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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

EMIGRATION AND COLONISATION.

THE minds of the upper classes are still more and more turned towards emigration. It is true that they have not any wish to emigrate themselves, as one might suppose they would have, since they are always talking about their diminished incomes, and are never tired of dinning into people's ears the splendid career that lies before the emigrant. They are after all tolerably contented to live in the British Islands (Ireland excepted, where there are extra risks). But they have at last got to understand that there is a great mass of "our poorer brethren" who have abundant reasons for not being contented with life in Great Britain and Ireland. The upper classes would dearly like to see the backs of these; for even in these early days they are sick of them and their troubles.

Enlightenment is, however, growing. Lord Salisbury at Derby had something to say on this emigration subject which, as coming from a Tory minister, was new. He would like to send a few more people out of Ireland, conveniently forgetting for the moment that the condition of the five millions now inhabiting Ireland was not so much better than that of the eight millions who once inhabited it. He said Mr. Tuke the Quaker Liberal told him that in large tracts of Ireland the people could not live upon the land. Exactly; because other large tracts have been stolen by the landlords and rack-rented to the tenants by them, just as the starveling larger tracts are.

However, this is not my lord's new idea. It is true that he seemed chiefly thinking about Ireland, because the Irish are better rebels than the English, but he was speaking of emigration in general; and thereon he said what certainly was remarkable for him. Quoth he: "I am aware that emigration . . . happens not to be popular. . . . You will hear people say, Why should not emigration come from the upper classes? Well, I entirely agree with the people who make that contention. My idea of emigration is that it should involve all classes of the community." And he went on to say that he thought it would be disastrous if only the unsuccessful and desperate took to emigration. It must be noted that these are the groups that the philanthropists of all kinds want to send away, and then we can give Lord Salisbury credit for a certain amount of enlightenment—for, in fact, recurring for the occasion to the older and more human Tory ideas of paternal government, which are assuredly far better than the new commercial absolutist ideas that have taken their place, whether their supporters be called Tory, Whig-Liberal, or philanthropist.

However, it must be pointed out that Lord Salisbury didn't understand the popular cry he quoted, "Why don't the upper classes emigrate?" or rather, didn't choose to understand it. His idea presupposes the sacredness of the present three-class society—nobles, tradesmen, and workmen—just as the Roman idea of colonisation did. The popular cry means "Why don't the upper classes turn workmen?" And the answer clearly is, "Because you, the workmen, don't make them do so."

After all, the difference between Lord Salisbury's grandiose, old Tory idea of the natural leaders of the people leading out a colony like the Romans of old, would mean in practice (if it could be put in practice, which it cannot) going out with ready-made somewhat old British bosses instead of stumbling on new-made colonial ones, or gradually evolving them from the rough and tumble of the early colonial gambling struggle for riches and position. There is little to choose between the two methods—the happy-go-lucky, and the paternal: all the more as the dignified paternal bosses would soon lose their dignity in the general scramble above-said. As things go, emigration must be a

miserable, degraded scramble, a mess and a muddle that makes one sick to think of.

But our younger Socialist readers must not suppose that Socialists object to persons or groups changing their country, or fertilising the waste places of the earth. Granted that society really were the sacred thing that it should be, instead of the mass of anomalies and wrongs that it is, the Roman idea of leading a colony is right and good, and it will surely be one of the solemn duties of the society of the future for a community to send out some band of its best and hardiest people to socialise some hitherto neglected spot of earth for the service of man. At present that cannot be done; all we can now do when pushed by our necessities is to waste and spoil some land which should be kept unwasted for the better days. As things go, we are as great a curse to the lands we overrun as were the Mogul hordes of the early Middle Ages—or worse, may be.

Meantime the "remedy" of emigration is receiving rude blows. Lord Salisbury says the rich (perhaps the House of Lords) should lead our colonies. Others looking about them on the waste of the land in England itself, ask very naturally why it should not be cultivated. To set aside the direct answer which Socialists have to make, here is a scheme for Home Colonisation about which a few words should be said. It has been set on foot by Mr. Herbert V. Mills; who has noted with interest the Beggar Colonies of Holland, and being himself both by nature and profession an ascetic, has not been shocked at the slavishness and despair of the future of humanity which such schemes involve. The essentials of his scheme come to this: that charitable persons should subscribe a vast sum of money to buy land, which can be had cheap in England to-day and apparently will be cheap in times to come (unless Mr. Mills's scheme grows vastly and so raises the price), and that on this land certain families and persons are to be planted, having been chosen by the Charity Organisation Society (!). This community will feed, clothe, and house itself, consuming its own productions, and only sell to the outside world the surplus of what it produces. The colonists will be bound to work three hours a-day in return for subsistence (as I gather, at a low standard), and will also be allowed each to cultivate a plot of land for his own benefit. The first experiment is to be made on 500 persons, and £25,000 will have to be collected in order to set it on foot.

Now with all respect to Mr. Mills, who is undoubtedly a kind, disinterested, and devoted man, it must be pointed out, that while his idea of getting the people back on the land is a right one, and while it must be admitted that the members of such a community will be infinitely better off than their workhouse or slum-dwelling brethren, yet his scheme will not lead to any solution of the question between capital and labour. Not to make any carping objections, let it be admitted that the experiment gets over the natural difficulties and succeeds, *i.e.*, that granted the land given by charity, the community supports itself; yet the colonists after all are slaves unless they succeed in producing more than a bare subsistence; and if they do so they then become capitalists also; and furthermore it must be asked what is the number of persons to be so benefited, and if that number is what it should be, where is the "charity" to come from?

Clearly the answer must be that the "charity" must be universal, in other words that all the land in the country must be given up to gain the end Mr. Mills aims at, due livelihood for the people, and along with the land all the other means of production. If "charity" will do this, well and good; but it is not a matter of fear but of certainty that if Mr. Mill's scheme is taken up, it will be as an evasion of the demand of the Socialists that monopoly in the means of production should cease. And it is quite as certain, as has been said over and over again,

in these columns, that this demand will only be yielded on compulsion. A proprietary class neither will nor can yield its privileges voluntarily.

A word with Lord Salisbury again; I must quote him. He says, apropos of emigration: "Every year between three and four hundred thousand souls are added to your community. Do you believe that the means of supplying them grows, increasing as rapidly?" The answer is "Certainly not, so long as labour is organised first to make profits for the idle rich, and next to supply them with luxuries, so long as it is organised wastefully: if labour were not so organised, or disorganised, then we should see."

Meantime Lord Salisbury makes one admission of importance enough, and which if statesmen ever think, which is doubtful, must have made him feel how empty and hollow his suggestions of remedies were. Said he: "We are in the most perplexing and anomalous condition—we are ruined because everything is cheaper than it was before—but of course you could at first sight imagine that when everything is cheaper everybody ought to be better off. Somehow everybody is not: everybody feels that his industry is checked and his income straightened, and we look round in vain to see some solution for our difficulties, some mitigation for our sufferings."

In vain indeed, my lord! Possibly because when you speak about our sufferings, you are using rather an extravagant figure of speech. Oh, if only those whose sufferings are but too real would only "look round" them, surely it would not be in vain!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

(Concluded from page 413.)

On the last night the relatives of Fischer, Engel, and Spies took leave of these men. Mrs. Parsons was, however, refused even this last favour. "But I must go to see my husband!" she exclaimed. "You cannot," was the cruel reply. She fell down fainting, and had eventually to be carried away. Next morning she again tried to get admittance, but was simply locked up by the authorities during the strangulation of her husband.

On the day of execution the excitement in the States was at fever heat. New York had the appearance a city bears on the day of a great battle. Specials were issued every minute; the people were mobbing the newspaper boys. In fact the headings of the newspapers, the thirst of the populace for sensational news, indicate that they were not to be content short of gladiator scenes. The capitalist class recognise they have to meet a most determined foe, and the working-men see clearly how brutally they are treated. It cannot last long, but the struggle will be severe. No quarter will be given either side.

The Socialists, 10,000 strong, marched through the streets of New York with black flags and muffled drums, as if attending a funeral. Few of us could sleep, eat, or even think. A spirit of restlessness had overpowered us completely. To think that four of our best men were going to be done to death; to think this and also to think of the inability to do something to prevent it was horrible and unspeakable!

THE LAST NIGHT.

All hope was lost now. The Governor absolutely refused to interfere, and the men had but little time to prepare themselves.

The men passed the night quietly. At 4 a.m. one of the reporters made a tour of the lower corridor, where Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were confined. Spies lay on one side, his head on his arm, and slept as peacefully as a babe. Fischer had turned over on his back; Engel lay motionless, as did Parsons, except that at times the latter started uneasily as if dreaming.

Between 1 and 2 o'clock the Sheriff and his assistants tested the gallows. Heavy bags of sand were attached to the ropes, and the traps were sprung. The horrible machine worked but too well. A few minutes after 2 o'clock Spies stood at the door of his cell smoking and talking through the bars with his guard. The rumble of wheels was heard outside about 4 a.m., and a wagon drove up and unloaded four coffins. At about 7 o'clock the men awoke and dressed themselves. They stepped over to the plain iron sink and took a good wash.

Breakfast was served in the jail at 7.30. The men ate heartily. They bore up well. At 8 o'clock the Rev. Dr. Bolton arrived, but was plainly told he was not wanted. Spies exclaimed, "Pray for yourself, you need it more than I."

THE LAST HOURS.

Then all was quiet again in the jail. Suddenly the voice of a man was heard in song. He began in low sweet tones. Gradually the voice rose higher and higher; each note was clear. It was Parsons; he sang the last greetings to his wife. He was standing in his cell with his head up and shoulders thrown back, singing as if he were a

lark in the meadows instead of a man upon whom the black cap was to be placed in a few hours. This was the song:—

"Maxwellton braes are bonnie, where early fa's the dew;
And it's there that Annie Laurie gie'd me her promise true,
Gie'd me her promise true,
Which ne'er forgot will be;
And for bonnie Annie Laurie I'd lay me down and dee."

It was a sweet pure voice, and the singer sang as if he were the happiest man in the world.

At the very moment that Parsons was singing, Mrs. Parsons was at the jail door pleading to see her husband but once more. This was refused and she rebelled. The cowardly law-outragers arrested her and put her in a cell.

The hour of death is nigh. All are waiting for the moment when the sheriff shall lead the way to the gallows. Then all at once another voice is heard. A more familiar air; an air that makes the heart beat faster. It is the "Marsellaise." This time Fischer is singing. All join in the chorus, and for the second time the jail is filled with music. The death warrant was read first to Spies, then Fischer, then Engel, and at 11.43 a.m. the Sheriff read it for the last time to Parsons. White shrouds were then adjusted upon each of the prisoners, and they were led out upon the scaffold. The caps, also of white, were at once placed upon their heads and the nooses slipped over them.

THE STRANGULATION.

They were then put on the trap. The great drop swung back, four bodies swayed free, turned half around, and then shot down. Fischer died very hard, as did Spies and Parsons, the last struggling and kicking fearfully. But it was soon all over. All of the men died of strangulation, none of their necks were broken.

The last words of each were as follows:

Spies: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices they are strangling to death now."

Engel: "Long live Anarchism."

Fischer: "Long live Anarchism. This is the happiest moment of my life."

Parsons: "May I be allowed to speak? Will you let me speak, Sheriff Matson? Let the voice of the people be heard."

During the last hour or two before the hanging, the nerves of every person in the jail were at their greatest tension, and the police themselves shared the subdued but intense feeling of excitement which pervaded the building; the four men alone were quiet and collected.

The *Mail and Express*, one of the vilest capitalistic sheets, which has constantly clamoured for the blood of the men, said the same night:

"It is all over. The Anarchists are dead. The drop fell at 11.50 o'clock. There was no trouble anywhere. The men met their fate bravely. They seemed to have hearts like lions."

The strangulation was witnessed by nearly 250 reporters, deputy sheriffs, and local politicians.

Such is the fate of the teachers of humanity.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"BROKEN CISTERNS."

(Concluded from p. 237.)

But there is one feature about such a change which we must not lose sight of, and that is, that of its very nature it cannot be done gradually. A change of basis must be a sudden change. But it makes all the difference whether this sudden change has been prepared for or whether it is hurried on by violent revolution, and change and preparation have to go on simultaneously. Many Socialists aim at getting a parliamentary party to force on the gradual change. Personally, I think they are mistaken. A parliamentary party might be useful for propaganda purposes; but the kind of preparation which could alone be of much good can only be made by a substantial majority elected for the definite purpose of making preparations for the complete change of basis. I prefer to hope that the change may thus come through the conversion of the majority to our views—instead of coming violently—and I will therefore indicate what I mean by preparatory measures for such a peaceable transformation, leaving to others more able than myself the more difficult task of dealing with a sudden change. Assuming, then, that we have appointed a government backed by a strong majority to definitely prepare for the change, I imagine they would first set about raising a national store by taking the larger part of all rents and all incomes over a fixed amount. They would then organise a system of local self management, which would have to begin by organising in each locality a system of communal distribution of the chief goods in common use. They would for this purpose have the right to appropriate any shops, buildings, etc., which were suitable for the purpose, retaining as far as possible the present owners, managers, and assistants to manage and work the affairs at fixed salaries. They would also have to organise a commission in each district to hear any cases of hardship or actual want caused by the disturbance of relations necessary during the transitional period; and this commission would have to use the national store above referred to for the purpose of compensating such people, not on a basis of property lost, but simply on a basis of providing them reasonably with the means of living, those compensated, of course, being liable to be called upon to do some work as soon as suitable work was found. Having

got an organisation for the distribution of all products, it would become easy to take over gradually all productive enterprises, keeping them working and paying wages in some form of money which would be acknowledged at the government store. The hours of labour would be gradually reduced until all were found employment; and as experience told what the amount of produce would allow, wages would be raised, always keeping a large balance in hand for emergencies. Very much of the details of organisation might then be left to the local communes, the federal management only having a right to supervise and veto anything which would endanger the harmony of the whole. A very short time would be enough to show the people the advantages of the system, and they would soon come to see that every improvement they made, either in the quality of their products or in the method of producing them, would directly tend to lighten their labour or increase their wealth, which they liked. Gradually as things settled down and men became accustomed to common work and common interests, restrictions on the individual could be removed. During the transitional period each would have to do, to some extent, what he was told; the idlers would have to do the work they were set to, and all would have to work a fixed number of hours. Many restrictions of this sort might be necessary during the transitional period, which could be easily dropped as things settled down and the people began to intelligently enter into the work and appreciate its advantages. For instance, in many cases it would be quite easy to let each man work as long as he liked, rewarding him according to the time worked, so that if he liked to work hard one week and play the next he might be free to do so. Similarly it might gradually be allowed to any one to change his work, if he liked to take the trouble to learn a new trade. This would to a large extent influence the reward of labour; for if all men began to crowd to one trade, thus showing it to be an extra pleasant one, as for instance if a large number wanted to be cab-drivers, the reward of cab-driving would have to be to some extent reduced, either by increasing the work expected, or directly reducing the wage. Similarly if there was a difficulty in getting men to do certain work—mining, for example—the reward in that case would have to be increased or the hours shortened. In this way it would become possible for men to develop their individuality to an extent utterly unknown now. Freedom would have a real meaning; it would mean not the freedom to be crushed out by others or to try and crush others out, but freedom to develop in any direction and to the largest extent which the resources of society could allow.

The substantial equality would be maintained, because one advantage would balance another; one man would have slightly more wealth than another, but then the other would have pleasanter work and more leisure. As it is now, all the advantages are piled on to one and all the disadvantages on to another. The greatest wealth goes with the pleasanter work and the greatest amount of leisure; the greatest poverty goes with the worst work and least leisure. There would be equality without the dead level so much dreaded by many. Brotherhood would form the very foundation of the system; all the dividing interests arising from the private ownership of capital and the working of it for private gain would vanish in the common ownership of it. All the class interests and all the scrambling of competition which give rise to "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" would be cut away from the root. One common property owned by all and shared by all would give common interests to all, and the growth of new divisions and separate interests would be prevented by a system of federation, where each interest was subject to the management of a body representing all other interests of the same kind. The abolition of all conflicting interests would leave the more social side of man's character free to expand, and human nature under the new conditions would be found to be something nobler than it gets credited with being now, when men are forced into strife with one another through their conflicting interests. The results of such a brotherhood who can foresee? When we gaze upon the marvellous beauty of the creations of men, the sudden bursts of enthusiasm in art and work which have marked the times when men hoped that freedom was dawning upon them, we are dazed at the thought of what would result if mankind were indeed freed from the degrading struggle and the benumbing serfdom under which they groan! Let the thought of it inspire us; and forsaking the broken cisterns to which we have so long trusted, let us struggle with all our might for the one and only change of basis which will allow a nobler society to arise, guided by the three great principles round which have centred the hopes of ages—Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

"Everyone has a right to live. We will suppose this granted. But no one has a right to bring creatures into life, to be supported by other people. Whoever means to stand upon the first of these rights, must renounce all pretensions to the last."—*Mills' Principles of Political Economy, Book II, chap. vii.* This, originally written in condemnation of the propagation of the extreme poor, seems peculiarly applicable also, to our "nobility and gentry," the majority of whom are "supported by other people" under the present system.—J. S.

A YOUNG ANARCHIST.—It sounds a little bit irreverent, but as it was told by a highly esteemed clergyman, and in Sunday-school, too, it is presumably tellable in print. A little girl, walking in the public garden on Sunday with her mother, began to play upon the grass, and was instantly restrained, to her chagrin. "Why can't I run on the grass, mamma?" she exclaimed. "Because the policeman will make you go off if you do. Don't you see the policeman over there? Besides, it is Sunday, and God doesn't want you to play." "Oh, dear," said the little girl, "if it wasn't for the policemen and God, what nice times we could have!"—*Boston Transcript.*

ALBERT R. PARSONS.

ALBERT PARSONS was born June 24, 1848, in Montgomery, Ala. He has nine brothers and sisters. His father, Samuel Parsons, had a shoe and leather factory. He was noted as a public-spirited philanthropic man. He was an Universalist in religion, and an active, prominent temperance advocate. Albert's mother died when he was two years old, and his father died three years later. His eldest brother, General W. H. Parsons, who was married and living at Tyler, Texas, became his guardian. Two years later the family moved to the Texas frontier, where Albert became an expert in the use of fire-arms, riding, and hunting. In 1859, he went to Waco, Texas, where he lived one year with his sister (wife of Major Boyd). In 1860 he was apprenticed to learn the printer's trade in the Galveston *News* office. When the rebellion broke out in 1861, though but thirteen years old, he joined a local volunteer company called the "Lone Star Greys." He wanted to enlist in the rebel army, but his employer and guardian ridiculed the idea on account of his age and size, and told him that it was all bluster anyway, and the war would be over in sixty days. Albert therefore took "French leave" and joined a local artillery company. His military enlistment expired in a year, and he then joined Parsons' Texas cavalry brigade. His brother, Major-General W. H. Parsons, was at that time in command of the entire cavalry outposts on the west bank of the Mississippi River from Helena to the Red River. Albert was afterward a member of the renowned McMoly scouts. He returned to Waco, Texas, at the close of the war, and for a short time attended the University at that place. This was followed by learning the trade of type-setting. In 1868 he founded and edited a weekly newspaper, the *Spectator*, in Waco. In it he advocated the acceptance, in good faith, of the terms of surrender, and supported the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth constitutional amendments, and the reconstruction measures. He became a Republican, and consequently incurred the hatred of many former army comrades, neighbours, and the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the love of the enfranchised slaves. Of course the *Spectator* could not live in such an atmosphere. In 1869 he was appointed travelling correspondent and agent for the Houston *Daily Telegraph*. It was during a trip through Johnson county that he first met the charming young Spanish-Indian maiden, who, three years later, became his wife. She lived in a most beautiful region of country, on her uncle's ranch near Buffalo Creek. He lingered in this neighbourhood as long as he could, and then pursued his journey with fair success. In 1870, at twenty-one years of age, he was appointed Assistant Assessor of the United States Internal Revenue, under General Grant's administration. About a year later he was elected one of the secretaries of the Texas State Senate, and was soon after appointed Chief Deputy Collector of the United States Internal Revenue, at Austin, Texas, which position he held, accounting satisfactorily for large sums of money, until 1873, when he resigned the position. In August, 1873, he accompanied an editorial excursion, as the representative of the Texas *Agriculturist* at Austin, Texas, and in company with a large delegation of Texas editors, made an extended tour through Texas, Indian Nation, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, as guests of the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway. He decided to settle in Chicago. He had married in Austin, Texas, in the fall of 1872, and his wife joining him at Philadelphia they came to Chicago together, where they have since lived. He became interested in the Labour Question in 1874, through the efforts of the Chicago working people to compel the "Relief and Aid Society" to render an account of the several millions of dollars contributed by the whole world to relieve the distress occasioned by the Chicago fire of 1871. It was claimed by the working people that rings of speculators were corruptly using the money, while the distressed and impoverished people for whom it was contributed, were denied its use. The newspapers defended the "Relief and Aid Society," which denounced the dissatisfied working-men as "communists, robbers, loafers," etc. It has since been established that the working people were right in their accusations. In 1876, Parsons joined the "Working-men's Party," and soon became one of its most trusted leaders. In 1876, July 4th, he became a member of the Knights of Labour. In 1877, he received as candidate for County Clerk, on the working-men's ticket, 7,963 votes, running over 400 ahead of his ticket. He has been nominated by the working-men of Chicago three times for Alderman, twice for County Clerk, and once for Congress. In 1878, he was a delegate to the National Convention of the working-men's party. In 1879, he was a delegate to the National Convention of the Socialistic Labour Party, and was there nominated as the labour candidate for President of the United States. He declined the honour, not being of the constitutional age (thirty-five years old). When in 1876 an English weekly, entitled *The Socialist*, was first published, Mr. Parsons was chosen assistant editor. Meanwhile he kept a vigilant watch upon the progress of labour organisations in America. So formidable became the plans of labour at this date, that the Legislature of Illinois in 1878 passed a law disarming the wage-workers. This law was tested and confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. No sooner had this policy become effectual and dissensions in consequence had followed throughout the ranks of the whole Socialistic organisation, than Parsons saw the almost hopeless task of accomplishing political reformation. When in 1878, '79, and '80, ballot-box stuffing and other outrages upon the liberties of the people became the order of the day, all faith in the potency of moral means to insure justice, left the minds and failed to touch the hearts of working-men. To Parsons it appeared for the last time that the functions of government were practically intended to subjugate labourers' interests to the needs of corrupt power and ill-gotten wealth. In other words, the fact obtained that wealth controlled the political machines. In 1880, he withdrew from active participation in the labour struggle. The conviction gained upon him, that long hours and low wages practically disfranchised the masses of so-called voters. This experience, he says, had taught him "that bribery, intimidation, duplicity, corruption, and bullying grew out of the conditions, which made the working people poor and the idle rich." On this account he subsequently turned his efforts toward reducing the hours of labour. The National Conference of Labour Reformers held in Washington, D. C., in 1880, adopted a resolution forwarded by Parsons, which called attention to the fact that the United States Congress, while it neglected to enforce the Eight Hour Law passed years ago, and applicable to Government departments, found it easy enough to pass and enforce all the capitalistic legislation demanded. On October 1st, 1884, the International founded in Chicago a weekly newspaper called *The Alarm*, on which he was elected to the position of editor, a post held by him down to the date of the paper's suppression in May, 1886. From this date, the history of Albert R. Parsons, his trial, conviction, and execution has passed into a thousand and one periodicals and journals.



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. Ejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

B. X.—Maxwell's 'Irish Rebellion in 1798' is one of the most repulsively hypocritical books to be found anywhere.
 B.—'Garryowen' is No. 696 of Boosey's 'Universal' Music, and may be obtained for 2d. from Boosey and Co., 295, Regent Street.
 Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 28.

ENGLAND		
Jus	Boston—Woman's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Labour Tribune	Coast Seamen's Journal	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Norwich—Daylight	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Vienna—Gleichheit
INDIA	Gauche—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
Madras—People's Friend	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	ROUMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	SWITZERLAND	Jassy—Lupta
Freiheit	Geneva—Bulletin Continental	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	ITALY	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Gazetta Operaia	NORTH AFRICA
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Tunis—L'Operaio
Altruist	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	

THE "MARSEILLAISE."

WE have again been asked for information regarding this fine song, and assume that it will interest other readers than our querist, and so give a brief statement of its history.

The words and music are both composed by Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle, a Captain of Engineers, who was stationed at Strasburg when the volunteers of the Bas Rhin received orders to join Luckner's army during the excitement caused by the declaration of war against France by the King of Bohemia and Hungary. Dietrich, mayor of Strasburg, in conversation expressed regret that the young soldiers had no song to sing and march to. Rouget de Lisle, who heard him, returned to his lodgings (Maison Böchel, No. 12 Grand Rue) and composed the words and music during the night of April 24, 1792. With his violin he picked out the first strains of the inspiring melody; but being only an amateur he unfortunately added a symphony, which jars strangely with the hymn itself, and has since been suppressed. The original edition was printed (on a half-sheet, oblong 4to) by Dannbach of Strasburg, under the title of 'Chant de guerre de l'armée du Rhin, dédié au Maréchal Lukner' (sic). The 'Chant de Guerre' was sung in Dietrich's house on April 25, copied and arranged next day, and performed by the band of the National Guard at a review on Sunday the 29th. On June 25 a singer named Mirens sang it at a civic banquet at Marseilles with so much effect that it was immediately printed and distributed among the volunteers of the battalion just starting for Paris. They entered Paris on July 30 singing their new hymn; and with it on their lips they marched to the attack on the Tuilleries on Aug. 10, 1792. From that day the song lost its old name and was henceforth the 'Chanson' or 'Chant des Marseillais,' and finally 'La Marseillaise.' Shouting it in the streets the people altered it a note or two; the musicians, Edelman, Grétry, and most of all Gossec, in their accompaniments for pianoforte and orchestra, greatly enriched the harmonies, and soon the Marseillaise in the form we have it now was known from one end of France to the other. The original song had only six verses; the seventh ('Nous entrerons dans la carrière', etc.) was added by Louis Dubois for the fete of the Federation. During the revolution a vast number of ephemeral versions appeared, but the first has never been superseded.

That De Lisle wrote the words has never been disputed, but many attempts have been unsuccessfully made to prove the prior existence of the tune. All dispute was definitely closed by A. Rouget de Lisle, a nephew of the composer, who in his pamphlet 'La vérité sur la paternité de la Marseillaise' (Paris, 1865) gives precise information and documentary evidence which place his uncle's claim beyond a doubt. The controversy is examined at length by Roquin in 'Les Mélodies populaires de la France' (Paris, 1879).

De Lisle was cashiered for expressing disapproval of the events of 10th August, and was in prison when his chant was dramatised and given at the Fête of Oct. 14, 1792. He was released on July 28, 1794, after the fall of Robespierre. Louis Philippe gave him a pension on Aug. 6, 1830, which he received till his death. He was born at Montaign, Lons-le-Saunier, May 10, 1760; died at Choisy-le-Roi, near Paris, June 27, 1836. Besides the Marseillaise, he wrote 'Essais en vers et prose' (Paris, 1796); 'Cinquante Chants Français' (Paris, 1825); the librettos of 'Jacquot, ou l'Ecole des Mères,' comic opera by Dellamaria, 1790, and 'Macbeth,' opera by Chelard, 1827; and many battle-songs in the style of the Marseillaise, none of which attained more than local fame. S.

PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

(Concluded from p. 183.)

TALKING was very prevalent among the prisoners, who did not seem to care for the punishment which they would get if brought before the governor, who is by the bye a very great official, holding almost unlimited power to flog or starve a prisoner to the extent that his evil passions bid him, short of killing the man, though very often the result is the crippling of a prisoner for life. If brought before this petty domineering official he will always ask you what you have to say for yourself, but woe betide you if you dare to answer; it is much better to say nothing than to try and clear yourself, as I myself found out from experience. The most trivial and paltry crimes (if they must be so-called) are brought against a marked man, in other words, a prisoner who has dared to show the least spirit or spark of manhood. As to paltry crimes I will give an illustration of what I mean by them. It was my unfortunate lot to have to sit and listen to as large a number of lies on a certain Sunday morning as ever I had listened to in my life before. Our clerical friend, the very Rev. Grenville Smith, was preaching upon the great reforms which had received the sanction of the Queen and Church of England; amongst which he mentioned in particular the Franchise Bills, Employers' Liability Act, Education Acts, increased comforts amongst the people, model prisons as against the old system (the only thing on which he was right), and he particularly mentioned the assistance the Church had given to those movements. Of course you can guess my feelings, knowing as I did (and he must also) that they were a tissue of the most damnable lies ever uttered by a clerical parrot, since whatever might have been the value of the above reforms they were all opposed by the Church. Of course I could not sit still under this; to listen to it was more than Job ever had to put up with, so I scratched my head and was brought before the Governor, who cautioned me as to my conduct, which he said was likely to cause a tumult in the prison; and he also bade me to remember that the truth must be spoken, whether I was pleased or offended at it. Did ever any one hear such a speech before! the "Truth" mark you. Truth, what strange things this sacred name is made to cover.

Now, in concluding my few remarks on English prisons, I should like to mention how the day is made up. The time of rising is 5.45 a.m.; the bell at that time rings, and you must at once rise, make up your bed, wash, and clean yourself. At 6 o'clock the warders open the cell doors, when each prisoner must be ready to empty all dirt and slops, then return to his cell close his door and work until 7.30 o'clock, when the bell rings for breakfast; at 8.15 the bell rings for chapel, which is over by 9, after which the governor visits all the cells to administer punishment (not justice) to those whom the warders have hatched up, in most cases, a yarn against. At 10 o'clock exercise commences until 11, after which you must resume work until 12, when the bell rings for dinner, then you commence operations upon your oakum again until 3 o'clock, at which time the oakum officer pays you a visit with a pair of scales to weigh up, and woe betide the unlucky prisoner who has been unfortunate enough to court the ill will of this officer if the task of oakum is not done. A fresh supply is then given out and work resumed until 5 p.m., when the bell rings for supper. And now commences the brutal system of espionage by the night, officers, who every few minutes pay a visit to the peep-hole in the cell-door to see if each prisoner is going on with his work all right. If any are idle or reading, and they have not got their task completed, then they are brought before the governor and punished. At 8 p.m. the bell rings for bed; no beds must be touched before this bell rings, or punishment is the alternative. After the beds are made each prisoner must undress and carefully fold up his clothes, put them on a stool, and stand facing his door until the night watchman and one officer visits him and receives his empty supper-tin, after which he is at liberty to go to bed, when all lights are put out and silence reigns supreme, to be broken only by the getting-up bell, followed by the same routine day after day.

As a last word, I should like to advise any of my comrades who may get into prison not to be at all downhearted, but to make up their minds to bear their sentence whatever it may be without fretting; for that will not do them any good. So they had better stand the punishment like men, and grin and bear it as the saying goes, for if they are careful and obey the rules they need have no fear; let them take things easy and cool, and imprisonment will not hurt them. Speaking for myself, I may say the time slipped away quick and easy, and I hope when duty calls me to the front again, that I shall show by answering to the call "forward" that Prison Life has no terrors for

C. W. MOWBRAY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EMPIRICAL SOCIALISM.

COMRADE LANE'S 'Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto' is certainly interesting reading, and contains much that is well put, clear, and forcible. As for instance, the following: "The economic equilibrium realised, there will be no need of force to maintain it; war by its nature being a huge parasite, could only disturb and not consolidate it. Peace is the necessary resultant and sublime crowning of the social forces directed towards labour. The latter being essentially a peace-maker, the people being emancipated by the revolution will endeavour to guarantee the fruits of their labour, and consequently the fruits of the labour of all; instead of creating, as must inevitably occur now-a-days, new monopolies for the benefit of the few, it will extend, on the contrary, these guarantees, and confederate from town to town, from country to country, internationally. It makes all working-men unite together, and creates what is called the life of relationship in the economical order. Is it conceivable that politics and war could find room, be it ever so small, in a Society so transformed? No; and when the constitution of labour shall have definitely replaced the constitution of the old world, the advent of the working-classes will be realised with a character so imperious and fateful that the most severe justice must acknowledge its legitimacy."

As a comparatively raw recruit in the service of Socialism, I feel great diffidence in pointing out what I conceive to be the errors of an honoured veteran of the Cause; especially of one whose name appears in a responsible position in every issue of this paper. Yet we are all concerned with nothing else than to find out and proclaim the truth, and errors are apt to be the more dangerous when coming from a quarter whence they are least expected. For this reason, though it is abundantly clear that our comrade's aim and ideal is really that of all Socialists, at least in its negative form of the destruction of wage-slavery, I feel bound to point out, though cordially hating controversy, that his method of stating the case is an unscientific and erroneous one.

The 'Manifesto' begins in the approved style of French proclamations and the American Declaration of Independence, with a statement of general principles: "Human Society can only be organised upon the basis of one or the other of the two principles of authority or of liberty. From these two principles are derived two political systems, equally broad and far-reaching, though diametrically opposite in their effect, that of the one being the happiness, and that of the other the misery of mankind." So far as it is possible, to be sure that one has grasped what is meant by such "general principles," I believe this to be incorrect. Has not almost all human society been organised, not upon either of these principles pure and simple, but upon a more or less imperfect adjustment of the two? Again, may not a greater degree of real liberty exist under a severer form of authority (such as negro-slavery or a feudal system in which reciprocal duties are recognised) than under a sham democracy? Is it true that the two political systems are derived from the two principles? And why, if no intermediate system is at any time possible, is it only "in this nineteenth century of ours" that "no other political system is capable of contending for mastery"?

The 'Manifesto' states that "authority affirms that the world proceeds from God . . . who has delegated to his representative on earth, priest or monarch (both are kings), a portion of his might and power. . . . God, King, and Nationalism, is the cry and motto of the most formidable re-action. It believes in God, without whom it would not exist itself; in the King, who is an emanation from God; and in Nationalism, which is a mere Jingo sentiment, belonging to the God-idea." So that God is established by authority, and authority (or king-ship) by God; which is reasoning in a circle; and to say that Nationalism, representing an immense phase of social development, and covering nearly the whole field of written history, including the main work of philosophers, heroes, and poets, "is a mere Jingo sentiment," is hardly exact enough for a philosophical work.

Again, I find: "Be it what it may, religion teaches the renunciation of earthly possessions, and a love for the heavenly beatitudes." The Jews were the most distinctively religious people that ever lived, and if comrade Lane will take the trouble to consult a copy of their ancient literature, he will find his loose statement overwhelmingly contradicted. If he means that religion teaches that the nearest good is not always the greatest, that morbid self-seeking is anti-social, that self-sacrifice is a social duty, he is right, and every Socialist knows that this is so, else where is Bax's 'Religion of Socialism,' and where will it be in that future state which Lane parenthetically describes as "religion annihilated"? "We," says our comrade, "can therefore only consider as true revolutionary Socialists, conscious of the object they pursue, those who, like ourselves, declare themselves Atheists, and do whatever in their power lies to destroy this corrupting notion of a God in the minds of the masses. The struggle, therefore, is against every kind of religion, and the propagation of Atheism must form a part of every Socialistic programme that pretends to give a logical exposition to the ideas, the aspirations, and the objects of the adepts of the Social Revolution." It is kind of our comrade to visit religious Socialists with the mild reproof of being "unconscious of the object they pursue," and for my part I should not cease from taking part in the propaganda because comrade Lane considered me insufficiently "logical." But every religious Socialist would agree that comrade Lane's God deserves all his efforts at destruction. Nevertheless, we shall have to wait a long time for the accomplishment of our aims if we are first to see God

annihilated as a philosophical preliminary; and to one who thinks that the idea of God will be absent from the minds of the men of the future, I will not say that he has studied history in vain, but simply that I think he is mistaken.

Still putting the cart before the horse, our comrade proceeds: "We decline to recognise a divine absolutism, because it can only give rise to the slavery of reason and intelligence. Why then should we recognise a human absolutism that can only engender the material exploitation of the ruled by the rulers?" All government is bad, including parliamentary democracy. Therefore "we aim at the abolition of the state," "we are anti-statists." It is not clear whether our comrade uses the word "state" in its popular sense of a class-government, which all Socialists wish to abolish; or in its true etymological sense, as the standing or permanent part of society, the corporate community. The latter it will always be impossible to abolish, for it is inconceivable that a society should exist without some common means of expressing itself. But as "in the elaboration of all our conceptions we always start from the principle of liberty," so, in deference to that principle, we are to ignore evolution. For the development of nationalism must be worked out before internationalism can be possible; and it is against all reason to suppose that all the past and present struggles for national unity can mean absolutely nothing. The Irish, for example, are entirely unfit for Socialism until their national life has had free play; and it is easy to believe that the patience of the Germans under military tyranny is partly due to the unconscious feeling that it is a necessary process that is being gone through. To the Socialist it would seem natural to believe that the centralisation which is everywhere hastening to its culmination is a preparatory step that will both necessitate and facilitate the assumption of power by the people; that production and distribution on an increasingly gigantic scale, the undertaking of works of public utility by the State, and so forth, should make our way easier for us, and point out the path to follow in the future. But no; it seems we are to watch our opportunity to arrest the progress of evolution, and introduce an arbitrary decentralisation, instead of waiting for it to take place naturally when the time is ripe.

I am not at all sure that I understand what is meant by "free communism"; it seems clear that any association of individuals must have some kind of arrangement among themselves; if it is a question of the extent of such association, the matter is greatly simplified. Our comrade prefers that society shall consist of a number of communes, towns, or villages; I think that it will probably consist of a number of peoples. "Internationalism" as an aim means nothing to me if not a number of peoples freed from economical servitude freely federating and communicating with one another through corporate media: if it simply means the sentiment that every man of another race is my brother, it is true and noble enough, but hardly a new discovery or a tangible benefit.

The second part of the treatise, dealing with various aspects of practical politics, seems to me by far the more valuable of the two, and less open to objection. Indeed, one is not likely to quarrel with our comrade for being a Socialist, or for dealing with opponents from that point of view. What is contended is, that Socialism, instead of being considered as the outcome of an inductive investigation of the evolution of society, is bolstered up with general principles, conceptions of liberty, etc.; and the past history and thought of mankind, instead of being scientifically studied for a solution of the mysteries of the future, is subjected to an irregular deductive process in accordance with these previously-adopted principles and conceptions. No wonder that the world appears to our comrade as a "lottery of events," a phrase which he accidentally lets drop.

One returns with renewed satisfaction to the perusal of our own Manifesto; so logical and convincing as it is, after reading that in which our comrade's conception stands forth naked and unsupported. His notion seems to be that man has arbitrarily saddled himself with the burden of authority, that theological slavery produces political, and political economical. Compare with this the succinct summary contained in Gronlund's recent work: Social revolutions "always start in the region of ideas, and first of all in those ideas that have the most powerful dominion over men—their religious conceptions, their views of the universe and their own place in it. Naturally this change first shows itself in the form of scepticism, religious anarchy; then the anarchy filters down to those ideas that relate to our fellow-men, to society, to our moral and political notions; finally the anarchy reaches economics, the basis of society. There the real revolution, the real change takes place; and there, on the new basis, our new political, moral and religious ideas are reconstructed."

Nobody has felt more strongly than I have done the fascination of *a priori* principles and primary conceptions such as those now put forward: but I am all the more fully convinced that to be of any service they must be intelligibly obtained by scientific research. Not that I have any alternative scheme to offer to our comrade Lane's; I am simply pleading for a sound and trustworthy method. Socialism, happily, is greater than the private conceits of any one of us, or than the profoundest conceptions of the greatest thinker that ever lived; and we should all lay to heart the words of our comrade: "Let us mature our ideas and our aspirations!" REGINALD A. BECKETT.

[I note here that the word "religion" is often used very loosely; the ancient Jewish religion was not one of the "religious" religions as Bax calls them. Also I cannot see how "Internationalism" can fail to bring about the extinction of nations, and so give us the free communes of Lane's manifesto: the federal idea as opposed to the national is clearly growing even now. The centralisation of production and distribution is no doubt hastening the advent of Socialism; but it is in itself an evil, just as the class war is which is doing the same thing; true society once realised, we should get rid of such evils.—Ed.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The extensive engineering works of Messrs. Sharp, Stewart and Co., of Manchester, are about to be removed to Glasgow.

NOTTINGHAM.—A strike has occurred in the hosiery trade, the hands employed by Messrs. Eden and Son having turned out against a reduction in their wages.

CLOSING OF IRONWORKS IN NORTH WALES.—The large ironworks of the New British Iron Company, at Ruabon, which are the most extensive works in North Wales, were closed on Saturday, and all the furnaces are blown out. A large number of men are thus thrown out of employment. The company, which is one of the oldest in the principality, is in voluntary liquidation.

SHIP-BUILDING IN SCOTLAND.—It is currently reported in Glasgow that Sir William Pearce, M.P., has secured for his firm, the Fairfield Ship-building Company, an order to build three steel steamers, with a fourth in prospect, for the Vancouver and Japan services of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Each steamer is to be of 3,000 tons.

END OF THE NORTHAMPTON BOOT STRIKE.—Through the mediation of the Rev. Fleming Williams, of London, the prolonged dispute in the Northampton boot trade ended on Saturday night, the conditions of agreement being then signed by the chairman of the masters' association and the union officials. The terms are on the same lines as those offered by the masters last week, excepting that a standard case of goods will now be formed. The men resume work early this week.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS' AGITATION.—The Northumberland miners have taken action on the resolutions passed at the recent Miners' National Conference at Newcastle. They have requested the colliery owners to meet a deputation from the men to discuss the proposals for 10 per cent. advance in wages, seven hours per day work, and a general holiday at stated periods, in view of restricting the output. No reply has yet been received.

THE DOWLAIS IRON WORKS.—Arrangements are now completed for the permanent removal of the Dowlais Iron Works to Cardiff. The operations will be commenced at once, and three blast furnaces of the largest type are to be completed within three years, the work involving an expenditure of a quarter of a million sterling. At a future period the works are to be extended to include Siemens' furnaces. It is estimated that before the expiration of ten years the whole of the Dowlais undertaking will be established in Cardiff, where the works will be the largest of the kind in the kingdom, employing over 10,000 men.

THE COTTON TRADE.—In the Lancashire cotton trade the New Year is beginning with no improvement or sign of better times. There are several wages disputes on hand. A strike is threatened at Higham, near Burnley, while the dispute at Colne still continues. Last week the Weavers' Committee were unable to raise the strike pay, but they expect to be able to do so this week, and they have appealed to other East Lancashire districts for increased support.

COTTARS DEMANDING LAND.—At a meeting of Lews crofters and cottars recently held at Garrabost, it was resolved: "That this meeting demands restoration of the crofters' ancient holdings now wasting under deer and sheep throughout Lews, so as to provide new crofts for the landless cottars who are famishing through want of land." Three hundred cottars from Borve, Shader, and Barvas marched upon Galson sheep-farm, and surveyed the lands, and warned the tenant to leave when his lease expires next March. The contingents were headed by pipers and flags in military order.

LOW WAGES OF RAILWAYMEN.—A correspondent of the *Railway Review* writes from the North Eastern Railway as follows:—"I have been collecting an account of the wages paid to signalmen and porters on this line, and to give your readers a slight idea of the condition of affairs, I give a list of one or two cases. If needed I can send the names of the stations where these men are employed: porter, 20 years of age, 15s. a week of seven days; porter, 18 years of age, 13s. I find I have a clerk, too, on my list, 21 years of age, who has 17s. 6d. a week; and a signalman, in a 12 hours cabin working 72 hours a week for 20s. 6d. I have three cabins worked by five men, two of them have 22s. 6d. and three 21s. They all discharge the same duties and stand the same hours.

LANARKSHIRE MINERS.—At a meeting of the delegates in conference last week, the following resolutions were passed:—"This conference, learning that conditions of employment under the Truck Act are being presented to the miners of the county for signature, would desire to protest and express disapprobation of the illegal pressure brought to bear upon men to compel acceptance, and would urge all miners to amalgamate and prepare for joint resistance to such arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings, and secure, as in the case of quarrymen and ploughmen, that tools be supplied. In considering wages, the delegates unanimously agreed, in consequence of the reported advance in coal, and the fact that many employers had not yet reduced their workmen, that the associated masters be asked to withdraw the reduction of 7½ per cent. enforced during the summer months. Arrangements were made to have a series of demonstrations throughout the country early in January, it being left in the hands of the secretary to convene conferences and secure speakers.

AMERICA.

The Havana cigarmakers have signified their willingness to submit the matters in dispute between themselves and their employes to the arbitration of government, and it is expected that the operatives will consent to abide by the government's decision.

The employes of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad shipped on the 9th inst. a carload of provisions from Philadelphia to the striking miners of the Lehigh coal regions. The same day the Building Trades Council appointed a committee of five to get up an entertainment for the benefit of the Lehigh miners.

The "Provisional Committee" of the Knights of Labour who are dissatisfied with the methods of the present general officers are themselves surprised at the support they are receiving from all sections of the country. An assembly to formulate a plan of action will soon be called.

The National Convention of Moulders is in session at Cleveland, making arrangements to get all the men employed in foundries into the Knights of Labour.

The strike of the table-glassware workers at Pittsburgh, Pa., affects 1,400 men directly and 2,100 indirectly. Secretary Dillon of the Glassworkers' Association stated that their union had ample funds to conduct a long strike.

At present they have 150,000 dollars, and they expect 75,000 more before next year. The manufacturerers are equally firm, and a protracted struggle may be expected.

At the meeting of the Central Labour Union, New York, a communication was read from the journeymen brewers and malsters of Milwaukee. They state that there is trouble with the bosses, who have broken with the men, and the men are locked out. It was resolved to boycott Milwaukee beer until the trouble is settled.

The strike of the shoe-cutters in Rochester, N.Y., is approaching a crisis. 300 shoe-cutters on November 1 threw down their tools because the manufacturers refused to give them an increase of wages amounting to 1 dol. 50 c. a-week. The action caused the stoppage of the factories, as over 3,000 persons, including many women and children, joined them. Most of the firms have acceded since last week to the demands of the strikers, and it is expected in labour circles that all the employers will grant the demanded increase in wages.

Most has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment. His lawyer, Howe, has been able, however, to obtain a stay of proceedings pending an appeal to the higher courts. The hearing before the Criminal Term of the case will not be before about five or six months. In the meantime Most is out on bail for 5000 dollars.

Capitalists are very joyful just at present; they point to the gallows of Chicago, to the disintegration of the Knights of Labour, to the small vote cast last fall for labour candidates. They really believe by corrupting leaders and hanging devotees they have broken the back of the Labour movement!

Congressman Adams, from Chicago, will propose in the fiftieth Congress the following law:

Whereas aliens residing in the United States have lately menaced the public peace by advising and encouraging the destruction of property and the murder of officers of the law; and whereas such acts are offences against the sovereignty of the United States; therefore, when any District Attorney of the United States shall have information in writing from no less than three reputable citizens that any alien has aided, advised, or encouraged the destruction of property or murder of any officer of the law, or has attempted to overthrow the laws, or to excite domestic violence in any State, such information shall be transmitted at once to the President of the United States. The President shall then issue an order in writing requiring such alien to depart from the territory of the United States within a given time, and this order shall be served by the United States Marshal upon the person to whom it is directed. The President shall have power to revoke such order or extend the time within which such alien is required to leave the country for good cause. If the offender shall refuse to obey such order, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to cause him to be arrested and conveyed out of the territory of the United States, and if he shall return again to this country he shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than three years, and at the expiration of his term of imprisonment shall again be conveyed out of the country, and not be permitted to return until the order expelling him shall be revoked. Section 8 of the bill provides "That whenever, in the judgment of the President of the United States, the public safety shall require, it shall be lawful for the President to cause any such alien to be arrested without notice and conveyed out of the United States."

Reports that come from Philadelphia concerning an approaching crisis in the affairs of the Knights of Labour that may lead to its complete disintegration are fully confirmed by New York Knights of Labour. James E. Quinn, Master Workman of D. A. 49, has cut loose completely from T. V. Powderly, and in the last issue of *Solidarity* declares war on him. In one of the passages he says: "Through the action of the General Assembly at Minneapolis the Order will in the near future be held responsible before the world for the lives of five of the most noble champions of humanity that this planet has ever yet been blessed with thus far." Quinn does not agree with the seceders; he says they do not act wisely; they should imitate the leaders of D. A. 49 in 1882 when they differed with Powderly. These organised the "Home Club" and fought the general officers until they brought them to terms. Powderly, it is said, hopes to compromise with all his opponents. The new labour organisation which was formed in Chicago after the Minneapolis convention by the seceders will accept nothing but the *positive*, and not the "Bismarckian" resignation of Powderly and his lieutenants. The new organisation will be styled "Brotherhood of Labour." If Powderly persists in his course he will ruin the Order.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

Number of strikers to December 2	18
Birmingham, Ala.—Coal-miners, demand by men for new weighing arrangements, Dec. 3	150
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Glass-workers, against new scale adopted by manufacturers, Dec. 5	250
Boston, Mass.—Hat-factory employes, for shorter hours	—
Providence, R. I.—Girls in rubber-factory, against doing certain work	35
Palmer, Mass.—Carpet-works employes, against reduction	—
Marblehead, Mass.—Shoe-cutters, for higher wages, Dec. 5	—
Dayton, Ohio.—Freight brakemen and switchmen, for higher wages	—
Fairport, Ohio.—Ore-handlers, December 6	100
Baltimore, Md.—Oyster-shuckers, against false measurement, Dec. 8	100
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Iron-works employes, question of management, Dec. 7	500
Total number of strikers known to December 10	1,351

Revolutionary Calendar and Book of Days.

All other people but English Socialists have their several calendars to keep them in mind of the tidings of past years as the days go by. Now, however, this omission on the part of the English revolutionary party is about to be rectified. Our comrade Tom Muse, of Carlisle, sent to the Editors of this paper a calendar of revolutionary dates compiled by himself, with a request that we should find a publisher for it if we deemed it worth. We did so consider it, but found that it was too late for hope of getting it published by the end of this month. Thereupon we resolved, with comrade Muse's permission, to print each week in the *Commonweal* the week's instalment, after carefully revising and adding to it; with explanatory notes and comments on the week's events. In the next number this will be begun. At the end of the year we intend to issue the completed work in one volume; meanwhile we cannot but think our readers will be pleased with the new feature.

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

On Christmas-day, a Congress of all the Belgian Freethinkers' Associations was held at Brussels. I only notice the fact because I should like to point out that in all Roman lands Freethinkers are Socialists also, and consequently their meetings are Socialistic and revolutionary, whereas in England and other Anglo-Saxon countries, it is often found that the freest thinkers in point of philosophy are most reactionary in politics and economics, and the Socialists in these lands are not always Freethinkers.

Our comrades in Belgium, of course, are not satisfied with the scanty measure of pardon granted to the miners of Charleroi and Mons, and they are going to set on foot an agitation in order to have their fellow-workers completely amnestied. Let us hope that they will ere long succeed in their re-vengeance.

Our readers will perhaps remember what was said about the fishermen of Ostend, at the time when they were quarrelling with their English trade-comrades. How just the case of the poor Ostend wage-slaves was, may easily be deduced from the following facts. The whole fishery trade at Ostend is monopolised in the hands of fifteen ship-owners. Each of them owns on an average a dozen of fishing-boats. After five or six days' fishing, each boat comes back with a cargo of fish; the value of which can be reckoned at an average of 500 frs., or £20. Out of this sum, the shipowner first deducts for the sinking and interest of his capital and the redeeping of some other expenses 55 per cent., that is to say, 275 frs., or £11 of the above £20. The remainder, i.e., 225 frs., or £9, is considered as nett profit; on this sum each man of the crew gets 5 per cent., or 12f. 50c. (10s.) a-week. If we suppose that he has the same amount of wages during forty weeks in the year, which is a very fair supposition indeed, his yearly earnings will amount to the "enormous" sum of 500 frs., or £20. Now what is the share of his master, the shipowner? If he gives 12f. 50c. to each seaman, that will be for the six men of each boat a total sum of 75f. or £3; deducting the £3 from the gross produce he will have a profit of 425 frs., or £17 per boat and per week, and reckoning for him forty weeks fishing as well, his yearly income for one boat amounts to 17,000 frs., or £680! I don't know the proper value of the boat nor the sum total of his expenses, but I imagine that the investment of his capital fairly gets him 200 per cent. Each shipowner having on an average twelve boats, his yearly income will reach 200,000 frs., or £8,000, and he earns it not by his work, but by remaining all day long at the fireside doing nothing, if he likes that kind of idleness. He gets four hundred times more than the poor fisherman, who toils night and day, and always exposes his life and the welfare of his family by the most dangerous of all trades. How could this dreadful position of the starving fishermen be ameliorated? Simply by their being themselves in possession of the boats. Instead of their earning 10s. a-week they would have, on the basis of the above mentioned figures, 80 frs., or £3. 4s. weekly. But that would be Socialism and not Commercialism, as it is nowadays; commercialism or capitalistic accumulation of wealth being the appropriation of the work of others by mischievous, superfluous, and parasitical monopolisers.

FRANCE.

As a New Year's gift, President Carnot is going to grant full amnesty to all political offenders now in the prisons of the French Republic.

On Tuesday 20th inst., ~~contract~~ Kropotkin lectured at Paris, in the Salle de Rivoli, before a crowded and enthusiastic audience, on a very interesting subject—the moral influence of prisons on the prisoners. After having examined how prisons could be organised, as long as prisons exist at all, he comes to the conclusion that, even if it were reorganised, the penitentiary régime would remain absolutely immoral, because it kills all noble and human feelings and fatally develops all the instincts of the brute—lust, covetousness, servility. He pronounces that the only way to ameliorate prisons is to suppress them altogether.

Up to the present moment there have not been different fractions enough in the French Parliament; a new one, the Group of the Socialist Deputies, has lately been formed. It may be interesting to our readers to know the parliamentary programme of this group, numbering some twenty-five members. It runs as follows: 1. Individual freedom and communal autonomy; 2. International federation of all nations; 3. Solution of all differences and variances between nations and between individuals, by way of arbitration; 4. Transformation, as far as possible, of all standing armies into national guards, all adults being obliged to serve; 5. Abolition of capital punishment; 6. Sovereignty of the people guaranteed by universal suffrage, organised so as to recognise the right of minorities; 7. Progressive emancipation of woman; equal civil rights for legitimate and so-called illegitimate children; 8. Integral, scientific, professional and military instruction gratuitous to all and in all standards; 9. Separation of all churches from public administrations, schools, charitable institutions, etc.; suppression of the budget for religious purposes; 10. Absolute freedom of thought, speech, press, meeting, contract and work regulations; 11. Transformation of all monopolies into public services, conducted by their respective trades' associations, under direct control of the public administration; 12. Progressive nationalisation of private property; 13. Abolition of all town-dues and indirect taxes; establishment of progressive taxes on personal income and on successions; abolition of successions by collateral line; 14. Public institutions for charitable and benevolent purposes, infant-asylums, schools, retreats for old persons, etc., to be provided for by the community.

GERMANY.

Comrade Steinfatz, formerly editor of the *Burger-Zeitung*, which was lately suppressed by the German police-censure, has been expelled from Hamburg. He had only just been released from prison.

One of the scoundrels who played the rôle of Crown witness or informer at the trial of our Chicago comrades, Godfrey Waller, now lives at Hamburg under the name of Karl Miller. Our friends there should keep their eyes open and be warned against that wretch.

During the last fortnight active perquisitions have been made on all the barracks of the German army, on a special order issued by the Minister of War, who is anxious to ascertain the enormous progress of Socialist ideas among the soldiery. At Posen, Berlin, Breslau, Frankfurt, Mainz, etc., the inquirers have found out that they were not searching in vain and that our "detestable" doctrines really have had a good hearing. Of course, many a soldier friend who had in his possession pamphlets or papers or leaflets, will be sent to prison for a while, but a firm and convinced man doesn't care a fig for that nowadays: the tables soon will be turned. V. D.

PEOPLE WHO WOULDN'T BE MISSED.

[WITH APOLOGIES TO MR. W. S. GILBERT.]

As it seems to be conceded that a clearance must be made,
I've got a little list, I've got a little list
Of certain individuals who, if they should get mislaid,
I'm sure would not be missed, they never would be missed.
The patriotic gentlemen I speak of, it is clear,
(With a slight amount of pressure) would consent to disappear;
And the emigration-mongers should support me to a man,
For, notwithstanding consistency and beauty of the plan,
They've picked enough to please a rabid emigrationist,
The name of them be missed, they'd none of them be missed.

Chorus: We'll put 'em on the list, though it's likely they'll resist;
For they'll none of 'em be missed, they'll none of 'em be missed.

First the bourgeois statistician of the Levi-Giffen type,
With his curious mental twist, I've got him on the list;
Then the military Bobby who has London in his grips,
He never would be missed, oh, no, he'd not be missed;
The cunning devils who would fain put off the Labour pack
By trailing semi-decomposed red herrings on the track,
And the frothy fools who bawl that Britons never will be slaves,
When they're that and nothing better from their cradles to their graves;
The blue-ribbon fanatic, and the smug evangelist,
They never would be missed, they never would be missed.

The jolly jerry-builder, whom I own a strong desire
To pummel with my fist, I've got him on the list;
The advertising agent whose productions we admire!
He never would be missed, he never would be missed;
The brassy rent-collectors, and the sweating middlemen,
Who fleece the happy worker when they get him in their den;
The respectable debenture-holding profit-hunting thieves;
And the nugatory landlord who unblushingly receives
A premium for graciously consenting to exist,
He never will be missed, I'm sure he'll not be missed.

Then the money-lord without whose aid our labour could not thrive,
The boss capitalist, that consummate humorist,
Who claims to clothe and house and feed and keep us all alive,
We've got him on the list, we've got him on the list;
And the rascal who to muffle up his income makes a shift
With the "Dignity of Labour" or "Advantages of Thrift";
And along with him his brother-shark, the crafty business man,
Who combines a sound percentage with a charitable plan,
And poses as the worker's friend, the pure philanthropist,
He never would be missed, he never would be missed.

C. W. BECKETT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

'The Redemption of Labour,' by Cecil Balfour Phipson (Swan Sonnenschein, 12s.), is a large and imposing-looking work in two volumes; which, however, before it is well open proclaims what it is. On the title-page it asserts by way of motto: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." The preface informs us that: "The end he seeks may be reached by man, but only when he acknowledges his dependence upon and humbly follows the guidance of his God." A list of twenty errata, numbering among them such as "for 'blue' read 'pink,'" "for 'blue' read 'red,'" "for 'Diagram of Table No. V.' read 'Ratios of Table No. IV,'" makes one's brain reel with the endless vistas of perverted meaning it opens up. Mr. Phipson has succeeded after great labour in producing a book for which there is no strong reason of being; which has little chance of obtaining a wide circle of readers; and has for the few who will read it nothing to offer beyond that which they will have already received from a hundred less pretentious and more workmanlike productions. A certain reluctance must always be felt in condemning any honest attempt at solving the labour problem; and that feeling is intensified when, as in the present case, the attempt is transparently painstaking and well-intentioned; but writers (and readers) of books must remember that what would have been a striking book a few years ago, say when 'Progress and Poverty' appeared, is now a very ordinary thing indeed, and that to be worth writing or reading, a book must bear a new message or put the old in a better shape; neither of these requirements does the present book fulfil.

'Liberty and Law,' by George Lacy (Sonnenschein, 12s.), is just the reverse of the above-named in the impression it produces when opened; on the title-page it offers itself as: "An attempt at the refutation of the Individualism of Mr. Herbert Spencer and the political economists; an exposition of natural rights, and of the principles of justice, and of Socialism; and a demonstration of the worthlessness of the supposed dogmas of orthodox political economy;" the preface explains that "this is not a work written by a thinker especially for thinkers; it is a work written for the people by one of themselves," and proceeds to attack with cheery impartiality all and sundry of the great thinkers that men bow to nowadays. A glance through the book shows the author's wide reading; copious extracts from all modern books of note on ethics, law, morality, etc., are given as foot-notes, each with a clear reference to where it may be found; and its whole appearance lulls the reader into a belief that his road has been made smooth for him, that here at last is a man who, freeing himself from cant and prejudice, has had a workmanlike try at making clear a complex question. Alas for the perishing of human hope! A few pages on we come with a jerk upon statements like "to say that the race is always ahead of its laws is clearly absurd," and on reaching the last chapter we are treated to a tirade against freedom of the press, of public meeting, of open-air speaking, and of many other things we fondly imagine that we have a right to enjoy. "There is something in the book," for the quotations are valuable, but a mass of undigested material does not form a book any more than unbiting industry and unquestioning self-belief makes up for lack of reasoning power and capability of expression. S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—Usual lectures not given, owing to hall being used for preparations and arrangements of Christmas festivities.—B.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting at Starch Green on Saturday, held by C. Smith, Maughan, and Tochatti. Fair sale of Commonwealth. Comrades in neighbourhood kindly turn up.—J. T.

GLASGOW.—Thursday, Downie read paper on "1890, being a Schoolboy's Retrospect." Good discussion followed. Sunday 5 p.m., good meeting at Paisley Road Toll, addressed by Gilbert, Downie, and Pollock. At 7 p.m., A. McLaren, M.A., gave a splendid lecture on "Brotherhood, a Christmas Sermon." Interesting conversation followed.—J. A.

WALSALL.—On Monday, Dec. 19th, H. Sanders lectured. Good discussion by members and visitors at close.—J. T. D.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 25th, usual meeting held. Good discussion. No lecture on Jan. 1st. Edward Pease in Trades' Hall on 9th.—J. S.

Notice to Branches of the S.L.L.L.

Branches desiring literature apply to D. K. Mackenzie, librarian, 137 Pleasance, Edinburgh. Remittances must be sent with orders.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday December 29th, at 8.30, Social Evening. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Jan. 1, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Fulham.—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werley Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham. Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Jan. 1, C. J. Faulkner, "Property, the New Superstition."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets 6d. (See below.)

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Arbroath (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 12 Maule St., secy.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., secy. Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Saturday Dec. 31, at 8 p.m. T. Fitzpatrick, "Socialism: What is it?"

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. 'Das Kapital' class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

Galashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., secy. Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8. Sunday Jan. 1, meeting in Rooms at 2 p.m. to exchange New Year's greetings and hear address from comrade Muirhead. Instrumental and vocal music; coffee, etc., will be served to members.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30. Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 1.

- 11.30...Garnett—"Plough Inn".....Kitz
11.30...Haxby—"Salmon and Ball".....Graham
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Wade & Pope
11.30...King's Cross Green.....Parker
11.30...Merton—Merton Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham—Green.....The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park.....Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras Church.....Bartlett
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....The Branch
6...Stamford Hill.....Cores

Wednesday

8...Broadway, London Fields.....The Branch

Thursday

8...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Dundee.—Saturday: Greenmarket, at 7. Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

DUBLIN.—A Socialist Club, open to all schools of Socialistic thought, being in course of formation, any person desirous of joining or otherwise co-operating is requested to communicate with J. O'Gorman, or G. King at 21 St. Ignatius Road.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

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East Holywell.—J. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages West Holywell.
F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.
Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.
Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square.
M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office; 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 8, at 4 p.m.

EDITORS OF ALL SOCIALIST PAPERS published in English are urgently asked to send a sample copy to the Vooruit Library at Ghent. Postal address to which they should be sent is Edouard Stautemas, Rue van Wittenberghe 34, Gand, Belgium.

THE TABLES TURNED.

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