critical moments like this!—*La Solidaridad*.

The first number of a new Socialist weekly has appeared in Oporto under the name of *El Trabajador*, edited by Anthesa de Quental, a revolutionary well known in the peninsula. M. M.

"The panic in London at the time of the Trafalgar Square meetings was nothing," writes a Roman correspondent of the *Pall Mall*, "to the panic here now. The least mention of 'the mob' causes the shops to be shut, and at every bank soldiers are stationed. Moreover, the police do not allow working-men to walk about in more than two or three. Even Mr. Matthews did not interpret 'meetings' so strictly as this."

NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday February 24, at 8.30, Mr. C. R. W. Offen, "The Responsibility of the Democracy."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday February 23, at 7.30 p.m., to enroll members and receive subscriptions.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The seventh and concluding lecture will be delivered on Sunday March 3rd by Hubert Bland—"The Outlook."

ARBEITER-BUND GLEICHHEIT, 38 Charles Square, Brunswick Place, City Road.—This Club has started work, and will be pleased to receive visits from friends or enroll new members.—H. Schwarzenberg, Sec.

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

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Sunday February 24, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Tuesday 28th, 8 p.m., Graham Wallas, M.A. (Fabian Society), "Property under Socialism."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

Executive.—At the last Council meeting, it was urged upon the managers of outdoor meetings to be more energetic in making collections at our stations. The two delegates to the Co-operative Aid Association, Davis and Cores, gave in their reports, and were re-elected to represent the League delegates to the committee to arrange the projected Conference.

Annual Conference.—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Commune Celebration.—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, February 26th, at 8 p.m.

Children's Party.—A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rignall Road, Fulham. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Feb. 26th, at 7.30 p.m. All members of the Committee are asked to attend.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Clerkenwell, to December. 1889:—Leicester, to January. Mitcham and North London, to February.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Regent's Park, 1s. 7½d.

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

CHICAGO COMMEMORATION FUND.

Samuels (Nov. 27th), 2s.; H. K. (Jan. 12th), 1s.; Brocher (Feb. 1st), 1s.; S. Sturt, 2s. 6d.; F. Sturt, 2s. 6d.

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The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Nicoll, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 1s. 6d.; J. Presburg, 1s.; Blundell, 1s.; Seglie, 1s.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; Latham, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Deane, 6d.; Sparling, 1s.; M. Morris, 1s.; S. Presburg, 1s.; B. W. 1s.; Solomons, 6d.; H. Schutt, 1s.; Tilley, 2s.; M. Wess, 6d.; Friedenholz, 6d.; Kniefel, 1s.; C. W., 7s.; Trunk, 2s.; Mrs. Sandham, 5s.; and F. S. Ellis, 14s. From Norwich Branch, 7s. 3d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.—Good meetings were held last Sunday at Fulham, Hammersmith, Regents Park, Victoria Park, and Shadwell. *Commonweal* sold out at several stations.

HAMMERSMITH.—Very good meeting at Latimer Road on Sunday morning at 11.30 a.m.; speakers were Dean, A. J. Smith, and Maughan, and Crouch (S.D.F.); choir assisted. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., Morris and Tarleton spoke to good audience; sale of *Commonweal* fair. At Kelmscott House at 8, comrade Beasley lectured to rather worse audience than usual. Morris was lecturing at the West Kensington Park Club, and drew some of our frequenters there, and the first fine Sunday evening of the year no doubt tempted others on to the river and elsewhere.

ABERDEEN.—Open-air work still interfered with by stormy weather. Indoor meeting on 11th poorly attended, so adjourned to meeting where Dr. Hunter was addressing his constituents, and Leatham put a number of questions which seemed to irritate the member for North Aberdeen very much. Comrade Cooper also feathered the doctor on Thursday night at Woodside.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, Feb. 13th, William Morris lectured in Queen Street Hall on "Equality." Audience numbered 200, and would have been larger had we managed to hire the hall earlier. Had only day or two to advertise, but *Scottish Leader* kindly devoted on day of lecture a whole column to a sketch of Morris's career as artist and poet. The *Scotsman* also "honoured" the lecturer with a column and a quarter of criticism. Meeting successful also financially. On Sunday, Feb. 17th, in Moulder's Hall, Melliet delivered deeply interesting lecture on Victor Hugo, and kept attention of audience riveted for an hour and a quarter.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 5, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll. There was a good audience, which paid much attention to the speeches but very little to the collection hat, only 6d. being contributed. We rather like the Paisley Road Toll folk nevertheless, and when they learn to be as economical in their dealings with the capitalists as they are with the Socialists, the Revolution will be at hand! At 7 o'clock, Glasier and Turley (S.D.F.) addressed a large audience on Jail Square. We intend increasing the number of our open-air meetings, and members are requested to pay attention to the announcement column.

NORWICH.—Sunday morning, well attended member's meeting held in Gordon Hall; various means adopted for future propaganda. Sunday afternoon usual open-air meeting in Market Place, good audience addressed by W. Moore, Darley, and Poynts, who delivered some capital addresses. In evening, Adams read the League 'Manifesto' to good audience, several questions asked; animated discussion opened by Poynts, Darley, and Mills; discussion adjourned until next Sunday evening, when Mills will open the discussion by leading off in the negative. The chair was taken by G. Ashley; meeting concluded with songs and recitations, and three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 5s. 8d. collected for propaganda.—S.

YARMOUTH.—We held two most successful meetings here last Sunday. Comrade Arthur Moore in the chair, Darley (of Norwich), a comrade from London, and Reynolds (of Yarmouth) addressed the morning meeting. In the afternoon a comrade of Norwich assisted us with a telling address; Darley left at noon for Norwich meeting. Altogether we had a good day here. *Commonweal* sold out at morning meeting. Mr. Howes, newsagent, George Street, is agent for the *Commonweal*, where those desiring can purchase it. Things are moving in the right direction.—C. R.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼ minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card; to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday February 24, at 8.30, Mrs. Schack, "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement." Sun. March 3, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered."

East London.—A Members' Meeting will be held Sunday March 3rd, at 4 p.m., at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. All members and officers of the three dissolved branches are requested to attend. H. Davis, secretary *pro tem.*, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday February 24, at 8 p.m., Arthur J. Bywaters, "Some Popular Objections to Socialism Considered and Answered."

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb 24, at 8 p.m., A Lecture by William Clarke, M.A. Wednesday 27, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb (Fabian), "Economic Socialism." Thursday 28th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday March 1, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

Hoaton.—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. Members are requested to turn up at 8 p.m. at the "Lord Napier," Mitcham Fair Green. Important business.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday February 22, Nicoll will read *Kropotkin's* "Spirit of Revolt."

Walworth and Camberwell.—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

Wimbledon and Merton.—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carmouistie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Dublin.—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street. All persons desirous of joining are requested to communicate with A. Coulon at above address.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street.

Glasgow.—34 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

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

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

Norwich.—Sunday, Gordon Hall, at 8, resumed discussion on the Manifesto, by comrade Mills. Tuesday, at 8.15, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30.

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

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

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

Yarmouth.—Business meetings every Monday at 8 p.m. See below for open-air propaganda. C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, Secretary.

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 24.

| | | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 11.30..... | Latimer Road Station | Hammersmith Branch. |
| 11.30..... | Regent's Park | Blundell. |
| 11.30..... | Walham Green, opposite Station | The Branch. |
| 3.30..... | Hyde Park | Hicks, Nicoll, & Parker. |
| 3.30..... | Victoria Park | Mowbray and Davis. |
| 7.30..... | Clerkenwell Green | Parker. |
| 7.30..... | Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park | Hammersmith Branch. |

TUESDAY 26.

| | | |
|-----------|--|-------------|
| 8.30..... | Fulham—back of Walham Green Church | The Branch. |
|-----------|--|-------------|

EAST END.

SUNDAY 24.

| | | |
|----------|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 11 | Hackney—"Salmon and Ball," | Davis and Hicks. |
| 11 | Leman Street, Shadwell | Mrs. Schack & Mowbray. |

FRIDAY 1.

| | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 8 | Philpot Street, Commercial Road | Mowbray & Cores. |
|---------|---------------------------------------|------------------|

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 5 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

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

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

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