

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

PRINCE BISMARCK has made his speech, set all Europe guessing as to what it might mean, had his Army Bill thrown out, and dissolved the Reichstadt, and now he is to have another by March; energetic work enough, but what does it all mean? First, one may suppose that he knows he is not going to live much longer, as he said, and that he wants to leave the German army still the tremendous engine for the purpose of reaction which it has been for so long; which it cannot be unless it is systematically increased and perfected. As to his speeches, so plain-spoken and yet so capable of reading between the lines, doubtless a great deal of the threatening and ominously warning tone of them was due to the fact that he wanted to scare, not the present Reichstadt (for doubtless he expected the hostile majority), but the electors of the new House to assemble in March. Therefore, no doubt he was bound to make the most of the possibilities of a French war, of the prowess of the French army, and the terrible results of a French victory; and that all the more as he was also bound to parade the good understanding between Germany and Russia, so as at one blow to destroy the hopes of Austria for German help against the advance of Russia in her direction; and also to point out to the French that when the day for the advance of the German army came no attack on their rear from the Russians need be expected. Since it had to be made clear that no danger was to be apprehended from that quarter, the danger in the other quarter had to be made the most of.

Nevertheless, all deductions made, the speeches of Prince Bismark were ominous enough; let everything be ready they seemed to mean for the demand on the French of disarming under pain of invasion; and who shall say how long it will be before that demand will be made? Nor need any one think that Prince Bismark's defeat the other day means relief from imminent war; the army is to be duly augmented, vote or no vote; and the necessities of electioneering will force the Chancellor to appeal to the Jingo spirit in the forthcoming contest, so that we may expect an increase and not a decrease in the fever of German "patriotism"; as it is pretty certain that Prince Bismark will sweep the table clear in the coming elections and have a big majority at his back.

And what then? Will not this be the position? The German bourgeoisie will practically say, Germany as she is is too poor to bear this big army ever crying out for fresh steps towards perfection; in order to avoid its eating its head off, it must undertake some expedition, the result of which will be expansion for German commerce on the grand scale.

"Thou hast a fine sword, my son," says the father in an eastern tale, "but where is the head for the shearing?" "Doubt not, father," says the son, "but that I shall soon find a head for the shearing." No doubt the primary use of the German army is the upholding of "law and order" in its own land, but to find "a head for the shearing" is necessary for it as for all other such weapons in the hands of reactionary Governments.

The "great Liberal meeting" of January 12 was of course a regular caucus meeting. No doubt from that point of view it was a success, the present staggering of the Tory party being an encouraging sight for Liberals, as they are beginning to feel sanguine (rightly or wrongly) of having one more innings as a party—perhaps as a "united" party. All, however, was not unity at the meeting; a section of the Radicals perceiving that the fate of their party would be to be smothered under the incumbent weight of conventional Liberalism, moved an amendment, put forward by a prominent Chelsea Radical and Mr. Foote on behalf of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, which had the fate of Cassandra's warnings, as might have been foreseen. Mr. Bradlaugh, in a speech which gave the *Daily News* ecstasies of delight, took the side of respectability, and practically begged the Radicals to allow themselves to be smothered, lest the party organisation should be weakened before the Tories. So the London Liberals and Radicals are declared "united"—until next time.

There were some demonstrations in the hall, however, with which the more respectable part of the meeting could only have been well pleased. But it is a pity that those genuine Radicals who were there couldn't see that it will not advance things much to merely hiss

"God save the Queen" and cry out for the "Marseillaise." Strange that they don't understand that the changes which such demonstrations hint at will not be allowed to be furthered in the party of such respectable persons as Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre! The Liberal Party is willing to use the Radicals to attack the Tories on the one hand and snub the Socialists on the other; but mighty little of their own way will they have, till at last they will look round and find the Liberal Party gone and themselves a weak army indeed before the united forces of Reaction, and weak not only from want of numbers or cohesion, but from what is worse, lack of definite principles.

The best advice one can give to Radicals at present is to stick tight to genuine Home Rule and the attack on landlordism in Ireland, and to see where that will lead them—it will not be into the arms of the "Respectable Party." Unless they make up their minds to give up all their aspirations towards freedom, and all attempt to look seriously into social questions, the Respectable Party will not want them long.

Meantime the Conference of Conciliation has met and—parted—till after Parliament meets, or the Greek Kalends, as the case may be. The idea still seems to hold that Jonah is to walk the plank with all decency, in the interest at once of the Unity of the British Empire and the Unity of the Liberal Party. Truly our recognised political parties are running an eager race towards the goal of Unlimited Shabbiness, and 'tis hard to say which will get there first.

Our comrade Mahon tried to get a hearing at the Mansion House meeting about the Colonial Institute, but of course was not allowed to speak to foregone conclusions. In fact the promoters of this scheme are quite right to do their best to prevent all discussion on the subject, as even the sheep-like general public are beginning to see that it is nothing but a barefaced job, bolstered up by servility and flunkeyism of the basest kind. However, since the money to float it will only be a part of the general robbery of labour, it would be scarcely worth while noticing it if it were not for the astounding impudence of it, and its connection with the humbug of Imperial Federation which is being so busily pushed forward by one of our Philistines. A scheme which, with much parade and volumes of clap-trap speeches from those who are paid to lie to the people in various ways, proposes to collect money and do with it something (not specified) for the honour and glory of the empire, is worth noting as a triumph of jobbery, even in these days.

W. MORRIS.

POET AND POLITICIAN.

Two men have spoken out their thought upon the affairs of to-day, two men much alike in many things, and both of them figures that fill a large space in the record of our time. Both old; both having negated in the chill of age the sentimental starting-points of their youth, diverse as they were; both steeped in bourgeois tradition and fulfilled of the spirit of the present system; Alfred "Lord" Tennyson has from the "wisdom" of his age answered the exuberance of his early manhood, and William Ewart Gladstone has criticised the performance, and given his version of the true verdict.

Wellnigh inexorably does fate avenge the proneness of youth to accept a belief from mere sentimental adhesion and without due thought. Thus, in either of these men, the poet and the politician, is a curious contrast between their earlier and their later selves. The one, democratic in sentiment—fiercely so—the writer of stirring democratic verse, who saw the labouring folk as "Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new, That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do," this one now, in place of wearing only what Gladstone calls the "livery of the muse," is become the venal songster of a court and a member of the class of professional hereditary obstructors. The other who began as a Conservative from an emotional clinging to long-established usage, has attained the utmost limit of his possible development, and tentatively dabbles in the side-work of the revolutionary advance, timidly though it be and with much backward shrinking.

In their development, and in their thought-position now, are both of these men wholly formed and governed by the present system. Fervent revolt while young and ardent against conventional formality and unfairness; gradual regression before the opposing forces of established wrong; and at last a bitter outcry from so much of him as remains

honest against the hopelessness of things that to him appear inevitable, these are the stages through which Tennyson has passed and through which all must pass, during the last days of a dying civilisation, who have the artistic temperament without a great and abiding strength and power of growth that is possessed by few. Gladstone, again, has grown and has not receded, but by his latest utterance, as by all that have gone before, he has rendered it manifest that though he is able and willing to advance upon the lines of his previous growth, those of old-time Liberalism, he cannot go beyond; he is alarmed and uncertain, knowing nothing of the real forces that are at work to-day nor having prevision of the gigantic change that is preparing. He feels, and is frightened by, the preliminary tremors that bespeak the coming earthquake, but knows not what it is nor what it will bring forth.

Criticism of the poem as a poem, and of the critical treatment accorded it by Mr. Gladstone, would be out of place in these columns, but it is interesting to note how the "old parliamentary hand" betrays even here that, like the dyer's, it has been "subdued to what it works in," and must temporise. In the beginning of his article Mr. Gladstone says, "Yet is his poetic eye not dimmed, nor his natural force abated," while, toward the end, he speaks of "the stunted vitality of his age" that he likens to "a spent cannon-ball."

Knowing its due place and meaning, Socialists may pass the new Locksley Hall unchallenged. It is the wail of one who sees the hellish iniquity of our civilisation, but has not strength to rise against it nor insight sufficient to discern the new birth and growth that are realising themselves, as the present system rots itself into oblivion and prepares to give place to them. It may be taken as the swan-song of the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Gladstone's vision of things demands another treatment. It puts, not unplausibly, the case for advance upon the old lines, and pleads that man be set free that he "may work out his vocation without wanton hindrance," meaning thereby the extension of "free contract" to its uttermost, with some illogical restrictions of exploitation here and there. Hopeless it is to look for further growth from Mr. Gladstone, but the vain wish arises that he were young again in order that he might follow out to its legitimate conclusion his query as to the right of being and cause of existence of the increased and increasing number of leisured men and idle men! He speaks of the improvement as he has seen it in the social conditions of the past half-century and while admitting many imperfections says, "the fair wage of to-day is far higher than it was then, and the unfair wage is assumably (!) not lower." This of the "fair wage" is true—a fair wage being the sum of one's production, and that in many ways has been magnified; but that fair wage is never paid! As to the "unfair wage," even though it were true—which it is not—that in mere amount it is higher, in relation to the increased production and heightened standard of comfort it is incalculably lower. For the truth or falsehood of Mr. Gladstone's assertion that "they work fewer hours" for "increased wages," and "purchase at diminished prices"—in other words that they have improved all round—let the people answer—what their answer is we know! Of what avail is it that the suffrage be widened so long as the voters yet remain slaves of those who own all whereby they must live? or that education is popularised and made compulsory if it be only for the making of monotonous toil more endurable and slave-labour more efficient? If it is "well to be reminded" of the children who "soak and blacken soul and sense in city slime," and of the maidens who are cast in thousands on the street, is it well also to lull oneself to sleep again with a hymn of praise for the tinkering attempts at palliation made by well-intentioned but quite helpless people—people, that is, who are helpless against the economic necessity that makes these things what they are? What benefit to the proletariat has resulted from the reform of "fiscal follies"? such reform having lessened the cost of their subsistence and allowed them to compete the amount saved into the pockets of their masters. Or what good has been gained by amendment of the game laws to a folk who possess no land, and of whom the great mass know "game" only as an appanage of wealth, while those who do know aught else of it, have seen it only in some rich man's covert or in the shop-window of some "purveyor to the aristocracy"? What is gained save temporary relief and a passing quietude by the legislative lessening of taxation, tithe, or rent, in answer to the demand that such exactions be abolished as fundamentally unjust? To sum up, what has the present system to say, even from the mouth of so earnest an apologist, to show cause why it should not be abolished—peaceably if it may; forcibly if it must?

Mr. Gladstone's great plea is that "No greater calamity can happen to a people than to break utterly with its past." To do that is impossible and beyond human power to achieve, and therefore beside the question; but were it possible, we retort, we do not seek it. The change we work for is the natural outcome of the social forces that have carried us thus far, and that, despite alarmist outcries or timid deprecation, will carry through the Social Revolution and replace the present system by one that will more than realise the fairest vision that ever poet spake.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

"CHARITY" ROBBERS.—We have got the regular batch of begging letters from "charity" institutions, which we get every year at this season. These institutions are mostly run by the men who create and are enriched by the poverty they ask us to palliate by sending them money for the salaries of their officers. Let the capitalists who are the "patrons" of these snabby concerns cease to swindle their hirelings by pocketing the proceeds of their labour, and there will be no need of asking us to give the poor children that food of which robbers have deprived them.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

WEALTH.

J. H. SMITH on p. 12 of the *Commonweal* asks: "Of what good to the people can a science be which treats only of wealth and advocates that system in which wealth can be produced most amply and economically, no matter how wretched morally or physically the people, the wealth-producers, may be in consequence of it?" The answer to these questions is: In the first place, that Political Economy advocates no system, the business of science is the discovery of truth; and in the second place that the science which "treats only of wealth" is of paramount importance to the people. To see how important a subject to the human race wealth is, we require to know what is wealth; and it is with a view to arriving at this knowledge that I offer the following fragment, written about two years ago, to the consideration of the readers of the *Commonweal*.

The subject-matter of political economy is designated by the word "Wealth." Respecting the meaning of this word many different opinions have prevailed and do prevail. Some of these we shall briefly consider.

In an early stage of society, when tribe fought with tribe, when the stronger attacked the weaker and appropriated whatever they wanted, it is easy to see that the community that numbered most would, *ceteris paribus*, be the wealthiest, for whatever such a community wanted it would take. It would take the best hunting grounds, the richest rivers—the best, in fact, of everything that there was to be had. To enable it to acquire and to retain these possessions, it would require to be sufficiently numerous to cope with hostile tribes, and the more numerous it was the more certain would it be of accomplishing this. Under circumstances like these public feeling would incline to favour the procreation of children and to regard the man that reared a large family as thereby contributing largely to the strength and to the wealth of the community. Here population was a source of wealth, and accordingly it was part of the public policy to stimulate population. This view of wealth and the policy founded upon it continued to infect the laws of this country down to 1834, when Malthus' essay began to take practical effect, as seen in the thorough alteration then made in our Poor Laws. Proof of its past influence still lingers, for at the present day, when a woman gives birth to more than two children at one time she receives from the sovereign a bounty of £1 per child—a custom that no doubt has its origin in the belief that to bear children is to contribute to the wealth of the State.

After a community is fairly established and trading transactions have been introduced, considerations of convenience soon suggest some medium of exchange—money. When money has been in use for a time, it is seen that whoever has money can obtain anything else he may have occasion for. The rich man, the man with money, is now the strong man; he can command the fat of the land. From this it is an easy inference that the rich country, the country with money, is the strong, the wealthy country. Money and wealth now become in public estimation synonymous, and thereupon laws are made with a view to favour those courses that are peculiarly adapted to increase the nation's treasure. "According to the doctrines then prevalent," says John Stuart Mill, "whatever tended to heap up money or bullion in a country added to its wealth; whatever sent the precious metals out of a country impoverished it. . . . Exportation of goods was favoured and encouraged because the exported goods being stipulated to be paid for in money, it was hoped that the returns would actually be made in gold and silver. Importation of anything other than the precious metals was regarded as a loss to the nation of the whole price of the things imported. . . . The commerce of the world was looked upon as a struggle among nations which could draw to itself the largest share of the gold and silver in existence."

This view of wealth persists a long time and makes a deep impression upon the mind and upon the laws of nations. Just as circumstances, however compel a relinquishment of the view already noticed, so do they compel a relinquishment of this. We have been compelled to relinquish the view that makes a large population synonymous with wealth by the dangers attending on overcrowding, and so forcibly have these dangers been brought home in modern times that many believe population to be a source of weakness and not of strength. The view that considers wealth to lie in money is not altogether abandoned yet. It certainly no longer influences the public policy to the extent of inspiring any legislative enactment. It is, however, the source of many a fallacious argument. If annually, for instance, the imports of a country be two millions and the exports only one million, it is often contended that such a country is losing a million every year, is living on its capital, because it must yearly send a million of money to other countries to pay for the additional million of imports. Suppose that to pay for the additional million of imports, a million of sovereigns, or bullion to that amount, is sent out of the country: what is the difference between this and sending out other commodities? The gold that is thus sent out has been previously brought into the country in exchange for goods—it would not be sent in for nothing; and if more gold be wanted to take its place, goods can be sent out for it. Another instance is furnished by landlord absenteeism from Ireland. These landlords are blamed for drawing their rents in Ireland and spending them in England. Suppose that an Irish landlord draws a thousand sterling a-year and spends it in England; all he takes from Ireland is a thousand pounds—a thousand sovereigns say. Suppose, on the other hand, that he remains in Ireland and spends the money there; in this case he consumes in one way and another a thousand pounds' worth. Now a thousand pounds' worth is surely as good as a thousand pounds

itself. In either case all that the landlord consumes is a thousand pounds' worth, and in either case it is Ireland that supplies it to him. What difference does it make where he consumes it? None whatever, except on the hypothesis that to take gold from a country is to weaken in some special way, to lessen the wealth of, that country.

We come now to another view of wealth, the view that may be regarded as predominant to-day, the view also that is usually given in text-books on political economy. Wealth consists nowadays in whatever contributes to human gratification, all agreeable or useful things. To these statements is appended the modifying clause, "that possess exchange value." This is the widest view that has prevailed in any age, and it has given rise to a more generous public policy so far as it has prevailed. It was this view that swept away all the vexatious restraints that the mercantile system, or the system that was based upon regarding money as wealth, imposed upon commerce. It, too, would seem to be too narrow, however, for here we are with too many useful and agreeable things—suffering from a plethora of good things—for that is what the phrases "glutted market," "over-production," signify. Just as the two views already noticed led to disasters, so this. Just as the previous views affected public policy also, so has this; for it is this view that is at the bottom of Free Trade. If wealth be regarded as consisting in commodities, it is a natural consequence that men should say, let us throw open our ports, so that we may have access to as many commodities as possible.

These three meanings of the word "wealth" show how important it is that we should endeavour to have a right understanding as to what wealth really is. We see that whatever men consider it to be, so do they strive. In fact, it may be said that wealth has been the word used in any given period of a nation's history to indicate what in the prevailing opinion is good for that nation. Let the meaning attributed by any age to the word "wealth" be known and the aim of that age is also known.

It has never, so far as I am aware, been pointed out by economists that the word "wealth" is an abstract¹ name—that is to say, it is the name of no existing thing or things. It resembles such names as "height," "motion," "beauty," "roundness"; and differs from such names as "river," "horse," "cupboard," "star." No one ever saw height, or motion, or beauty, or roundness; we have all seen high things, moving things, beautiful things, and round things. In the same way no one ever saw wealth; we have seen only wealthy persons or wealthy countries. To define wealth, therefore, as the produce of the land and labour of a country or as all useful and agreeable things possessing exchange value, is as grave an error as it would be to define height as consisting of steeples, trees, chimney-stalks, mountains, etc., or to define motion as trains, hansom-cabs, etc., or roundness as balls, hoops, etc.

Height is what is common to high things, the one point in which all high things, no matter how different in other respects, agree; in the same way motion is what is common to moving things; so wealth is what is common to wealthy persons or wealthy nations. Now if we compare wealthy persons one with another, we find that the only point of resemblance between them all is the possession of power. A man on a desert island with all the gold that had ever been dug would not be a wealthy man. I might possess large estates in an uninhabited country and still be poor. The mere possession of money, of lands, of houses, or of any other material does not confer wealth; there must be present certain circumstances. A sovereign is of no use to me unless others want it and are willing to give me what I want in exchange. Large estates are of no use to me unless I have men to work them and unless there are people willing to give me for the produce of these men's toil whatever I may want. Innumerable palaces are of no use to me unless there are people willing to give me whatever I may want for the privilege of residing in them. Possessions confer wealth upon a man only when they at the same time confer power. It is the same with nations. Wealthy nations are powerful nations; poor nations are weak nations. Wealth, then, we shall, in the meantime, define as power.

W. B. R.

(To be continued.)

"After all, effect is what is wanted," says an "artistic" cotemporary. That is the teaching of commercialism summed up in a sentence; disregard truth, never mind about the means, think only of effect; good or bad workmanship does not matter a farthing so as it will sell!—S.

COMMERCE AND CHRISTIANITY.—The most interesting, and, so far as we know, the first systematic union of missionary and mercantile enterprise, is in the mission of the Free Church of Scotland to Livingstonia. Suggested by Dr. J. Stewart of Lovedale, who had in his youth accompanied Livingstone on the Zambesi, it was taken up by the merchants of Glasgow, independent of, but in harmony with, the missions of the Free Church, and carried on with great liberality and wisdom. A mercantile company was started along with the mission, to show the natives the advantages of commerce by exchange of commodities over the exchange in slaves—a favourite idea of Livingstone's. The natives are learning the lesson, as is seen by the purchase of the soft goods of Manchester, the hardwares of Sheffield, twenty-five tons of beads to adorn their persons, and seven tons of soap. The late Mr. James White, one of the wisest and best of our merchant-princes, was the first chairman of the committee, and Mr. James Stevenson, one of its members, showed his foresight as well as his liberality by giving £4000 for the construction of a road to facilitate commerce and intercourse, besides his large donations to the mission and investments in the trading company. The sum of £18,000 has just been subscribed or promised for carrying on the work for the next five years.—*The British Weekly*. [The italics are ours. Comment is needless.]

¹ For a clear explanation of the character of the abstract name, see 'A Higher English Grammar,' by Professor Bain.

'THE MYSTERY OF THE SHROUD,' AND THE MYSTERY OF CITY JOBBERY.

THAT wordy and dreary representative of book-making talent in the House of Hereditary Imbecility, known among his peers as Duke of Argyll, once had the cheek to move the House to issue as a State Paper one of his books. This attempt to increase circulation at public expense failed.

Public money has often been used that Literature should assist Jobbery; prime ministers have often called in able writers to help on some high-toned swindle of statecraft. Sometimes the minister has been satisfied at what he got for his money, but there have been times when the able author has turned on the initial employer, and a conscience quickened by special study to write up a swindle has done good service in writing the swindle down. Sometimes default in payment or a row in cutting up the spoil has brought about a similar exposure. Some of this old time work one is almost led to forgive, because it was the means by which some literary work was made possible that the world would be sorry to lose.

Powerful as this sort of work was at the beginning of the century, it was as nothing compared with to-day. Pen work tells more than ever; small good to do much without the printing press.

Socialism to-day is the subject of many pens—able and otherwise, for and against. Socialists are tolerably able to answer all that can be fairly brought against them; but a protest has to be made against expenditure of money extracted from Socialist pockets to be fraudulently used against Socialism.

The City of London authorities are old sinners in this sort of work. That foul-smelling abomination old Smithfield was persistently written up and defended, and a large portion of £6000 expended to maintain that plague-spot was spent for literary work. (See 'City of London Corporation Inquiry,' by Sergeant Pulling: Hatchards, 1854.)

Socialists who are ratepayers in the City may like to busy themselves in finding out who is paying for the issue to vestrymen of other parishes of 'The Mystery of the Shroud, a Tale of Socialism.' Arrowsmith's Bristol Library, given a big boom by Conway's 'Called Back,' has supplied the lovers of sensation with one or two fair samples of that article; but by thunder! the one who pays a shilling for the particular hundred and thirty-four small pages, less numerous blanks, under consideration seems to me to be entitled to pity. Fancy any sort of cause being supported by such unadulterated bosh as, "In the second place, the lapse of the coal dues had brought about a most extravagant use of coal, which had tended to saturate the air more completely than heretofore." This is directly in opposition to another and the general statement, that the amount of the tax is so slight that there cannot be any appreciable difference in price. Every sort of lighting, even the electric, was a failure; the police are rendered quite helpless in tracing crime, and therefore the criminals—the Socialists, of course—wax more and more audacious; journalists and editors who write against Socialism are either kidnapped or murdered on their own door-steps; cabinet ministers ditto, ditto; London is under a reign of complete and absolute terror. "The Order of the Shroud" lays the rich under tribute to any extent, the levies being sent to unknown persons at untrackable places by means of pigeons (a new breed, evidently, made to go through the densest fogs). Kent and Sussex are worked as mining districts, and chimnies crowd the Thames thick as leaves in Vallambrosa, and the smoke and the fog helps the Socialists in their diabolical work. "The days of the millenium, too," says our sapient author, "appear to be still distant: men are not much better as a mass than they were." He perhaps means not much better for his writing, which is probable. "Socialism and a tendency to revolutionary disorder are undoubtedly on the increase; and there is every reason to fear that should the turbulent element of society ever be organised by abler hands, they would become even in broad daylight, to say nothing of in thick foggy weather, a positive and absorbing danger to the respectable portion of the community."

Under such considerations the coal dues must be at all hazards kept up; "nobody feels them but the owners." "From the coal dues the money can be ungrudgingly spent; from the rates it will always be given out with so stingy a hand that the great task of conserving open spaces would probably fall into abeyance before long."

This is a sample of the rotten logic used to bolster up a rotten case, distributed at some unknown person or body's expense. One can but pity a case which can be supported by such.

One of the "gods" in a theatre noted for blood and blue-fire one night shouted out, "We don't expect no grammar, and we don't expect no plot, but yer might jine yer flats." In shilling startlers we don't expect much grammar or much plot, but we do expect the stuff to sink or swim on its merits (?), and not to be floated into circulation at expense of compulsory taxation of those who suffer by unjust privilege and monopoly.

How much of force there is in the argument used is seen in the City accounts for 1884, which shows that the coal-tax produced £543,966; wine-tax £9396 (note the luxury as compared with the necessity); grain-tax £17,361. Of this the Thames Embankment eat up £307,861, Holborn Viaduct £106,999, the bulk of the balance being expenses.

In conclusion: there are some influential Socialists in the City; can they find out if they are finding the money to be bowled over in the fashion suggested here, and will they take action by way of protest, stop payment?

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

"Foster ye the fatherless," as he remarked who filled an asylum with the orphans of his last coffin-ship's crew.



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

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

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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 19.

ENGLAND Norwich—Daylight Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Die Autonomie Worker's Friend	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
INDIA Ahmedabad—Prajā Mata CANADA Toronto—Labor Reformer Montreal—L'Union Ouvrière	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Journal du Peuple L'Action Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia Torino—Il Muratore PORTUGAL Oporto—A Perola
AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth Sydney Morning Herald UNITED STATES New York—Volkszeitung Freiheit Truthseeker Der Sozialist John Swinton's Paper Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	BEELGIUM Lille—Le Travailleur AUSTRIA Vienna—Gleichheit Brunn—Volksfreund HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	ROMANIA Jassy—Lupta DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten GREECE Athens—Ardin

NOTES.

THE evictions at Glenbeigh and other places during the past week or so, carried out as they were with extreme brutality, have assisted in sapping the foundations of monopoly everywhere. Folk are beginning now to see what we so long have been explaining to them, that it does not condone the possession of an unjust privilege that it is upon the average exercised mildly; that because all landlords are not in the habit of emulating the money-lenders, who are skinning the (dis-)Honourable Roland Winn's estate, there is no guarantee against any of them doing so.

Control over the land, and thereby over all their means of life, gives into the hand of a landlord an enormous power, legal and actual, over his tenants, which is a continual temptation to its use.

When, as in the Glenbeigh case, the exercise of a landlord's power is deputed to a hired scoundrel, brutalised by his previous life, there is no limit to his exactions nor stay to his cruelty.

In Ireland, the homes of honest hard-workers are burnt above their heads, while they themselves are spurned into the bitter winter weather to perish, or be rescued by somebody or another as it may happen. In London, a woman, a type of many, is driven to seek refuge with her child in the workhouse, and in order to satisfy bourgeois justice and duly to protect bourgeois pockets, this woman and her babe are kept outside in the snow, left to moan their miserable lives away unaided, and would infallibly have died were it not for the accident that a humane heart beat in the bosom of a passing policeman, who succoured them. How long shall these things endure and the people die patiently?

"Self-preservation is the first law of life," says *Jus*. Why, then, do our "Individualist" enemies growl at our trying to get the working-classes to combine for "self-preservation" against monopoly?

Will somebody help to explain? Individualists are complaining through their organ that the municipalities have a way of leaving "their" work to individual action. But combined action on the part of the community must necessarily somewhere interfere with the freedom to "do as you darn please" that Individualists claim; and, if compromise be possible, how far should it go? S.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Concluded from p. 21).

"Poor man!" said I. "Learn that in those very days when it shall be with the making of things as with the carter in the cart, that there he sitteth and shaketh the reins and the horse draweth and the cart goeth; in those days, I tell thee, many men shall be as poor and wretched always, year by year, as they are with thee when there is famine in the land; nor shall any have plenty and surety of livelihood save those that shall sit by and look on while others labour; and these, I tell thee, shall be a many, so that they shall see to the making of all laws, and in their hands shall be all power, and the labourers shall think that they cannot do without these men that live by robbing them, and shall praise them and wellnigh pray to them as ye pray to the saints, and the best worshipped man in the land shall be he who by forestalling and regrating hath gotten to him the most money."

"Yea," said he, "and shall they who see themselves robbed worship the robber? Then indeed shall men be changed from what they are now, and they shall be sluggards, dolts, and cowards beyond all the earth hath yet borne. Such are not the men I have known in my life-days, and that now I love in my death."

"Nay," I said, "but the robbery shall they not see; for have I not told thee that they shall hold themselves to be free men? And for why? I will tell thee: but first tell me how it fares with men now; may the labouring man become a lord?"

He said: "The thing hath been seen that churls have risen from the dortoir of the monastery to the abbot's chair and the bishop's throne; yet not often; and while hath a bold sergeant become a wise captain, and they have made him squire and knight; and yet but very seldom. And now I suppose thou wilt tell me that the Church will open her arms wider to this poor people, and that many through her shall rise into lordship. But what availeth that? Nought were it to me if the Abbot of St. Albans with his golden mitre sitting guarded by his knights and sergeants, or the Prior of Merton with his hawks and his hounds, had once been poor men, if they were now tyrants of poor men; nor would it better the matter if there were ten times as many Houses of Religion in the land than now are, and each with a churl's son for abbot or prior over it."

I smiled and said: "Comfort thyself; for in those days shall there be neither abbot nor prior in the land, nor monks nor friars, nor any religious." (He started as I spoke.) "But thou hast told me that hardly in those days may a poor man rise to be a lord: now I tell thee that in the days to come poor men shall be able to become lords and masters and do-nothings; and oft will it be seen that they shall do so; and it shall be even for that cause that their eyes shall be blinded to the robbing of themselves by others, because they shall hope in their souls that they may each live to rob others: and this shall be the very safeguard of all rule and law in those days."

"Now am I sorer than thou hast yet made me," said he; "for when once this is established, how then can it be changed? Strong shall be the tyranny of thy latter days. And now meseems, if thou sayest sooth, this time of the conquest of the earth shall not bring heaven down to the earth, as erst I deemed it would, but rather that it shall bring hell up on to the earth. Woe's me, brother, for thy sad and weary foretelling! And yet said'st thou that the men of those days would seek a remedy. Can'st thou yet tell me, brother, what that remedy shall be, lest the sun rise upon me made hopeless by thy tale of what is to be? And, lo you, soon shall she arise upon the earth."

In truth the dawn was widening now, and the colours coming into the pictures on wall and in window; and as well as I could see through the varied glazing of these last (and one window before me had as yet nothing but white glass 'n it), the ruddy glow, which had but so little a while quite died out in the west, was now beginning to gather in the east—the new day was beginning. I looked at the poppy that I still carried in my hand, and it seemed to me to have withered and dwindled. I felt anxious to speak to my companion and tell him much, and withal I felt that I must hasten, or for some reason or other I should be too late; so I spoke at last loud and hurriedly:

"John Ball, be of good cheer; for once more thou knowest as I know that the Fellowship of Men shall endure, however many tribulations it may have to wear through. Look you, a while ago was the light bright about us; but it was because of the moon, and the night was deep notwithstanding, and when the moonlight waned and died and there was but a little glimmer in place of the bright light, yet was the world glad because all things knew that the glimmer was of day and not of night. Lo you, an image of the times to betide the hope of the Fellowship of Men. Yet forsooth, it may well be that this bright day of summer which is now dawning upon us is no image of the beginning of the day that shall be; but rather shall that day-dawn be cold and grey and surly; and yet by its light shall men see things as they verily are, and no longer enchanted by the gleam of the moon and the glamour of the dream-tide. By such grey light shall wise men and valiant souls see the remedy, and deal with it, a real thing that may be touched and handled, and no glory of the heavens to be worshipped from afar off. And what shall it be, as I told thee before, save that men shall be determined to be free; yea, free as thou wouldst have them, when thine hope rises the highest, and thou art thinking not of the king's uncles, and poll-groat bailiffs, and the villainage of Essex, but of the end of all, when men shall have the fruits of the earth and the fruits of their toil thereon, without money and without price. The time shall come, John Ball, when that dream of thine that this shall one day be, shall be a thing that men shall talk of soberly, and as a thing soon to come about, as even with thee they talk of the

villains becoming tenants paying their lord quit-rent; therefore, hast thou done well to hope it; and, if thou heedest this also, as I suppose thou heedest it little, thy name shall abide by thy hope in those days to come, and thou shalt not be forgotten."

I heard his voice come out of the twilight, scarcely seeing him though now the light was growing fast, as he said:

"Brother, thou givest me heart again; yet since now I wot well that thou art a sending from far-off times and far-off things; tell thou, if thou mayest, to a man who is going to his death how this shall come about."

"Only this may I tell thee," said I; "to thee, when thou didst try to conceive of them, the ways of the days to come seemed follies scarce to be thought of; yet shall they come to be familiar things, and an order by which every man liveth, ill as he liveth, so that men shall deem of them, that thus it hath been since the beginning of the world, and that thus it shall be while the world lasts; and in this wise so shall they be thought of a long while; and the complaint of the poor the rich man shall heed, even as much and no more as he who lieth in pleasure under the lime trees in the summer heedeth the murmur of his toiling bees. Yet in time shall this also grow old, and doubt shall creep in, because men shall scarce be able to live by that order, and the complaint of the poor shall be hearkened, no longer as a tale not utterly grievous, but as a threat of ruin, and a fear. Then shall those things, which to thee seemed follies, and to the men between thee and me mere wisdom and the bond of stability, seem follies once again; yet, whereas men have so long lived by them, they shall cling to them yet from blindness and from fear; and those that see, and that have thus much conquered fear that they are furthering the real time that cometh and not the dream that faileth, these men shall the blind and the fearful mock and mis-say, and torment and murder; and great and grievous shall be the strife in those days, and many the failures of the wise, and too oft sore shall be the despair of the valiant; and back-sliding, and doubt, and contest between friends and fellows lacking time in the hubbub to understand each other, shall grieve many hearts and hinder the Host of the Fellowship; yet shall all bring about the end, till thy deeming of folly and ours shall be one, and thy hope and our hope; and then—the Day will have come."

Once more I heard the voice of John Ball: "Now, brother, I say farewell; for now verily hath the Day of the Earth come, and thou and I are lonely of each other again; thou hast been a dream to me as I to thee, and sorry and glad have we made each other, as tales of old time and the longing of times to come shall ever make men to be. I go to life and to death, and leave thee; and scarce do I know whether to wish thee some dream of the days beyond thine to tell thee what shall be, as thou hast told me, for I know not if that shall help or hinder thee; but since we have been kind and very friends, I will not leave thee without a wish of good-will, so at least I wish thee what thou thyself wishest for thyself, and that is hopeful strife, and blameless peace, which is to say in one word, life. Farewell, friend."

For some little time, although I had known that the daylight was growing and what was around me, I had scarce seen the things I had before noted so keenly; but now in a flash I saw all—the east crimson with sunrise through the white window on my right hand; the richly-carved stalls, and gilded screen-work, the pictures on the walls, the loveliness of the faultless colour of the mosaic window lights, the altar and the red light over it looking strange in the daylight, and the biers with the hidden dead men upon them that lay before the high altar; a great pain filled my heart at the sight of all that beauty, and withal I heard quick steps coming up the paved church path to the porch, and the loud whistle of a sweet old tune therewith; then the footsteps stopped at the door; I heard the latch rattle, and knew that Will Green's hand was on the ring of it.

Then I strove to rise up, but fell back again; a white light, empty of all sights, broke upon me for a moment, and lo! behold, I was lying in my familiar bed, the south-westerly gale rattling the Venetian blinds and making their hold-fasts squeak. I got up presently, and going to the window looked out on the winter morning; the river ran before me broad between outer bank and bank, but it was nearly dead ebb, and there was a wide space of mud on each side of the hurrying stream, driven on the faster as it seemed by the push of the south-west wind. On the other side of the water the few willow-trees left us by the Thames Conservancy looked doubtfully alive against the bleak sky and the row of wretched-looking blue-slatted houses, although, by the way, the latter were the backs of a sort of street of "villas" and not a slum; the road in front of the house was sooty and muddy at once, and in the air was that sense of dirty discomfort which one is never quit of in London. The morning was harsh too, and though the wind was from the south-west it was as cold as a north wind; and yet amidst it all, I thought of the corner of the next bight of the river which I could not quite see from where I was, but over which one can see clear of houses and into Richmond Park, looking like the open country; and dirty as the river was, and harsh as was the January wind, they seemed to woo me toward the country side, where away from the miseries of the "Great Wen" I might of my own will carry on a day-dream of the friends I had made in the dream of the night and against my will. But as I turned away shivering and down-hearted, on a sudden came the frightful noise of the "hooters," one after the other, that call the workmen to the factories, this one the after breakfast one, more by token. So I grinned surlily, and dressed and got ready for my day's "work" as I call it, but which many a man besides John Ruskin (though not many in his position) would call "play."

WILLIAM MORRIS.

[THE END.]

CORRESPONDENCE.

T. LEMON AND THE S. D. F.

I see that our ex-comrade, T. Lemon, has met with a well-merited exposure at Poplar. No one deploras the apostasy of Lemon more than myself, for it has given a severe blow to our agitation in the East End, and caused hundreds of working men to look askance at every movement since made in that neighbourhood. But isn't it a little too much for the anonymous writer of the diverting para. in the front page of your contemporary *Justice* to assert that Lemon used a reputation and influence that he "could" never have had without the Federation? My memory carries me back to some seven years ago when at Stratford a band of men were associated with Lemon under the name of the Stratford Radical Club, from the loins of which sprang the Labour Emancipation League, which, in conjunction with the West End Socialists, carried on a vigorous propaganda whilst those who now compose "the purely English party" were making up their minds or waiting to see which way the cat would jump. The attempts to destroy the autonomy of the L. E. L. and crush out its representatives upon the council of the S. D. F. are matters well known to the seceders from the august "council."

There is not a single attempt at agitation, from the anti-emigration agitation down to the Lord Mayor's Show business, but what are borrowed ideas from the men who leavened the masses with Socialistic literature and prepared the ground for the present Socialistic revival. And now we have in the field a body of men who, whilst denouncing all monopolies, strive to make a monopoly of Socialistic thought and effort, and allow an anonymous writer to declare that they "never forgive, and never forget" any man who tries to use the cause for his own benefit; and this from those with all the honours of the last general election fresh upon them. "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity." There may exist Socialist organisations who would, in the case of Lemon recanting and mending his ways, let him return to the fold, and thereby put in practice true Socialism. But those whose present prominence is largely due to the foundations he and his associates laid, they will "oh never, no never," forgive. If ever the ramifications of the S. D. F. extend so widely as to include the janitorship of the gates of Paradise, those awaiting beatitude may expect to be refused admission unless they have held a card of membership of the S. D. F. right up from its momentous inauguration and swallowed its programme, stepping-stones and all, and moreover can bring vouchers and witnesses to attest their "purely English Socialism."

I do not wish this letter to be construed as a defence of T. Lemon and his present tactics, but with the knowledge of the tactics that have been employed to destroy and undermine our Branches—notably in Marylebone and in the East End—I can say of Lemon that he is at all events an open enemy and not a sneaking friend professing the same aims as ourselves and yet seeking to injure us.—Yours fraternally,

F. KIRZ.

MORE JUBILEE SUGGESTIONS!

OUR comrade, to whose letters in the *Southport Visiter* we have before referred, in the last issue criticises a discussion which took place among the Committee of the fund raised for the families of the men who lost their lives in the late lifeboat disaster, as to an expected surplus. He suggests that, even if a surplus be not fairly forthcoming, a large slice be cut off the fund, in the usual way, by the toad-eaters who administer it, that this slice be labelled "surplus," and sent to the Jubilee Fund, saying:—

"The progress, sir, that we have made during the past fifty years is, as you are doubtless aware, remarkable; by the rapid development of labour-saving, and therefore labour-starving, machinery, we have steadily increased the wealth of this great and free country till it stands at the appalling and enormous sum of nine thousand million pounds, and as steadily displaced the human machine, giving him or her of course the choice between starvation, emigration, crime, or the workhouse to obtain a living or die; but surely these 'hands,' as they are termed—pity 'tis God gave them anything but hands—will vote for my suggestion, and also contribute something handsome themselves? Waken up! waken up! ye thousands who sleep under railway arches, and ye who sleep on the Thames Embankment this pleasant weather wrapped in newspapers; waken up and rejoice, for the Jubilee Year is at hand. You are cold. Ah! warm your heart with the thought of the large fund which will be raised by a 'happy' and 'prosperous' community to celebrate this glorious year. Oh! you pick up one of your warm blankets, the *London Times*, and by the light of the cold frosty moon and a friendly lamp turn to the Local Government Board returns of pauperism. Well, what then? Year 1883, 88,618 paupers; 1884, 89,221; 1885, 90,143; 1886, 90,901. And you sigh. Be happy, man, and remember what glorious institutions we live under. Suicides. What? only 1800 per annum on an average sacrificed to the god of Mammon. 'Oh, don't bother about such trifles. Look at the peaceful and contented condition of Ireland. Look at the Welsh tithe payers, and the Scottish crofters, and again I say rejoice. Look at the morality of the aristocracy, and remember they have the majority of the livings of this glorious Established Church at their disposal, and throw up your battered hat and shout with joy when you hear the 'Lord's anointed' preach that you should not lay up for yourselves treasures in this world. Oh, you are doubtful and cynical, then I leave you to fly on the wings of joy to fresh scenes. Come forth ye dwellers in the slums and cellars of Manchester and Liverpool; get from off your beds of straw, reeking with filth, look at your cheerless grate, empty cupboard, and starving children, but come forth. Lift up your heads, ye everlasting fools, and prepare to join in the Jubilee hymn that no doubt Baron Tennyson is busy at. It may be to 'hold your own,' but do not forget the important point, 'you have a penny.' Ah, never mind the coffee-stall at the corner, or the sick child at home, but march straight to the local secretary of this great fund, if your shivering limbs will permit, and pay your coin, and be cheerful, for there will be no surplus arising from that fund. And you men of Southport, especially good Conservative working men, who, having served an apprenticeship to your trades for seven years, are now some of you receiving the price of three decent cigars per day from the tramp ward, on which to support, in 'happiness' and comfort, your families. You will surely vote for my suggestion, and also contribute something yourselves, but, on the other hand, if you think there is a strong tinge of irony running through my letter, it will not very much surprise

A SOCIALIST."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

BRITAIN.

REDUCTION IN AGRICULTURAL WAGES.—In Worcestershire, where the wages of agricultural labourers average from 10s. to 12s. per week, the farmers declare their inability, in consequence of the low price of produce, to continue to pay that amount. A general reduction has already been made in some districts to 10s., and in the Stewponney (northern) division notice was given on Saturday of a reduction of 2s. per week.

THE LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—At a meeting of the Miners' Central Board at Hamilton last Saturday night, it was resolved to issue an appeal to every miner in the country to cease work on Thursday if an advance of wages was not granted before that date. The miners of Lanarkshire are resolved that if the system of reducing the output by means of short hours and "idle days" does not compel the masters to yield, a general strike must be resorted to.

THE ASHTON STRIKE.—There is no change to report in this dispute, though by all accounts the employers are becoming disheartened. There is a corresponding feeling of confidence on the part of the operatives that their cause will triumph, and they are exceedingly grateful for the ready response the weaving districts of Lancashire are making to the appeal of the Northern Counties' Amalgamation. According to present reports, there is no danger of any falling off in the subscriptions, and so long as reasonable support is forthcoming the operatives of Ashton will be true to the cause for which they are fighting, not only in their own interests, but the interests of every weaver throughout Lancashire.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

RAWTENSTALL.—NOVEL WAY OF PAYING A FIREMAN'S WAGE.—At one of the mills in this district a notice has been posted up to the effect that the weavers will have to pay the sum of three halfpence per fortnight to the fireman for the privilege of warming their dinners. This is another mode of nibbling at the weavers' wages.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

NELSON.—THE COTTON TRADE.—Although all the looms are running here there is no end of complaints about bad work, and it has been difficult to keep the weavers, etc., at work, as it is stated that only about 14s. a-week off four looms can be earned at several firms. One six-loom weaver last week had 17s. to draw, and out of this he had his tenter to pay. At one firm about 30 weavers tendered their notices to leave; while one employer is paying weavers weekly wages of from £1 to £1, 4s. per week until their bad work is out. A strike of winders at Mr. L. C. Evans's took place on Friday, but they returned to their work again on Monday. On Tuesday evening a meeting of Mr. F. S. Witham's weavers, winders, etc., was held in Allison's Market Hall, when it was resolved to come out on strike at dinner time on Wednesday if 5 per cent. were not allowed them until the present work is out. The operatives of Nelson are beginning to occupy an unenviable position. What with low wages and landlords raising rents on account of the scarcity of houses, owing to the influx of weavers, it would be wise before any one removes here to enquire whether there is a house to let or not, and work to get. Rates are also high, and the people are accommodated with dirty streets, etc., which are scarcely fit for cattle to cross.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

MANCHESTER.—THE BUILDING TRADES.—The operations in several branches of these trades are in a disorganised state, especially so since the joiners' strike of 1877. The only body of operatives able in any way to hold their own with the masters is the Stonemasons' union. In face of the fact that we have located in Manchester the headquarters of the wealthiest society of operative joiners (the Amalgamated Society), the men are generally disorganised, not half the workers of the craft are members of either the Amalgamated or General Union societies. Previous to 1878 employment was found in the Manchester district for upwards of 7000 operative joiners. Up to 1877 a standard rate of wages was paid by the masters, and the working rules signed by masters and men were strictly carried out on both sides generally. Since 1878 the masters have defiantly ignored the working rules in the joinering, plumbing, painting, and a few other branches. On many of the outside jobs the working rules are ignored by the masters, the rule binding employers to provide hot-water and shelter for the men at meal times being contemptuously treated, the men being put to great inconvenience and outlay in obtaining warm beverages to their food. The trade is overrun with improvers, who work for wages ranging from 4d. to 6½d. and 7d. per hour. The standard rate of wages is 8d. per hour, but only few masters pay it. I warned the operatives in the trades that the employers would in 1887 take steps to reduce wages, etc. The first blow has been struck at the bricklayers. Notices were last week posted up at the works of the Manchester "Royal" Jubilee Exhibition that in future bricklayers' wages would be reduced from 8½d. to 8d. per hour. In full time, 54 hours per week, this means a reduction of 2s. 2d. per week. Plumbers, painters, stonemasons, plasterers, bricklayers, joiners, and especially labourers, have suffered very severely through slackness of trade, not only this winter, but for the last three years. The Manchester bricklayers complain that men from London, members of the "London Order," have made terms with local employers to work at the "London" rate of wages, 8d. per hour, being 3d. less than the Manchester district rate. The bricklayers are totally disorganised here, and ought at once to take steps to reorganise the trade. *File-cutters.*—In consequence of the competition forced on by Sheffield capitalists, the file-cutters at work in this district are working at prices 60 per cent less than those of a few years ago. In my next letter I will give you some statistics on this matter.—GLEASER.

AMERICA.

Goodwin and Co., cigarette-makers, New York, have discharged all their hands and put in machines. No wonder there are 1,000,000 tramps on the roads of this country.

Organised Labour in Terre Haute, Ind., has scored a victory in the adoption by the city council of a resolution making eight hours a legal day's labour on municipal work. A committee was appointed to prepare an ordinance for its enforcement.

Typographical Union No. 6 has 3500 members, Pressmen's Union No. 7 has 900, the Franklin Association has 400, the stereotypers 350, bookbinders 2675, the photo-engravers 233. A union of all the printing interests in New York is probable.

CHICAGO, Jan. 5.—The Girls' Co-operative Clothing Manufactory, the incorporation of which was accomplished two weeks ago, began operations this morning at 145 Ontario Street. A large room has been fitted up with

about thirty sewing machines, and sixty girls, who have heretofore worked for starvation wages for others, are now banded together to work for themselves. They will each draw moderate wages weekly, and the amount of work done by each will be kept account of, and a dividend declared accordingly at the end of the year. Miss McCormick is at the head of the concern, and nearly all of the sixty females are experienced in the work they are doing. They are engaged in the manufacture of men's clothing, and the wholesale houses of the city have contracted to take their goods. This is the first experiment of the kind tried in this country, and the women, who are all Knights of Labour, are very hopeful about their enterprise.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 17.—The *Philadelphia Press* states that a gigantic scheme of general reorganisation, by which all coal miners and mine labourers in the United States will be placed under one banner, is being accomplished by the Knights of Labour, in order to secure concerted action in their interests.

There were 1500 strikes in New York last year. The 18,000 car drivers in New York and Brooklyn gained a strike at a cost of 100,000 dols. which has added 2,000,000 dols. to their annual pay roll, and which has lessened the hours of labour twenty-three hours per week; besides creating additional employment for 3000 men.

The horse car employes of the city of Brooklyn scored a complete victory last week through a well organised and general strike, which was brought to a close in one day by the surrender of the bosses. The men get a rise in their pay as well as other advantages in the details of their work. Besides, and most important, the bosses recognise the jurisdiction of the organisation, the Empire Protective Association.

The most prominent female Knight is Mrs. Elizabeth Rogers, master workman of D. A. 24 of Chicago, Ill. She was one of the delegates at the Richmond convention. Mrs. Rogers' baby is the youngest Knight in the world. It was born Sept. 10, 1886, and carried to Richmond, October 1. It had to be a Knight before admission, and was numbered 800. Mrs. Rogers organised the first working woman's union in Chicago more than ten years ago, and has been a delegate to the State Trades Assembly of Illinois for seven years.

A recent letter from Atlantic, Iowa, states that a member of the local assembly of Knights of Labour there recently secured a patent on a heating stove, and has turned it over to the Assembly for their use. The right to manufacture the same will also be given to all K. of L. co-operative stove companies on certain conditions. Comrade Butler, for that is the inventor's name, has exhibited the true Socialist spirit, and we wish there were more like him. When all men and women believe that their talents are given them to be used for humanity instead of self, they will fully comprehend the beauties of existence under a properly regulated system of Society.—*The Avant-Courier*.

FRANCE.

The deficit for the year 1886 in France is seventy million; while awaiting therefore the final destruction of the bourgeoisie in the ever more widely yawning chasm, let us expect fresh taxes and fresh foreign loans.—*Cri du Peuple*.

BOULOGNE.—A meeting was held here on Sunday, at which Jules Guesde addressed a large audience, who listened to his discourse with much interest, and received it with every sign of applause.

VIERZON.—At the recent municipal elections at Vierzon-Village, Baudin, Féline, and Rossignol were at the head of the Socialist list, in protest against the bourgeois magistracy, which had just made them undergo 93 days' imprisonment, after depriving them of their political rights. The electors of Vierzon-Village understood their duty, and the list of Socialists was passed entire.

CLERMONT-FERRAND.—The compositors of the *Petit Clermontois*, a journal founded by the Radical deputy Blatin, have suddenly ceased working this week, having heard that the administration of this paper was about to replace them by female workers. A meeting was held approving the action of the strikers, who, however, it appears to us, have only anticipated the move of the directors, and would have had more of a grievance had they stayed to be dismissed *without notice*, as was the kind intent of the administration.

MARSEILLES.—The strike of cigar-makers at Marseilles is by no means the slight unimportant incident that the directors of the factory took it to be at first. The women last Monday convened a special meeting to discuss the situation, to which the General Council of the department, the Council of the Arrondissement, and the Municipal Council sent ten or a dozen representatives. The strikers, whose demand is that a certain overseer named Roustan, who has made himself obnoxious to them, shall be dismissed, have for once the entire sympathy and support of the local authorities, as is shown in this meeting, where the official representatives urge the women to maintain their *esprit de corps*, and to persist in their demands. The Prefect also receives a delegation from the meeting, and promises to send a despatch to the Minister, asking for the *denouement* of the situation to be hastened, and vouching for the justice of the strikers' claims. The continuation of the strike was unanimously voted at the meeting. During the first days of the strike, the last words of the director to the delegation of strikers were frankly brutal, and commendably devoid of the embroidery of humbug: "You can leave this and suffer for it if that pleases you; as for me, I have goods in the warehouses to last six months, and 1200 applications for admission to the factory." The women, who are on piece-work, gain from 1f. 40c. to 2f. 50c. a-day, mostly having families, which they have to support on this salary. The latest news from Marseilles is that the strike is ended, the Minister announcing in a despatch to the Prefect that the demand for the removal of the obnoxious Roustan as overseer is accepted. The last thing we hear of the business is the cigar-makers marching in a body to the Prefecture with floral thanksgivings, a step which they might very well have spared their sensitive Socialist sympathisers!

BELGIUM.

The strike in the Poirier coal-mines in the Charleroi district is assuming a certain importance. The strikers marched in a body to the St. André coal-mine, at Montigny, and insisted on the men who worked in the furnaces to come up and leave off working. The place is full of gendarmes. A new strike is declared at Bayemont near Marchiennes, 170 men have refused to go down to the pits, demanding a rise of salary.

BRUSSELS, Jan. 16.—The *Evoile Belge* this evening states that a project is on foot for organising a general strike in the Charleroi district. The journal adds that the urban guard is being placed under arms.

INTERESTING ITEMS.

The Government have decided to bring in a Coercion Bill for Ireland, but its provisions will be made applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom.

The horrible outrages now being committed by the landlords in Ireland in the name of "law and order," have this consolation that they are helping to marshal the forces of the Social Revolution.

A recent compilation shows the total number of men in the European armies to be 3,134,304. Three millions of men who are but trained murderers; and the producers support every one of them.—*Labour Enquirer*.

The new scale for compositors' work which has come into operation in Vienna adds a farthing to the price of the thousand for all sizes of type, while the 'stab hands receive an advance of a florin per week.

When a working man requests another working man not to deal at a boycotted store, it's conspiracy; when a manufacturer telephones to another manufacturer not to hire certain men who have just left his employ, its business fraternity.—*Industrial News*.

Great opposition was shown at a public meeting at Oldham on Monday to the mayor's proposal to celebrate the Queen's Jubilee in that town, and an amendment against it was carried. Nevertheless, the mayor declared that he should persevere with the movement.

'The Labour Fallacy,' the latest attempt in the book line to turn back the incoming tide of Radical thought on the labour question, is issued by the "Patriot's League," a body of men, thirty of whom represent over 300,000,000 dollars.—*Labour Enquirer*.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16.—Father McGlynn, the Catholic priest who advocated Mr. Henry George's land theories during the recent election for Mayor of New York, and refused to obey the summons to Rome to explain his action, has been inhibited and deprived by Archbishop Corrigan. Father McGlynn's parishioners are stated to be much incensed against the archbishop.

The traitor slave in a workshop is easily "spotted." He seeks every opportunity to post the employer about everything done in his vicinity, brags how quickly he can do the work as compared with others in the shop. Self is his only study; for self he will injure his neighbour; he lives for himself. He is the rusher; he can make precedents for others to follow. He cannot afford to join his union. He is virtually a social plague.—*Syracuse Laborer*.

England has free trade. She also has thousands of working-men out of work and on the brink of starvation. The United States have protection. They also have thousands of working-men out of work and on the brink of starvation. A working-man was asked what difference free trade and protection had for him, and he said: "The same difference that it makes to me whether the king of the Cannibal Islands wears his breech-clout cut bias or with a ragged edge."—*Labour Enquirer*.

About two months ago the printers of Germany presented a new scale to their employers. It was submitted to a committee composed partly of workmen and partly of employers, and agreed to, but when it came to be applied, several masters refused to accept it. The result was, combination on the part of the masters in many of the towns, and a strike on the part of the men. In Berlin a master-printer requested the Minister of War to call up all the men on strike who were liable to military service. The order was given, and executed.

An English syndicate has just concluded the purchase of a tract of 638,000 acres of land in the territory of Idaho on an alleged cattle ranch. N. P. Kimball, of England, who conducted the negotiations, states that no attempt will yet be made to stock the land, but that a few Hereford cattle will be placed upon a 40,000 acre track of it next spring. Thus land-monopoly has taken another stride in the United States, and English landlordism has got hold of over half a million more acres of our most fertile soil.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

THE UNEMPLOYED IN SYDNEY (N.S.W.).—With reference to the unemployed, we have obtained the following particulars of the operations carried on at the Carrington Relief Depot, King Street, for some time past. From the 29th October up to yesterday 2193 single men and 731 married men have received relief, making a total of 2924, and 1525 persons have been found employment. From the 29th October to the 30th November 40,603 meals were given at the depot, and 17,657 rations have been issued to married people. 120 men are to go away this morning to Gordon, in addition to those already despatched to the locality; 20 more go to Subiaco, and 10 to Prospect. To-morrow morning 40 will start for the Jenolan Caves road, and 30 to Burragarang, and this will bring the total number to whom employment has been furnished up to 1745, this being exclusive of 350 who have received free passes. 340 men have been turned away from the gates as undeserving of assistance. The married peoples' rations have been contracted for at 9d. per ration, and the single men have been supplied with two meals per day at a cost of 11d., or 5½d. for each meal.—*Sydney Herald*, Dec. 8.

"ALCOHOLIC EXCESS."—The anti-alcohol fanaticism renders folk absolutely blind and incapable of distinguishing between cause and effect. Of this we stumble across numberless instances in our own happy land, but of course hold no unenviable monopoly of this style of reasoning from false premises. For instance, I find quoted in the *Cri du Peuple* passages from an article relative to the diseases of tanners and leather-dressers, the writer whereof (in the journal *La Halle aux cuirs*) is firmly and comfortably convinced that all the ills that tanners' flesh is heir to are bequeathed by "the demon, Drink," as our own penny-a-line scribes are wont to call it. It is noteworthy that all bourgeois writers who pen articles on the abuses and sufferings to which the labour-class is subject are quick enough in "owning up" to the abuses of the past, but they hasten to add, "All that is changed now; to-day we improve every way, thanks to the application of science to the things of every-day life." But the "application of science" cannot make healthy occupation of cleaning skins, constantly absorbing putrefying and diseased animal matter, standing with feet in water and bending over the stretching frames hour after hour, day after day. Our author affirms that the constantly evolving injurious gases have no effect to-day on the worker, though they may have had formerly! That which really affects him is "alcoholic excess," which renders him liable to disease, etc., etc. He proceeds after this assertion to enumerate and describe the various ills caused by this trade—diseases, like many others, "invented" by the nineteenth century and the advance of civilisation; a civilisation which invents machines to make its "art objects," but so far has invented nothing that will do its dirty work, but must needs set men toiling at that, inventing for them new disease, and diseased bodily wants to follow, the satisfaction of which is a disgrace and a crime according to the dishonest writers who make their living as apologists for the present rule of Capital.—M. M.

The Disturbances at Norwich.

THE Council of the League has received a letter from our comrade Mahon (who went down to speak at Norwich on Sunday) about the disturbance that took place there on the 14th. He tells us that the meeting at which this occurred was a spontaneous one of the unemployed, at which our comrades were asked to speak. The town is much excited, and the workmen entirely on the Socialist side. A meeting held in the Market Place on Sunday 16th was attended by over 5000 persons who were enthusiastically Socialist in feeling. The Council has deputed a member of the League to speak next Sunday (23rd) at Norwich, addressing the workers and exploiters generally, rather than the unemployed specially, since their cause cannot be separated from that of all the workers, nor can they be relieved under the present system of wage-slavery, except as a matter of charity or from the results of a passing panic, which will leave them in a short time in as bad or a worse condition than before. It is necessary for the present system of production that there should be an army of unemployed in order to keep down the wages of the employed. It is impossible for any government except a revolutionary one to "employ" this army on making goods for the market. All that they can do is to grant "out-door relief" on a large scale; nor can even that miserably expedient last long.

Two members of the Socialist League and two others who were arrested, are held for trial at the Assizes, which began on Tuesday 18th. They are probably on their trial as we go to press. We are glad to hear that several anonymous friends, men of means in the city, have guaranteed all the expenses of the defence. Subscriptions are also coming in for the same purpose from numbers of workmen sympathisers. Verdict and sentence are already practically rendered and passed, as may be seen from the accompanying remarks of Mr. Justice Grantham in charging the Grand Jury:

"He regretted to find that the working people of Norwich, who had always been well-known for their orderly character and conduct, should have allowed themselves to be led away by those who, although they might say so, could not have the welfare of the working classes at heart. The great difficulty with which we had to contend was to prevent the working classes being misled by those who told them that they were badly treated; that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not; and that those who had should be made to give to those who had not. He was happy to know that there was no reason why any one should starve in England, as food must be provided by law for those who had not got it. Sometimes, no doubt, people were not able to get quite as much as they would like, and perhaps sometimes not so much as they ought to have. But on the whole provision was made for the subjects of the Queen, so that, whatever might be the case, they could keep body and soul together, and live until they could improve their position. It was right that the legislature should not provide what might be termed ample food for everybody, whether everybody liked to work or not, because unfortunately there were many men who would rather stand idle on a pittance than work hard to get good wages. It was the principle of English law that such people as these should not be supported in idleness, and that nothing should be done to induce them to continue this description of life. He hoped that the working men of Norwich would take warning from what had happened, as it was clear that they had nothing to gain by assembling together and acting in a tumultuous manner. The recent rioting in Norwich arose from the foolish and seditious language of one or two persons who wanted to make themselves notorious; and he hoped that when these persons had been tried nothing more would be heard of such disorders."

We are awaiting further information, and shall publish a more detailed report next week.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'Mining Rents and Royalties (Modern Press, 1d.) by J. Morrison Davidson, is a clever criticism upon one phase of modern exploitation and gives nationalisation of rent as the remedy.

The 'House of Commons' (Reeves, 4d.) by Herbert Courtney, is a well-grounded attack upon the present "representative" system and a plea for the author's favourite "proportional representation." His view of the House of Commons as it should be is hardly that of a Socialist, who is apt to believe that non-existence is "as it should be."

The current number of *Time* contains an article entitled "Convicts in Parliament," in which Cipriani's career as a revolutionist fighter is recounted not unably. But I cannot refrain from uttering a protest against the tone of contemptuous abuse which pervades the article. However distasteful Cipriani may have been to Italian politicians and Italian Respectability, a "vulgar murderer" he is not: the mere detailing of the career of this ardent revolutionist should guard against the use of such terms. It is well known—though of course no anti-Socialist writer would allow it—that the "crime" of Alexandria was merely an act of self-defence in a meeting planned to provoke Cipriani to some act of violence whereby he should incriminate himself, and that Santini was the aggressor in the quarrel. As to the sentence passed in 1881, all one can say of such a proceeding as comment on Mr. Strachan Morgan's remark that "it was only by a legal quibble that his lawyers had tried to get him off from the punishment which he so richly deserved," is that the law is made up of legal quibbles, and that this passing of sentence after a lapse of over 10 years which, according to law, annuls legal proceedings, is a violation of justice which can surprise none—not even the most devout believer in Human Nature or that "indulgence in sentimental humanitarianism" which Mr. Strachan Morgan considers "out of place in Italy."



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Executive.

At its usual weekly meeting the following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting of the General Council of the Socialist League expresses its heartiest sympathy with the victims of the miscreants responsible for the recent atrocious evictions at Glenbeigh." The Council draws the attention of members to the resolution passed by them, as under: "That members attending meetings must show their cards of membership, signed up to within two weeks."

"Commonweal" back numbers.

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PH. W., Treasurer, Jan. 18.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 14th, T. Binning lectured for this Branch.—L. W.

CROYDON.—On Sunday last, R. A. Beckett gave an interesting lecture on "Philoprogenitiveness." A good discussion followed.—A. T., ast.-sec.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, January 12, Mrs. Charlotte Wilson gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century;" a lively discussion followed. On Sunday, January 16, Geo. Bernard Shaw lectured on "Some Illusions of Individualism;" brisk discussion and good reply. Fair sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

FULHAM.—On Sunday night, a meeting of members to discuss future arrangements was held at 34 May Street, and was adjourned till next Sunday at same address. The Branch is looking out for more suitable premises.—M. R.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, S. Mainwaring lectured here on "Socialism." He said that the revolutionary Socialist never asks for palliative measures, either from local boards, or even Parliament itself. He showed that all movements of the people against abuse or monopoly, never succeeded except through the efforts of men who rebelled against the then existing "law and order." Good discussion. After the meeting the following resolution was carried unanimously: "That H. Graham be empowered to bring the question of the arrest of Mowbray, Henderson, Hall, and Murrell before the Council with a view of ascertaining its view on the matter."—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, W. C. Wade lectured to a fair audience on "England in the Fifteenth Century." Good discussion followed. One new member made. The club in course of formation here is making satisfactory progress, and will shortly be opened, we being now in treaty for the premises for same.

GLASGOW.—The extremely cold weather still limits our efforts here. On Sunday afternoon, however, comrade Glasier addressed a large audience on Jail's Square. In the evening in Hall, Carlton Place, comrade Fisher McLaren gave an interesting history of the Scottish land system, in which he clearly showed the wholesale robbery by which private property in land has become so "deeply written" in our glorious constitution. A good discussion followed.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Sunday last the meeting was opened with singing, the majority of those present joining heartily in "The March of the Workers." In future all our meetings will be opened in this way. Teesdale spoke briefly on "The Unemployed," showing the necessity of this class to the present "profit" system, and the impossibility of solving the problem except

by Socialism. This was also taken by Shekell, Sansom, Devlin, Smith, and Porter, whilst Muir, who agreed in theory with our views, was much exercised as to the method of attaining them, as well as on the absence of "law and authority" in a Socialistic community. He was replied to by Devlin, Smith, and Teesdale.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—Interesting gathering on Friday night at Market Hall Coffee Tavern, Hoyle presiding. Comrade Tarn read thoughtful and pungent paper on "Competition," remarking that the only excellence possessed by the existing competitive arrangement was its inherent element of self-destruction.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

LEEDS.—On Sunday afternoon, we held our usual open-air meeting in Vicar's Croft, and comrades Braithwaite, Hill, and Sollett addressed an attentive audience on the "Principles of Socialism." At the close of the meeting a number of *Commonweals* were sold. In the evening, comrade Maguire lectured at the Gardener's Arms, Domestic Street. A good discussion followed.—F. CORKWELL, sec.

INDIVIDUALIST CLUB.—One of our comrades attended the opening ceremony of this famous club. The meeting began about three-quarters of an hour after the advertised time. There were four speakers to explain its objects. The audience were scarcely as numerous as the speakers, and discussion was prohibited.

The Rev. Albert Lazenby delivered the first of a course of lectures on "Socialism" in the Unitarian Church, Vincent Street, Glasgow, on Sunday evening last. The lecturer, without committing himself to the methods, expressed himself quite in sympathy with the aims of Socialism. The large audience that assembled to hear the lecture shows how wide spread the interest in Socialism has become in that city.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Jan. 21, at 8.30. A. K. Donald will discuss the Fifth Chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—Members are asked to attend more regularly. Old membership cards can now be exchanged for new ones.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8.30. Hubert Bland, "Nihilism." Wednesday 26, at 8.30. A. Lecture.—Members' Business Meeting at the Hall first Sunday in the month, at 7 p.m. sharp.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 23. Sydney Olivier, "A Social View of Wealth."

Fulham.—34 Mary Street. Sunday at 8 p.m. **Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—A Free Concert will be held on Saturday Jan. 22, at 8 p.m.; members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday 23, at 8 p.m. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8. A Lecture. **Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 23, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 23, at 8 p.m. W. Morris, "True and False Society."

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. **North London.**—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

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

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday our comrade Arch. McLaren, M.A., will lecture on "Anarchism" at the Southern Literary Institute, Norfolk Street, S.S., at 8 o'clock.—Sunday, open-air meeting on Jail's Square (Green) at 4.30. At 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, Arch. McLaren, M.A., will lecture on "The Gracchi, or the Social Conflict in Ancient Rome."

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, until further notice. Lectures and Discussions.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m. Jan. 23. J. Devlin, "The Condition of the Workers."

Leeds.—No meeting-place at present. **Lancaster.**—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m. **Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Parkinson will lecture at the Hall of Science, Horsedog St., Oldham,

on Sunday evening Jan. 23—subject, "Socialism and the Workers." **Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. **Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 16.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkThe Branch
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....T. E. Wardle

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Ipswich.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 23, W. Morris, "Socialism: its Aims and Methods."

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, Berwick Street, Oxford Street.—On Sunday evening Jan. 23, at 8.30, Thomas E. Wardle will lecture on "The Truths of Socialism."

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.—Meetings on the Irish Question:—

Jan. 26. Central Finsbury Club, 81 Pentonville Rd.
Feb. 16. Dulwich Reform Club, Goose Green.
Several other meetings are being arranged.

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

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