

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 165.

SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

CELEBRATION OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

The Celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the Paris Commune (convened by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation) will be held on

SATURDAY EVENING, MARCH 16th, at Eight prompt,
AT THE
SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,
SOUTH PLACE, MOORGATE STREET, E.C.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

WM. MORRIS, H. QUELCH, D. NICOLL, JOHN BURNS, FRANK KITZ,
H. BURROWS, H. HALLIDAY SPARLING, A. S. HEADINGLEY, ELEANOR
MARX-AVELING, P. KROPOTKINE, LE MOUSSU, and E. BERNSTEIN.

CHAIRMAN: H. M. HYNDMAN

Selections of Music will be given during the Evening by Members and Friends of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Choir of the Socialist League will render the 'Marseillaise,' 'All for the Cause,' and 'When the Workers have their own again,' etc.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

W. H. LEE (S.D.F.), or F. KITZ (S.L.),
Organising Secretaries, 13, Farringdon Rd., E.C.

NOTES ON NEWS.

It is difficult indeed to say a word about the "Great Case" which has not already been said dozens of times. Socialists must of course join in the general rejoicing. If things had gone the other way the reactionaries would have been encouraged to more and more acts of oppression, and the *Times* newspaper would have been our master till we could have mustered strength to upset the whole concern. As things go the *Times* has been hit hard indeed; and although it is true that by taking things quietly and letting the days pass, it will in a few months regain something of the appearance of its old *prestige*, yet at all events its *forward* movement to take us all by the throat has been checked.

As to Mr. Parnell, he is not of us, and probably, in time to come, will be very much against us; but it would be ungenerous indeed not to rejoice in his triumph over such a vile crew as the *Times* and the Tory Government. On the other hand, we think no better of him for being cleared of the *crime* of being art and part with the revolutionary party in Ireland; and as to the famous or infamous letter, when the fac-simile first appeared in the columns of the *Friend of Informers*, I remember rubbing my eyes and saying to myself, "Why, what the devil has bit the *Times* now, where's the harm in that letter?"

For the Government of course the blow is serious; but the hopes of a speedy dissolution in which the *Star* and other Radicals are indulging are surely delusive. The Government majority on the amendment to the Address shows pretty clearly that though there may be some of the Tory party who are ashamed of the tactics of their leaders (now they have failed), yet they have no choice but to vote straight on a

division. Indeed, as to the shame, I doubt it; for politics make blackguards of us all.

However, when the general election does come, no doubt this defeat will go some way to overthrow the Tory party, and unless the unexpected weighs down the scales on the other side once more, we may look for a Gladstonian Parliament next time. Well, what then? As to Ireland compromise, and shelving the matter until it reappears, one may well hope, with a far more revolutionary aspect. As to the country in general? Well, what we may reasonably expect is, that the New Gladstonian Parliament will think that they have done enough for the popular side in conceding some crippled Home Rule to Ireland, and will set their face against any serious change in England. And on the whole I think that this which is likely to happen is the best thing that could happen. For there are many Radicals, and perhaps some Socialists, who expect *much* from a new Liberal Parliament, and if they get *nothing* perhaps they will bestir *themselves* a little, and try to push things forward.

For just think, while all these fine ladies and gentlemen, these miracles of refinement and cultivation, were crowding into the Court as into a theatre, to enjoy themselves over this judicial drama, the point of which was to find out, whether a certain Parliamentary leader was more or less mixed up with an enthusiastic and generous attack (though made on grounds that we should not agree with) on that great reactionary power, the British Empire—while all this was going on, and the corruption of well-to-do society was day by day being exposed, all around them thousands of poor people were (and are) dying of starvation and living in torment, without a hand being held out to help them. Anything is good enough to obscure the thought of *that* and what will come of it—though nothing worse than itself *can* come of it. And there is no wonder in that, for all this suffering is the foundation of "Society." Touch it, attempt seriously to remedy it, and down topples that false Society itself—and there is the remedy, and there is no other. W. M.

As comrade John Burns well said when speaking there, the meeting of the Metropolitan Radical Federation, of which a report will be found elsewhere, marked an era in the history of the struggle for free speech. The picked men of the working-men's Liberal and Radical clubs were met together, resolute, angry, ready to do anything—if they could but resolve on what was to do. They would have nothing whatever to do with the cowardly proposal to get parliament to "legalise" their meetings. The right of public meeting antedated parliament by centuries; it was one of those imprescriptible rights which the people had never delegated to any legislature. They would not be "allowed" to do that which was well within their right. Such was the clearly expressed feeling of the meeting right through.

The two Liberal members who came down to direct, remained to be rebuked and badgered. They were beginning to feel a little uncomfortable, when Sir Charles Russell came in, and their faces cleared. But they soon clouded again, not to clear for the rest of the evening, when they found how futile was the would-be *coup-d'état*, and how little even the "old lion of the law courts" could do for them. To see Mr. Pickersgill gradually lose his grandiose air, and plead and wriggle like a frightened pettifogger under the stern questioning of his judges! Mr. Morgan, his companion, met with a less severe reception, for he was obviously a good honest old man, a survival from bygone days. But more instructive than all, was to see Sir Charles Russell straining every nerve to master a hostile audience—of Liberals and Radicals!—and failing.

All his *prestige* and the greatness of his power could do nothing for him. The old familiar shibboleths fell on deaf ears—deaf to everything but "Free Speech" and "Trafalgar Square." And it was by no means an audience of Socialists; the delegates of Socialist organisations were in a very small minority. The fiercest speeches were made by the delegates of Liberal clubs and similar bodies; from the body of the meeting came the shouts of denunciation, the short bitter sen-

stances that stung Sir Charles into rage and whitened the face of Mr. Pickering. So infuriated were the Radicals by the thought of the treachery wrought against them that it was the Socialists who again and again, by immense effort, secured a hearing for "the accused." This was so marked that Mr. Morgan admitted it to a League delegate after the meeting.

It was a time to be remembered, that night on which the old party ties were shown to have been destroyed by the batons of Bloody Sunday. Amid immense cheering, the delegate of the Deptford Liberal Club declared that Liberal and Tory were alike when the claims of labour were in question; that the meetings in Trafalgar Square might have added as much again to the forty years during which they have been allowed, had not the unemployed come to "show their rags there." And if the Liberals want to win back the allegiance of the London workmen by the next election, they will have to begin early and bid high.

Meanwhile, we Socialists should take heart from the "stirring of the dry bones," and work on unwearied. Who knows but our day is much nearer than we dream of? S.

A MINSTREL COMMUNIST.

WE have suffered quite a loss lately, in this neighbourhood, in the death of our old friend, Joseph Sharpe; and as a specimen of one of the people—of native feeling, dignity, gentleness, in the very poorest walks, and of that desire for and belief in a better social life, which runs like a golden thread through the thoughts of the real workers in all lands—it may be worth while to put on record some little account of him.

At the time when I first knew him, some ten years ago, Mr. Sharpe was sixty-two or sixty-three years of age; had a somewhat military air, like an old-fashioned colonel or general, but in very reduced circumstances; a heavy grey moustache, handsome profile, and youthful, even jaunty carriage. Only a few weeks before he died—last January—he presented much the same appearance, working—in red scarf and old greatcoat—in a corner of one of my fields. Sometimes, when smartened up a bit on Sunday or other day, and walking briskly up the lane, I would from the distance wonder what young man it was coming to pay me a visit. The same youthfulness characterised his mind. Notwithstanding all the reverses and struggles of a long and hard life, he possessed an indomitable power of hope, a sanguine innocence which saw no difficulties ahead as soon as he had set his mind on a thing. Only a year or two before he died, he said to me one day, "To belong to a Communistic society has always been the dream of my life, and I don't despair of it now. Peace and goodwill and true fraternity—that's what we want."

In fact, at the time when, as I have said, I first knew him, he had just been joining in an experiment for the realisation of peace and fraternity. A small body—about a dozen—of men calling themselves Communists, mostly great talkers, had joined together with the idea of establishing themselves on the land somewhere; and I have understood that it was at their instance that John Ruskin bought the small farm (of thirteen acres or so) at Totley near Sheffield, which he afterwards made over to S. George's Guild, and which now, under the name of S. George's Farm, has been put in the hands of another, less voluble and more practical, body of Communists—John Furniss, George Pearson, and Co. However that may be, it is certain that the first-mentioned set of men—of whom William Harrison Riley, formerly editor of the *International Herald*, was one of the most active, and among them our friend Joseph Sharpe—did for a short time occupy S. George's Farm. Their idea was not (at any rate at first) to abandon their various occupations in and around Sheffield, but to give their spare time to communal work at the farm, and in some way to share its produce—the scheme including, as most Communistic schemes seem to do, some project for the establishment of a school on the place. Unfortunately the usual dissensions arose—usual, I would say, wherever work of this kind is ruled by theories instead of by practical human needs and immediate desire of fellowship. The promoters of this scheme knew next to nothing of agriculture—being chiefly bootmakers, ironworkers, opticians, and the like—and naturally were ready to dogmatise in proportion to their ignorance; and in a very short time they were hurling anathemas at each other's heads; peace and fraternity were turned into missiles and malice; the wives entered into the fray; and the would-be garden of Eden became such a scene of confusion that Ruskin had to send down an ancient retainer of his (with a pitchfork instead of a flaming sword) to bar them all out.

Mr. Sharpe, probably, in his naive way, was as much convinced that his theories were the right ones, and that failure was due to their not being followed, as any one. He was at this time a harpist by profession, and believed in the harmonies of the spheres; but he thought, as he often told me, that discipline was very necessary in order to create harmony; and there, perhaps, he was right; but, alas! who was to enforce it? He had had, I believe, some experience of the same kind of thing before, at Mount Sorrel, near Leicester, where he was born. His life had been a curiously diversified one—always with this dream of human communism floating over it. He laughed when he told me that he was apprenticed to a butcher, saying "I couldn't kill a goose, never." Then he went into the police force for a time—by way of a change; and after that got employment in a factory. Factory work, however, becoming slack, and as he was now

married, and a small family growing up, he bought a harp. "Do you see, I had a good voice—I was about thirty then—and I thought that if I was thrown out of work I could make a little by singing up and down. Having a young family makes you anxious. Well, I worked hard at the harp for three years, and could play pretty well at the end of that time; and I soon began to make quite a good thing by singing and playing: so that when the time came that I was thrown out I took to that entirely." There was possibly another reason for taking up the harp. The Chartist movement was going on at that time. Our friend, as may be imagined, was an ardent enthusiast for the five-point Charter—to be enforced by points of steel if necessary; he had often drilled with his comrades in the deserted granite-quarries of Mount Sorrel; they had muskets and other weapons hidden away in their homes. Possibly he thought it would be as well to have a trade at his finger-ends which would make him independent of locality or of the caprice of an employer. Anyhow the new trade stood him in good stead. He went about Leicester and neighbourhood, enlarging the circuit of his wanderings, till one day he came to Sheffield. "Well, I suppose they had hardly ever seen a harp in Sheffield before, and it took wonderfully. I was out at one public-house or another every evening—couldn't get away—and there was no early closing then. At last I had to bring my wife and family over and settle there; and Fred was growing up, and I taught him the fiddle; and from the time he was about twelve he accompanied me about, and has done ever since. We did very well then—made many pounds a week often—going to village feasts; but it's not the same now."

In truth they were a pair of good musicians—both endowed with ear and taste superior to the kind of work they were often called upon to perform,—the father with a fine voice and considerable dexterity in accompaniment, the son hardly at a loss for any tune on the fiddle that might be asked for. The village feasts were a great institution at that time. They lasted for a week in each locality, beginning on the Saturday evening and extending to the following Saturday. The ancient pagan or pre-Christian practice of "well-dressing" often formed part of the festival; indeed, this custom is still kept up in some of the remoter villages of Derbyshire, and the chief well or fountain in a village is adorned with greenery, sometimes very cunningly and tastefully (as, for instance, I have seen Spring, Summer, Autumn, and Winter, represented by human figures elegantly inlaid in flower-heads on a green background, inside the porch of a well otherwise decorated with leaves and branches). The neighbours would congregate to these feasts from miles round; dancings and drinkings went on all night long in farm parlours and public-house upper chambers, sleepings in barns and on kitchen settles and floors, and frolics (and some work!) during the day. I have been down with the old man and his son into Lincolnshire—where the feasts are yet maintained with some spirit—taking my turn with them to carry the harp (and I found it no light weight—54 lbs.), through the byelanes around Horncastle and Coningsby, and dancing at night on sanded board floors with the young fellows and occasionally girls (though these jewels are rarer) of the locality, and enjoyed the times much.

But the advent of the railroads had already begun to tell upon the rural life. As the importance of the villages waned, and the agricultural population began to flow towards the towns, the feasts also began to fall off. People began to save their cash and their holidays for trips to the seaside and day excursions to London, and the money dribbled away from the old channels. After a few years Joseph Sharpe began to find his receipts diminishing, and the last twenty years of his life were a pretty continuous struggle with poverty. He opened a small shop in Sheffield, which his wife attended to while he was out playing, but there was not much to be got out of it; then came the *fiasco* at St. George's Farm; and after that there was little left to look to. He did not, however, lose his native pluck and hopefulness. There was something almost Quixotic about his dignity of manner and generosity under circumstances which would have justified a very different bearing; as, for instance, when he would, travelling by train with a companion, insist on paying fares for both, though he could ill afford it; or spread his table with the last he had for a casual visitor. In this respect his communism was not of that kind which makes free with other people's goods, and is niggardly of its own. His love of literature and the ideal tendency of his mind stood him in good stead in these times; to get hold of a book on Astronomy or the poems of Shelley was to forget all his troubles. Latterly he would make me translate to him, as best I could, the 'Divina Commedia' of Dante, and ultimately he bought himself Cary's translation of the 'Inferno.' On his bookshelf were Humboldt's 'Cosmos,' Pickering's 'Races of Man,' and several old-fashioned works on Physiology, a subject of which he was very fond.

Meanwhile, and notwithstanding a falling exchequer, he managed to bring up a small family and send them out into the world. One of his daughters went to Australia, and it was always a great day for him when a letter came from her, or a *Sydney Bulletin*—a paper he was very pleased with on account of its Socialist tendency. Indeed, the growth of the Socialist movement gave our friend a new impetus and object in life. *Commonweal* and *Justice* and *Freedom*, and other Socialist papers and pamphlets, were carried by him to remote villages and public houses through Derbyshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and the amount of propagandist work done by him in this way was probably very considerable. He enjoyed an argument, too, and was not easily worsted, for though in detail his ideas were crude and theoretic, and often quite vague and unclear, still he possessed a truly British obstinacy which never knew when it was beaten, and also a certain ease and grace of expression that gave credit to the general

truth of the doctrines which he upheld. When I took to my little farm and garden at Millthorpe, Mr. Sharpe came and worked for me; and though his rows of potatoes were not always of the straightest and most regular, owing, I fear, to the inveterate ideality of his mind, still he was always a plucky and hard worker, full of enterprise, and a cheery companion. He and his wife took a small cottage in the neighbourhood, and many of our Socialist and other friends remember pleasant evenings spent there—the low-raftered room, with bright fire, the one or two pictures of Garibaldi on the wall, the harp in the corner, sometimes played upon, the reminiscences of old Chartist and other times. The minstrel was also a bit of a verse-maker, and one evening—it was Christmas time—when I came in, he was pinning a paper with some verses on it to the wall. He said: "The old lady and me were talking about old times—how we went to school together more than fifty years ago—but it seems like yesterday—and how we got married and brought up a family, and they all gone away; and now we are left alone, and wondering which of us will be the first to go. And then I thought of some verses which I once wrote to my father and mother, and I thought I would copy them out and stick them up here." But there were tears in the old man's eyes as he spoke.

It was not so long after that before it turned out that he would be the first to go. Some symptoms of heart-disease—and then he had to take to his bed. The doctor said his heart was just about worn out. The usual discomfort, prostration, sleeplessness followed, with intervals when he was quite chatty and good company. His pluck and hopefulness remained with him, his chief anxiety being that his wife should not be troubled. "Cheer up, mother," he said, as in her grief she leaned and kissed him, "I am going to prepare a New Jerusalem for you!" One day the new parson called. Sharpe was generally rather amusing with parsons, having a cheerful way of drawing them into endless discussions on Free Will and Predestination. I asked him afterwards how he got on with this one. "Very well," he said; "he asked me if he should put up a prayer for me."—"What did you say?"—"I told him he might do as he pleased, I didn't think it necessary." "You see," he added, "I'm always praying somehow or other. I find I can't help it. Sometimes I pray to the stars."

"I have never feared death," he said, "and I don't alter my opinion now: it has to come to everybody, that is quite certain." "I believe in the future still, and think a true community will come some day; but you know, E—, the nation will have to suffer before it comes, and many leaders and teachers will be wanted."

He died "very peaceable and gentle," as one present expressed it; nor will the death of the old Communist make any difference to the great world, but he and his harp will be missed over a large area around here.

Millthorpe, Feb. 1889.

E. C.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 16, 1889.

10	Sun.	1861. T. G. Schevchenko, Little-Russian popular poet and revolutionist, died. 1872. Giuseppe Mazzini died at Pisa.
11	Mon.	1793. Irish Volunteers suppressed by proclamation.
12	Tues.	1817. J. Cashman hanged for treason in connection with the Spafields riots. 1858. Serious riot in Dublin. 1868. Attempt on life of Duke of Edinburgh at Sydney.
13	Wed.	1733. Dr. Joseph Priestley born. 1794. Trial of Joseph Gerrald for sedition. 1811. Trial of John Dakard for seditious libel. 1848. Chartist meeting on Kennington Common. 1848. Open-air demonstration at Berlin. 1858. Orsini and Ferri guillotined. 1879. William Broadhead died. 1881. Execution of Alexander of Russia with a dynamite bomb prepared by Kibolchich, and cast between himself and the condemned by T. A. Prinsvietzky, who consciously paid with his life for the successful carrying out of the mandate of the Executive Committee of the People's Will. 1882. Anniversary of the execution of the Tzar celebrated at Cleveland Hall, London. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III. by two students.
14	Thur.	1820. Gilbert McLeod transported for five years for sedition. 1842. Congress of Trades and Political Associations at Manchester. 1846. Famine riots in Ireland. 1848. Metternich expelled from Vienna. 1881. Secret bomb-factory seized at St. Petersburg; Sablin killed himself. 1883. Karl Marx died.
15	Fri.	1812. D. I. Eaton imprisoned for publishing the 'Age of Reason.' 1881. Famous article in <i>Freiheit</i> . 1884. Conspiracy against the King of Spain discovered.
16	Sat.	1796. Joseph Gerrald died. 1820. Henry Hunt, John Knight, John Thacker Saxton, Samuel Bamford, Joseph Healey, James Moorhouse, Robert Jones, George Swift, and Robert Wylde, tried for "conspiracy to overturn the Government by threats and force of arms," at Peterloo. 1881. Underground dynamite mine discovered under Sadovaja Street, St. Petersburg, where Tzar had to pass. 1883. Explosion (nitro-glycerine) at office of Local Government Board, Whitehall, and unsuccessful attempt at same time on the <i>Times</i> office.

Joseph Gerrald.—Born in the island of St. Christopher, West Indies, Feb. 9, 1763; died at Port Jackson (now Sydney), New South Wales, March 16, 1796. Son of a West-India planter, he was educated at a well-known boarding-school in Hammersmith, and afterwards by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Parr. From the first he showed considerable parts, and was deservedly a favourite with his masters and schoolmates. He was about twelve years old when his father died, leaving an estate impoverished through extravagance. He left England when he was about seventeen, having already formed an acquaintance with Sheridan and won the favour of Pitt, at that time a reformer. Soon after his return to the West

Indies he married and had two children, a son and daughter, both of whom survived him. From circumstances which it is now impossible to explain, he lost most of his property and was reduced to comparative poverty. Upon this he went to America, where he lived for several years, and practised at the bar. During this time he came into contact with the leading minds of the Republic, and thoroughly imbibed their principles. Early in 1788 he came to England to enter upon proceedings for the recovery of his property. He arrived amid the excitement as to the Regency Bill, and despite his invalid state, caused by hardships he had unwisely exposed himself to in the course of his travels, he took part in the agitation and wrote pamphlets, at the request of Sheridan and his friends. A letter of his to a friend in 1789 speaks of him as one "whose constitution has been so shattered by continued sickness and anxiety, that he will incur a premature old age, and in a short time be numbered among the absent dead." In the same letter he speaks of retiring for the rest of his life to a lodging "at Walton-on-Thames, in a sober, retired family." The pressure of his friends and his own inclinations, however, soon led him to lay aside his intentions and become a member of the Constitutional Society and afterwards of the London Corresponding Society. Of the latter body he soon was one of the most active and distinguished members, and was chosen, along with Maurice Margarot, to represent it in the British Convention at Edinburgh. Pitt was now a renegade and in power; his ministry was resolved on crushing the Reformers. Gerrald was one of the selected victims. Fyche Palmer and Margarot were "tried" before him; but though he was pressed by all his friends to escape the fate their "trials" showed to be in store for him, he refused to do so, though the way stood open, saying: "My honour is pledged; and no opportunity for flight, however favourable—no expectation of danger, however alarming—no excuse for consulting my own safety, however plausible—shall induce me to violate that pledge. I gave it to men whom I esteem, and respect, and pity; to men who, by avowing similar principles, have been brought into similar peril; to men who were confirmed in those principles, and led into that peril, by the influence of my own arguments, my own persuasions, and my own example. Under these circumstances, they became partakers of my responsibility to the law; and therefore under no circumstances will I shrink from the participation with them in the rigours of any punishment which that law, as likely to be administered in Scotland, may ordain for us." At the time on bail in England, he could easily have fled to France, but instead went back to Edinburgh. Before he went, he addressed a severe and dignified letter to Henry Dundas, Secretary of State, in which he said: "I take my departure for Edinburgh; . . . not for the purpose of taking my trial (for trial implies candid examination), but, as you well know, for the purpose of receiving my sentence of transportation for fourteen years. As you send to the things called—and in one sense justly called—the criminal judges of Scotland the sentences which they are to pronounce in all cases of State prosecution, you may as well make me the bearer of your mandates. I shall punctually transmit them; and, what may surprise a man of your cast, though I make the promise, shall faithfully keep it. . . . When I went to Scotland, I expected persecution from the Government, and protection from the people. I have met, and do still expect to meet with both. But I trust that the period is fast approaching when neither legal quibbles nor fur gowns will shelter the abuse of delegated authority, and when the people will know, will feel, and will assert, that the law is only the means, but that justice is the end, and that THE SAFETY OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SOVEREIGN LAW. At all events, be assured that the severities of the Scottish criminal judicature shall be exceeded, if possible, by the firmness with which I will encounter them." His friend, the great thinker and writer William Godwin, wrote to him about the same time: "I cannot recollect the situation in which you are in a few days to be placed, without emotions of respect, and I had almost said, of envy. . . . Your trial, if you so please, may be such a day as England, and I believe the world, never saw. It may be the means of converting thousands, and progressively of millions, to the cause of reason and public justice. You have a great stake. You place your fortune, your youth, your liberty, and your talents on a single throw. If you must suffer, do not, I conjure you, suffer without first making use of this opportunity of telling a tale upon which the happiness of nations depends. Spare none of the resources of your powerful mind. . . . What an event would it be for England and mankind if you could gain an acquittal! . . . It is in man, I am sure it is, to effect that event. Gerrald, you are that man! Fertile in genius, strong in moral feeling, prepared with every accomplishment that literature and reflection can give. Stand up to the situation. Be whole yourself. . . . YOU REPRESENT US ALL!" And never did the cause of the people find a worthier voice: clear, calm, cogent reasoning, warmed by the fire of genius, and rising occasionally to heights of grave and noble eloquence, Gerrald's speech on his defence put forth in detail the rights of the people for which he contended, and supported them with a thousand conclusive arguments. A speech of great length, lasting for hours, but with no superfluous point in it. After the verdict had been rendered, he said: "I am as little hurt as I am surprised at the verdict returned, inasmuch as I find that the Public Prosecutor himself, in the House of Commons, anticipated the fate which I was to meet; but, my lord, I trust that a moral and enlightened world, collectively, will do justice to the purity of the motives which have actuated my conduct; and I glory in being the advocate of a cause, with which is complicated Truth, Justice, and Freedom, which I know must and will ultimately triumph." He was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. This was in March 1794; in April he was removed to London and committed to Newgate; whence in October he was transferred to Giltspur Street. On May 2, 1795, he was, without warning, dragged from a sick-bed, ironed, conveyed to Gosport, and hurried on board the "Sovereign" transport, for Botany Bay. He suffered terribly during the voyage, reaching New South Wales November 5, 1795, in a state of great weakness. He survived his arrival only five months. Almost with his last breath he said: "I die in the best of causes; and I die, as you are my witnesses, without repining." He was buried at Farm Cove, and on his tombstone it was recorded that "he died a martyr to the liberties of his country." Is his grave there forgotten, like his memory at home? Or is it known and visited as one of the few tombs in Australia that will be looked for in time to come? It is the last resting-place of one of the most honest, most generous and most able of the advocates of the liberties of mankind.—S.

We learn, says the *Daily News*, with a regret that will be widely shared in this country and in Australia, that Lady Gavan Duffy, wife of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, has lately died at Nice. Lady Gavan Duffy, who was in her thirtieth year, had never recovered from a fever which followed her confinement, which took place at the end of December. Her death took place on Sunday last. She leaves four children, the youngest less than two months old.

"FOR THE PEOPLE."—The splendid poem by James Jeffrey Roche under this title, reprinted in the last number of *Christian Socialist*, and there credited to the *Independent*, was given in *Commonweal*, No. 128, June 23, 1888, and acknowledged as taken from Conolly's "Household Treasury of Ireland's Poets," New York, 1887.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The number of paupers in London (exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants) on the last day of the second week of February was 107,056, as compared with 110,220 on the corresponding day of last year, 104,560 in 1887, and 102,050 in 1886. The vagrants relieved in the metropolis on the last day of the second week of February numbered 1,191, of whom 1,030 were men, 144 women, and 17 children under sixteen years of age.



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.

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, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

D. A.—Charles Cole, "a London Mechanic," published a volume of 'Political and Other Poems,' 1835, which was highly praised by Cobbett and also by the critics of the time.

L. T. H.—The Irish Truthseeker was published in Belfast, 1848, by Hugh Clark. It was not a success.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 6.

ENGLAND	CHICAGO (ILL)	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	Geneva—Przedswit
Labour Elector	Baecker Zeitung	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome—L'Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Barcelona—El Productor
Personal Rights Journal	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Social Demokrat	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Telegraph Service Gazette	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	GERMANY
Unity	Newfound, Le Reveil les Masses	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Bihar Herald	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Le Proletariat	HUNGARY
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolte	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Freiheit	Le Coup de Feu	DENMARK
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague -Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Workmen's Advocate	BEELGIUM	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Investigator	Liege—L'Avenir	

"VIVE LA COMMUNE!"

A CARTOON BY WALTER CRANE

Will be GIVEN AWAY with next week's COMMONWEAL.

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THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

WHAT IT SHOULD DO.

SOME of the new Council's doings can be clearly foreseen. There will be much talk, more talk, most talk. There will be discussion, dispute, disagreement, detraction. On the one hand, heroic and thorough remedies will be termed preposterous, utopian, and impossible; and, on the other, alleviates will, and truly, be termed futile and hopeless. But out of the tiresome turmoil of talk some good will result. There will be more public, earnest, and practical discussion of social evils and social reforms than has hitherto been known in England, and the discussion will stimulate thought and greatly multiply the number of social reformers.

What should be done? A complete answer is, perhaps, beyond the capacity of a finite mind, but there are important measures of relief that can be suggested by all old social reformers, of whom I am one.

Work must be organised. Carlyle says, "All human interests, combined human endeavours, and social growths in this world have, at a certain stage of their development, required organising; and Work, the greatest of human interests, does now require it." Before we can organise understandingly, society must be scientifically and systematically analysed. A social census should be taken, which, in addition to the usual census particulars, should specify the amount and nature of property, and the exact location of lands and buildings owned by each person. The gross income of each person, and from what occupation or investment it is derived. The amounts paid as rent of lands and buildings. As regards the poor and "working classes," exact information should be obtained of the number of persons unemployed, and of the sort of work they can do; also of the average hours of labour of those who are employed; and all such particulars should be carefully classified and summarised.

Meantime, Labour Offices should be opened in every district, and every applicant for work should be given immediate employment of some kind. Starving people should not be expected to wait until the census auditors have completed their calculations. If the Council can think of nothing else for the first day's applicants to do, let it give them all the red tape to make carpets of. If the Council can't find anything in the "great world of London" for the next day's applicants to do, then (the red tape being out of the way), it is not so competent a body as I hope and believe it to be.

The Council should, and probably does, understand that immediate assistance is needed by at least one hundred thousand people in London, and that such assistance, in a non-charitable form, will require a large sum of money at the outset. How should such a large amount of money—of legal tender—be obtained? By getting possession of the misappropriated property of the city guilds and other misused trusts, and by taxation of ground-rents? Those resources are available—barring red-tape—but the best way to obtain an immediate supply of money will be to make it, in the form of London Council Notes, of denominations of value of five and ten shillings, and one, two five, ten, twenty, and one hundred pounds. With these notes (which would become money by being made legal tender), all the slums of London could be immediately purchased—the land and the buildings thereon. New buildings could be erected, new streets and squares made, and old streets widened. The "improvements" would increase the incomes from the property, and, as the saying is, "pay for themselves," or, so far as sovereigns and bank-notes are concerned, be made without cost. The Council Notes would pay for improvements; the rents of the improved property would be paid in notes, which, having done their work, could be made into pulp for wrapping paper. The gas and water works, and the trams, should be bought, improved, and operated by the Council on the same "costless" principle; that is, without any expense for gold or usury.

But the red tape!—backed by a multitude of usurers and ignoramuses? I have no hope that this first Council can abolish it. Wilkie Collins wrote: "Look where you will, in every high place there sits an Ass, settled beyond the reach of all the greatest intellects in this world to pull him down. Over our whole social system, complacent Imbecility rules supreme—snuffs out the searching light of Intelligence with total impunity—and hoots, owl-like, in answer to every form of protest, 'See how well we all do in the dark.' One of these days, that audacious assertion will be practically contradicted, and the whole rotten system of modern society will come down with a crash." Let the crash come, and welcome, if the Asses cannot be otherwise disarmed and dethroned.

Let all people have a fair opportunity to earn their living at occupations they are fit for, and there will be no more need to wrangle over such expedients as gratuitous school dinners. (The children are entitled to a full supply of daily food, or none. If the parents cannot, or will not, provide proper food, clothing, and shelter for their children, then they—not being anybody's "private property," but being wards of the State—must be wholly cared for by the State, or a competent agency thereof.)

The establishment of the Council is an important step in the right direction. It is the Commune¹ Council of the greatest town in the world. The first Council will be genteelly reformatory—not shockingly revolutionary. I have not yet seen a list of its members, but if a few of them are really Radical, they will be outvoted by the Party of Order—the representatives of lawyers' laws and perquisites, the church's dominion and prerogatives, the landlord's, the householder's, and banker's usuries, and the red-tape of all bearded and bumbledom.

But despite all the obstructions caused by ignorance and avarice, the Council will, as I said at the outset, be the means of doing some good. By stimulating thought on social questions, it will inevitably increase the number of Socialists and weaken their adversaries. Therefore, fellow Socialists, let us cry Hurrah for the Council! and then let us roll up our sleeves and work harder than ever.

Townsend Centre, Mass., U. S.

W. HARRISON RILEY.

"It is the greed for gain which is responsible for four-fifths of the crime committed," said a popular clergyman, and then he accepted a call for £500 more per year.

¹ Many people seem unaware that there are over 20,000 recognised communes in France, and that a large proportion of the towns of England are described as communes on their official seals.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

DURING the year ending December 31st, 1888, 518,518 immigrants arrived in the United States, as against 510,058 in 1887. Of the total number arrived, 172,317, or 33 per cent., came from the United Kingdom, as against 178,071, or 35 per cent., in 1887. The following table shows the arrival from Great Britain and Ireland during the past two years :

	1888.	1887.
England and Wales	77,168	83,493
Ireland	71,761	72,599
Scotland	23,588	21,979
Totals	172,317	178,071

The new eight-hour movement is making but slow progress. It is hardly talked about, not even in labour circles. The first meetings to be held to discuss this question are to be held on the 22nd inst. (Washington's birthday), and yet nowhere are active preparations made to make the meetings a success. To break the ice, delegates representing twenty-five trade and labour organisations, held a conference in New York some days ago, under the auspices of the American Federation of Labour, at which a committee of three was appointed to prepare an address to the workers, and a committee of nine to arrange for a great demonstration on the evening of February 22nd at Cooper Union in New York city. The Central Labour Union of New York was severely criticised by the delegates present for its inactivity. The committee of three has in the meantime drawn up the address of which the following extracts will give the principal points :

"In the name of the trade and labour organisations of New York city we cordially and earnestly invite you to attend a mass meeting to be held on Friday evening, February 22, at Cooper Union, in order to inaugurate the eight hour movement decided upon by the Convention of the American Federation of Labour last December.

"The eight hour workday is an issue on which all wage earners, organised and unorganised, employed and unemployed, stand united. You are all interested in the great cause which we now urge you to struggle for. Misery and overwork are the parents of ignorance. Reduce the hours of labour, elevate the standard of life of the toiling masses, and you will sap the very foundation on which rests political corruption, which disgraces the honour of our nation.

"Therefore it behoves us as toilers, as citizens, as a people who have a common inheritance, to give this movement all the aid and encouragement so necessary to success.

"We urge you by the undying bonds that unite us, by our duty to our fellow men and posterity, to attend the meeting. Let the glad tidings go forth from Cooper Union on the evening of Washington's birthday to the workers of America that the labouring men of New York are in sympathy with the spirit and necessity of our time, to enforce on May 1, 1890, eight hours for work, eight for rest and eight hours for what we will."

As will be seen, the address contains some assertions which will hardly bear criticism.

It is reported in the daily papers, and not as yet contradicted, that Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labour, has of late had many conferences with T. V. Powderly. It is to be hoped that Gompers remembers that he has a reputation to lose, and also that "bad company corrupts good manners." It is further reported that the two "labour leaders" have arrived at an arrangement to work hand in hand in the eight hours movement and to forget, at least temporarily, their mutual antagonism. More than likely the "Pauper's Palace," the headquarters in Philadelphia of the Knights of Labour will be turned into a "Working-men's Exchange."

Superintendent Murray of the New York police has sent in to the Police Commissioners a report of his action during the last street-car strike. The report shows that the police were several days before the strike aware that the men intended to strike, and they had consequently ample time to prepare themselves for their "duty." The policemen, of course, are much praised by their chief for their "courage," strict attendance to duty, and, last but not least, their "humanity," shown during the strike. The superintendent also makes the following two "suggestions": "First, the reliance that can be placed upon a thoroughly organised and well equipped police force in maintaining the public peace; and second, the necessity of making immediate provision for a stronger force, numerically speaking, and giving to it all the improved aids that science, wisdom, and experience might suggest." The "force," he suggests, should be increased from 3,000 to 4,000 men; there should be more patrol wagons, and the electric communications between the stations and the central office should be vastly improved. Of course the "chief" will get all he wants granted. A month's vacation was granted to him to go to Florida and to get a severe cold (!) cured which he contracted during the strike. And 3,500 strikers are yet without work. Are they to go also to Florida—or are they to die, as they are doing, in the gutter? "Blessed be a Christian country!"

Propos Christianity. The New York police have got a pension fund. A few days ago the Sixth Avenue Railroad sent a cheque of 500 dols. to this fund, with a copy of resolutions praising the force for its success in protecting the company. The Broadway Company followed suit with a cheque of 1,000 dols., and the Fourth Avenue Railroad (the Vanderbilt's) initiated the good example by sending to the same fund 5,000 dols. Even some capitalistic papers saw the stupidity of such action and they kicked. The Police Commissioners interviewed said: "That as pay for police services the money of course could not be accepted, but that as a voluntary gift for 'sweet Christian charity's sake' the manum would be taken." "Sweet Christian charity," indeed! "Gentlemen, the veil which you have thrown around your rotten carcasses, composed of brutality and hypocrisy, is getting dangerously thin! Beware, every dog has his day!"

At Birdsboro, Pa., the Brooke Iron Company on the 12th inst. posted notices in their mill works that they would be obliged to ask (!) their employes to accept a reduction, beginning March 1st. The amount was not stated. The wages of the puddlers are already reduced from 3 dols. 25 cents. to 3 dols. per ton.

The 700 employes of the Pottsville Iron and Steel Company's Fishback rolling mill in Pottsville, Pa., were notified of a reduction of from 10 to 15 per cent. in wages, to take effect on Monday next. The men will hold a meeting on the 15th inst. to decide whether or not they will accept the reduction.

The workers of the central iron works in Harrisburg, Pa., have been informed that on the 4th of March a reduction of wages of 25 per cent. will be put in force.

The American Flint Glass Workers' Union is a strong one. There are 5,920 men in it, and only 79 non-union men in the trade outside of it. Of the 5,920 men in the union, 5,678 are employed at present. All but six of the 117 flint glass furnaces in the United States are in operation.

The Massachusetts State Board of Arbitration, on the joint application of a Rockland shoe manufacturing concern and its employes, has fixed a scale of wages to be paid.

The cane chair-workers of Heywood Bros. and Co., in Gardina, Mass., have had to submit to a reduction in wages of 20 per cent. Since September last year their wages have been reduced 40 per cent.

The following despatch is cabled from Montreal, Quebec, and has been headed by a skunk of an editor of a capitalistic paper, "Idle labourers in Montreal refuse employment that is arduous." However, there are plenty of lamp-posts in New York when the time comes:—

"There are always hundreds of able-bodied, deserving labourers, principally outdoor workers, thrown out of employment here during the long winter months, and they have to hustle pretty hard to secure a living at all. This year the number of those in distress is much larger than usual. When the city authorities, forced to do something by the popular clamour, advertised their willingness to give work to the unemployed, there was an unexampled rush to the City Hall. Nearly a thousand men gathered there this morning to endeavour to secure means to keep the wolf from the door. The crowd was made up of various types, from the toughest specimen of the wharf rat, in tattered garments, to the respectable working-man, decently apparelled. The employment offered was that of snow shovelling and other work on the roads, and some hundreds were given employment in this line, but there were many left, and when they demanded work City Surveyor St. George told them they could go to the city stone-yards and break stones, for which they would be paid 5 dols. per toise. To his surprise no one accepted the offer, and all without an exception replied that they would sooner starve than break stones. An old hand would be able to earn 1 dol. a day, but a novice at stone-breaking would take a very long time, perhaps ten days or a fortnight, to break a toise."

If men who are willing to shovel snow in Canada refuse any kind of work, that kind of work must be bad indeed! The sneer of the reptile pressman is surely "cheap and nasty."

Newark, N.J., February 19, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

A MEETING of delegates of Liberal and Radical clubs and associations, forming what is known as the Dillon-Lewis Open-air Meetings Committee, held Monday-week night, denounced "the course of conduct pursued by the authorities in the statement of the case between the people and the Government as to the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, and declares that such conduct is a disgraceful breach of the engagement entered into on the part of the Government." Mr. Conybeare said they did not deem it necessary to go to Parliament for a recognition of the right they had enjoyed for so many years, and it was resolved—"that the right of public meeting ought not to be made dependent upon any new legislation, as it was an undoubted right under the Constitution." Another resolution condemned "the apathy and want of courage of the Liberal party generally, and the members for London in particular, in not attacking the Government for the misuse of the police in regard to the Trafalgar Square meetings." The sub-committee were appointed delegates to a conference on the subject to be held by the Metropolitan Radical Federation.

At the Borough of Hackney Club on Thursday night about 400 delegates of Liberal and Radical clubs and Socialist organisations assembled; one of the finest conferences that has assembled in London, and the men meant business. The London Liberal members sent Messrs. O. V. Morgan and Pickersgill as a deputation. Mr. Ben Ellis (Peckham) took the chair and the West Southwark Club delegate moved that a meeting be called for an early date in Trafalgar Square. It was, however, at once resolved: "That the Liberal members' deputation report on what they had done in Parliament to assert the right of free speech." Mr. Pickersgill got up to face an audience which soon proved to be thoroughly hostile. Instead of facing the motion, Mr. Pickersgill talked about what should be done in the future. The delegates wanted to know why the conduct of the Government in suppressing meetings had not been energetically and persistently attacked; and Mr. Pickersgill was not inclined to discuss that point. Then Mr. Morgan tried, and though he personally met with a more kindly reception, the delegates again quite firmly expressed their disapproval. Then Sir Charles Russell, who had entered the hall meanwhile, evidently with a sort of *coup d'etat* in view, got up. In spite of appearing in the full flush of his great victory, in spite of his immensely clever and powerful speech, his attempt to excuse the conduct of the Liberals on the Trafalgar Square question was received with the most emphatic disapproval, and he would hardly have been heard had it not been for the Socialist delegates present. Sir Charles's main point was that, although the continuous proclamation was illegal, they could go no further in legal measures after a popular jury had justified the suppression of the meeting on Nov. 13, 1887, by convicting Cunninghame Graham and Burns. This point brought out the loudest expressions of dissent, and Sir Charles Russell had to bow to the storm awhile. Cunninghame-Graham hotly declared that the jury was not a popular, but a packed shopkeepers' jury. He vehemently denounced the doctrine that the right of free speech should depend upon either Parliament, law courts, or jury, and was vociferously cheered. Mr. Saunders, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, John Burns, and Connell all delivered terse and vigorous speeches, the whole tenour of which was bitter resentment against the Liberal party for not taking up the right of free speech in Trafalgar Square. There could be no mistake about the unanimity and depth of the feeling of dissatisfaction that prevailed. When Sir Charles rose for the third time, his temper was up. In cross-examination tones he declared that they had done their best, and that they (the delegates) were to blame for not sending more Liberals in for London constituencies; but he was met with lusty shouts of "What use are they?" "They won't defend our rights!" and similar expressions. The meeting was in a highly excited state, but the full exasperation of the delegates did not burst forth until Mr. Pickersgill, in response to an appeal that he should move and amendment to the Address on the subject, as suggested by the *Star* some days before, timidly answered that he could not do so without consulting the other London Liberal members. This was hissed outright, and it was well that the next speech was by a calmly-disposed delegate, who moved the adjournment of the conference for a fortnight. The *Star* concludes its report by saying: "There could be no mistaking the strong and even bitter feeling shown by the meeting, and it is to be hoped that before the conference reassembles some vigorous course of action will be resolved upon by the Liberal party." We may add our hope that whatever the "Liberal party" may do now, they will be unable to lull the working men again into the dead-alive condition they were in before Bloody Sunday worked them up.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The North Warwickshire miners assembled at Bedworth on the 27th, and resolved to demand a 10 per cent. advance.

There are fears in some quarters of a strike with the colliers in Wales. They are firm in their demand for 12½ per cent. advance in wages.

Cabinet makers are warned, by advertisement in the local press, to keep wide from Kirkcaldy and the central district of Glasgow during impending disputes. At Kirkcaldy a few have resumed work, and a large number have left the district and got work elsewhere.

SOUTH WALES COLLIERIES.—More than a thousand notices to cease work in 28 days were handed in on the 1st by the Abercarn colliers in default of 12½ per cent. advance. The same course is adopted by all colliers throughout South Wales which are governed by the sliding scale board.

LABOURERS STRIKE.—The labourers in Levenbank Foundry, Dumbarton, have struck for an advance of ½d. per hour. Their present wage is 4d. per hour. The masters offered to grant the increase to some of the men and not to others, but this offer was refused; and the labourers, numbering 80, left work.

STRIKE AT HOLMES.—At a mass meeting of shale miners, held at Broxburn on Thursday week, it was reported by the Holmes men that three of their number had been victimised for taking an active part in union affairs, though their dismissal was on other small pretexts. They had agreed not to resume work until the men were restored to their places.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—A monster meeting of the trades and labourers was held in the Phoenix Park, Dublin, on Sunday, March 3rd, to express sympathy with the seamen on strike. The Trades' Council and other bodies took part in the demonstration. James McDonnell, T.C., presided, and addresses were delivered by M. Darby, the Glasgow delegate, P. A. Tyrrell, Wm. Graham, and others.

MOTHERWELL MINERS.—At last week's meeting it was stated there were 914 miners in the district, of whom 650 belonged to the union. Resolutions were passed (1) demanding an increase of 6d. per day on their wages, (2) calling upon all miners in the kingdom to support Mr. Cunningham Graham's Eight Hour Mining Bill, (3) that all members of Parliament be requested to support Mr. Baird's Mining Accident Bill.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES PENSION FUND.—On Thursday 28th, the employés in the London and North-Western Steel Works at Crewe held a great meeting on leaving the works. Several thousand were present, and the following was unanimously passed: "That we, the workmen employed at the west portion of the Lontion and North-Western Railway Steel Works, Crewe, decline to have any further deductions made from our wages for the pension fund. We further demand that the money already stopped from our wages should be returned at once."

THE STEAMING OF WEAVING SHEDS.—On the 26th a monster petition, signed by 42,000 operatives of Blackburn, was forwarded to London for presentation to the House of Commons, praying the Legislature to put a stop to the excessive infusion of steam into Lancashire weaving sheds. Petitions are also being forwarded from other towns, the agitation against steaming, which began in Blackburn, having been taken up generally amongst the operatives of Lancashire. The petition states that the steaming of weaving sheds is a serious evil, and is detrimental to the health of the operatives.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEGAL INNOCENCES.

After mailing the paper on Conway, I have reflected that the phrase in which I qualify the bomb-throwing and the incendiary propaganda respectively, as "two innocences," made perhaps too great a demand on the reader's intelligence of the technically legal point of view that I assumed, irrespective of either policy or morality, by which neither act nor words were anything like innocent, though some may approve them while others condemn them. As regards the propaganda, neither Gary nor the Supreme Court of Illinois pretended that it came within the scope of criminal law, in itself, or without acts of violence. As to the bomb-throwing, I do not rest its legal innocence merely on the general and imprescriptible right of self-defence, but first on the Illinois law that holds all persons present at a meeting responsible for acts of any of them. Now, if they were collectively inculpated by the act of violence, they were equally exculpated by concurrence with the countermand of Spies, in coming unarmed, all except the bomb-thrower himself. He, however ill-judged his act, was legally exculpated in another way, by the ruling of Judge McAlister, a few years previous, that resistance to police force, when aggressive and unauthorised by higher civic authority, was legal. The Haymarket case was still stronger in this sense than the other, inasmuch as that was a secret meeting, while the Haymarket was open and authorised officially by presence of the mayor, who on the other hand, had personally instructed Bonfield not to interfere because of its orderly character. Moreover, violence at the secret meeting could but have avenged the tailor, murdered there by the police; whereas at the Haymarket, being used preventively, as the police were in the act of charging on the meeting, the most valid objection to the bomb is that it was only one, and inadequate to disable the aggressors whom it provoked and whose bloody reprisal it seemed to justify or was calculated to do so with the help of the capitalist press. The insistence of the Cook County Court for a collective trial betrays its purpose to condemn, yet even with this arbitrary method, fairness would have cleared the accused. The same legal logic bears upon the imputation of conspiracy at Gmef's Hall on the 3rd of May. If, notwithstanding the perjury of the chief witness Waller, it could inculpate the accused collectively, through its planner Engel, of a plot against the police, they must equally have been exculpated by the efforts of Spies to prevent the execution of that plot, made as soon as he heard of it. A collectivism that generalises only such evidence as criminalises, while refusing to apply in the same way what exculpates, has no more legality than justice, and can only be compared to the ropes with which Versailles murderers encircled their victims before firing on them.

EDGEWORTH.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

It is now more than six weeks ago since the quarrymen of Quenast, about two thousand in number, went on strike, and they have hitherto shown such an admirable spirit of solidarity that it is most probable that they will win their case. The wives of the strikers, notwithstanding the hard conditions they live in, are of indomitable energy, and incite their husbands to hold out to the utmost and never to surrender to the "owner" of the quarries, an individual named Urban, one of the biggest exploiters of other people's labour that exists in high-capitalistic Belgium. At the beginning of the strike, Urban, who has plenty of friends in the Government, thought it advisable to ask for some soldiery, which was at once granted, and soon afterwards a meeting of the strikers was interfered with by these soldiers. A striker named Joseph Laurent was fatally wounded, and several women received severe blows. Then gendarmes and soldiers charged the people assembled and fired right and left, even in the houses. A man named Lethème, who sat quietly dining at his table, was shot dead by these murderers. Several persons were wounded. In spite of these provocations, the quarrymen stick to their ground and mean to have the ultimate victory. The Executive Council of the *Parti ouvrier* are doing their utmost to support the men on strike, and so also the various Socialist Federations established throughout Belgium. The co-operative bakeries of Brussels, Ghent (Vooruit), Liège, Antwerp, etc., send thousands and thousands of loaves weekly to their comrades of Quenast, the smaller organised groups send wagons of potatoes, or money to buy same, the Association of Jupille has sent important quantities of bacon, and so on. We hope that the Belgian *Parti ouvrier* will continue to do their best for the poor wage-slaves of Quenast, and then Urban, and not they, will have to surrender.

A few days ago, comrade Aimé Mahaim, member of the General Council of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier*, died at Brussels. He was one of the founders of the *Ligue ouvrière* (Workers' League) of Cureghem, near Brussels, secretary of the Brussels Federation of Trades Unions, and accountant of the Co-operative *Maison du Peuple* (People's House) at Brussels. The Belgian Socialist papers acknowledge the large part he took in their various organisations.

The next Congress of the Federation of Belgian Rationalist Societies will be held this year at Lodelinsart, in the province of Hainault, when the agenda-paper will be as follows: 1. Philosophical education in the family; 2. Considerable influence which women's education, if based on rationalism, would involve for the party of Freethought; 3. What ways and means could be used to get rapidly that philosophical education developed among free-thinkers' families; 4. Emancipation of the proletariat; 5. About the urgent necessity for all workers and peasants in joining the rationalist movement; 6. Ways and means to be used to come to that end as soon as possible.

As our readers will see from the above-quoted agenda, the Belgian free-thinkers do not hesitate to discuss two of the greatest social problems of our times—viz., the emancipation of woman and the reform of the family, and the enfranchisement of the proletariat, both urban and rural. Why do English freethinkers not do so?

The Belgian freethought party has just started a new monthly review, entitled *La Raison* (Reason), under the editorship of Léon Furnémont, 39 rue del Enseignement, Brussels. Among the contributors are Dr. César De Paep, Professor Hector Denis, M.M. Émile van der Velde, Guillaume De Greef, etc., who are both freethinkers and outspoken Socialists. We hope that this new venture of our Belgian friends will live long and do good to the cause.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Since last month our two colleagues of Briinn, *Volksfreund* (People's Friend) and *Arbeiterstimme* (People's Voice) have considerably enlarged their size, and now they are enabled to devote a larger amount of space to matters of an international character. Both papers are well written and generally interesting.

Three weeks ago comrades Alois Trajan, Adolph Talisch, Joseph Lischta, K. Bonupf, F. Knoth, T. Haubner, A. Braunseis, T. Wenisch, F. Schmidt, T. Nerad, T. Jungmaier, and Joseph Pica, after several months of preventive imprisonment, have been tried for alleged "secret conspiracy"—always the old game. In his curious indictment against the defenders, the attorney has put his case "all right" in a rather delightful way: The prisoners, it is true, have merely constituted an "Arbeiterverein" (workers' society), but these societies very soon become permeated by Social-Democratic ideas, and it not seldom happens that these Social-Democratic ideas give way to Anarchist doctrines,—and therefore (!) it will be well to bring the prisoners at once under application of the clauses of the exceptional anti-Anarchist laws! And the Austrian Nupkinses did so, and sentenced the "future" Anarchists to fifteen months hard labour.

A new monthly review, *Sozialdemokratische Monatschrift*, has been started at Vienna, VI, Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, under the editorship of comrade A. Grosse, the first issue of which is entirely devoted to the debates on the anti-Anarchist laws and the speeches of Fernerstorfer and Kronawether, deputies to the Reichsrath.

V. D.

DEATH OF JAMES FRANCIS MURRAY.

On Tuesday, March 5th, at Paddington Cemetery, a large number of old Chartists and followers of Bronterre O'Brien, assembled to do honour to the remains of James Francis Murray, who died on Feb. 27th. H. M. Hyndman and Herbert Burrows represented the Social Democratic Federation, and F. Kitz the Socialist League. Hyndman and Burrows spoke at the grave-side. H. Burrows, in a moving and eloquent address, alluded to the deceased's life-work in the interest of the workers, and appealed to his audience to emulate the example shown by our deceased comrade's fidelity to principle.

COUNCIL AND LONDON MEMBERS' MEETING OF S.L.—At meeting on 4th inst., it was unanimously resolved: "That this meeting of the Council and London members of the Socialist League desires to record their regret at the loss of an old and esteemed worker in the Cause, and to express their condolence with his relatives." Frank Kitz was appointed League delegate to attend our comrade's funeral on the following day.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee of the above Society passed the following resolution at their last meeting on the 2nd inst.:—"The Committee of the Socialist Co-operative Federation hereby record their sincere regret at the removal by death of James Francis Murray, a veteran in the Cause of Labour and their esteemed co-worker, and express their heartfelt condolence with his family." Our late comrade was a member of the Committee from the commencement of the Society.—DUNCAN C. DALLAS.

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.

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, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Commune Celebration.—At this year's celebration, the choir will sing the "Marseillaise," "When the People have their own again," and "All for the Cause." All willing to take part are invited to practise along with the Hammersmith choir, which meets every Thursday at 7.30 prompt. A Special Practice will take place at 13, Farringdon Road, on Saturday, March 9th, at 8.30 p.m. All members of choir please 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.

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.

CHILDREN'S PARTY.

A Children's Party will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on March 12th. Tea on table at 4 p.m. sharp. Comrade E. Radford with magic lantern at 5 p.m. Subscriptions, etc., can be sent to the Secretary, Mrs. Groser, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham.

CHICAGO COMMEMORATION FUND.

Three Railway Men (per H. B. Tarleton), 1s. 6d.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; J. Presburg, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 2s. 6d.; J. Turner, 6d.; Latham, 1s.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; S. Presburg, 6d.; Solomon, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Kneifel, 1s.; Samuels, 1s.; D. Nicoll, 6d.; E. E. Minton (13 weeks), 6s. 6d.; and A. J. Wharton (South Wimbledon), 2s. 6d. Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

LONDON MEMBERS.—The monthly meeting of London members, held on Monday the 4th inst., resolved: "That this meeting do recommend branches of the Socialist League at their branch meetings to regularly obtain names of comrades willing to sell papers and literature, make collections, carry platforms, etc., in connection with the open-air meetings of the League, in order to take some of the work from off the shoulders of the speakers, and add to the efficiency of the propaganda."

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Maughan, C. Smith, and Lynes, jun., addressed a fair audience. Sunday morning, Samuels spoke to a good meeting, and in the evening Smith, Lynes, and Maughan had an excellent audience outside our rooms.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road at 11.30 a.m., speakers were Dean, A. J. Smith, Lyne, sen., Lyne, jun., Maughan, Crouch, and last but not least, "Our Young Saint;" 17 *Commonweal* sold. We were well supported, as usual, by a detective sergeant taking notes of the several speeches, backed up by six or seven more of them. We sometimes think they mean mischief, as our meetings begin to enlarge and our comrades attend well. Good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 o'clock; speakers were Lynes, jun., and Maughan. At Kelmscott House, Wm. Morris lectured on "How shall we live then?" Interesting discussion.—G. M.

ABERDEEN.—Open-air work again prevented by heavy snow-storm. At indoor meeting on 25th ult., Leatham read paper on "The Socialist Movement throughout Europe," being a review of Dr. Zacher's work, 'The Red International.' Gray, sen., occupied the chair, and discussion was carried on by Aiken, Duncan, Slater, and Leatham.

NORWICH.—On Sunday, Reynolds and Harboard, from Yarmouth, paid us a visit. In afternoon, usual open-air meeting in Market Place, chair taken by Darley; Reynolds spoke at some length to very good audience, although the weather was very cold. In evening at Gordon Hall, Mills in chair, discussion upon 'Manifesto' was resumed; Houghton opened in affirmative, supported by Darley and A. Moore; fair audience.

YARMOUTH.—Usual weekly meeting held Sunday on the Priory Plain, Ruffold in chair; W. Moore and Poynts, of Norwich, spoke. Meeting good, though not so large as usual, owing to severe weather. Branch is progressing well, and is very confident of gaining a strong position when finer weather allows larger meetings.

IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.—Comrade Creed opened debate at above class last Sunday night on "Organisation of Labour" to a good audience; good discussion, in which Thomas and others joined.—M. C.

CHESTERFIELD DISCUSSION SOCIETY.—On Sunday evening, Feb. 24th, comrade Suel, from Nottingham, gave the last of our present winter course of Sunday evening lectures. He compared France in 1790 with England in 1890, and certainly gave one of the most eloquent appeals for Socialism that we have had. Considering the size of our town, and that this is the first attempt which has been made to hold secular lectures on Sunday evenings, we consider that the course has been very successful. The majority of the subjects have been bearing on Socialism, and I think we may certainly claim to have brought several over pretty much to our way of thinking. We intend to start again in the autumn with renewed vigour, and make the next course even more successful than this has been.—R. U.

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Tuesday March 26, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The History of Radicalism." Sunday March 31, a Lecture by Wm. Morris.

BIRKBECK DEBATING SOCIETY, Breams Buildings, E.C.—March 18, at 8 p.m., Mr. J. L. Shadwell will move: "That no scheme of Socialism can really improve the condition of the working classes." Non-members are allowed to be present and take part in the voting, but members only are allowed to take part in the discussion, except by permission of the chairman.

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 10, at 8.30. Sun. 17th, D. Nicoll, "The English Revolutionary Movement, 1815-1817; Spa-fields Riots and Derbyshire Insurrection." Sunday 21th, H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

East London.—26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park. H. Davis, secretary *pro tem.*, 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Lecture on Sunday March 10, at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 17, at 8 p.m., a Lecture. Thursday 21st, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 22nd, 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.—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

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, Iregate. 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. The annual Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at the above on Monday March 18, at 8 p.m. All friends of the cause invited.

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

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

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

Glasgow.—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. McGill, 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., a Lecture. 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.—COMMUNE CELEBRATION.—A great open-air demonstration will be held in the Market Place at 3 p.m. on Sunday March 17th, addressed by Mrs. Schack (London), also other London comrades and members of the Branch. At 8 p.m. same day lecture in Gordon Hall on the Commune. On Monday 18, at 8 p.m., in the Gordon Hall, a Social Meeting will be held in commemoration of the Commune; admission 1d.

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 10.

- 11.30..... Hackney—"Salmon and Ball,"Cores and Davis.
- 11.30..... Latimer Road StationMrs. Schack.
- 11.30..... Regent's ParkNicoll and Mainwaring.
- 11.30..... Walham Green, opposite Station.....The Branch.
- 11.45..... Leman Street, Shadwell.....Mrs. Lahr, Turner, and Parker.
- 3.30..... Hyde ParkParker, Mrs. Lahr, and Nicoll.
- 3.30..... Victoria Park.....Mowbray, Mrs. Schack, Cores, and Davis.
- 7..... Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch.
- 7.30..... Broad Street, SohoNicoll.
- 7.30..... Clerkenwell GreenParker, Brookes, and Mowbray.

TUESDAY 12.

- 8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch.

THURSDAY 14.

- 8.15..... Hoxton Church..... Davis, Mowbray, and Cores.

FRIDAY 15.

- 8 Philpot Street, Commercial Road..... Parker, Cores, and Kitz.

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.

NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday March 10, at 8.30, Mr. M. Culpin, M.D., "How to Abolish Poor Rates."

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- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d
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