

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 6.—No. 218.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1890.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

COMMUNE OF PARIS.

THE NINETEENTH ANNIVERSARY of the PROCLAMATION of the COMMUNE OF PARIS will be celebrated on

WEDNESDAY MARCH 19th, at 8 p.m.,

At South Place Institute,

SOUTH PLACE, FINSBURY, E.C.

(Close to Moorgate Street and Liverpool Street Stations)

The following Comrades will address the Meeting:—

JOHN TURNER, H. H. SPARLING, D. J. NICOLL, C. W. MOWBRAY, WM. MORRIS, E. MALATESTA, PETER KROPOTKIN, R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., B. FEIGENBAUM, and EDWARD and ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

Revolutionary Songs will be sung during the evening.

NOTES ON NEWS.

At last we are to have a real all-live boycotting prosecution in London. The Shop Assistants' Union has been trying to obtain "early closing" at Hammersmith among other places. "Early closing" means shutting up shop at 5 o'clock one day in the week, Thursday being the day usually agreed on. All but a few traders in Hammersmith met the demand in a friendly way; these few held out, and after all other means had been exhausted a poster was issued calling on all workmen to boycott them. One or two weakened under the rod, but the others have "appealed to the law for protection." Comrade Turner, who signed the poster on behalf of the shop assistants, will have to stand his trial for infringing the sacred rights of Property to exploit Labour as it pleases.

Now here is a case which the League, and I hope all Socialists, can take up and fight through to the bitter end without any "sacrifice of principle" or anything else. The demand is so "moderate" that the help of almost everybody may be enlisted, while the principle involved is just as important and clearly defined as in the docker's strike, or any other struggle made by Labour against unjust restrictions. In the East-end the Docker's Union has asked its members to boycott all blackleg shopkeepers who refuse their assistants the small concession asked for. Every trade union and organisation of workmen should follow that example in the West; especially should Socialists take the matter up, and employ every weapon which can be brought to bear. The heavier the weapons the more effective, "Better one stroke of the beetle than two of the hammer."

Awhile ago, when the "early closing" movement was run by the masters, and the assistants held aloof from organised labour, regarding themselves as bourgeois and not belonging to the working-class, there would have been little interest in a mere passing skirmish of the kind. But now that the shop assistants are beginning to regard themselves as workers, and to recognise that the labour movement affects them as much as the mechanic or labourer, the case is different. Unaccustomed as they are to self-reliance, without even the small schooling in organised self-help that productive labour has gained in the past, these poor distributors need all the help that can be given them. If the signs of the times be trustworthy they will not be ungrateful, nor let the help be unrequited, but will take their due places in the Army of Labour, producer and distributor joining hands and marching on to victory.

"The vampire of the nineteenth century does nothing so ungentle as to soil his fingers and lips with human blood, but recruits his exhausted

strength by absorbing the vital forces of others, and is no less dangerous than in the olden days when bell, book, and candle, and the terrestrial influence of a good stout stake driven through his heart, were necessary to curb his evil propensities."

No! this was not written about a capitalist, as you might very well think, it is cut from a review of a "shilling shocker." However, it so closely describes the employer who sucks all his employes' life-blood, that I suggest "vampire" as a pet-name for the vermin whom the "boy-cat" is now after.

It is rather difficult nowadays to present or re-state Socialism with anything like freshness and brevity. But this difficulty has been right well mastered by comrade Morrison Davidson, who in his "Old Order and the New"¹ has put our case against the present system with great fullness and force in a condensed and handy form that will make the book a very speakers' *vade mecum*. However we may differ from him as to the future organisation of society, there can be nothing but agreement with and gratitude for his attack upon private property and all that goes with it. Workmanlike thoroughness in dealing with his theme, together with skill and eloquence in its presentation, make this one of the best and most useful books that have yet appeared in English.

Especially may it be recommended for careful study by the *Pall Mall* writer who perpetrates the following:

"As we are all Socialists now, according to Historicus Harcourt, so we are all naturally anxious to prove that we are not the detested contrary. There is touching anxiety among all sorts and conditions of men to escape the ugly imputation of being 'Bourgeois.' What is a Bourgeois? In England the landed aristocrat would feel as deeply insulted as any Social Democratic wage-slave at being characterised by that unpopular epithet. We mostly think of the comfortable well-to-do Philistine, the small or great capitalist in shop or factory, as the Bourgeois—a man corresponding in our time to the 'Cit' of the satirists and playwrights of the last century. The German Socialists, however, in their electioneering programme, have insisted upon the definition that '*jeder Besitzende ein Bourgeois ist*.' Everybody who possesses anything—William Morris, for example—is a Bourgeois. Until the State, or the local commune, has become universal proprietor, it is hard to see how there can be anybody (outside the older monastic orders) who is not a Bourgeois. Even 'the beggar's rags fluttering in air,' unless he has made them over to the commonwealth, make it impossible for him to be anything but a theoretical Socialist. It is a pity that we cannot find some genuine Teutonic word, English or German, for this ugly epithet—'stolen,' as the Laureate would remind us, 'from France.'"

A course of ethnological and philological study, including elementary modern German, might also be taken with advantage by this wisacre. What he would call a "genuine Teutonic" word is easily found if the want of it were really felt, though for that matter I can't for the life of me see why an "ugly epithet" is unfitted for an admittedly ugly thing. The "aristocrat" may very well object to it, if there be an "aristocrat" left, which needs proof nowadays in England anyway. For the rest, all who *own any property, not possess anything* (Can you see the difference, Mr. *Pall Mall*?), are bourgeois. Those who necessarily live by work, owning nothing but their bodies, and not always "possessing" those, are proletarians; those who live by the owning of property, land or capital, who may work or may not, but who can at any rate, and mostly do, exist without producing, in virtue of their power to compel others to labour for them.

How the "beggar's rags fluttering in air" give him any share of this power, may be left to vain conjecture; but it may be said that we Socialists are always insisting that neither he nor anybody else, whoever he is or whatever his desire, can be "anything but a theoretical Socialist" while the means of production, exchange, and distribution are "private property," and not possessed in common.

If the *Pall Mall* notices our comment on its note, which is, to say the least of it, unlikely, it might at the same time explain why Socialists alone may not steal from the French, and also say what

¹ May be had from *Commonweal* Office, for 1s. 2d. post free.

percentage of "genuine Teutonic" words appear in the column from which our cutting is taken?

El Proletario, our most recently born, but very promising Spanish contemporary, in acknowledging receipt of *Commonweal*, adds a kind wish for our prosperity and freedom from confiscation. Well! we are grateful for the wish, but would rather die crushed under the iron heel of despotism than be killed, as so many of our fore-runners and fellows have been, by the neglect and apathy of those for whom we fight.

The New York *Times* makes the following defence of England's aggressive African policy, which is, of course, both accurate and conclusive:

"Great Britain is under a vital and continuous necessity to expand. It is almost if not quite a requirement of national self-preservation that she finds new markets for British products, and the finding of such markets in Africa means the growth of new industries, the products of which can be exchanged for the products of British industry."

Which is to say, that the commercial system can only be kept alive by continually expanding the area of exploitation.

Says the *Sydney Bulletin*:

"Exploiter Stanley, who has been very properly denounced by John Burns as a 'buccaneer,' will probably receive a great reception when he reaches England. Why, no unbiased reasoner knows. He is a mere adventurer, plucky, probably; cruel and unscrupulous, unquestionably. That the blacks of Central Africa should resent his commercial and ostentatious invasion of their native wilds is only natural. The Englishman who resisted the burging of his country would be considered a patriot and a hero, but Stanley shoots down hundreds of niggers, and while he is hailed as the hero, they are called 'rebels,' 'barbarians,' and 'malicious savages.' The cruelty and rapacity of the self-advertising English explorer is only equalled by the credulity, stupidity, and hypocrisy of his countrymen."

S.

NEWS FROM NOWHERE:

OR,

AN EPOCH OF REST.

BEING SOME CHAPTERS FROM A UTOPIAN ROMANCE.

CHAP. IX. (continued).—CONCERNING LOVE.

"HERE is the whole tale," said old Hammond—"a short one enough; and now I hope a happy one: they lived together two years the first time; and then she got it into her head that she was in love with somebody else. So she left poor Dick. But it did not last long, only about a year. Then she came to me, as she was in the habit of bringing her troubles to the old carle, and asked me how Dick was, and whether he was happy, and all the rest of it. So I saw where the land lay, and said that he was very unhappy and not at all well; which last at any rate was a lie—There, you can guess the rest. Clara came to have a long talk with me to-day, but Dick will serve her turn much better. Indeed, if he hadn't chanced in upon me to-day I should have had to have sent for him to-morrow."

"Dear me!" said I. "Have they any children?"

"Yes," said he, "two; they are staying with one of my daughters' at present, where, indeed, Clara has mostly been. I wouldn't lose sight of her, as I felt sure they would come together again: and Dick, who is the best of good fellows, really took the matter to heart. You see, he had no other love to run to, as she had. So I managed it all; as I have done with such-like matters before."

"Ah," said I, "no doubt you wanted to keep them out of the Divorce Court: but I suppose it often has to settle such matters?"

"Then you suppose nonsense," said he. "I know that there used to be such lunatic affairs as divorce-courts: but just consider, all the cases that came into them were matters of property quarrels: and I think, dear guest," said he, smiling, "that though you do come from another planet, you can see from the mere outside look of our world that quarrels about private property could not go on amongst us in our days."

Indeed, my drive from Hammersmith to Bloomsbury, and all the quiet happy life I had seen so many hints of, even apart from my shopping, would have been enough to tell me that "the sacred rights of property," as we used to think of them, were now no more. So I sat silent while the old man took up the thread of the discourse again, and said:

"Well, then, property quarrels being no longer possible, what remains in these matters that a court of law could deal with? Fancy a court for enforcing a contract of passion or sentiment! If such a thing were needed as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the enforcement of contract, such a folly would do that for us."

He was silent again a little, and then said: "You must understand once for all that we have changed these matters; or rather, that our way of looking at them has changed as we have changed within the last two hundred years. We do not deceive ourselves, indeed, or believe that we can get rid of all the trouble that besets the dealings between the sexes. We know that we must face the unhappiness that comes of man and woman confusing the relations between natural passion, and sentiment, and the friendship which, when things go well, softens the awakening from passing illusions: but we are not so mad as to pile up degradation on that unhappiness by engaging in sordid squabbles about livelihood and position, and the power of tyrannising over the children who have been the results of love or lust."

Again he paused awhile, and again went on: "Calf love, mistaken for a heroism that shall be life-long, yet early waning into disappointment; the inexplicable desire that comes on a man of riper years to be the all-in-all to some one woman, whose ordinary human kindness and human beauty he has idealised into superhuman perfection, and made the one object of his desire; or lastly the reasonable longing of a strong and thoughtful man to become the most intimate friend of some beautiful and wise woman, the very type of the beauty and glory of the world which we love so well,—as we exult in all the pleasure and exaltation of spirit which goes with all this, so we set ourselves to bear the sorrow which not unseldom goes with it also; remembering those lines of the ancient poet (I quote roughly from memory of one of the many translations of the nineteenth century):

'For this the Gods have fashioned man's grief and evil day
That still for man hereafter might be the tale and the lay.'

Well, well, 'tis little likely anyhow that all tales shall be lacking or all sorrow cured."

He was silent for some time, and I would not interrupt him. At last he began again: "But you must know that we of these generations are strong and healthy of body, and live easily; we pass our lives in reasonable strife with nature, exercising not one side of ourselves only, but all sides, taking the keenest pleasure in all the life of the world. So it is a point of honour with us not to be self-centred; not to suppose that the world must cease because one man is sorry; therefore we should think it foolish, or if you will, criminal, to exaggerate these matters of sentiment and sensibility: we are no more inclined to eke out our sentimental sorrows than to cherish our bodily pains; and we recognise that there are other pleasures besides love-making. You must remember, also, that we are long-lived, and that therefore beauty both in man and woman is not so fleeting as it was in the days when we were burdened so heavily by self-inflicted diseases. So we shake off these griefs in a way which perhaps the sentimentalists of other times would think contemptible and unheroic, but which we think necessary and manlike. As on the one hand, therefore, we have ceased to be commercial in our love-matters, so also we have ceased to be *artificially* foolish. The folly which comes by nature, the unwisdom of the immature man, or the older man caught in a trap, we must put up with that, nor are we much ashamed of it; but to be conventionally sensitive or sentimental—my friend, I am old and perhaps disappointed, but at least I think we have cast off *some* of the follies of the older world."

He paused, as if for some words of mine; but I held my peace: then he went on: "At least, if we suffer from the tyranny and fickleness of nature or our own want of experience, we neither grimace about it, nor lie. If there must be sundering betwixt those who meant never to sunder, so it must be: but there need be no pretence of unity when the reality of it is gone: nor do we drive those who well know that they are incapable of it to profess an undying sentiment which they cannot really feel: thus, that as that monstrosity of venal lust is no longer possible, so also it is no longer needed. Don't misunderstand me. You did not seem shocked when I told you that there were no law-courts to enforce contracts of sentiment or passion; but so curiously are men made that perhaps you *will* be shocked when I tell you that there is no code of public opinion which takes the place of such courts, and which might be as tyrannical and unreasonable as they were. I do not say that people don't judge their neighbours' conduct—sometimes, doubtless, unfairly. But I *do* say that there is no unvarying conventional set of rules by which people are judged; no bed of Procrustes to stretch or cramp their minds and lives; no hypocritical excommunication which people are *forced* to pronounce, either by unconsidered habit, or by the unexpressed threat of the lesser interdict if they are lax in their hypocrisy. Are you shocked now?"

"N-o—n-o," said I, with some hesitation. "It is all so different."

"At any rate," said he, "one thing I think I can answer for: whatever sentiment there is, it is real—and general; it is not confined to people very specially refined. I am also pretty sure, as I hinted to you just now, that there is not by a great way as much suffering involved in these matters either to men and to women as there used to be. But excuse me for being so prolix on this question! You know you asked to be treated like a being from another planet."

"Indeed I thank you very much," said I. "Now may I ask you about the position of women in your society?"

He laughed very heartily for a man of his years, and said: "It is not without reason that I have got a reputation as a careful student of history. I believe I really do understand 'the Emancipation of Women movement' of the nineteenth century. I doubt if any other man now alive does."

"Well?" said I, a little bit nettled by his merriment.

"Well," said he, "of course you will see that all that is a dead controversy now. The men have no longer any opportunity of tyrannising over the women, or the women over the men; both of which things took place in those old times. The women do what they can do best, and what they like best, and the men are neither jealous of it or injured by it. This is such a commonplace that I am almost ashamed to state it."

I said, "O; and legislation? do they take any part in that?"

Hammond smiled and said: "I think you may wait for an answer to that question till we get on to the subject of legislation. There may be novelties to you in that subject also."

"Very well," I said; "but about this woman question? I saw at the Guest House that the women were waiting on the men: that seems a little like reaction, doesn't it?"

"Does it?" said the old man; "perhaps you think housekeeping an unimportant occupation, not deserving of respect. I believe that was the opinion of the 'advanced' women of the nineteenth century, and their male backers. If it is yours, I recommend to your notice an old Norwegian folk-lore tale called *How the Man minded the House*, or some such title; the result of which minding was that, after various tribulations, the man and the family cow balanced each other at the end of a rope, the man hanging halfway up the chimney, the cow dangling from the roof, which, after the fashion of the country, was of turf and sloping down low to the ground. Hard on the cow, I think. Of course, no such mishap could happen to such a superior person as yourself," he added, chuckling.

I sat a little uneasy under this dry gibe. Indeed, his manner of treating this latter part of the question seemed to me a little disrespectful.

"Come, now, my friend," quoth he, "don't you know that it is a great pleasure to a clever woman to manage a house skilfully, and to do it so that all the house-mates about her looked pleased, and are grateful to her? And then you know everybody likes to be ordered about by a pretty woman: why, it is one of the pleasantest forms of flirtation. You are not so old that you cannot remember that. Why, I remember it well."

And the old fellow chuckled again, and at last fairly burst out laughing.

"Excuse me," said he, after a while; "I am not laughing at anything you could be thinking of, but at that silly nineteenth century fashion, current amongst rich so-called cultivated people, of ignoring all the steps by which their daily dinner was reached, as matters too low for their lofty intelligence. Useless idiots! Come, now, I am a 'literary man,' as we queer animals used to be called, yet I am a pretty good cook myself."

"So am I," said I.

"Well, then," said he, "I really think you can understand me better than you would seem to do, judging by your words and your silence."

Said I: "Perhaps that is so; but people putting in practice commonly this sense of interest in the ordinary occupations of life rather startles me. I will ask you a question or two presently about that. But I want to return to the position of women amongst you. You have studied the 'emancipation of women' business of the nineteenth century: don't you remember that some of the 'superior' women wanted to emancipate their sex from the bearing of children?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

IN AUSTRALIA.

JOHN BURNS is said here to have refused £1,000 and expenses offered him for an Australian lecturing tour. Of course, Jack knows his own business best, but he would have done great good here, and he needn't have been tender at taking money from the trades-unions, they can afford it; for instance, the assets of the Melbourne Trades' Hall Council are £40,456 over liabilities.

The work of organisation goes merrily on. The federation between the Queensland shearers and the Brisbane wharf labourers is complete. The New South Wales shearers are now negotiating with the Queensland shearers with a view to federation, and a similar desire is expressed by the wharf labourers of both colonies. A conference of wharf-labour delegates will meet in Sydney and one of shearers in Bourke to make arrangements. A delegate has been sent from the Queensland shearers to agree to federate with the New South Wales shearers, provided the latter will join the N.S.W. Maritime Union. Should the proposition be accepted, and the wharf labourers adopt the same conditions, inter-colonial federation will have made a very fair start. The Brisbane lightermen are going to join the federation; they only formed their union three months ago, and it is now over a hundred strong.

The boy-labour question is agitating the Charters Towers miners, and in future lads over eighteen will have to receive men's wages.

The newly-formed Drovers' Union at Tambo has drawn up the following rates of wages:—Cattle: 500, not less than 80s.; 800, not less than 90s.; over 800, not less than 100s.; fats, 200, not less than 80s. Cattle men, 35s. per week, or 30s. if they leave on the road; sheep men, 25s., or 30s. if they go through. Contract (Cattle): 1s. per head per 100 miles for 500 head; 1s. 4d. per head per 100 miles up to 800 head; over 800, 1s. 3d.; small lots as per agreement, but not under 1s. 6d. per head per 100 miles. Sheep: Wages—5,000, up to, 80s.; over 5,000, 100s. Contract—5,000, per 1,000 per week, 65s.; over 5,000, per 1,000 per week, 60s.; small lots separate agreement. It is, however, agreed that the scale shall not come into force till next December. In the meantime the squatters are to be approached on the matter.

The Queensland Railway Employés Conference, which was held so successfully last week, has caused many old-time unionists to open their eyes. A few months ago, when an organiser travelled up and down the lines, there were many who, although they gave in their names, prophesied a dismal failure. The most sanguine hardly dared hope for a 3,000 membership consisting of all grades in the service; and federation with New South Wales and other railway associations seemed a misty dream, but now it is all but brought about. In addition to this, eight hours will undoubtedly constitute a day's work in the near future, for a federation of 30,000 men bound together to protect their common interests is sure to constitute a respectable argument. Besides this, the Commissioners seem anxious to work with instead of against the association, and this means a lot.

I'm not quite sure if the story is true, it probably is, and anyhow I have it on good authority, that Mr. Dow, the Victorian Minister of Agriculture, in the spring glut of butter, purchased 100 tons at from 2d. to 4d. per lb. and sold it for 1s. per lb. The farmers got £2,800 for the product, and their official protector cleared the nice little amount of £8,400. Beats your effete old country, eh?

The Cooks and Stewards Union has submitted a scale for an increase of wages by 10s. to £1 per month for the various classes. The owners have arrived at no decision as yet.

This par. is cut from the *Boomerang*, and shows the "white" kind of a paper it is:

"*Winton Herald*, in noting the proposed labour paper, says: 'The *Boomerang* is a thorough Radical working-man's newspaper, and it is out of the question to attempt any opposition in that quarter. Let the working men unite and obtain their just rights, but by all means leave journalistic work in the proper hands.' The *Herald* is a little out there. The *Boomerang* thinks the labour paper a necessity, and so far from looking upon it as a rival, welcomes it as a friend and helpmate."

The Sydney correspondent of the Melbourne *Standard* having stated that about 2,000 outcasts slept nightly in the public parks and open spaces of Sydney, the statement was much ridiculed by our local press and flatly contradicted by the *Sydney Morning Herald*, which declared that on a dry bright moonlight night its reporter, aided by "an intelligent policeman," had been able to discover *only fourteen sleepers* in the Domain, the favourite haunt of the homeless. Believing that the latter was even more ridiculous as an under-statement than was the former as an exaggeration, a *Bulletin* man looked up the shelterless last Sunday night. He started operations at 10.30 p.m. at the woolshed on Circular Quay. There he counted one hundred and three persons outstretched on the bales, none of whom owned blankets or any substitute for them, and he was told that before midnight at least fifty more would be added. Seeing some men stretched out in the sheds on hard pieces of timber, and enquiring their reasons for such voluntary martyrdom when a softer couch was available, he found that these were bushmen who believed the exhalations from the wool-yolk to be noxious. He next explored the neighbourhood of Fort Macquarie, and here espied nine more unfortunates stretched out in two and threes on the bare ground. He now made for the Domain, and here, on a dark, damp night, counted one by one with the utmost exactitude 224 poor devils and saw more men under one tree than the *Herald* had done in all its wide expanse. Against the Hospital wall, under the iron shell of the Dispensary and Museum, and under the trees adjoining, were 79 men, those under the trees lying like the spokes of a wheel with their heads towards the butts. Many snored loudly, a few were smoking, and chatting in whispers, about a fourth were rolled up in blankets; perhaps twice as many more were sparsely covered by old sacks, pieces of canvas, and newspapers; the remainder, as a rule, lay on the wet ground with their boots beneath their heads, and their feet enveloped in rags or handkerchiefs. The ground sloping down from the main walk towards Woolloomooloo Bay was then explored, and here were discovered on benches, beneath trees and ledges of rock, 65 slumberers, including three women. He then made for "the Chair." On a narrow point of land, which is surrounded by water on both sides, he was able to unearth, in many cases literally, 53 miserables, but the search was superficial, and more than probably an equal number was passed over, for the footing was so insecure and the night so dark that a broken limb was likely to be the lot of the unwary stranger. Here, too, the wind had more power, and it was difficult to strike a match and even more difficult to obtain a steady light from it when kindled. Turning citywards, he counted twenty-seven more in the vicinity of the main walk and the avenue leading to Macquarie Street. He wound up with Hyde Park, where, it being fairly well lit, he easily detected forty-seven persons, of whom five were women, in every case without covering, sitting or lying on the seats that line the various avenues. It was now nearly three o'clock, and, nothing loth, he turned homeward, having counted without exaggeration 383 open-air sleepers-out, without evoking an oath, indecent expression, or ill-tempered word from the many whom he disturbed, and believing that, on a more favourable night, extended inspection of the wharves with their timber-stacks and other shelter, the vessels alongside, including cargo-boats, ferry and pleasure-steamers, tramway waiting rooms, tram-cars, the Figtree Baths, the University Paddock, Flagstaff Hill, Church Hill Reserve, Pyrmont Quarries, Prince Alfred, Belmore, Cook, Centennial, and other parks would certainly double the number. Taking the relative populations into account, I think we in "beautiful Sydney" beat your "effete civilisation" once more! Yet I suppose emigration touters are still telling workmen at home to come out here. CORNSTALK.

Sydney, N.S.W., Jan. 26, 1890.

"REAL LADY" SERVANTS.

"It is so often said that the plan of engaging ladies as domestic servants does not succeed, that it is satisfactory to hear at least of one case where the plan has been tried most satisfactorily by a lady who has a domestic establishment both in London and in the country. The eternal servant question cropping up in a recent conversation with this lady (writes a lady representative to the *Paul Mall*) I asked her how the plan of employing educated women of the upper classes as servants had answered. 'It has been entirely successful,' was the reply, 'and my servants are now always ladies. I have one a housemaid, a charming girl, who is the daughter of a medical man, and all of whose male relations are professional men, and who does her work as thoroughly and as well as any ordinary servant could be expected to do it.'"

If we are not "all Socialists now" at least we are all Democrats (plus a good deal of humbug, I'm afraid). It seems that there is some sort of movement going on for housewives to get "real ladies" for their servants. How charming and touching this is! Think of the romance of feeling that your soups were made by a sweet girl who murmured snatches of verse from Browning or Lewis Morris as she bent over her pots and pans, or that your boots had been made shining or brilliant for the day by a young person who brought all the powers of a higher intellect to bear on the lowly task! It is so delightful to feel that one's house is full of refinement above and below stairs. For mind you, in the case I have before me, the worthy housewife does not have her lady servants at meals with her, though "otherwise I treat them as equals, and I have not found that they abuse this treatment." The noble matron who says this seems to be of that terrible class of ladies admired among their friends as "excellent housekeepers," and though obviously the most well-meaning of her sex, and relaxing in the evening towards her servants to the extent of a game of whist with them "in my drawing-room after dinner," displays a denseness and want of sympathy which I always fancy the peculiar property of the British matron (though being a Briton myself I may be prejudiced). I am usually inclined to mistrust the well-meaning of housewives who get up and proclaim loudly that they are so good to their domestics (but usually say nothing as to wages!); the women who are really on friendly and sympathetic terms with those who serve them, and honestly feel the unpleasantness (to say the least) of the position of "mistress and maid," do not advertise the fact on the house-tops that these friendly relations exist; they are a matter-of-course and a part of their lives. M. M.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

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PROF. HUXLEY AND HIS NATURAL RIGHTS.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY tells us he feels as if he had a mission. He sees the world going wrong, and people being "led astray by plausible doctrines" of Right, Freedom, and Equality, and he comes forth, accordingly, to set the matter finally at rest. As an authority in the field of natural science, Professor Huxley must needs have something to say which carries weight. But although an expert with regard to the working of natural forces, it follows not that he is equally at home in the field of sociology. Indeed, it must be admitted that his attempt at smashing Democracy is by no means a success. He says some truths with great force, muddles up others hopelessly in his inability to comprehend the drift of contemporary thought and sentiment (perhaps that is why he writes for the *Nineteenth Century*), and finally compromises the cause he intends to serve by his excessive candour.

On the whole, I cannot see why Socialists should be indignant at the Professor's contentions. Although he sometimes hits inconsistent men like Henry George rather hard, there is nothing in his mixture of

truths and fallacies which could injure Socialism, and much that will be found to support it.

The Professor attacks the "natural right" theory of the Third Estate men, and advocates a restriction of such rights in the interest of society, whilst he defends in the same breath the abuse of *acquired* rights so far as to contend (by implication and in answer to Henry George) that because a landlord has an acquired right (inherited or gained by force of conquest) in say £1 worth of land, he may also retain the £99 worth of "improvements" which his lawful slave—otherwise called "tenant"—has added to the soil by years of unremitting labour.

So far as the declamations of the "Natural Right" and "Eternal Justice" men are concerned, no Socialist can feel hurt by the sight of their discomfiture at the hands of the militant professor. We modern Socialists never based our demands on such shadowy and sentimental notions. We say nothing of *natural* rights, because we know that society is not in a natural state, and that in consequence of the unequal distribution of wealth and public power the rights of the favoured classes are anything but natural. We know further, without the aid of any professor (thanks all the same!) that at present no two newborn babies are "equal." On the contrary, and just because we know they are *unequal*, not only as to their inherited physical and mental endowments, but also as to their surroundings and facilities of existence in a society in which all are at war with each other; just because we know that the use by a few of their cunningly and lawfully *acquired* rights and privileges is in effect far more injurious to the public welfare than the abuse of any natural right could possibly be,—it is just because we are so painfully aware of all this, that we demand the abolition of all such rights and privileges.

When Professor Huxley says "all moral and social law is a restraint of natural rights, and the standard by which it must be judged is not whether or not it is incompatible with these rights, but whether at that time, and under the given circumstances, looking at the question all round, it is for the welfare of society that its members should be subjected to such a restraint of their natural rights," he is only right in so far as he undermines Henry George's standpoint. But what we Socialists contend against, is not so much the abuse of natural as the exercise of *acquired* rights (*i.e.*, powers) regardless of the common weal.

But whilst thus on the one hand Professor Huxley pleads on behalf of "Society" for the restraint of the natural rights (of the workers), he gives us on the other hand a very striking definition of "contract." He makes no fine words about the "freedom" of such contract, but says with a frankness which is truly refreshing, that "conquest itself may be regarded as a form of contract." As the price of peace, certain lands are paid over to the conqueror. Again, "Every declaration of war is an appeal to the arbitration of force, and contracting parties are bound to abide by the decision of the arbiter." Let us see: A man is knocked on the head, say, by a policeman's truncheon. He protests, and even defends himself. In doing so he "appeals to the arbitration of force, and contracting parties," etc., etc. (to make "contracting" out of counter-acting parties is good!). What is the remedy? Force, if you have it, says the Professor. If you have it not, you must—contract yourself out of it as best you can.

There! It is, unfortunately, as yet too little understood by Socialists, that "right" is indeed mainly a question of might and capacity, and that those who have no rights of any sort are those who are too weak to do what they might do—if they could.

Our man of science furnishes the moral of Bloody Sunday plainly enough: The Democrats (social or otherwise) had no right to use Trafalgar Square because they had no force to do so. Since they appealed nevertheless to force as an arbiter, they were bludgeoned, and had to abide by it as a contracting party. Had the people given evidence of their *power* to assemble in the Square in spite of any odds the Government might have put against them, nobody would have dreamt to dispute their *right* to do so. I, for one, say the Professor is right here.

The "right to fly" is of no use to those who boast no wings, and the "right to labour" which the French Revolution so triumphantly proclaimed was practically no right to those who could not avail themselves of it; it was no right to the great mass of industrial workers, who lacked the means by which alone production could be carried on profitably in the advent of division of labour and competitive machine work for the world's market.

The right to employ their fellow-men as servants was not a natural one to the rising capitalists of that period. They had it not from their birth; it was merely a right acquired through the circumstance of their possessing what others needed for industrial production. It was, in fact, a power, the unscrupulous exercise of which forced their poorer brethren to bend under their yoke. Had the masses been strong and clear-sighted enough to resist concertedly the insinuation of the capitalists to attend to their machinery, it would never have grown into the "right" which to-day it undoubtedly is.

Harping away at his natural rights, Professor Huxley says, "Even tigresses, when they have their cubs, waive somewhat of their natural rights in the interest of the cubs; otherwise that rudimentary polity, the family of the tigers, could not exist. . . ."

Just so. Tigresses waive their natural rights in such cases, because of their instinct, which prompts them to be forbearing to the weak of their own blood. Modern capitalists would sooner waive their natural instincts, than the exercise of their *acquired* right to the labour of the poor.

Was it for the "welfare of society," that before the passing of the

Factory Acts in England, men, women, and children of tender age (not cubs) were ruthlessly worked into cripples and to death by the owners of industrial plant? Those capitalists used their acquired rights (their economic powers) more savagely than beasts, because upon reflection, and they could be restrained in their devilish doings only by a force superior to their own, to wit, the State. But the evil is still rampant, and another and final superior-force arbitration is urgently needed!

"Even in nomadic society," exclaims the professor, "in which property did not exist, the clever man would have ideas, the commodity which in the long run buys all others, while the witless man will have none." Here is a blossom of professional logic! I should like to see "ideas" buying all other commodities (!) in a society where property does not exist!!

"Thus proclaim human equality as loud as you may," he says, "witless will serve his brother!" This is not always true even in civilised society, where Cain may slay his brother by right of his "wit," if not by violence. In a Socialist community each will serve his brother not for the want of wit, but because his wit is full of love and understanding, and hence capable of valuing the immense benefit of social co-operation and mutual assistance.

The survival of the "fittest" in the struggle for existence has lost its gruesome charm in commercial society, where we find most inferior beings pampered up and artificially equipped with powers they are not naturally worthy of. The modern Trinity—Private Property, Acquired Rights, and Vested Interest—has in the long run placed Messrs. Witless and Mean in the position to boss their brethren (by deputy!) to the detriment of the human race. Thus, civilised competition differs from the merely animal struggle for existence, inasmuch as it results in the exaltation of the worthless and the perpetuation of qualities which are the least humane, and in the crushing out of all that is noblest in the human character.

This is why we endeavour to quicken the process of evolution by which the Society of Privilege will be destroyed, and the production and distribution of wealth will be organised on the fruitful principle of brotherly co-operation.

Professor Huxley knows, of course, that natural evolution does not always choose peaceful ways, and, like a man, he says so, much to the dismay of our respectable peace-at-any-price people. The arbitration of force plays as great a part in the evolution of human institutions as it plays in the world the Professor knows most about. His admiration of superior force reaches its climax in the proposition "that force used so as to render further opposition hopeless is an ownership which should be recognised as soon as possible."

That force is a remedy we have long recognised in spite of John Bright, whose children have probably all been born without the use of forceps; but it has been left to Professor Huxley to say that the crushing use of force is an ownership worthy of speedy recognition. That he is right, must be felt by all those who through the barbaric use of their economic powers have become the owners of wealth and the commanders of men.

If the working millions have no natural right to the fruits of their labour, there is only one title left them by which they can claim what is their own—the combined, irresistible force of their countless numbers. The prayer of Professor Huxley that the ownership of superior force may soon be recognised, is being realised. The consciousness of their associated power is dawning upon the brains of the toiling and slaving masses throughout the civilised world. The men-devouring monster of Capitalism is shaking in its frame, since even the hands of his imperial police-constables are being forced by the right of the approaching host of labour.

Be not afraid, and tremble not, ye lovers of peace and compromise, for it need not necessarily come to violence and bloodshed; but force it will be most assuredly. There will be "arbitration," yes! and the result will be a "contract" in which the ownership of the united workers will be established by the exercise of their force of will in such a way as to "render further opposition hopeless." Then, in the midst of a society whose organisation will allow free play to all the manifold capacities of human beings, we shall be able to talk again of "Natural Rights" and of "Equality"! ANDREAS SCHEU.

A Conference of anti-Parliamentary Socialists will be held in the Hall of the Socialist League, 24, Great Queen Street, next Sunday, March 16th, at 7.30 p.m., to draw up a plan of propaganda and to consider the position of the 'Weal'. All comrades are invited to attend.

A French comrade, a plumber, gasfitter, and general handy man, an active propagandist, who has been recently expelled, is looking out for work here. If any can help him and will write to this office, we shall be glad to put them in communication with one another.

"The Social Monster," by comrade John Most, is a translation of a pamphlet already published in German. It is well got up and printed, and has a portrait of our comrade on the cover. In it he trenchantly reviews the existing system, explaining his attitude towards it, and the steps he would take for its abolition. "A dagger in one hand, a torch in the other, and all his pockets brimful with dynamite-bombs—that is the picture of the Anarchist, such as it has been drawn by his enemies." Those who think that an Anarchist is necessarily like this; or that the individualist survival of Manchesterism, which sometimes goes by the name of Anarchism, is the real article, should read this pamphlet. They will find that an Anarchist can be a reasonable being; that in his belief "Communism is the main point, and Anarchism merely the finishing touch"; and that to comrade Most "Anarchist" means "Free Communist," neither more nor less. He concludes with a powerful appeal to all Communists, Anarchists or no, to see that "Doctrine is not life," and to work with more harmony to their common end.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

A new Anarchist paper has been started at Bordeaux, under the title of *Bordeaux-Misère*. At Roubaix, a Communist-Anarchist paper, entitled *Le bandit du Nord* (the Brigand of the North) has just been issued. Address: comrade Edmond Vercruysse, 21, rue Fourcroy, Reims (France). Good luck to these combatants in the cause of the proletariat!

At Commeny, *Le Socialiste* has been compelled to stop its publication, owing to several prosecutions it had to face of late. But very soon a new organ, *Le Réveil Social*, has taken its place, and is now the official paper of the Montluçon agglomeration.

The three first numbers of the new Socialist review, *L'Idée nouvelle* (the New Idea), are now at hand, and we heartily wish our Parisian friends good luck and success. This social and literary review is published at Paris, on the 5th of each month, under the management of comrade L. Alexandre, 8, rue du Croissant. The chief contributors are: Jules Guesde, Ed. Vaillant, Thivrier, Franconie, Paul Lafargue, Aug. Chirac, Albert Goullé, Rodelet, Picourt, Bopartz, Dormoy, Eug. Fournière, Léon Cladel, Ed. Drumont, etc.

One of the veterans of the revolutionary Socialist party has just died at Montmartre (Paris). Joseph Piconel was born at Nancy, in the year 1816, and has been a hard worker all his life through. He was a designer on cloth by trade, and is said to have been a real artist in his line. He left Nancy for Paris at the beginning of 1840, and entered in the secret societies which at that time were flourishing all over France. Later on, he was amongst the founders of the French branch of the International Workingmen's Association, and did good service in the arduous work of organising several trades. At the same time, he also published many papers, all of which were doomed to an early death, he invariably being sentenced to heavy fines and various terms of imprisonment. Piconel's last paper was *La Misère*, which was suppressed at its first issue, and he got nine months' jail over it. He was liberated by the people on the 4th of September 1870, and on the 18th of March 1871, became a member of the Central Committee. After the last struggle was over, Piconel was arrested, and lingered for eighteen months on the pontoons. He was released at last, but utterly broken down through the sufferings he had undergone, his last years were of a melancholy painful description. No one in the French revolutionary press has had a word of remembrance for the disinterested, sincere, and valiant Piconel, who for sixty years was a faithful soldier of the cause of the proletariat; J. B. Clément, the editor of *L'Emancipation*, who, by the by, escaped the Poteau of Satory through Piconel's cool-headed heroism, is the only Socialist who remembered keenly the fallen combatant of the revolution.

GERMANY.

The German Social Democrats have achieved a brilliant victory: thirty-seven of their number have secured a seat in the Reichstag. Very well, but what are they now going to do with their victory? I fancy their conquest of parliamentary seats is already most embarrassing to them. As long as they were vanishing away amid all the other parties, they were excusable not to do much—I mean, anything at all; but now, when they are entitled, by virtue of their numbers, to bring in bills of their own, what sort of thing are they going to perform? I hope that ere long they will have proved conclusively the utter vanity of parliamentarism, and by so doing they will serve well, very well indeed, the cause of international revolutionary Socialism.

The circulation of *Der Volks-Anwalt* (the People's Advocate), a Socialist paper published at Cincinnati, has been prohibited throughout Germany.

During the last ten years, the German magistrates have distributed among the Socialists somewhat like one thousand years of imprisonment. Leipzig comes in for 184 years; Berlin, 90 years; Hamburg-Altona, 53 years; Spremberg, 50 years; Munich, 40 years; Landshut, 10 years; Ludwigs-haven, 3 years; and so on.

The trial of the three witnesses from Dusseldorf, arrested for perjury when giving evidence at the monster trial at Elberfeld (which ended so piteously for the Government), was concluded last Saturday, after two days' hearing. Krause and Rieckman were found guilty on two counts of the indictment, and Gemmer on one count only. The two former were sentenced to eighteen months' and the third prisoner to one year's hard labour. All three also were deprived of their civil rights for five years.

BELGIUM.

At Jumet, in the coal basin of Charleroi, a general miners' congress has been held, where fifty-four delegates of the coal basins of Charleroi, Borinage, Centre, and Liège were present. The proceedings have resulted in the formation of a General Belgian Miners' Union, and this will prove to be a considerable step forward in the general organisation of the workers throughout Belgium. An executive of eight members has been elected, with comrade Defnet, a member of the General Council of the *Parti ouvrier*, as general secretary, to transact the national and international business of the union. This executive will at once proceed to make the necessary preparations for the convening of an international congress of miners.

The next annual congress of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier* is to be held at Louvain on the 6th and 7th of April. The Belgian Social Democrats are at present very busily at work in order to get up demonstrations in favour of—universal suffrage!

Comrade Paul Courneur, the young Belgian revolutionary Socialist, who was one of the victims of the *agent provocateur* Leonard Pourbaix, and sentenced therefore to one year's imprisonment, has just been released from jail. A procession of over 2,000 workers, with bands and torchlights, from all parts of the coal basin of Mons, went to the prison gates and gave him a most enthusiastic reception. At the "People's House" at La Louvière Paul Courneur made an impressive speech, promising to continue his propaganda work as he had done hitherto, and urging the Socialists not to rest until they had achieved complete success and victory over their enemies, allied with a reactionary government and their despicable and scoundrelous agents. V. D.

We hear that Napoleone Colajanni is standing for Parliament, being the democratic candidate for the district of Caltanissetta, Sicily, in the place of Guidici who is dead. Colajanni is well known as a distinguished writer on social science, and if he is returned for the Italian Chamber of Deputies, will be welcomed as an acquisition by those of the advanced party who have faith in the efficacy of Parliamentary reform; though we cannot but think he will be wasting his time.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

Great Dock Strike at Liverpool.

The dock strike at Liverpool has grown tremendously during the past week. The ranks of the strikers have been swollen every day by fresh accessions to their forces, till on Friday 50,000 men were out, and formed a huge procession, headed by banners on which were placed loaves of bread. A Liverpool paper states that this procession had the appearance of "a vast army." Neither tramcar, cart, nor cab could find an inch of ground as the great torrent rolled up the street. The number is now still larger, for the men employed at the docks of Birkenhead have also joined the strikers, and it seems likely that every vessel in the docks will soon be abandoned by its crew, the sailors objecting to blacklegs. The Dock Company has endeavoured to get blacklegs from every part of England, and thousands of men have been brought into the town to take the place of strikers. Many of these men have been deceived by printed placards stating that there was no strike, but have refused to act against the strikers when they found out the true state of the case. On Thursday, four or five hundred men who had been fraudulently enlisted as blacklegs, and had refused to stab their fellows in the back, called upon the mayor to see if he would pay their fares back, but his worship was "not at home." A gentleman who was trying to enlist blacklegs in London in the neighbourhood of Queen Victoria Street lost his watch, one of the loungers he endeavoured to pick up taking a fancy to that article; we suppose he was so fond of the agent that he wanted his watch as a memento. The docks are closed, and garrisoned by 500 extra police, and no one is allowed in without a ticket from the Employers' Labour Association, which has been started as an agency for the supply of blacklegs. The blacklegs are quite unable to manage their work. While clearing a ship at Alexander Docks, a number of the "new hands" did not let go the bales and packages in time, as experienced men would do, the consequence being they were dragged down the slide or went head over heels over the ship-side among the goods they were discharging. So strong was the force of police in one dock that they almost outnumbered the blacklegs. The authorities are in such a state of alarm that they have a regiment of lancers in readiness to slaughter the people in case of any attempt at insurrection. Inside one of the docks there are also some armed soldiers on duty. Meanwhile, work at the docks is practically at a standstill. Steamers are prevented from leaving the Mersey, and four Mediterranean shipping firms request consignees not to block the Liverpool railway termini with goods, and state that packages weighing over half a ton will not be received. The dock wharves are blocked with goods, and the company is in an awful mess. The only question now in dispute is that the masters want to employ non-union men. The masters are willing to pay 5s. per day for lumpers and porters, and 7s. for unloading grain, iron, manganese, etc.; 8s. per night for lumpers and porters, and 10s. for grain and manganese; a night to count from 6 o'clock at night to 4 in the morning, with one hour for supper; regular weekly hands, nine hours per day at 30s. per week,—and have generally adopted the union rules; but owing to the Employers' Association wanting to employ blacklegs, the strike is likely to last some time longer.

The Threatened Miners' Strike.

There is little change in the general situation. The Coalowners Federation have now suggested arbitration as a method of deciding whether present prices justify an advance in wages. They recommended that the result of the arbitration should if possible be made known by 1st of May, and should the arbitrators decide that an advance should date from March 16th. The representatives of the men, however, who have assumed a much stronger attitude during the past week, don't take to arbitration, and Mr. Pickard, M.P., has informed a representative of the press that he regards a strike as inevitable after this decision. How much truth there is in the statement of the coalowners that they cannot afford the 10 per cent. advance as they are selling their coal at much the same price as they were twelve months ago, is shown the letter of a coal-factor in the *Daily News* of Thursday March 6th. He states that, in case the public should believe the plea of the coalowners, he begs "to mention the simple downright unanswerable fact that many of us have been and are now paying from 40 to 80 per cent. more for nearly all the coal we buy than we paid twelve months ago. If you, sir, can reconcile this fact with the coalowners' statements, it's more than I can do." As the men have only got a 30 per cent. advance out of the owners, who have, on the statement of this gentleman, advanced their prices from 40 to 80, it certainly seems that the men's demand for another 10 per cent. is of a most moderate character. I do not think there is much question but that the owners will in the end give way. There is already, in consequence of the revival of trade, a great scarcity of coal. In some districts in Staffordshire and in Sheffield certain departments in the ironworks are idle through want of coal. There can be no doubt that a fortnight's strike would stop work in most of the factories in England. The miners' delegates have decided to hold another conference at Manchester on March 15th, to see if the owners will make any offer to avoid the strike. They have also agreed that the men in any colliery or district may accept the 10 per cent. if it is unconditionally offered. As the day of the strike approaches, there can be no question that many of the masters will turn blacklegs; they are not likely to lose their chance of increased profits during a period of brisk trade, especially as the price of coal will rise still more as the day of the strike approaches, and their Federation, which now looks so imposing, will quickly go to pieces. The capitalist is naturally a blackleg when there is anything to be got by it, and what has happened before will happen again.

Later.—Two associations of Lancashire mine-owners have resolved to fight the men, and it is expected that all the colliery owners will also decide upon a general resistance to the advance throughout the country. But despite this bold attitude the masters may yet give way if the men are resolute.

Lock-out of Brickmakers in Kent.

On Saturday March 1st trouble began by the bargemen on the Medway going out for an advance of 20 per cent. on their usual scale of charges for freights. The brickmasters around Sittingbourne, the centre of the English brickmaking trade, have refused to concede the demands of the bargemen, and have tied up their barges and also locked out their brickfield hands. Five thousand men were turned out to starve last Saturday in the neighbourhood of Sittingbourne, and they are naturally enraged at the cold-blooded cruelty of the masters, who are thus dooming thousands of men to starvation for a quarrel in which they are not concerned. They declare that this has

been done to raise the price of bricks and break up the union, to which they nearly all belong. The barge and brick industries of Kent are now at a complete standstill, while work has also stopped at a large cement factory at Sittingbourne. The clergy and the rest of the respectable classes are very much alarmed at the number of men out of work who may soon become starving and desperate, and are doing their utmost to get the masters to re-open their works.

The Strike at the Wharves.

There is little change at Hay's Wharf, the men still holding out with the same determination. Tom Mann addressed a meeting on Saturday, and the men declared with enthusiasm that they were prepared to keep out till the next new tea season if necessary. At Brookes' Wharf the men are in the same position, none of the regular hands having gone in; and at Sharp's Wharf, although negotiations have been carried on, yet no satisfactory result has been arrived at.

The Tyneside Engineers.

It is expected next Saturday, March 15th, that 20,000 engineers will be on strike on the Tyne. The men want to cease work on Saturday at 12 instead of 1 o'clock, and demand 1s. a-week more wages. The masters will allow the men to leave off on Saturday if they will make up the hour during the week, and will grant the 1s. advance. The offer, on being submitted to the men, was declined, and unless the masters yield, a strike is certain.

The Irish Railwaymen.

The determination and courage of the railwaymen on the Great Northern has met with its reward, the directors granting all their demands last week. When will the English railwaymen show as much pluck and backbone?

D. N.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALIST PROSECUTION.

COMRADES.—One of our comrades, Robert Bingham, has been committed for trial at the ensuing assizes, which begin this day, Saturday, March 15th, the alleged offence being that of using violent language at an open-air meeting in Sheffield on the 22nd day of December last. We are hoping to raise such a defence as shall secure his acquittal, but the expenses will be very heavy as all our witnesses will have to be taken to Leeds, a distance of 40 miles, and kept there from day to day for probably the greater part of a week. To meet this expense a committee has been formed, and they will be glad to receive any sums, large or small, which may be sent to them.

JONATHAN TAYLOR, *Secretary*.
EDWARD CARPENTER, *Treasurer*.

16, St. James Street, Sheffield.

AGAINST RUSSIAN CRUELTY.

LAST Sunday, in spite of the blizzards that every now and then swept across the park, and in spite of the hasty and unorganised manner of convening the meeting, a large and enthusiastic crowd of London workmen came together in Hyde Park to record their indignation at the treatment meted out to political exiles in Siberia by the brutal agents of the Holy Tzar. The Socialists were of course well represented; among the League speakers were Kitz, Mowbray, Sparling, Tochaty, and Lynes; from the League platform John Burns, G. B. Shaw, Adolphe Smith, and Mr. Brighty (Patriotic Club) also spoke. Two resolutions were carried, and it was also decided to hold further meetings for the same object.

"Scotch Notes," "In the United States," and the continuation of "Revolution or Reform" are unavoidably held over.

NEW ZEALAND LABOUR.—There was a dispute in the tailoring trade at Christchurch when the last mail left. A firm which refused to work their factory under the "log" proposed by the Tailors' Union, was waited on by a deputation from the Trades and Labour Council, and on still refusing had their hands, about 50, called out, and a boycott placed on their goods. It was expected they would soon "cave." A branch of the Amalgamated Miner's Association of Australasia was formed on January 17 at the Thames. The meeting was most successful and enthusiastic; about 300 gave in their names and put down their entrance fees. The lumpers of Auckland have come out victorious in a dispute over the discharge of a barque there on which rats had been employed, the rats being sacked and the contract being given to members of the Wharf Labourer's Union.

WHY NOT DRIVE OUT THE DRONES?—The masses of England are struggling desperately for relief. The cruel competitive system ceaselessly ruins the health and exhausts the patience of the struggling worker, and the highest wisdom of the Tory Premier is that the wrecked and despairing victims should be got out of the way. Australians would welcome with open arms an agricultural population, with means to go on the land; but it is worse than madness to encourage the emigration of the helpless surplus labour of big towns. America is over-run with the off-scourings of Europe, and talks of prohibiting further labour of this kind. Where, then, would Lord Salisbury dump his pauper labour? If it were not pauper labour, but the bone and sinew of England he wanted to get rid of, such emigration would be England's loss and the gain of the country where the emigrant made his home; but any petty attempt of that kind to palliate social evils is out of place and out of date. If the Tories really want to sweeten British society, why don't they expatriate the men who live in idleness, the drones who neither toil nor spin, the worn-out *roulés* whose only object in life is their own selfish and degrading pleasures? Of these, indeed, England would be well rid; but, unfortunately for Lord Salisbury, they are the class of the population that seem to be so happy and "at home" in England that nothing but a police warrant will induce them to leave.—Brisbane *Boomerang*.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB, Woodland Place, Upper Parliament St.—Sunday March 16, at 7 p.m., R. S. Pengelly, "Drifting to Socialism." March 23, at 3, Quarterly meeting.

“THE HUNDRED MEN OF HASWELL.”

In 1844 a hundred men lost their lives in the coal-pits at Haswell. The verdict was, “Visitation of God!”

The hundred men of Haswell,
They all died on the same day;
They all died in the same hour;
They all went the self-same way.

And when they all were buried,
Came a hundred women, lo,
A hundred women of Haswell,
It was a sight of woe!

With all their children came they,
With daughter and with son:
“Now, thou rich man of Haswell,
Give her wage to every one!”

By that rich man of Haswell
Not long were they denied:
A full week's wage he paid them
For every man who died.

And when that wage was given,
His chest fast locked up he:
The iron lock clicked sharply,
The women wept bitterly.

GEORG WEERTH, translated by LAURA LAFARGUE.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.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.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, and Yarmouth, to end of May. East London, to end of October. Mitcham, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December. 1890:—North Kensington and Manchester, to end of January. ‘Commonweal’ Branch, Leicester, and North London, to end of February. Streatham, to end of December.

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.

NEW PREMISES FUND.

Collected at Council meeting, March 10th, 4s. 8d.

“COMMONWEAL” GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—C. Saunders, 2s.; J. Presburg (2 weeks), 1s.; H. R. (2 weeks), 2s.; D. Nicoll (2 weeks), 1s.; P. Webb (2 weeks), 2s.; Z., 6d.; B. W. (2 weeks), 1s.; J. B. G., 6d.; and James Thomson, 6d.

REPORTS.

‘COMMONWEAL.’—The members of this branch attended the Russian Prisoner's demonstration on Sunday last at Hyde Park with their large banner, where an immense audience was addressed by Sparling, Kitz, Mowbray, and John Burns. The members of this branch sold 4 quires of *Commonweal* at this meeting. On Sunday night a splendid muster of comrades at hall for ‘Weal’ benefit concert. At business meeting on Thursday a large number of comrades turned up.—W.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—Good meeting at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lynes, Crouch, and Maughan; fair sale of ‘Weal’. On Sunday night, G. Bernard Shaw lectured on “The Evolution of Practical Socialism” to a very good audience, who seemed interested; a good discussion and many questions; fair sale of ‘Weals’ and 4s. 9d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—At meeting on 3rd, the Fabian tract, “Land and Capital,” was read and discussed. We have again secured a hall for Sunday night meetings, which will commence on 23rd March with the first of a series of special lectures.

GLASGOW.—Midday meeting on Jail Square not held on Sunday, owing to place being occupied by other agitators, religious and political. In the evening, at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier spoke to an exceedingly good meeting—questions being asked at the close. There was no interruption.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning a most enthusiastic meeting was held in Vicar's Croft, addressed by Scott, of Bradford, and Samuels; good sale of literature; 3s. 9d. collected. In the afternoon, another good meeting was held, same place and speakers; *Commonweal* and *Freedom* sold out. At the Socialist League at night, Scott lectured on “Socialism and Religion to a crowded room; good discussion; literature sold well. We are making new members rapidly.—H. S.

YARMOUTH.—On Sunday morning, Brightwell and Headley went to Bradwell, and addressed a very good meeting of farm labourers. Comrade Brightwell opened by reading a short account of the Paris Commune; good discussion, the meeting lasting over two hours; *Commonweal* sold well, and a number of old copies given away.—J. H.

DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, March 8th, R. Pearson lectured on the “Currency Question,” dealing with it from the orthodox political economy standpoint. Good discussion; Hamilton, Wilson, King, Martin, and others, spoke.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—On Sunday night, in the Hall, Woodland Place, T. Proctor lectured on “The Rise and Progress of Social Democracy in Germany.” Capital lecture; brief discussion; W. Doleman presided.

LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY.—We held excellent meetings near the Landing-stage on Sunday morning and afternoon, addressed by comrades W. H. Chapman, sen., of Liverpool, and Horrocks and Evans of Salford. Numbers of dock strikers were present, and applauded frequently. 1½ quires of *Commonweal* and 1 quire of *Justice* sold, besides other literature.

MANCHESTER.—Further donation for club premises: D. F. R., £2. **MANHOLD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.** “Three Doves,” Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday March 16, at 8.30 p.m. Reading by George R. Cox; Norman McLeod's sketch, “A Life Story.” Business meeting at 7.30.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 45, Inwith Street, Battersea Park Road.
Commonweal Branch.—24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C. Business meeting of members every Thursday evening at 8; Discussion Class at 9. Hall open every evening from 7 till 10. No lecture on Sunday 16th, owing to the conference of non-parliamentary Socialists, which begins at 7 p.m.
East London.—12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 16, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.
Mitcham.—“Lord Napier,” Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.
North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Palace, Clarendon Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m., On Sunday March 16, at 8 p.m., A. Tarn, “The Abolition of the State.”
North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Wednesday evening at 8 o'clock.
Streatham.—Address secretary, R. Smith, 1 Natal Road, Streatham.
Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.
Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.
Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.
Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.
Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road, School Close. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. William Morris will lecture at the Grand Assembly Rooms on Tuesday March 25, on “The Class Struggle.” Chair will be taken at 7.30 by the Rev. G. G. Bynner.
Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—Socialist League Club, 60 Grovesnor Street, All Saints. Open every evening. Branch weekly meeting on Tuesdays at 8 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Social Meeting. Hall open every evening from 8 p.m.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Socialist Club, 18 Goodall Street, Walsall. Meetings every night.
Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m. On Sunday afternoons during winter a Discussion Class will be held at 3 o'clock.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 15.

8.30..... Mile-end Waste.....The Branch

SUNDAY 16.

11 Latimer Road Station.....R. J. Lyne, Dean, and Crouch
11.30..... Kilburn—“Old Plough,” Kilburn LaneThe Branch
11.30..... Mitcham—Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30..... Regent's Park.....Nicoll and Parker
3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble ArchParker
3.30..... Victoria ParkDavis and Mowbray
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
7.30..... Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

TUESDAY 18.

8 Walham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

FRIDAY 21.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....East London Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Liverpool.—Landing-stage, Sundays at 11.30.
Manchester.—Sunday: Phillips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.
Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.
Sheffield.—Sunday: Monolith, Fargate, at 11.30 a.m.; Bunngreave Road, near Vestry Offices, at 3 p.m.; Pump, West Bar, at 8 p.m.
Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

PARIS COMMUNE MEETINGS.

CLUB AUTONOME, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—Sunday March 16, at 8.30, celebration of the Paris Revolution of '71. Speakers: Lothrop Withington, James Harragan, George Bonham, and others.
DUBLIN.—At Progressist Club, 87 Marlboro' Street, Saturday Mar. 15, at 8 p.m., J. O'Gorman, “The Commune of Paris—What it Meant, and Why it Failed.”
DUBLIN.—On Wednesday March 19th the Irish Socialist Union will hold an anniversary meeting in honour of the Commune of Paris, at 87 Marlboro' Street, at 8 p.m.
EDINBURGH—SCOTTISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION.—A celebration of the Commune will take place on Tuesday 18th. Particulars to be ascertained locally. Tickets should be taken up by Sunday night if possible (Moulders' Hall, High Street), in order that adequate arrangements may be made.
GLASGOW.—Meeting of members and friends to celebrate the Commune of Paris in Ram's Horn Hall on Monday 17th, at 8 o'clock.
YARMOUTH.—We shall celebrate the 19th anniversary of the Paris Commune next Sunday, March 16th. Mrs. Schack and Mrs. Tochatto from London, comrade Darley of Norwich, and several others will be with us.

DUNDEE.—James Davie, 6 Overgate, is agent for the *Commonweal* in this town.
LIVERPOOL SOCIALIST SOCIETY, 1 Stanley Street, Dale Street.—Meets every Tuesday at 8 p.m.
SHEFFIELD.—At Hallamshire Hall, Westbar, on Sunday Mar. 16, J. Sketchley, 11 a.m., “The Labour Movement”; at 6.30, “The Irish Question.”
CHELSEA S.D.F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday March 16, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, “The Fallacies of Political Action.”

