

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Star* has been warlike of late, in view of the opening of Parliament, and has been urging on its leaders the duty of fighting hard so as to bring on a dissolution. The *Star* hints not obscurely at organised obstruction under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone. But Radicals may set their minds at rest, they will have no such excitement as this. Mr. Gladstone is no rebel, but a decent respectable party parliamentary leader; and to do him justice he has never pretended to be anything else. The gilded idol has not pretended to be alive itself, it has been its worshippers only who have seen life in the inert mass. Don't call the poor thing names if it won't get up and put out the fire—or, call it names if you like; but it will be all the same, it won't move.

If the Radicals who sympathise with Home Rule want to do anything at this juncture, they must not wait for their leaders but must do it for themselves. The time is not yet past when they might make the stroke (recommended in these columns before) of withdrawing from the House of Commons in a mass, and allowing the Tories and Whigs to govern them under protest. But, unfortunately, the Radicals are so wedded to a wretched little war of outposts, that they now scarcely perceive that there is a main battle. To exhaust your energies in attacking mere accidental effects of the evil, and wear out the patience of your adherents in winning victories that lead nowhere, and suffering defeats in which there is no dignity; these are the Radical tactics in England, and it is ten thousand pities that Socialists can be found to imitate them.

Under the name of "Australian Working-class Vagaries," the *Daily News* lately has had an article which may be worth a word or two. The writer rates the Australian workmen soundly for their folly in striking, when they already have such enormous wages. Of course, he assumes that he knows their business better than they know it themselves, and very naturally assumes that their business is to keep trade humming for the benefit of the capitalists. Of course he does not tell us what the purchasing power of the high Australian wages is, how much food and clothes and amusement (if any of the latter) they will buy; and we should like to have some information from our friend the *Australian Radical* on this head.

But even granted that the workmen in Australia are well supplied with necessaries comparatively with their British brethren, does not this wise-acre understand that workmen who are thrust into such a beastly corner of the earth, must be paid extra for living there, away from any chance of participation in the intellectual pleasures of the Old World, and that they will only be got to go there on those terms, unless, indeed, they are shipped off by obvious violent means?

This latter plan seems to be in the writer's mind. He says: "The moral of the story is this, the supreme task of governments is the adjustment of the labour-markets. It is sheer folly to allow enterprise to slacken, and commercial ruin to spread, because men here or there make unreasonable demands. If the patient and frugal Chinaman is refused work that needs to be done, then a much larger proportion of the 350,000 annual increase of the population of the United Kingdom must be emigrated to these shores."

"Must"? Mr. Emigration Agent; and how, pray? On the whole, I think you will have to give up the idea of a press-gang for the purpose. And you need not grumble at that; there is plenty of compulsion at work to procure you land-thieves in Australia the "plenty of honest and moderately inexpensive labour" for which you say there is but one cry. Screw down the wages at home till people are rather past the verge of starvation and the streets are thronged with the unemployed; strengthen the chain of police and soldiery round them, so as to safeguard yourselves from anything more dangerous than an occasional unorganised bread-riot, which is always more serviceable to the masters than the slaves; and for aught I can see you will have for a little time "moderately inexpensive labour" to enable you to go on living on other people's toil.

But here comes a hitch for you; and therein I see another moral to your tale which has escaped your eye. When you have deported your British starvelings to Queensland and other colonies, and they begin to be a little less starved, and have leisure and spirits to consider their position, you will find that they are not such fools as you thought. They will begin to say: Well, we are better off than we were; why should we not be as well off as we can be? Here are the recourses of nature, and here we are, the workmen; what else do we want to produce all the wealth we need? Why should we pay the greater part of all that we produce to people who do nothing but work hard at keeping up their position of being our masters? Dimly when we were worse off we knew *That the wit of man can devise no scheme by which the poor can become less poor without the rich becoming less rich.* And now that we are better off we see it clearer still, and we also see that we now have a chance of acting on our insight.

In short, "the moral of the tale is this"; and it is a very encouraging one if the "tale" is true: This is the moral, that the Australian workmen, having before their eyes all that wealth, actual and potential, refused to be bribed by somewhat higher wages than they would have at home into acquiescence with their position of inferiority to the useless classes! The *Daily News'* Emigration Agent, on the contrary, clearly and very naturally looks upon the workmen in the colonies and at home as so much marketable goods and nothing else. What he is really aiming at is to transport the whole of the evils of our civilized life in England in the lump to our colonies, in order that by means of it he may make those evils more lasting in the old world. All honour to the workmen who consciously or instinctively resist such a vile scheme.

W. M.

The directors of the Civil Service Stores are said to be in a dilemma which will "excite the generous sympathy of shopkeepers all over the kingdom." They have just made up their accounts for the last half-year, and find they have taken a trifle less than £500,000 sterling. Out of this results the very moderate profit of £10,000. But according to the articles of their association the company cannot divide more than 5 per cent., and so small is the capital that 5 per cent. absorbs only £5,000. There is something like £3,000 carried over from the preceding half-year, and thus the directors have £8,000 more than they can distribute among the shareholders. Of course it will never enter their heads to apportion it among the employés from whose labour it came!

Here, according to the *Pall Mall*, is Sir George Trevelyan's version of the Liberal programme as put before the party by its trusted leaders:

1. The assimilation of the taxation on real and personal property.
2. A sound registration system which will give men the votes which Parliament intended them to have.
3. Religious equality.
4. Abolition of the privilege of the plural vote.
5. The reform of the House of Lords.
6. The rating of ground rents.
7. The entrusting the local representatives of the people with the charge of the police.
8. The regulation of the liquor traffic.
9. The redress of Ireland's long-standing grievances.

So much for the "Liberal" side of it. The *Star* gives the "London Radical Programme," saying that "the London Liberal members, with the view of carrying into effect the Radical programme for London, have given notice of the following bills relating to the metropolis, which they will bring in during the present session of Parliament:—

1. A bill for the better housing of the working-classes.
2. For the better incidence of rates.
3. For the better registration of voters.
4. For the equalisation of the poor-rates.
5. For giving to the County Council of London the control of the police.
6. For the regulation of meetings in Trafalgar Square.
7. For enabling the County Council of London to deal with the water supply.
8. For enabling the County Council to establish markets and to acquire existing market rights.

These bills apply exclusively to the metropolis. Besides these, bills for the enfranchisement of leaseholds, for registration, for the extension

of the hours of polling, and for the abolition of aldermen, have been introduced by London members, but apply to the whole country."

It might, perhaps, afford matter for debate as to the exact shade of difference between the "Liberal" and "Radical" programmes; it cannot as to their "moderation" and "practicability." S.

### A UTOPIAN NIGHTMARE.

PROBABLY there are few Socialists who ever see that mild and moral publication called the *Leisure Hour*. I don't advise anyone to waste a sixpence on it, but those who have a chance will find in the January number an article decidedly amusing, and indirectly instructive, to a Socialist.

The article is entitled "The Social Revolution Achieved: What Then?" An important question this, touching on doubtful ground—where even angels might fear to tread. "What Then?" Well, this is what the writer of the article in question did "then" (in his imagination): "I mounted," he says, "to my bachelor lodging in a quiet suburb, and was just going to sit down to my evening meal." A decidedly practical, common-sense course of action, doing great credit to our author's equanimity. For "it was the evening of the last of the terrible days of the social war in Paris. . . . But this time it was the people that had conquered. . . . Capitalists, proprietors, masters, merchants, shopkeepers had disappeared; . . . many killed in the conflict, others massacred in cold blood, and those who were not in concealment had fled from the doomed city. . . . In the deserted streets and the empty mansions one could only see groups of grimy workmen, mostly excited with drink. . . ." And so our friend goes calmly home to supper.

He is disturbed by the entrance of three men, who, as it soon appears, have come to stay. They say to him, "The Social Commune have had prepared a statistical record of apartments; and as the rich have too great accommodation and the poor too little, it has been arranged that each person shall have a right to a place. You have four rooms, and you live alone. Therefore you must give lodgings to three persons, my two comrades and myself." One man, one room: this is an excellent idea, and, I think, quite new to Socialists. Well, our friend acquiesces, finding that there will be no rent to pay for the rooms in future; and he presently asks them to partake of his bachelor supper. They do so, and he rather imprudently gives them some of his wine, so that they "began to be even merry." Then follows some "close conversation." The youngest of the three exults in the thought of doing no more work. He is going to live on the "two milliards" in the Bank of France, and on the food, drink, clothing, etc., in the stores and warehouses. Whereupon our friend delivers himself of the following remarks. They tell very much for Socialism; but that doesn't matter. He didn't see it, nor the editor either. He says:

"But all this would not last very long among so many. The two milliards in the Bank of France divided among the thirty-eight millions of Frenchmen would give scarcely fifty francs per head. And as to the money and the provisions in the shops or in private houses, that might last for a week, or, if you like to say it, a month, and there would be an end of it. The wealth of a country is not at the bottom of wells, from which it can be always and at any time drawn; it is a water which runs, and renews itself at every instant. Work or industry is the source of a country's wealth; if the fountain stops only during eight days the river will soon be dry. If in a few days, or a few weeks at the very utmost, work is not resumed everywhere, we shall all die of starvation, as in a beleaguered city."

The oldest comrade chides the young man, who "has spoken like a child." He admits the necessity of labour: but "instead of working for the benefit of a master, we shall now work for our own profit." This gives opportunity for about half a page on equality, obedience, etc.; we learn that "industry is like an army," which is rather a curious thing for industry to be like, and gives rise to speculations as to what other abstractions, such as Religion, Idleness, and the like, may be compared to. However, one sees the writer's meaning, and so it serves.

Soon we are bidden remember "that these men were not of what are called the criminal classes, as some suppose all Socialists and Communists to be. They were decent [thank heaven for that, at least!] working men, misguided by the teaching and plausible statements of theorists and demagogues." On the resumption of the "close conversation," the oldest man states that "It is that we may obtain the entire product of our labour that we have made the social revolution." He illustrates his meaning by imagining "one thousand workers in a factory, who get 1,200 or 1,500 francs yearly," and "a master gaining perhaps 100,000 francs." Of course it is easily shown how this salary, divided among the thousand men, would only amount to an extra 100 francs a year for each of them. I believe our author thinks he has made a strong point here; and it may be well to show how the difficulty is to be met.

There are many businesses in which the men are so underpaid and the work is turned out so cheaply, that the whole receipts of master and men together do not amount to nearly the equivalent of the men's labour. The difference goes into the pockets of the consumers, who get their goods far below their value. Further, it must not be forgotten that a man's wages are in reality the quantity of necessary articles he can buy with his money. Now so many men are taken

from useful work, to produce useless rubbish of all sorts for the rich that the production of necessary articles is very small compared to the universal demand for them. Consequently, when the workers come to spend their money, they only get a very small part of their money's worth. But our friend seems not to recognise that money only represents *exchange-value*: he appears to think there is some intrinsic *use-value* in the money itself; and the result is an amazing confusion.

This confusion is rendered still deeper when they begin to talk about capital, with the very haziest notions as to what capital is. Communism and Collectivism get into a mix too. The editor tells us in a note (where, by the way, he advocates reform, to avoid revolution—the "sop for Cerberus" principle) that "in France the tendency of Socialist opinion is toward Communism and Anarchy." But here we have mere State Socialism. The oldest says, "The State or Government would supply all the capital we require"; to which the other replies, "But the State has not the power to make capital drop from heaven, like the manna in the wilderness. The State never has any money except what it takes from those who contribute to it"; and so on, and so on. The poor man has forgotten his own most true statement that "work or industry is the source of a country's wealth." He is still under the delusion that the working classes live on the money supplied by the capitalist. He actually has not realised that it is victuals and drink—the produce of labour—that we all live on; and that in a reasonable commune (whatever a Collectivist State might attempt) money would be dispensed with altogether; nor has it ever occurred to him that the members of such a commune, instead of worrying about whether each got 100 francs more or less, would simply work to supply their own common needs; and that, having no idle class to keep, nor any men wasting their time in producing useless things, they would all have much leisure—certainly far more than a *Leisure Hour*—for enjoyment.

However, the three men are convinced that the social revolution is a failure; and in his disappointment the youngest thumps the table so hard that—our friend awakes, and lo, it was a dream!

Now this is significant. He attributes his "nightmare," as he calls it, to having read the 'Journal de Pétroleur' before going to sleep; but when he dreams, without the least surprise, of having supper enough to share with three other men, and wine on top, of that, he really must forgive us if we—well, *think* what we like, but suggest that he join the Blue Ribbon Army.

It were a pity if, without good reason, the space of the *Commonweal* were wasted over such a helpless thing as the *Leisure Hour*—hardly worth the trouble of kicking, so feeble is it. Perhaps the following consideration may be my excuse.

Such nonsense as the article in question, sandwiched in between mere frothy inanities, is the sort of thing that house-mistresses supply for their servants' reading. As Socialism spreads, we may expect a large increase of such misrepresentation; and the question is, How shall we best open people's eyes, so that they may not be deceived by it? The first thing plainly is, to make them *conscious* to see through it. Now no one would care two straws for the realisation of such a low ideal as the *Leisure Hour* credits us with. A mere rise of wages all round, gained by getting rid of all employers, and in all else the same shabby life that we lead to-day—such an aim wouldn't be worth fighting for. 'Twould be a case of "mountains in labour" over again. The fact is, it will take something deeper than mere economics to make a success of the inevitable overturn of society. To begin with economics is to begin at the wrong end. But let men once realise what a far happier and nobler life is possible for them, and they will soon learn enough about surplus-value and the rest of it to meet all ordinary objections. And where their logic fails them, they will defiantly take their stand on still firmer ground, and answer, "Right or wrong, we are sick of this shameful, miserable life we lead to-day. We conceive something better, and we intend, spite of all you say, to try for it, and prove you wrong by the happy lives we lead."

We cannot make too much of our ideal. That light should be kept clear in view through everything. But while so many mere palliatives are going about under the name of Socialism, and so many men and women are being led into the bogs of parliamentary representation and the like, by the will-o'-the-wisps of constitutional agitation, we must expect the progress of Socialism to be hindered by frequent falls over such tangles of stupidity as this in the *Leisure Hour*.

G. STURT.

HOLLOW-WARE.—All the notices given to employers in the Birmingham hollow-ware trade have been withdrawn, pending arbitration proceedings. The operatives were asked to submit three names from which the employers could select one to act as arbitrator with regard to certain points which arose out of the new lists upon which the masters and men could not agree. On Saturday it was announced the employers had selected Alderman Avery, subject to his consenting to undertake the duty. It is understood that the arbitrator's decision will be accepted by both parties.

AN ECHO FROM THE SCAFFOLD.—Though the proofs were not conclusive, the young Italian patriot, Oberdank, was executed for supposed participation in a plot to free Trieste from the Austrian yoke. This happened seven years ago. In vain did Oberdank's mother plead for mercy. The great humanitarian poet, Victor Hugo, lent her his powerful aid, also in vain. The Emperor of Austria remained inexorable. Now this monarch, according to the *Star*, while still crushed with grief and despair, has received the following letter:—"Trieste, Feb. 8th.—Sire, You are an unhappy father. I regret that in consequence of the tragic death of your only son, you must have experienced all the heartrending agony, the unspeakable grief, which I, a poor abandoned mother, endured on the morning of December 20, 1882. Bow down, as I have done, before the Supreme Will.—The Mother of Oberdank."

**IN THE UNITED STATES.**

INSPECTOR BONFIELD, Captain Schaack, and detective Jenkob Loewenstein, of the Chicago police, the three officials who did all the dirty work of the Chicago Citizens' Association to get our martyrs convicted, were on the 6th of February suspended by mayor Roche, pending the investigation to be made into their character. Suspension in this case is but a milder word for dismissal. The trio have brought libel suits against the Chicago *Times* for damages aggregating a million and a half dollars.

In Chicago a movement has been set on foot to secure the "pardon" of our imprisoned comrade Oscar W. Neebe. A petition to the new Governor of Illinois, Fifer, is now being circulated by his friends.

The Standard Oil Trust has gobbled up the Amazon Oil Company, and is now sole owner of the Ohio oil field.

The latest in the formation of trusts is—a trust of justices. On the 7th inst. the Justices of the Peace of Hudson County, New Jersey, met and formed a trust. They at once resolved to raise their fees.

Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of the National Department of Labour, has submitted to the Secretary of the Interior his fourth annual report, which deals exclusively with "working women in great cities." In his preface the commissioner says :

"A quarter of a century ago women were allowed to enter but few occupations. Now there are hundreds of vocations in which they can find employment. The present report names 342 of them. Whenever any industrial operations are simplified to such an extent that the weaker person can perform what was done of old by the stronger one the cheaper labour comes in and wages must of necessity be lowered"—

whether to the one formerly performing the labour or to the new comer.

"So, as the adult man in light occupations has given place to the woman or to the young person, wages in specific employments have decreased as compared with the former wages of the man."

*Bradstreet's Weekly* has published a statement of the failures of the last years in the United States. According to this paper, 10,587 failures were announced in 1883, against 9,740 in 1887, 10,568 in 1886, 11,116 in 1885, 11,620 in 1884, 10,299 in 1883, 7,635 in 1882, and 5,929 in 1881.

The same publication gives some interesting figures which it has collected in reference to capital and labour disputes. During 1888 there were reported

"679 strikes and lock-outs, an average of more than two each working day, involving 211,841 industrial employes, as against 884 strikes and lock-outs, an average of nearly three each working day, involving 345,854 employes, in 1887, and 350 strikes and lock-outs, involving 448,000 employes, in 1886. The decline in the number of men involved in strikes in 1888 from the totals of 1886 was 236,359, or over 52 per cent., while the decline last year from the figures of 1887 was 134,013, or 38 per cent. Comparing the number of strikes reported in 1888 with those of 1886, 679 against 350, there is apparently an increase of 94 per cent. in two years. There were 29 lock-outs in 1888, affecting 74,837 employes, against 20 lock-outs, involving 46,000 employes, in 1887, and 10 lock-outs, involving 80,000 employes, in 1886. Of those in 1888, 11, including 61,325 employes, failed, and 18, involving 13,512 employes, succeeded. Thus the employers won 62 per cent. of the lock-outs, but succeeded in carrying their point with only 18 per cent. of the men locked out. Nearly 38 per cent. of the strikes in 1888 were successful, while 50 per cent. of the workers involved gained their demands. In 1888 7,562,480 days' labour were lost in successful and unsuccessful strikes. The days lost in successful strikes in 1888 numbered 1,972,902, while those in unsuccessful strikes 5,589,578. The grand total loss of wages in successful strikes in 1888 is estimated at 2,959,353, and in unsuccessful strikes is said to aggregate \$3,384,367 dollars."

The big car strikes in New York city and Brooklyn are ended. On February 6th a meeting of the local assemblies belonging to national district assembly No. 226 Knights of Labour was called to decide as to whether the strike should be continued or not. The vote was in favour of ending the strike. The Executive Committee of the district therefore declared the strike "off." Much the same course was gone through in Brooklyn, in national district assembly No. 75 Knights of Labour. Just the very day the strike was declared off a collision happened in New York between the strikers and the police, which resulted in the loss of a life—a striker's. The brutal way in which the police tried to force a way for a car through a crowd in Sixty-first third so infuriated the people that they threw stones and other missiles at the car. Without any other provocation, the policeman Snyder, standing on the front platform of the car, and the "scab" conductor, drew their revolvers and fired at the crowd. Striker James McGown fell and was killed almost instantaneously. A dispute arose as to who had killed the unfortunate man, but at last the authorities agreed, the why I know not, to fix the charge on Snyder. He and the conductor and the driver were brought before a coroner's jury consisting mainly of small shopkeepers and suchlike bourgeois rabble. The jury, of course, dutifully brought in a verdict that McGown was shot by Snyder while in the discharge of his duty, and that Snyder, the conductor and the driver of the car deserve every commendation and credit for the heroic (!) manner in which they acted in defence of the property intrusted to their care. The jury also found that McGown was a rioter at the time he was shot. Snyder was discharged by the court. Who after this will yet maintain that cowboyism does not reign supreme in "the land of the free and the home of the brave"?

As soon as the strike was declared off the men applied for re-employment; but in New York as well as in Brooklyn all those who were taken back had to sign an iron-bound "agreement" swearing off allegiance to all labour organisations, and re-entering the employ of the different companies as individuals only. They had to promise they would resign from every labour organisation they belonged to. Yet in spite of all these humbling and degrading conditions, which the unfortunate men, in order to escape starvation, were compelled to accept, but 3,000 found re-employment; 3,500 more had to join the great and ever-increasing army of the homeless, friendless, penniless.

It is calculated that the strike has cost New York city about half a million dollars. The calculation is made up this way: The strikers lost in wages 6,500 men at 1 dol. 50 c. a-day, 8 days, 78,000 dols.; loss of the companies, 203,100. From stoppage of traffic, fear of the public: theatres lost in patronage, 60,000; shopkeepers lost, 150,000; minor houses (brothels?), restaurants, etc., 10,000; total, 501,100 dollars.

It is interesting to note how the capitalistic press calculates the loss of the companies. Let us, for instance, take the account of the Fourth Avenue road, the property belonging to the Vanderbilts, as given by the *Herald* :

"The Fourth Avenue road has seventeen miles of track. Its usual receipts from fares is over 2,600 dols. a day. The loss of this for eight days means a deficit of 20,800 dols. This company fought the strike from the first, hiring new

men, giving them three good meals a day and buying coats and blankets by the hundred. These expenses, with good dinners for 150 policemen at the Park Avenue Hotel every day, and breakages of property, must have made the outlay of the company about 900 dols. a day. Multiply this by eight and you have 7,200 dols., which, added to the 20,800 dols. loss of income, makes the big total of 28,000 dols."

In the same manner the accounts of the other companies are made up. It must have been quite an item for capital to feed about 3,000 policemen, to quench their thirst and to satisfy their desire for aromatic conchas. But New York capitalists know well how to treat their "blue boys." In Brooklyn the police have been made disgusted over the niggardly treatment of the railroad people, who tried to feed them on weak coffee and stale bread and treacle.

The loss of Brooklyn is calculated to be: railroad company, 7,100 dollars; strikers, 14,000; business men, 30,000; benefits, subscriptions, 4,500; total, 56,600 dollars.

The Philadelphia *Ledger* says: "It is stated that out of 30,000 mine labourers in the Luzerne district of Pennsylvania, only 9,000 obtained steady work during January. The falling off in wages, as compared with the same month last year, is 97,235 dollars. The outlook for February is still worse. Business of all kinds is greatly depressed."

There were 71 strikes, involving 18,926 men, reported to *Bradstreet's* in January this year, against 68 strikes, involving 40,436 men, in January 1888, and 92 strikes, involving 76,971 men, in January 1887.

Newark, N.J., February 12, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

**MINE AND THINE.**

THE following lines are literally translated from a poem written in Flanders in the 14th century, and show how the men of that day longed for the simplest Communism, probably with nearly as much reason amidst the high-handed open violence of "kings and scoundrels," as we have for our longing amidst the fraudulent veiled violence of capitalists and scoundrels:—

Two words about the world we see  
And nought but *Mine* and *Thine* they be.  
Ah! might we drive them forth and wide  
With us should rest and peace abide;  
All free, nought owned of goods and gear  
By men and women though it were.  
Common to all all wheat and wine  
Over the seas and up the Rhine.  
No manslayer then the wide world o'er  
When *Mine* and *Thine* are known no more.

Yea, God, well counselled for our health,  
Gave all this fleeting earthly wealth  
A common heritage to all,  
That men might feed them therewithal  
And clothe their limbs and shoe their feet  
And live a simple life and sweet.  
But now so rageth greediness  
That each desireth nothing less  
Than all the world, and all his own;  
And all for him and him alone.

Translated by WILLIAM MORRIS.

**REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.**

WEEK ENDING MARCH 9, 1889.

3	Sun.	1756. W. Godwin born. 1794. Trial of Joseph Gerrald for sedition. 1848. Louis Philippe, as "Mr. Smith," lands in England. 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia. 1879. W. K. Clifford died.
4	Mon.	1799. Trial of John Vint and two others for libelling the Czar. 1866. Fenian mass-meeting in New York. 1877. George Odger died. 1880. Karl Sladkowsky died. 1880. S. O. Molodietzky attempts the life of General Loris Melikoff, Governor-General of St. Petersburg.
5	Tues.	1817. Trial of Alexander McLaren and Thomas Baird for sedition. 1867. Fenian risings in Ireland. 1877. Trial of 50 Russian Socialists for working in factories under false names and carrying on secret propaganda: sentences—mines, 6; Siberia, 11; banishment, 19; prison, 6. 1880. Molodetzoff hanged. 1882. Edwin James died.
6	Wed.	1812. Trial of D. I. Eaton for blasphemous libel. 1815. Riots in London on account of a bill prohibiting importation of corn, lasted three days. 1848. Riots in Trafalgar Square and West-end. 1867. Proclamation of the Irish Republic sent to the <i>Times</i> and other papers. 1868. First prosecution of the International at Paris; five prisoners. 1880. S. O. Molodietzky hanged. 1881. Land Nationalisation Society formed.
7	Thur.	1896. The <i>Press</i> , organ of the United Irishmen, seized by Government, and office wrecked. 1867. Fenian rising near Dublin: Fenians hold market-place at Drogheda against police and soldiers, but at length beaten off. 1878. Osinsky makes attempt on Procureur Kotliarevsky at Kieff.
8	Fri.	1831. Riots in South of England to prevent shipment of corn.
9	Sat.	1762. William Cobbett born. 1867. P. L. Lavroff banished by administrative order to Kadnikoff; whence he escaped same day three years later.

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



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

N. O.—The *Free Labour Journal* (first number Oct. 3, 1868) was a forerunner of *Jus*, and met the same fate. It advocated Courts of Arbitration for trade disputes, Emigration, and Technical Education; talks of the tyranny of the trades unions, etc.  
N. D.—“Spartacus” was W. J. Linton.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 27.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	ITALY
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Turin—Il Muratore
Labour Elector	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Ancona—Il Libero Patto
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seaman's Journal	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette	Denver—Arbitrator	Barcelona—El Productor
Railway Review	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Madrid—El Socialista
Sozial Demokrat	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Ruskin's Reading Guild Journal	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Proletariat	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolté	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Wien—Gleichheit
New York—Der Sozialist	BRITAIN	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Freiheit	Ghent—Voeruit	DENMARK
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	WEST INDIES
Jewish Volkszeitung	Arbeiterstimme	Cuba—El Productor
Workmen's Advocate		

LIBERAL MALIGNITY: THE NEW JESUITS.

THE most malignant symptom of social disease in our day is the prostitution of intellect, under its three forms of Literature, Science, and Art, to plutocracy. Hence the inventions that should lighten the burdens of toil, increase them by supplanting the employed and putting skill at a discount, and shift the yoke to the shoulders of women and children. Great works of art, instead of developing taste and ideality among the masses, as in Greece, have become private property, the ostentation of privilege, adorning the palaces of great robbers.

But the most shameful fact of all is, that men of letters, whose fortunes are not directly due to plutocrat patronage, but depend on the sale of great numbers of books at small prices, should combine with the oppressors of that labour whose spoils nourish luxury. This is the more ungrateful, because of their clearer knowledge of the facts and methods involved, and when these men of letters profess “liberalism,” it is also the more hypocritical. Their very existence as “liberal,” secular or infidel, propagandists, depends upon a tolerance of speech and press which they refuse to other economic controversialists. An arch-type of this evil eminence, because of his intellectual and social culture, is Moncure D. Conway, one of the few who a quarter of a century ago had the moral courage to withstand and oppose the madness of the interstate war, and whose recent work, ‘Pine and Palm,’ is a gem in English literature.

Bred to the pulpit, i.e., to professional obscurantism, Conway broke the trammels of theology; he refused to owe his zeal to the authority of an imaginary despot; but entered no less zealously than his ex-clerical brethren, into the holy alliance of Government, Capitalism, and the Church, with Mother Grundy for their housekeeper and common prostitute. Under this selfish and sinister bias, Conway in face of the miseries of London and New York, quiets his conscience with the Malthusian placebo. They rush upon their fate by pullulation. If they would abstain from pigging, and thus allow themselves to die out naturally, after a while, they would be few enough to command better prices for their labour. What can be done for a class that insists upon extravagance in children? Can a man of Conway's intelligence pretend to be ignorant that it is the inherent vice of misery to pullulate, as of luxury to rarefy? Was there ever a numerical excess of individual perfections, such as culture obtains in flowers, fruits, or animals? Does not this check to numbers, or quantity by quality, visibly reign in humanity? What hypocrisy! to blame the masses starved into coarseness, ignorance, and filth, degraded by industrial despotism to a lower moral level than any other beast than the hog—and not even like it, fattened for the table—for lacking self-control over the only passion whose exercise is left to them in common with other brutes! If capitalism, omnipotent through its governmental agent and its church conjuring, would but reconstitute chattel-slavery, kill off supraumeries, and treat the rest as other beasts of burden or pleasure, there would be comparatively little ground of complaint and fewer to complain—or rather to be complained about—for these dumb-stricken ones can complain only by crime or by death.

Instead of culture, such as makes the Conways, heedless of their brother's woes, our plutocracy gives its proletaires the lot of Tantalus; which Nature has spared to the cart-horse and other beasts of burden, whose intelligence scarcely transcends their situation. It would not be worth while to single out an illustration of the so common apathy of egoist culture. I have just happened to learn that at the epoch of the “Anarchist” trial at Chicago, Conway while thanking me for informing him about the case, and letting me suppose he would use his influence in the direction of justice, was writing to the *New York Tribune* against the lives of the accused. He had also proclaimed himself an opponent of the death penalty; yet after the execution, he said to a friend of mine who was deprecating this public crime, “It was best they should be exterminated.”

Here is a teacher of ethics for you, that found the Christianity of Jesus not good enough for him, and that finds blasphemy against the money power an unpardonable crime.

Conway was not ignorant of the iniquities of the Anarchist trial, and avowed to me in general terms his disapproval of its proceedings. He also told me that he had read Spies' autobiography, which whatever economic dissent it may provoke, cannot fail to touch sympathies in every noble heart. No one could have limned the characters in ‘Pine and Palm,’ without having felt what it is to be a gentleman. Yet here is one hand in glove with Gary, Bonfield, Schaack and Co., synonyms of an ineffable monstrosity of baseness, cruelty, and perfidy. Suppose, which is improbable, that Conway ever believed the condemned accessory to the bomb-throwing, i.e., to the crime of resenting a police aggression on the right of assemblage, added to the other crime of using their constitutional rights of speech and press in behalf of ideas that Conway does not share. Are these two legal innocences adequate to converting previous horror of capital punishment into an exterminative hatred?

Let me interpret the true inwardness of Conway's conduct. Attached as a partisan to the privileges of the ruling class by his culture, and too intelligent not to be aware of their injustice, he like his ethical comrades, Salter, Adler and Co., all “free thinkers,” has become a systematic hypocrite, who sees in the police, however hoodlum, and in courts, however corrupt, the palladium of his privileged culture. To be such a partisan is to confine every sentiment of humanity to the membership of one's own social class; it is to be as narrow and bigoted a sectarian as Calvin or as Torquemada, independently of doctrines, it is to be as impervious as an alligator to justice or to charity. Such is the culture which is achieved at the cost of extreme degradation and misery; in our civilised proletariat, here is an exponent of the very best results of our system of government, and from this we never shall move so long as the police forms a class apart from the mass of citizens, instead of being renewed from week to week by lot from all the able-bodied. Chicago has been the police-made organic law.

EDGEWORTH.

OUT OF WORK MEMBERS.

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

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

Two painters would be glad of work (North London Branch).

LONDON PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London on the last day of the first week of February, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, was 105,730, as compared with 110,319 in 1888, 104,253 in 1887, and 100,517 in 1886. The vagrants relieved on the 7th inst. numbered 1,234, of whom 1,058 were men, 166 women, and 10 children under sixteen years of age.

## TO WEST-END TAILORS.

At this time of the year we are all of us, more or less, out of employment, and during the last busy season (that broke off for some of us long before Christmas) we had to work long hours, and in many cases in unhealthy workshops, and many is the scuffle<sup>1</sup> and the drag<sup>2</sup> we were in. Many a night we had to work to get a job done, many a snarl from the foreman, and many a job ill-paid—and for what? Do you think it is necessary to go through the anxious and worrying life, with all its uncertainties and disappointments, for the scanty reward that we get? How many of us can live through a slack time without the pawnshop? How often we are without the means of getting the makings of a suit or even a coat; and our children—how we crib the pieces of cloth and linings to make them little things, because the cheap clothes, when we can afford them are so common and nasty. And yet we are always making up the finest of materials. For whom? For other useful people? No. For honest men and women? Sometimes. And how do our fellow-workers get clothed? We know that they are obliged to get slop-made shoddy things, that are made by women and children in London and the provinces and on the Continent, in factories, for starvation wages, and the contractors that employ them getting richer on their misery and prostitution. Now does it not seem, friends, a very disreputable state of affairs, when we West-end tailors are never making anything for our fellow-workers, but always toiling for the comfort and benefit of the so-called upper classes; who in return do not do a single stroke of anything useful whatever, but who manage to get out of the annual results of the united labours of the workers of England, about eight hundred millions of pounds as rent, interest, and profit. "Oh, but they keep us employed!" say some. Yes, and there's the mischief. They do keep us employed on their fashions and finery (the very trimmings of which would clothe all the naked ones), keeping us away from doing the work for our fellows in all other trades and occupations, who require our labours so much. Who are continually robbing them and us, and out of the proceeds manage to keep many of us wasting our time for them and their servants. Think of the liveries that are made in a year! Think of how many honest men and women that are obliged to go to service to these people whom we work for! Who keeps these gentlefolk and their man and maid-servants? Who earns the money that buys and keeps their horses and carriages, and their expensive furniture and jewellery and wines? Why, the workers of all countries. All wealth is produced by labour, that's clear. Then labour must claim all the wealth that is stored up on all sides. These lazy people pass their time mostly in pleasure, vicious and degrading; who call themselves our superiors because, forsooth, their fathers or friends were successful thieves, not open and daring like Dick Turpin or any of the robbers of old, but in a strictly legal way protecting themselves with laws of their own making, founded or floated bogus companies, or sucked their per cents. out of the sweat and blood of the miners, or cotton hands, or the many other speculations they are engaged in at our expense.

How many of us would not have been tailors, or for the matter of that, other kinds of tradesmen, if the land had not been stolen from the people. They say (and they have it over the entrance to the Royal Exchange) that the "earth is the Lords and the fullness thereof," but they have taken advantage of the people's apathy and ignorance, and to day the earth is the landlord's, and he can and does turn us off it and makes for himself and confederates a pleasure ground. Thus it is that we are forced to come to the towns and cities and compete with already under-paid labour, and there being a demand for house-room the rents are put on. We are obliged to live in unhealthy places, we cannot get wholesome food or pure air, and we are obliged in many cases to go to work for sweaters. We perhaps go out and get work for ourselves to make at home; and if we have children they must help, and the wife also, and from so much close confinement we get sallow and miserable looking. How many of us know how many tailors die, long before their time, of consumption and other chest diseases in London alone? And shall we not make a struggle to free ourselves from this slavery? "Yes," you say, "there's the Tailor's Society!" Can that get us back the vast stolen results of our labours, past and present? Does not the society admit the necessity of masters, and only wishes to get out of the profits a little more as wages? And is not the little money we get back from the society in cases of sickness and death, part of the hard earnings of ourselves and others, who have denied themselves and families the necessary comforts to be able to keep up the payments? Must we always be so stupid to think that we cannot work and live without masters? I for one say that the whole system of masters and slaves is a rotten and unfair one.

We are told to be thrifty and temperate. That is, that we the workers, the producers, should not partake of the comforts and luxuries that we make, but should deny ourselves of nearly all that is worth living for, even to actual necessities, in order that the idlers may have more ease, more luxuries, more wealth. Because the cheaper we can live the less wages will we get, and so leave the shirkers more surplus. "Ah! but we all stand the same chance to get on," say some. Yes, but we can only get on at the expense of many of our less fortunate fellows, who may have more real ability and be in every way more worthy, and yet because another is more cringing or crafty he stands the better chance. We may all learn cutting, and pay away our hard-

earned savings to some quack professor, but we only make so many more competitors for the job and so bring down the wages. Some will say, perhaps, that by belonging to the society and paying an extra 1½d. a-week for so many years, that you become eligible for admission to the "Home" at Haverstock Hill. Just fancy! After working a lifetime, perhaps, for the benefit of the innumerable parasites that fatten on us. After helping to build up the fortunes of some Poole or Redfern, and living on the cag-mag that falls to the lot of many of us, perhaps being a teetotaler, non-smoker, vegetarian; reared sons, perhaps, who have gone and fought for their country's "honour" and "nobly" died for some money-monger's profit, and who might have been a support in old age and infirmity. What a grand reward! Well, you might say, its better than nothing or the workhouse.

No, fellow-workers, it is not the reward that we are entitled to. We tell them, the aristocrats, money-lenders, stock-jobbers, and all the other sweaters, that it is good enough for them—they who have never worked, and never starved; they who have exploited the workers of all countries; they who have set us against one another because we were born on different parts of the earth; they who pay us a few pence a day to go out to India or Egypt to be shot at for their pleasure; they who debauch our daughters, our sisters, and our sweet-hearts; they who pass laws to keep us in subjection, to keep us servile and ignorant; they it is whom the workhouses, almshouses, and infirmaries are good for! They have by combination, international and social, acquired their privileges. We must do likewise. We must combine with the down-trodden workers of all countries and colours, and educate and agitate until the whole so-called civilised world is convulsed.

Let us no longer waste our time and energies on politics, and no longer be the Christ-crucified between the two thieves—Capitalism and Landlordism—but let us work unceasingly for the preparation of the workers for the great Strike of Labour throughout the world, when the two armies shall be opposed, the Workers and the Shirkers. This can and shall be accomplished in a comparatively short time, if you individually make it the duty of your life. The more we agitate the more converts we shall make, and the nearer we shall be to the great crisis, the great strike, the great Social Revolution.

MYER WILCHINSKI.

## THERE'S PLENTY FOR ALL.

FROM "DRURY LANE LYRICS."

THERE'S plenty for all, but we thwart one another,  
And the weak gather weeds, while the strong cull the flowers;  
Let man aye treat man like a man and a brother,  
And there's plenty for all in this rich world of ours.  
Had the godhead been selfish, no frail flower blooming,  
Would, dying, bequeath its perfume to the air;  
And the life-giving streams, through our wide valleys roaming,  
Would have ne'er spread their circles, nor mirrored a star.

Dark deeds and rare virtues, self-love and negation,  
In the wisest of nations have struggling met;  
And the page that records the good deeds of the nation,  
Is polluted with crime that we fain would forget:  
Did men love one another as firm as they hated,  
This world were a spot wherein no man could grieve;  
Will the palate of Woe with Man's tears ne'er be sated?  
Will man never practice to live and let live?

Shall the shadows of darkness grow shorter or longer?  
Have martyrs unbowed trod the scaffold in vain?  
Will brotherly love become weaker or stronger?  
The crimes of the past be enacted again?  
Fair plenty shall enter the cottager's dwelling,  
Laughter will shake his fat sides at his board,  
Paeans to Joy fill the breeze proudly swelling,  
And the wand of old Time change the serf to a lord.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

THE PARIS WORKMEN'S CONGRESS.—It has been resolved by the French National Labour Committee that the International Workmen's Congress shall be held during the latter half of July, immediately after the great national fêtes, which will celebrate the centenary of the Revolution. All groups, associations, or trade unions, which are represented, must prove that they were in existence in 1888. The votes will be taken by nationality, each nation having one vote, to be decided by the majority of its delegates. The agenda will include—(1) International legislation on the hours of labour; (2) The most practical means to employ so as to establish constant relations between the labour organisations of the different countries without infringing upon their autonomy. All nationalities can place other questions on the agenda for discussion. It is not at present determined where the Congress shall be held, but it is possible that it may take place in the great hall of the new Paris Labour Exchange now in course of construction. This building will cost £120,000, and will hold 180 separate offices for the use of the various trade unions. The arrangements for organising the Congress are entrusted to the French Workmen's Party (Federation des Travailleurs Socialistes de France). A discussion will be raised on the method by which the eight hours' principle is to be enforced. The French committee makes a special appeal to the English trade unions ("so well organised and so powerful") to be present through their delegates. It is to be hoped, says the *Star*, that this appeal will be responded to in a spirit more cordial than that which marked the conduct of the Parliamentary Committee at last November's Congress. Trade unions merely will not be the only bodies represented in Paris. All genuine societies organised to promote the interests of the working classes as a whole are invited to send delegates.

<sup>1</sup> Hurry.

<sup>2</sup> A drag is when with all your hurry you don't get the job done in time.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Northumberland miners have agreed to accept the terms proposed by the masters.

The Kirkcaldy mill-workers who were on strike, resumed work on the 21st of February.

The plater's helpers employed in the Wear shipbuilding yards struck work on February 20th for an increase of wages.

The Leith carters at a meeting on Saturday night resolved to form themselves into a branch of the Scottish Horsemen's Union.

The strike in the Stockport hat trade still continues. The employers, it is said, are about to establish some defensive organisation.

The rivet beaters in Leven Shipyard, Dumbarton, came out on strike on Saturday, Feb. 23rd. Several hundreds of men are affected.

There is a movement amongst the members of the Greenock branches of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers for an advance of 3d. per hour.

**IRONMOULDER'S WAGES.**—The ironmoulders on the Clyde have intimated that they will require an increase of 3d. per hour, to take effect on the 29th inst.

A deputation to the managers reported to a crowded meeting of miners at Broxburn, February 23rd, that the Mineral Oil Association refused to grant the advance demanded.

**BOILERMAKER'S WAGES.**—The shipbuilders on the Mersey have agreed to grant the boilermakers and others an increase of 5 per cent. on piece-work and 1s. on time wages from 1st of March, with a similar further increase on 1st of July.

**SHIPYARD STRIKERS STAND OUT.**—By a ballot the 2,000 shipyard helpers on strike at Sunderland for an advance of 1s. 6d. a week have refused the builder's offer of an increase of 6d. per week. The strike, therefore, continues. As a compromise, the men have offered to accept an advance of 1s.

**NEWRY (IRELAND) SPINNERS.**—The operatives in spinning department of Bessbrook Company's Spinning Mills, Dromalane, Newry, struck work on 20th for an increase, and consequently the workers in preparing and reeling departments are also idle. All the mill hands, to the number of about 300, are now out.

**SOUTH WALES COLLIERS.**—At an adjourned meeting of the South Wales colliers, held on Saturday at Aberdare, the employer's conditional offer of 5 per cent. advance was rejected by a majority. It was afterwards decided to demand an increase of 12½ per cent. in wages throughout the district of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—The chainmakers in small-chain trade have accepted new list of prices lately formulated. The new list will make a reduction upon best qualities, and also a slight decrease in prices upon some classes of inferior chain. The list represents an increase upon most of the common chain. The chainmakers are now all busily at work.

**LABOURERS' WAGES.**—A large representative meeting of hillmen and labourers was held at Baillieston last week to discuss the wage question, and according to reports their weekly wages ranged from 13s. to 17s. per week. The following resolution was unanimously agreed to: "That we, the labourers and hillmen of Baillieston district, consider that we have been unfairly treated by our employers not giving us a fair share in the recent advance in wages, and consider that at least the weekly wage of labourers ought to be 18s.; and further, that they join the order of the Sons of Labour."

**TIN-PLATE WORKERS.**—At Morriston, on Saturday, a great demonstration took place to sympathise with the workmen who have given notice to the proprietors of Worcester and Upper Forest Tin-plate Works to cease work a month from February 6th. On the reception of this notice the proprietors gave notice that they would close the works at the end of the month rather be dictated to. Morriston being the centre of the tin-plate industry, the dispute is creating great anxiety. Resolutions pledging support in the approaching struggle were adopted. Over 2,000 workpeople, it is stated, will probably be locked out in about six days, and the works stopped.

**MASTERS AND APPRENTICES.**—D. and J. Smith, boot manufacturers at Newton-on-Ayr, applied to the Court to have two of their apprentices ordered to return to their work under the alternative of imprisonment. In defence, it was explained the boys had left their employment because of not being taught the business in accordance with the indentures, and pleaded thereby that the masters had thereby broken the indentures in having kept them almost exclusively at boy's boots, instead of also giving them men's and women's. Sheriff Paterson, after hearing proof, has decided that the masters had not fulfilled the contract with their apprentices, but held that the boys had no right to leave their work, having other remedy. He ordered them to go back, and the masters to give them a proper share of higher class work.

**MANCHESTER CIGARETTE WORKERS.**—A branch of the Cigarette Workers and Tobacco Cutters Union has lately been formed at Manchester. Last Thursday week the members of that society employed at the firm of Muratti and Co., at St. James's Street, Oxford Street, about 21 in number, have left work on account of the firm refusing an advance of 3d. per 1,000, which, according to the employes' statement, would simply be a returning of the 3d. that has recently been taken off. The prices at present are 2s. 6d. to male workers per 1,000, and 2s. 3d. to females for the same quantity and quality of work. The strikers are all foreign Jews, most of whom are females. Unfortunately, there are seven English Christian females still at work, and the prospect of those on strike is not very hopeful. The conditions, fines, abuse, etc., they were subject to is indescribable.

**SEAMEN'S STRIKE.**—A crowded meeting was held on Thursday 21st at Deptford in connection with the Sailors' and Firemen's Union, John Burns in the chair. It was reported that the General Steam Navigation Company were willing to reinstate the men on strike, and would not insist on their being transferred from one ship to another without any rest, and would concede an advance of 2s. per week on the wages formerly paid. After some discussion a resolution was passed by a majority of two to one agreeing that the men should return to work Friday on these terms. An amendment proposing that the men should stand out for an increase of 5s. was lost, but nearly 200 men remained neutral, voting neither for the resolution nor amendment. Mr. Abbott, secretary, bitterly complained of the manner in which the agitation had been boycotted by the London newspapers, with the

exception of the *Star*, whereas in provincial seaports the local press had given full publicity to the proceedings of the Sailors' Union. John Burns said at very short notice he had attended that meeting, and brought with him cordial expressions of sympathy from several members of parliament. With regard to the General Steam Navigation Company, he noticed from their report for the year ending 1888 that they had earned £9,000 more than in the corresponding half-year of 1887; they had put by £40,000 for depreciation, besides a dividend of £11,040 for the shareholders and carrying over a balance of £3,344. That justified the men in asking for an increase, especially as the manager got £2,000 a year for four hours per day on six days of the week, while they worked nearly night and day all the week. That was a shame. He promised them the support of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, to which he belonged, and would endeavour to put a stop to the boycotting by the press.—At the Dublin Trades Council on the 18th it was stated that the owners of ten ships had conceded their demand. Michael Murphy had given his men a rise from 25s. to 30s. Tedcastle 25s. to 30s., the Caledonian, on the Silloth line, from 28s. to 30s. Palgrave and Murphy had also recognised the justice of the request, and had given a concession, but the British and Irish Steampacket Co. did not entertain the proposals. The men were willing to leave the dispute to arbitration. The Lord Mayor has consented to be one of the arbitrators. There has been a warm little dispute caused by the officers of the fire-brigade trying to prevent their men joining the Seamen's Union; but the question has been settled by the Water-works Committee resolving that "the Committee have no concern with the men as to their becoming members of any association so long as such action on their part does not interfere with the discipline and efficiency of the brigade."

## THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY AND PRODUCTIVE CO-OPERATION.

The *Co-operative News* publishes the following circular, copies of which are issued to the shareholding societies in the Wholesale:

GENTLEMEN,—We address you on a subject of importance to co-operators. We believe that the revision of the rules of the Co-operative Wholesale Society offers an opportunity for reconstituting the Co-operative Wholesale Society's workshops on a truly co-operative basis.

Delegates at the meetings of the Co-operative Wholesale Society have decided to appoint a committee for the purpose of considering and reporting on the present rules and constitution of the Wholesale Society.

In the present condition of co-operative opinion, which demands a solution of the labour problem, it is most desirable that the instructions given to this committee should include power to take this subject especially into their consideration, and report upon it.

The Wholesale Society stands before the public as the most prominent representative of co-operative industry; by its faults we are judged; by its failures to carry out the co-operators' principles, the public condemn our cause.

We venture to set before you some suggestions which, if incorporated in the rules of the Wholesale Society, would make it a federation in reality.

At present the productive workshops of the Wholesale Society too often act as an impediment to its progress.

By adopting a scheme similar to that outlined, it is possible to continually extend the productive side of co-operation with the help of the Wholesale Society. Workshops of this kind, possessing local self-government, and infused with local energy, would be a strength and support to the Wholesale Society, and make it what it ought to be, *the great central agency* for the collection and distribution of every product of co-operative industry.

We address you as fellow co-operators. We are, like you, members of co-operative societies, and therefore wishful that our Wholesale Society should have a generous programme, which would give opportunities for expansion in co-operative production.

We ask you to seriously consider the proposal we now lay before you, and pledge those for whom you vote to support proposals at least as liberal to the workers as those annexed. We remain, gentlemen, yours faithfully.

(Signed by the Executive Committee and the Secretary, H. E. Ivimey.)  
Labour Association, for Promoting Co-operative Production based on the Co-partnership of the Worker. Central Office, 1 Norfolk Street, Strand.

### SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE RELATIONS OF THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY WITH ITS WORKSHOPS.

1. Separate registration of each workshop as a workshop society under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, so that workers can hold shares.
2. Wholesale Society's present capital invested in the existing productive works to be represented in £1 shares, consecutively numbered.
3. Such capital to bear the same rate of interest as is now being charged the workshops by the Wholesale Society in their accounts.
4. The Wholesale Society to remain the sole distributors to co-operative societies of the products, receiving the same commission as the workshops are at present charged in the Wholesale Society's accounts.
5. The Wholesale Society to receive such proportion of profits as will pay their present average dividend on custom.
6. The Wholesale Society to have the option to accumulate their profits in share capital of the workshop societies.
7. In the event of there being at any time surplus capital in any workshop, the shares to be paid out as consecutively numbered.
8. The share-list of each workshop society to be always open to the workers for investment in the workshop in which they are employed.
9. The workers' share capital to receive the same rate of interest as that of the Wholesale Society invested in the workshop.
10. The workers to receive (as workers) the profits remaining after providing for numbers 3, 4, 5, and 9.
11. The workers' profits to be always capitalised in shares, except such portions as are set aside for special funds.
12. A committee of management to be appointed for each workshop, upon which the workers shall elect at least one representative in the beginning, the numbers to be increased as the workers' proportion of capital increases.
13. The workers to appoint an advising committee.
14. Each workshop society to become a shareholding member in the Wholesale Society.

COSMOPOLITAN CLUB, Charles Square, Hoxton.—Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m., C. W. Mowbray, "Socialism and Politics." Friends are specially asked to turn up here on this occasion, this being the opening night.

# THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**Executive.**—At the last Council meeting, Sparring, Davis, and Cores were elected as delegates to Metropolitan Radical Federation on the question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square.

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

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, March 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp. Members are specially asked to attend the next meeting, as the question of the best method of conducting London propaganda will be discussed.

**Commune Celebration.**—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, March 5th, after the business of the Propaganda Committee has been finished.

**Children's Party.**—A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham. The Committee will meet at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, March 5th, at 7.30 p.m. All members of the Committee are asked to attend.

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

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

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

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

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 1s. 2d.; and at Hyde Park, 1s. 7½d.

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

**NOTICE TO MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.**—Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, March 5th, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members who are interested in the propaganda are asked to attend. D. J. NICOLL.

## "COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—Schmitt, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Latham, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; J. Morris, 2s.; B. W., 6d.; and S. Presburg, 6d.; J. Stirling Robertson, 4s. From Norwich Branch, 1s. 6d.

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

## REPORTS.

**LONDON OUTDOOR PROPAGANDA.**—A good meeting was held last Sunday at Regents Park, when Cantwell, Blundell, and Parker spoke; 1s. 2d. collected. At Hyde Park, Parker, Davis, Cores, and Nicoll spoke; several chants sung with good effect, and 1s. 7½d. collected. Procession to Broad Street escorted by police, horse and foot; a short meeting was held at Broad Street. At Clerkenwell Green, Parker, Brooks, and McCormack spoke. Literature and *Commonweal* sold well at these stations.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, February 24th, Mrs. Schack lectured on "How Women can Help the Socialist Movement;" very good discussion and many questions asked. Several women were present, but it was suggested that more women should attend Socialist halls and lectures, outdoor and indoor, on Sunday evenings and at other times. We closed with several revolutionary songs and the Marseillaise; 2s. 8½d. collected.—S. P.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Good meeting on Sunday at Latimer Road at 11.30 a.m.; very good audience; speakers were Dean, Maughan, Wm. Morris, Crouch, and A. J. Smith; choir assisted; 16 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., good meeting was held; speakers were Lyne, jun., Tarleton, and Bullock. At Kelmescott House, Wm. Clarke lectured to fair audience. The business meetings of this branch continue to be well attended. A few more voices wanted in the choir.—G. M.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Last Friday week, Nicoll read Kropotkin's article entitled "The Spirit of Revolt" to a select audience; very well received, and a good discussion followed.—T. C.

**ABERDEEN.**—At open-air meeting in Castle Street on 23rd inst., we were moved by police to another part of the square. Here we had to contend with cheap jacks, fruit-sellers, and a revivalist meeting in close proximity, but held our own against the whole chorus. Duncan and Leatham addressed large and densely packed meeting, and drew the revivalists into speaking about the social question from their point of view; questions at close. Comrade Cooper has made an excellent platform for us. At indoor meeting on 18th, Carpenter's lecture on "Private Property" read and discussed. Leatham is doing good propaganda in the most popular local paper, in which he is running a series of articles.

**GLASGOW.**—On Wednesday evening, members distributed leaflets at Mr. Naoroji's meetings in the City Hall. On Sunday at 2.30, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne spoke to a good audience on the Green. At 5 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll on the "Distribution of Wealth." There was a large crowd, and the people listened attentively, but all the wealth they distributed into the hat when it was sent round was 5d. At 7 o'clock we held a meeting at St. George's Cross, a station which we abandoned two years ago after a short campaign. There was a very good audience, mostly of the well-dressed class. They seemed much interested, and bought *Commonweal* well.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday morning, a large number of back copies of *Commonweal* was distributed by several comrades at one or two of the surrounding villages. In afternoon, a short open-air meeting was held in Market Place addressed by Darley and Poynts; audience not so large as usual owing to the very bad weather. In evening, at Gordon Hall, Freeman in chair, discussion upon the 'Manifesto' was resumed. Mills opened in the negative at some length, and was supported by W. Moore. Owing to the length of time taken up, it was decided to adjourn until next Sunday evening, when it will be again resumed in the negative. Meeting concluded with songs by Darley, Emery, and Lennyng, a duet by G. and H. Ashley, and three cheers for the Social Revolution.—S.

**YARMOUTH.**—Sunday morning, Reynolds and Ruffold paid a promised visit to Gorleston, and held a meeting in a building used as a sailor's look-out, which was kindly offered us, the weather being very cold. We were listened to very attentively, and asked to go again. We sold six *Weals*. In the afternoon we held usual meeting on Priory Plain, Ruffold and Reynolds again being the speakers. All our *Weal* sold.

## LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼ minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 3, at 8.30, H. Davis, "Objections to Socialism Answered." Sun. 10th, A. Lecture. Sun. 17th, D. Nicoll, "English Revolution, 1815-1817—Spafield and Derbyshire Insurrection." Sunday 24th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

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

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Waltham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 3, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday 7th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 8th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

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

**Mitcham.**—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m. **North London.**—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

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

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

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

## PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Central Halls, Nicolson Street, Tuesday 5th March, at 8 p.m., Leo Melliet will lecture on "Woman and Social Progress."

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

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

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

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall. Sunday, at 8 p.m., resumed discussion on the Manifesto. Tuesday, at 8.15, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.—All comrades having books belonging to the Branch are requested to return them at once to the Librarian, W. Moore, in order that a complete catalogue may be made.

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 3.

11	.....	Broad Street, Soho	.....	Nicoll & Mowbray.
11	.....	Hackney—"Salmon and Ball,"	.....	Hicks and Davis.
11	.....	Leman Street, Shadwell	.....	Mrs. Schack and Mowbray.
11.30	.....	Latimer Road Station	.....	Hammersmith Branch.
11.30	.....	Regent's Park	.....	Parker, Springfield, Mainwaring.
11.30	.....	Waltham Green, opposite Station	.....	The Branch.
3.30	.....	Hyde Park	.....	Nicoll, Brookes, Mrs. Lahr, and Parker.
3.30	.....	Victoria Park	.....	Davis and Mowbray.
7.30	.....	Clerkenwell Green	.....	Brookes and Parker.
7.30	.....	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park	.....	Hammersmith Branch.

TUESDAY 5.

8.30	.....	Fulham—back of Waltham Green Church	.....	The Branch.
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THURSDAY 7.

8.15	.....	Hoxton Church	.....	Cores & Mowbray.
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FRIDAY 8.

8	.....	Philpot Street, Commercial Road	.....	Mowbray & Cores.
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## PROVINCES.

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

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

**Yarmouth.**—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

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**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 2d.; Large paper, 3d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
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