

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

“THE LAW” IN IRELAND.

THE Government has struck its stroke and we are to have another State trial on behalf of law and order. Unless a miracle of jury-packing is performed the accused will be acquitted, or at least the jury will not agree; so it is hard to see what the Government can gain unless they are prepared to go head over ears into coercion. Meantime not only are the Tory and other definitely reactionary papers jubilant at this exhibition of firmness, but all the Liberal Press approves with the single exception of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, to which must be added that Mr. Labouchere at Birmingham spoke strongly and generously of Mr. Dillon “as one who had come forward to protect the poor and humble Irish against the exactions of the vilest set of Shylocks that ever existed;” and was by no means scared at the illegality of Mr. Dillon’s action.

It is perhaps not certain that this apparent withdrawal of the Liberal party from the Irish alliance is as serious as it looks, because it may mean nothing more than the usual conventional twaddle that Parliamentary people are wont to indulge in; but whether it is merely this kind of petty lying, or a serious attempt to back out of a difficult position and surrender the Gladstonian fort to the enemy, it is discreditable enough to the Liberal party. In the first place these virtuous people are in a mighty hurry to condemn the accused before they have been heard; for, to take the matter on the lowest grounds, is it so sure that the Plan of Campaign is illegal? As the *Pall Mall* leader writer very reasonably points out, just the same kind of decisions as the Judges have made in Mr. Dillon’s case the Judges gave in cases of combination between workmen in the militant days of Trades Unionism.

But we Socialists at least need not trouble ourselves about the legality of proceedings which are necessary acts of self-defence against mere greed and tyranny. And pray what suggestion of action less determined than the Plan of Campaign has the *Daily News*, for instance, to suggest to the tenants whom Lord Clanricarde and others have made up their minds to ruin? It is at least a plan, and has been successful, in some instances at least, in bringing the landlords to such reason as is implied by their taking all they can get and not trying for more. Once more see how very tender the conscience of constitutionalists is; it is the threat against such very doubtful property as the second skin of a cat which has frightened these useful allies of the Irish people. Where will the Liberal “Justice to Ireland” be when property is seriously threatened there?

Indeed it seems probable that the Irish question is drifting into a new phase, which will for a time throw the Irish on their own resources, until both they and the people of England, Scotland, and Wales have begun to learn the true lesson for the oppressed, PROPERTY IS ROBBERY. Surely the events now taking place in Ireland should teach them something in that direction. I have said that the Plan of Campaign may not turn out to be illegal; but I admit that that will only mean its finding a loophole whereby to evade the law. The law which allows rack-rent and backs it up with the full force of the executive, is quite blind to any ruin which may be the result of it. Lord Clanricarde and the other shabby tyrants have, according to law, full right to squeeze the uttermost farthing out of their luckless tenants; and we may be sure of one thing, namely, that if any check is put on that right by laws made by our bourgeois government it will mean just the same kind of kindness which is accorded to sufferers on the rack, who are recovered from their fainting in order that they may be racked again. Those tormented by the rack of usury have sometimes to receive the cup of cold water so that they may live to be squeezed once more for the benefit of the usurers. The latter years of the Irish question must have taught the Irish peasants that in the eyes of Eng-

lish law they are people whose function it is to pay landlords, and who must be helped to do so, sometimes by coercion, sometimes by Acts of Parliament made apparently in their favour, really in favour of the landlords.

When they have got rid of their last illusion, which would seem to be that an English Constitutional party can help them, the day of their redemption will be drawing near.

W. MORRIS.

THE POSITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES. SOCIALISM THE ONLY POSSIBLE REMEDY.

THERE are some persons who assure us that we shall approach a Socialistic change very slowly; that there is no need for hurry; that Socialism is a kind of easy-chair philosophy, to be studied for pastime or kill-time for another generation or two, and to be reduced to practice in the dim and far distant future; that it is very beautiful in theory—too beautiful for our degenerate state; that mankind to-day is too ignorant (themselves especially) for anything so lofty in conception and so grand in principle. There are other credulous creatures who tell us that it is the name that is objectionable; that but for the name numbers would join the movement, or rather some other movement, if only the name were changed. As though it were only the name, and not the principle, to which the plundering classes object. The same cry was raised during the Chartist movement. Cunning, designing knaves assured the workers that a rose would smell as sweet by any other name, just as the principles of the Charter would be just as true under any other name. The enemies of the workers, with a number of half-hearted and misguided so-called friends, started the movement known as the Complete Suffrage movement. It was to contain all that the Charter contained, except the name. The new movement was a failure. The mass of the people refused to give up the name. And as far as the new party was concerned the principle soon followed the name. All disappeared. It was natural it should be so, and quite natural the people should distrust them in the beginning. Such tricks may be played again. But let us come to the position of the working classes.

We are told by many persons, some of whom wish to be called Socialists, as well as by the Manchester School, that the workers have, to a great extent, the power in their own hands to remove at least a great part of the evils that at present afflict society. That if the wage-earning classes would only limit their numbers to the requirements of society that their position would be greatly improved, which would give time for the consideration of Socialistic or other schemes for their permanent improvement. It is very kind of those creatures of good intentions but of very limited views. What a pity it is these kind-hearted creatures do not expand their sympathies and preach the same doctrine to our princes, priests, and peers, to the professional and commercial classes, to all who live on taxes, rents, and profits, who devour the wealth produced by others. How many of these does society really need?

What a change since the close of the last century! In 1751 a Bill was introduced into Parliament to confer certain privileges on all those who married, and thus increased his majesty’s subjects. The Bill was lost. In 1795 the subject was again before Parliament, when it was proposed to subsidise those among the working classes who had large families. During the debate Mr. Pitt argued in favour of a regular allowance to those with large families. He said: “This will make a large family a blessing, not a curse; and it will draw a proper distinction between those who are able to provide for themselves and those who, having enriched their country with a number of children, have a claim upon her assistance” (Wade, p. 597). Here the working-classes were valued as instruments of labour, necessary for the production of wealth, and on whose labour, skill, and perseverance, depended the greatness and glory of the nation. But soon a change took place, and in 1821 we had a different tale. By the latter date, consequent on the wars against the French Republic and afterwards against Napoleon, the nation’s burdens had increased to a fearful extent, while on the other hand inventions and improvements in machinery were multiplying with great rapidity. So in 1821 a Parliamentary Committee reported that in many districts there was a redundancy of the working classes, and it recommended emigration. Well, for two generations emigration has been tried, and still there is a redundancy.

But first let us look at the other classes, and see how the matter stands.

During the last half century we have had a large increase of the royal family, for which the country is heavily taxed. Our peers do not decrease in number; while our professional and commercial classes increase at a rapid rate. The following applies only to England and Wales. Taking the census returns 1871 and 1881, we find a decrease in Government employes, the numbers being in 1871 53,874, and in 1881 only 50,859. In local government officials there is an increase, the numbers being 51,438 and 53,493. In the clerical profession there is a large increase, from 44,562 in 1871 to 51,120 in 1881. In the legal profession the numbers were 37,327 and 43,641 respectively. In the medical profession the increase is even larger, being from 44,214 in 1871 to 64,548 in 1881. In the ten years artists increased from 16,562 to 58,517, surveyors from 6143 to 14,809, and teachers from 127,140 to 171,831. The total increase of the classes was from 381,260 to 508,818, or 34 per cent. Police increased over 17 per cent. The total number of the professional classes was 647,076.

The commercial classes numbered 980,128, from which the following items will suffice. Merchants numbered in 1881 15,936. Commercial travellers increased 100 per cent., and in 1881 numbered 35,474. Bankers, bank clerks, etc., increased 35 per cent., and numbered 16,055. Brokers, factors, reached 21,208, a very large increase over 1871. Agents numbered 15,068—increase 80 per cent. Accountants, 11,606, being an increase of 60 per cent. Musicians, etc., 43,896—increase 37 per cent. Grocers, 134,397—increase over 18 per cent. And tobacconists, 22,175—increase 34 per cent. Taking the above classes, the average increase is over 69 per cent. Here is work for the Malthusians. The increase of the population was only 14.5 in the ten years. Yet see the increase of the above classes, while the working classes increased only 7.3 per cent. The general increase being 14.5, and the working class increase only 7.3, of itself shows an enormous increase of the non-producing classes.

But let us turn to the industrial classes. And here we may observe we are only dealing with England and Wales. From 1871 to 1881, farmers decreased from 249,907 to 223,943; decrease, 25,964. Agricultural labourers from 962,348 to 870,798; decrease, 91,550; and market gardeners, from 98,069 to 65,882, showing a decrease of 32,185. In these three classes alone there was a decrease of 149,701. And agriculture ought to be the backbone of the country. In the gun trade there was a decrease from 11,579 to 7,741; in the lace trade, from 48,383 to 44,144; in the hosiery trade, from 44,203 to 38,823; in the glove trade, from 22,590 to 15,524; and in the silk trade from 80,132 to 60,595. Thus, in these five trades in ten years, there was a decrease of 40,327. Then, if we take the boot and shoe trade in the twenty years ending 1881, we find a falling off from 246,493 to 216,556; decrease, 29,937. *When and how is this monstrous state of things to end? For end it must!*

There is another matter to which it is necessary to call attention, namely, the rapid increase of female and the decrease of male labour. And this is a matter of the highest importance. In the silk trade for instance, the male workers are 17,655, to female workers 39,694. In the hosiery trade they are 18,862 to 21,510. In the glove trade, 2,263 males to 13,261 females. In the lace trade, 11,359 to 32,785. In the linen trade, 4,212 to 7,853. In the worsted trade, 35,436 to 63,801; and in the woollen trade, 57,307 to 58,501. In the cotton trade the number of males in 1861 was 202,540, and in 1881, 189,651; decrease, 12,889; while at the former period the females were 264,166, and at the latter, 310,374; increase, 46,208. And this is the natural and inevitable result of the enormous increase of our powers of production. In 1790, according to Carpenter's work on 'Machinery,' published 1841, our total powers of production were then equal to 10,000,000. In 1817, our powers of production increased equal to the labour of 200,000,000 of men, and in 1840 equal to that of 600,000,000 of men. And in 1878 they were estimated as equal to the labour of 1,200,000,000. In 1790, the number of workers were about 5,000,000, and our scientific powers of production were as 1 to each worker. But in 1878 they were as 173 to each worker. Here is the secret of the vast difference in the value of the worker of 1795 and 1886. What will be the value of the worker in another 90 years? Here, too, is the secret why the idlers increase and the workers decrease.

Let us look at the result of the enormous increase in our powers of production, and to this point I beg particular attention. Taking the wealth produced in different years and dividing it among the actual number of workers, we find the average value of the labour of each as follows:—

1823.	1841.	1870.	1878.	1882.
£48 6 8 ...	£80 6 4 ...	£131 10 0 ...	£171 9 0 ...	£178 3 3

The total wealth produced annually at those periods was:—

£261,000,000...	£514,000,000...	£934,000,000...	£1,200,000,000...	£1,247,000,000
(Lowe)	(Alison)	(Hoyle)	(Derby)	(Mulhall).

Here is the secret why the idlers grow richer and the workers grow poorer. The following I give in tabular form for convenience:—

Year.	National Wealth.	Per Head of Population.			Authority.
		£	s.	d.	
1823 ...	2,050,000,000	...	94	6 3	Lowe.
1840 ...	2,190,000,000	...	82	13 7	Mulhall.
1860 ...	4,030,000,000	...	140	0 8	"
1878 ...	7,960,000,000	...	235	10 1	"
1882 ...	8,720,000,000	...	249	0 0	"

Thus, in 1882 there was wealth equal to £1,245 for every family of five, and if divided among the working-class families, numbering,

according to Mr. Mulhall, 4,629,100, it would have given to each family no less than £1,885. Yet who possesses that mass of wealth? I turn again to Mulhall, who tells us that in 1878 the higher classes, who numbered 222,500 families, had £5,728,000,000; the middle-classes, who numbered 1,824,400 families, had £1,834,000,000; the working-classes, who numbered 4,629,100 families, had £398,000,000; total, £7,960,000,000.

Here we see all the machinery of the country used for the aggrandisement of the few; all the wealth produced going to the possession of the few. Here is a system of plunder, of every day confiscation, unequalled in any age or in any country. Is this system sacred? And the plunderers have the cool impudence to tell the workers to depart and seek a home in some distant land. Well did Proudhon say, "Property is Robbery!" By the side of this huge system of plunder, the natural result of the monopoly of the land and the instruments of labour, what are all the petty questions that agitate and divide the toiling but thoughtless millions of to-day? Nothing, comparatively speaking.

What can put an end to this system of robbery? No mere political changes, however desirable. No mere reform of the land laws. No mere trade combinations, however useful in the past. No mere palliatives, however fanciful. No mere expedients, however grand they may seem to knaves or interested parties, but a sweeping away of the whole rotten system. Nothing but the nationalisation of the land and of the instruments of labour; the actual sovereignty of the people, the supremacy of Labour, of equal liberty, of equal justice, of equal opportunities, to each and to all through all the ramifications of society. Socialism—Revolutionary Socialism—is the only possible remedy. J. SKETCHLEY.

SOCIALISM IN LEICESTER.

ON December 4 I set out on a mission to the Leicester Branch of the Socialist League. After a two hours' journey I met some of the members late on Saturday night, and talked over the arrangements for the next day. On Sunday morning a business meeting of the Branch was held, at which nearly all the members attended. I found that the Branch, though founded about a year ago, had in reality only begun to live and move a few weeks since. They had a score and a half of members, most of whom had been enrolled within a fortnight, and a great many more were expected soon. There was a strong Socialistic feeling in the town, due chiefly to the keen distress, but also in some measure to the clever and spirited lectures given there by a popular member of the Fabian Society. Curiously enough, a few days after the re-forming of the Branch the members found that a group of workmen in one of the factories had just begun preparations for starting one. They had got hold of the *Commonweal* and other literature, and made up their minds to start a Branch of the League on their own initiative. The outlook for the Branch now is very promising. Most of the members are young and very enthusiastic; all are fairly well read up in the subject; many of them are members of trades' unions, and will use their position and influence to broaden the ideas of their fellow unionists; while a few had met together and made a careful study of John Carruthers' 'Communal and Commercial Economy.' Their selection of this book showed a good deal of insight, as there is certainly none better for the purpose in the English tongue. After talking over various plans of propaganda, they agreed, among other things, to at once look out for premises for office and reading-room; to begin a regular series of meetings; to devote a good deal of energy to pushing the sale of the *Commonweal*; to extend their propaganda to the surrounding districts, especially where the miners are numerous; to push the discussion of social questions into the trades' union branches; and to watch all meetings held in the town at which they might get in their views. I explained to them also the object and means of working of the Strike Committee, and they agreed to appoint some one to look after matters concerning trade disputes and to do all they could to help the Committee in its work. The discussion of these matters lasted about two hours, and was carried on in an earnest and business-like fashion.

Before the afternoon lecture, I had a walk round and a look at Leicester Abbey, now in use as a farm-house, and further on a modern, mean-looking church was pointed out to me, and my attention directed to a stained-glass window, which was supposed to interest me not for its own sake but for its history. It was presented by a benevolent mill-owner close by, who had reduced his employes' wages 2s. a-week when he gave it, and won fame for his generosity into the bargain. Judicious man! How truly typical of his class!

At the afternoon lecture the little hall was well filled, and the audience very quick at grasping the points, and very sympathetic. I found, as I expected, that provincials are not behind Londoners in their liking for straightforward speaking on social matters. I did not mince matters nor choose smooth words in what I said, and found it good policy as well as good principle. There was one person who thought he was opposed to me, but I agreed with half of what he said, the other half being "facts" which were easily explained. There was a good sale of literature and a few members enrolled. We then adjourned to a jovial tea and further talk about the party and the propaganda. They all seemed in high spirits, and the Branch promises to become one of the best in the League before long. J. L. MAHON.

Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not be stolen from. I know no better definition of the rights of man than this.—*Thomas Carlyle.*

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 299.)

WE entered the church through the south porch under a round-arched door carved very richly, and with a sculpture over the doorway and under the arch, which as far as I could see by the moonlight, figured St. Michael and the dragon. As I came into the rich gloom of the nave I noticed for the first time that I had one of those white poppies in my hand; I must have taken it out of the pot by the window as I passed out of Will Green's house.

The nave was not very large, but it looked spacious too; it was somewhat old, but well built and handsome; the roof of curved wooden rafters with great tie-beams going from wall to wall. There was no light in it but that of the moon streaming through the windows, which were by no means large, and were glazed with white fretwork, with here and there a little figure in very deep rich colours. Two larger windows near the east end of each aisle had just been made, so that the church grew lighter toward the east, and I could see all the work on the great screen between the nave and chancel which glittered bright in new paint and gilding; a candle glimmered in the loft above it, before the huge rood that filled up the whole space between the loft and the chancel-arch. There was an altar at the east end of each aisle, the one on the south side against the outside wall, the one on the north against a traceried gaily-painted screen, for that aisle ran on along the chancel. There were a few benches near this second altar, seemingly just made, and well carved and moulded; otherwise the floor of the nave, which was paved with a quaint pavement of glazed tiles like the crocks I had seen outside as to ware, was quite clear, and the shafts of the arches rose out of it white and beautiful under the moon as though out of a sea, dark but with gleams struck over it. The priest let me linger and look round, when he had crossed himself and given me the holy water; and then I saw that the walls were figured all over with stories, a huge St. Christopher with his black beard looking like Will Green, being close to the porch by which we entered, and above the chancel arch the Doom of the Last Day, in which the painter had not spared either kings or bishops, and in which a lawyer with his blue coif was one of the chief figures in the group which the Devil was hauling off to hell.

"Yea," said John Ball, "'tis a goodly church and fair as you may see 'twixt Canterbury and London as for its kind; and yet do I misdoubt me where those who are dead are housed, and where those shall house them after they are dead, who built this house for God to dwell in. God grant they be cleansed at last; forsooth one of them who is now alive is a foul swine and a cruel wolf. Art thou all so sure, scholar, that all such have souls? and if it be so, was it well done of God to make them? I speak to thee thus for I think thou art no delator; and if thou be, why should I heed it, since I think not to come back from this journey."

I looked at him and, as it were, had some ado to answer him; but I said at last, "Friend, I never saw a soul, save in the body; I cannot tell."

He crossed himself and said, "Yet do I intend that ere many days are gone by my soul shall be in bliss among the fellowship of the saints, and merry shall it be, even before my body rises from the dead; for wisely I have wrought in the world, and I wot well of friends that are long ago gone from the world, as St. Martin and St. Francis and St. Thomas of Canterbury, who shall speak well of me to the heavenly fellowship, and I shall in no wise lose my reward."

I looked shyly at him as he spoke: his face looked sweet and calm and happy, and I would have said no word to grieve him; and yet belike my eyes looked wonder on him: he seemed to note it and his face grew puzzled. "How deemest thou of these things?" said he; "why do men die else if it be otherwise than this?"

I smiled: "Why then do they live?" said I.

Even in the white moonlight I saw his face flush, and he cried out in a great voice, "To do great deeds or to repent them that they ever were born."

"Yea," said I, "They live to live because the world liveth." He stretched out his hand to me and grasped mine, but said no more; and went on till we came to the door in the rood screen; then he turned to me with his hand on the ring-latch, and said, "Hast thou seen many dead men?"

"Nay, but few," said I.

"And I a many," said he; "but come now and look on these, our friends first and then our foes, so that ye may not look to see them while we sit and talk of the days that are to be on the earth before the Day of Doom cometh."

So he opened the door, and we went into the chancel; a light burned on the high altar before the host, and looked red and strange in the moonlight that came through the wide traceried windows unstained by the pictures and beflowerings of the glazing: there were new stalls for the priests and vicars where we entered, carved more abundantly and beautifully than any of the woodwork I had yet seen, and everywhere was rich and fair colour and delicate and dainty form. Our dead lay just before the high altar on low biers, their faces all covered with linen cloths, for some of them had been sore smitten and hacked in the fray. We went up to them and John Ball took the cloth from the face of one; he had been shot to the heart with a shaft and his face was calm and smooth. He had been a young man fair and comely, with hair flaxen almost to whiteness; he lay there in his clothes as he had fallen, the hands crossed over his breast and holding a rush cross. His bow lay on one side of him, his quiver of shafts and his sword on the other.

John Ball spake to me while he held the corner of the sheet: "What sayest thou, scholar? feelest thou sorrow of heart when thou lookest on this either for the man himself, or for thyself and the time when thou shalt be as he is?"

I said, "Nay, I feel no sorrow for this; for the man is not here: this is an empty house, and the master is gone from it. Forsooth, this to me is but as a waxen image of a man; nay, not even that, for if it were an image, it would be an image of the man as he was when he was alive. But here is no life nor semblance of life, and I am not moved by it; nay, I am more moved by the man's clothes and war-gear—there is more life in them than in him."

"Thou sayest sooth," said he; "but sorrowest thou not for thine own death when thou lookest on him?"

I said, "And how can I sorrow for that which I cannot so much as think of? Bethink thee that while I am alive I cannot think that I shall die, or believe in death at all, although I know well that I shall die—I can but think of myself as living in some new way."

Again he looked on me as if puzzled; then his face cleared as he said, "Yea, forsooth, and that is what the Church meaneth by death, and even that I look for; and that hereafter I shall see all the deeds that I have done in the body, and what they really were, and what shall come of them; and ever shall I be a member of the Church, and that is the fellowship, then even as now."

I sighed as he spoke; then I said, "Yea, somewhat in this fashion have most of men thought, since no man that is can conceive of not being; and I mind me that in those stories of the old Danes, their common word for a man dying is to say, 'He changed his life.'"

"And so deemest thou?" said he.

I shook my head and said nothing.

"What hast thou to say hereon?" said he, "for there seemeth something betwixt us twain as it were a wall that parteth us."

"This," said I, "that though I die and end, yet mankind liveth, therefore I end not, since I am a man; and even so thou deemest, good friend, or at the least even so thou doest, since now thou art ready to die in grief and torment rather than be unfaithful to the fellowship, yea rather than fail to work thine utmost for it; whereas, as thou thyself saidst at the cross, with a few words spoken and a little huddling-up of the truth, with a few pennies paid and a few masses sung, thou mightest have had a good place on this earth and in that heaven. And as thou doest, so now doth many a poor man unnamed and unknown, and shall do while the world lasteth; and they that do less well than this, fail because of fear, and are ashamed of their cowardice, and make many tales to themselves to deceive themselves, lest they should grow too much ashamed to live. And trust me if this were not so, the world would not live, but would die, smothered by its own stink. Is the wall betwixt us gone, friend?"

He smiled as he looked at me, kindly, but sadly and shamefaced, and shook his head.

Then in a while he said, "Now ye have seen the images of those who were our friends, come and see the images of those were once our foes." So he led the way through the side screen into the chancel aisle, and there on the pavement lay the bodies of the foemen, their weapons taken from them and they stripped of their armour, but not otherwise of their clothes, and their faces mostly, but not all, covered. At the east end of the aisle was another altar covered with a rich cloth beautifully figured, and on the wall over it was a deal of tabernacle work, in the midst niche of it an image painted and gilt of a gay knight on horseback cutting his own cloak in two with his sword to give to a half-naked beggar.

"Knowest thou any of these men?" said I.

He said, "Some I should know, could I see their faces: but let them be."

"Were they evil men?" said I.

"Yea," he said, "some two or three. But I will not tell thee of them; let St. Martin, whose house this is, tell their story if he will. As for the rest, they were hapless fools, or else men who must earn their bread somehow, and were driven to this bad way of earning it: God rest their souls! I will be no tale-bearer, not even to God."

So we stood musing a little while, I gazing not on the dead men but on the strange pictures on the wall, which were richer and deeper coloured than those in the nave; till at last John Ball turned to me and laid his hand on my shoulder. I started and said, "Yea, brother; now must I get me back to Will Green's house, as I promised to do so timely."

"Not yet, brother," said he; "I have still much to say to thee, and the night is yet young. Go we and sit in the stalls of the vicars, and let us ask and answer on matters concerning the fashion of this world of menfolk, and of this land wherein we dwell; for once more I deem of thee that thou hast seen things which I have not seen, and could not have seen." With that word he led me back into the chancel, and we sat down side by side in the stalls at the west end of it, facing the high altar and the great east window. By this time the chancel was getting dimmer as the moon wound round the heavens; but yet was there a twilight of the moon, so that I could still see the things about me for all the brightness of the window that faced us; and this moon twilight would last, I knew, until the short summer night should wane, and the twilight of the dawn begin to show us the colours of all things about us.

So we sat, and I gathered my thoughts to hear what he would say, and I myself was trying to think what I should ask of him; for I thought of him as he of me, that he had seen things which I could not have seen.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)



"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!"

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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CLEMENTSHAW (Paris).—Thanks for papers, which we are always glad to receive. We should be glad if readers in other places would follow your example and send us any paper containing items of interest.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 22.

<p>ENGLAND</p> <p>Justice Norwich—Daylight Club and Institute Journal Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Die Autonomie Freethinker</p> <p>INDIA</p> <p>Madras—People's Friend Allahabad—People's Budget Bombay—Times of India Voice of India Ahmedabad—Praja Mata</p> <p>CANADA</p> <p>Toronto—Labor Reformer Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere</p> <p>UNITED STATES</p> <p>New York—Volkszeitung Freiheit Trübscheker Der Sozialist John Swinton's Paper Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer Cincinnati (O.) Unionist</p>	<p>New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate Paterson (N. J.)—Labor Standard Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Knights of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt</p> <p>FRANCE</p> <p>Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Le Revolte La Revue Socialiste L'Action La Lanterne L'Intransigeant Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur</p> <p>HOLLAND</p> <p>Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM</p> <p>Brussels—Le Chante-Clair En Avant Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker</p> <p>ITALY</p> <p>Milan—Il Fascio Operaio</p>	<p>Turin—Il Muratore Rome—L'Emancipazione</p> <p>SWITZERLAND</p> <p>Zurich—Sozial Demokrat</p> <p>SPAIN</p> <p>Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo</p> <p>PORTUGAL</p> <p>Lisbon—O Protesto Operario Voz do Operario</p> <p>AUSTRIA</p> <p>Arbeiterstimme Brunn—Volksfreund</p> <p>HUNGARY</p> <p>Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik</p> <p>ROMANIA</p> <p>Bucharest—Pruncul Roman Jassy—Lupta</p> <p>DENMARK</p> <p>Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN</p> <p>Stockholm—Social-Demokraten</p> <p>NORWAY</p> <p>Kristiania—Social-Democraten</p>
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COMMERCIAL COLONISATION.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE "CIVILISATION" OF JAMAICA.

THE question most frequently put by working men when they begin to consider the cost in blood and treasure of our foreign policy and annexations, is "Of what use are the colonies to England?" To this question the different sets of politicians give answers as varied as the axes they have to grind, but nearly all, in their political "log-rolling," agree in saying the colonies are necessary to England's greatness, and England's mission is to extend civilisation to all ends of the earth. I purpose examining these high pretensions of "greatness" and "civilisation" in the case of Jamaica, to see whether they contain anything of that which endures; whether, in fact, they represent anything worth preserving or of profit to us as a people.

Whatever of profit our foreign policy and annexations may have had, and has, to the classes, they have been, and are, of little profit to the masses; they only serve to divert the attention of the latter from the undue privileges of the former, and to retard the growth of those forces which are destined to remove the causes that now make it wellnigh impossible for Honesty to earn its daily bread. The classes are interested in the maintenance of the colonies for manifold reasons. The military men find in them an outlet for their bloodthirsty propensities and a means of acquiring "glory" and pensions; the men of peace and commerce—our John Brights—find in them a counter whereon they can ring the changes of profit and plunder; the home aristocratic failures and mock politicians—our Whartons—find in them places and pensions; and those people who are "religious," for a consideration, find in them an outlet for that advertising philanthropy which, if confined to home, might in some way lead to the undermining of the undue privileges of the money-changers who now occupy the temple and warp all the best traits of humanity by misdirecting them for selfish purposes. There is a similarity in England's relationship to each and all of her colonies, and what is true of the one is generally true of all the others; the same principle runs through all their relationships and binds them

together like beads on a string; but the principle—or tie—is rotten, and unless it be speedily replaced by a better the consequences can be easily apprehended.

The similarity in barbaric behaviour which is characteristic of the pioneer colonisation of all civilised nations proves that moral principle forms no part of their basis of action, and that other forces, which have their roots in the competitive system of each for himself, are the "hangman's whip" which drives them to action. What the Spaniards did in Jamaica the English have done elsewhere. This fact shows that the mischief has its roots in other than strictly national traits. The English inherited the results of the Spaniards' doings in Jamaica with all the obligations it entailed. The aborigines of Jamaica had great cause to rue the advent of "civilisation" on their shores. They were the most gentle and benevolent of the human race, and when discovered by Columbus in 1494 they were living in that state which even to Socialists of to-day is but an aspiration. They were happy, healthy, and honest. They were not worried with the struggle for existence. Their island provided all the food they required, and their dress required no midnight devouring of human hearts. They wore a partial covering of cloth, and dressed their arms and heads with flowers and feathers. They emulated each other in deeds of kindness, and frequently danced in thousands from evening till dawn of day. Their whole life was a living demonstration that under certain conditions the selfish struggles of competitive civilisation can be dispensed with to advantage, and that in mutual trust and help we have that which can regulate and sustain, in peace and happiness, the peoples of the earth. Civilisation, it is evident, could not, at the time it came to them, have improved their social condition; neither could it have improved their religious beliefs. These gentle and benevolent people were subjected to unspeakable cruelties by the pioneers of civilisation, and because the former in consequence killed now and then one of the latter, the Spaniards made a law to massacre a hundred indians for every Spaniard they should kill. In this way 60,000 indians were exterminated in six years. Those who fled into the woods were hunted down with trained dogs. Did the world not lose something in the extermination of these people which the expansion of trade can never balance? Would it not in the end have been more profitable to civilisation if they had been allowed to develop those resources of nature for which they were specially adapted?

Jamaica remained under the Spaniards for 161 years, and was surrendered to England in 1655. From this time until emancipation, the slaves were sacrificed between two thieves—the planters and the Crown officials. The proceedings in the Assembly during this time are only interesting so far as they show the political discords of these two. The planters in the Assembly would limit the money-bills to three months "under a jealous apprehension of the Council's interference or the Governor's intemperance." The Council was mostly composed of office-holders, who were always protesting against reductions of their own salaries and the salaries of other officials of the island—"a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind." An idea of the friction which prevailed may be got from the fact that during the eight years administration of Governor Handasyd, there were eight Assemblies and fifteen Sessions. Governor Handasyd, in proroguing the last of these Assemblies, declared their conduct reminded him of "a party of barbarous people who took off the head of Charles of ever blessed memory." These bickerings characterised all their proceedings until the slaves began to give trouble, and so the pot boiled, and soon boiled over, putting out the fire of the Assembly of "the old time." The democratic doctrines which had been manifesting themselves in France had extended to St. Domingo, and a revolution broke out there in 1789. Many of the proprietors with their slaves fled to Jamaica, and this emigration was perilous to the good order and contentment of the Jamaican slaves. In December, 1799, a conspiracy among the St. Domingo slaves in Jamaica was discovered, and upwards of 1000 were transported. There were 250,000 slaves in Jamaica, valued by the planters at twelve and a-half million pounds when Wilberforce's scheme for the suppression of the slave trade began to claim attention in 1789. These possessions were growing more and more hard to hold, and consequently were becoming less secure as private property. But, nevertheless, the planters managed to impress the British tax-payer with a fancy valuation of the sacrifices they were making in emancipating their slaves, and so in 1834 they received twenty million pounds for giving 300,000 slaves the privilege of calling themselves free-born citizens. Whether the slaves received any benefit from the large payment made for them by the British tax-payer, is yet to be seen. An approximate value of the worth of our colliers to their masters may be arrived at from the above, seeing that the collier gets no more returned to him as wages than what the slave's sustenance cost his master. In the above we also see that history is about to repeat itself. Now when the landlords find their land becoming of less value to them as rent robbers they seek to impress upon the ratepayers the need of peasant proprietorship, so that they may receive value for that which to them has become of no value. Let the workers take a lesson from the Jamaican slaves, and take care they do not accept a name for the substance, let them have more faith in action than words, for—

"It strikes me 'taint jest the time
For stringin' words with settisfaction;
What's wanted now's the silent rhyme,
'Twixt upright Will and downright Action."

After the planters had pocketed twenty million pounds of other people's money, and the slaves were set free—free to starve or labour under the old conditions with a new name—the Assembly resumed its

discords over the money bills. The Treasury was always empty because the official parasites from England swallowed more than the revenue of the island was yielding at this time. For many years the Receiver-General was unable to pay in full all claims against the Treasury, and the cry for retrenchment prevailed. The officials were forced to make a virtue of necessity, and the judicial, clerical, and other establishments submitted to a reduction on "equitable terms." The advent of Governor Eyre did not help to smooth the troubled waters, for while he was but Lieut.-Governor the Assembly had "declined to proceed to any further business with his Excellency." He was subsequently promoted to the Governorship by the Duke of Newcastle (then Secretary for the Colonies), in testimony of the latter's approval of the course adopted by the former in his conflict with the Assembly. While these conflicts were going on in the Assembly, the democratic ideas which the slaves had imbibed from the French revolutionists were developing into action. A public meeting was held at Kingston under the presidency of George William Gordon, a coloured gentleman and member of the Assembly, who spent his life in the services of the workers of his own race. At this meeting a resolution was passed, calling upon all the descendants of Africa, in every parish throughout the island to form themselves into societies, and hold public meetings, and co-operate for the purpose of setting forth their grievances. These grievances were set forth in a proclamation to the people of St. Ann's. The slaves had discovered that although their old masters had been awarded twenty million pounds, their condition was in no way improved. The means of procuring the necessaries of life were still held by their old masters, whose prejudices against them had not changed, and they were forced to starve or accept conditions of employment which were no improvement on those of "the old time." Many could find no work to do. Many did starve in this land where Nature is so bountiful. The clergy and custodes misdivided the charities under their control, much the same as in London, the larger portion finding its way to their own friends. The tribunals before which labour disputes came were corrupt, and under the influence of planters and prejudice, so that the workers could get no redress. To any one with the least lucidity it would be evident that things could not remain for long thus, but, when Mr. Gordon warned the Assembly that "Mr. Eyre lacked administrative capacity, and, unless he is speedily removed, the country will be thrown into a state of confusion by reason of his illegal conduct," the Assembly laughed, like the French loyalists, immediately before the Revolution. Mr. Gordon's prophecy, however, was fulfilled, and the tyrants in office hanged their prophet. The wolf sat in judgment on the lamb, for Mr. Brigadier General Neilson deemed it right that Mr. Gordon should not be tried by a court of persons who might be supposed to be influenced by local prejudices. Governor Eyre thought likewise, and so he was "tried" before Lieut. Brand, R.N., Lieut. Errington, R.N., and Ensign Kelly! We can easily guess the prejudices that would influence such a Court. Even an Englishman who was tainted with democratic aspirations would be unfairly tried before them, far worse must the chances of a man have been whose considerations with such persons were summed up in the saying "Damn the niggers!" The barbarous treatment the negroes received at the last rebellion from English soldiers could not be surpassed in cruelty. It proves how monstrous English officialdom can be when it has the power, and it has taught the negroes a lesson in cruelty which, to an imitative race like them, will not readily be forgotten.

GEORGE M'LEAN.

(To be concluded).

The Blessings of Civilisation.

In the town of Cambuslang, near Glasgow, there is an itinerant vendor of vegetables, who does a thriving trade in onions by shouting lustily, "Buy fine onions! the top of the tree and the sunny side of the garden!"

The poor fellow has probably been reared in the city, and has a notion that onions and potatoes, like apples and pears, grow on the top of trees. How many people in our large cities are much wiser than the costermonger? How many are there whose ignorance of the produce of the fields is as great—though they may have more tact in concealing it—as that of the lively cockney in the story, who, addressing a farmer over a hedge remarked: "That's a fine field of oats you have there, farmer." "Yes," replied the farmer, "they be very good, but they be 'int oats, they be turnips!"

We are educating the people! Yes, informing them where Timbuctoo is, who the favourites of Charles II. were, how to multiply and divide sums of money which they are never likely to possess; we are even instructing them regarding the function of the grey matter of the brain. Very grand, isn't it; to have children's minds stored with such information, who don't know rushes from leeks, or crows from sea-gulls; to whom a hare or meadow is as rare a sight as a lion on a desert; a mountain or a waterfall as rare a sight as an iceberg or a geyser? We are shutting the doors of heaven upon thousands of these little ones, crowding them away from the sight of earth, sky, sea, and air, birds and flowers. But we are educating them nevertheless; educating them to become useful pieces of machinery, profitable tools to their masters; ay, and more cruel still, opening up vistas of knowledge and pleasure in the minds of those whom we know are destined to spend their lives slaving in factories and sleeping in cellars. What a noble thing civilisation is!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

OLD JAN'S DEATH.

(By GEORG WEERTH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

Yes, that is the place where he lived, next door
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.
He is not so cold as he was last year,
For they bore him away through the snow on his bier.

There Jan was frozen to death, next door
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.
With his poor pale face he turned on his side,
And without knowing what he was doing, died.

He died.—The dawn, like a shy roe-deer,
Skipped over the snow, and came near.
"Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"—
No answer returns the poor dead man.

And then the merry church bells began,
"Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"
How loudly soe'er they may call and cry,
Poor Jan can return them no reply.

And then came the children from out of the town;
"For us the old man has had never a frown;
Good morning, Jan! Good morning, Jan!"—
No answer returns the poor dead man.

Nor the dawn's, nor the bells', nor the children's "Good-day,"
Did he hear, and the time went slipping away;
Till at mid-day his old wife came, "My Jan,
Here is food and drink for my poor old man.

"See what I have brought for you out of the town;
It will comfort your heart when you swallow it down"—
The old wife looked for a while on her Jan,
And bitterly then to weep she began.

For she saw he was frozen to death, next door
To the house with the sign of the Blackamoor.
And there she wept in her burning woe,
And her hot tears fell on the frozen snow.

THE HOPE OF THE FUTURE.

Our English Alfred (saith the chronicler),
With ills of mind and body to withstand,
Waged war with foreign foes, and wisely planned
The foes of his own household to deter;
So that the land had peace, and none would stir
To take another's goods into his hand.
And though a woman wandered through the land
From sea to sea, no harm should hap to her.

Well mayst thou wish for that old time again!
Yet if by righteousness thou wilt be led
Even yet thy heel shall bruise the serpent's head,
And no harsh laws need men's glad hearts restrain;
Nor shall the curse of covetousness remain
To give us lust for love, and stones for bread.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our comrade Kitz has a good letter on "The distress among the unemployed" in the last issue of the *Surrey Independent*. This mode of propaganda by means of letters in the local press is a most useful one and should be followed wherever possible.

'The Moloch of Paraffin,' by Charles Marvin, the well-known Russophile (Anderson, Cockspur Street, ls.) is a rather sensational treatise upon the dangers of the indiscriminate use of paraffin in cheap lamps. He calls for legislative interference, saying: "We insist on safety lamps for the mines, let us do something to provide safety lamps for the masses." Mingled with some rather too obvious puffing of one special patent lamp, there is a great deal that is instructive and much that is alarming. But even if legislative interference were secured, it could not remedy an evil the root of which lies deeper than "law" can touch, the compulsion, that is, which is upon the people to buy everything at the cheapest. Competition and exploitation, these it is that sacrifice the holocaust of victims immolated by cheap illuminants in bad lamps.

'Advance Australia,' by Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton (Allen, Waterloo Place, 7s. 6d.), is a honestly-written and readable book, intensely amusing to all who are not quite orthodox in their views on people and property. Virulent abuse is freely lavished upon all who meddle with vested interests. The land-holding class, the "squatters," of course enlists the author's warmest sympathies, and the "selectors" are styled "an impetuous tribe of jackals armed with manhood suffrage." "In Victoria," he says, "the possession of a large estate is considered as a crime and the holder a fair mark for reprisals," and the legislation designed to curb the encroachments of the squatting aristocracy "can only be described as free plunder!" Speaking of a land bill passed a few years ago, which provided a progressive land-tax, he says, "As a matter of course the value of land all over the colony went down 30 per cent.," but he does not explain, what indeed needs no explanation, whether he means that the land so decreased in value to the community, or only to the exploiters who used it as a means of extracting wealth from the workers. The democratic tendencies of all kinds perceptible in the colonies irritate our author beyond endurance; even his discovery that "mining in Victoria is more mining in people's pockets than in the ground" does not arouse in him a tithe of the wrath engendered by the spectacle of manhood suffrage freely exercised by the masses for their own ends. It is rather to be regretted that progressive taxation and manhood suffrage can let loose such torrents of vituperation from the Hon. Finch-Hatton's lips; if he is not more sparing he will have naught left for those who preach expropriation and social freedom!

S.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

Strike Committee of the Socialist League.

The Committee will issue in a few days a leaflet especially addressed to strikers. A delegate has been sent to South Wales to inquire into and report upon the condition of the workers in that district. Another delegate will visit Manchester. On Monday, December 27, a great demonstration will be held at Norwich, at which delegates will attend and take part. The following resolutions will be moved: "That this mass meeting of Norwich workers hereby pledges itself to support the Socialists in every effort to overthrow the present landlord and capitalist system of Society which enables a few to live in luxury and idleness on the toil and poverty of the many, and under which all industrial progress instead of lightening the toil, and increasing the comfort of the workers, only increases the gulf between the die rich and the toiling poor, and that we will never cease working until we have realised revolutionary Socialism, the complete change, that by emancipating Labour and securing equal opportunities for all, will abolish once and for ever poverty and crime with all their attendant evils from our midst." And further, "Believing that the first step towards this might be the starting of municipal workshops for the various trades, where the best machinery should be used, and all who apply should be employed, dividing as wages the total amount of wealth produced, we pledge ourselves to use every endeavour to secure their speedy establishment." The Secretary of the Leicester Branch sends particulars of the movement to protest against the extension of the hours of labour which has been rendered necessary in consequence of the action taken by the Leicester Chamber of Commerce and the Hosiery Manufacturers' Association, who are petitioning Government for the privilege of extending the hours of overtime for women and children. A great meeting was to be held last night (Tuesday, Dec. 21st) to protest against such extension, at which the following were announced to speak: Miss Ruth Wills, Leicester; a Lady Delegate (Womens' League), London; Messrs. D. Merrick, Secretary of Sock Union, and President of Leicester Co-operative Society; J. Holmes, Secretary of Amalgamated Hosiery Union; E. Kell, President of Riveters and Finishers Union; W. Inskip, General Secretary of National Union of Riveters and Finishers; T. Horobin, President of Leicester Trades' Council; and J. Sharp, Secretary of Leicester Trades' Council. Resolutions expressing sympathy and a desire for joint action with French and Belgian miners have been received and transmitted from the Secretary of a Branch of the Scottish (Lanarkshire) miners. Arrangements are being made to have regular correspondents in most of the chief towns in Scotland.

Wednesday, Dec. 22, 1886.

H. A. BARKER, Gen. Sec.

WHAT A REDUCTION OF 2½ PER CENT MEANS.

A paragraph in Strike Column of last week's *Commonweal* refers to the strike of colliers in New Tredegar against a reduction of 2½ per cent. What a reduction of 2½ per cent. means to the miner will be seen from the following facts sent us by a correspondent from Glamorganshire. The price for cutting one ton of coal is 1s. 3½d., and under favourable circumstances a man and boy by working hard can cut twenty tons in a week. Our correspondent states that the vein which he is working on is three feet four inches thick, and this necessitates what is called ripping top and cutting bottom in order to make an open way, for which the miner does not receive any pay. Deduct 10s. for boy's wages out of the twenty tons cut, and you will find that the miner would have the enormous sum of 15s. 10d. left for himself; but this would be far too much, so stoppages of various kinds have from time to time been forced on the workmen, until the average pay has been reduced to 15s. a-week. The royalty per ton is 1s., and this must always be paid in full, so that those who receive it are actually paid more for each man's work than the man receives himself. In order to make up for stoppages, etc., and the work for which no pay is given, the miners are compelled to work fifty-six hours per week, under the most unhealthy conditions; and yet their wages must be reduced, while the royalty is left untouched.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS.

We gladly publish the following letter which needs no comment:

(To Mr. Jas. Hunter, Gen. Secretary, etc.)

Dear Sir,—Some time ago Mr. Lyon, of St. Helen's, was here to engage glass-workers; he pretended that he was going to enlarge his factory by adding a new tank-house to it, and that he wanted to work this tank-house on the German system. Under these circumstances we opened negotiations with him, and named the wages and other conditions we required; he found them too high, and returned to England to communicate our terms to his brother and to get his sanction. Yesterday, Mr. Lyons came back to Düsseldorf, but as we have learnt in the meantime through a notice in our journal that the matter is different from what Mr. Lyons represents it to be, we beg to request you kindly to give us a correct version of the matter, and also to inform us what wages are paid there. We are prepared to accept work there, but only then if what Mr. Lyon says is true, viz., that he wants to enlarge his factory and to work his new tank-house on the German system. If, on the contrary, there should be wage disputes between Mr. Lyon and his workmen, and we should by accepting work there damage the English glass-makers, we are firmly resolved not to accept work even on the most favourable terms. Will you kindly give us a speedy answer, and also send us a list of the wages there.—With cordial greetings, H. BENDRICH, Delegate for the Glass-workers of Gerresheim.

Gerresheim, near Düsseldorf, Dec. 14, 1886.

The strike of the gassers employed at Carrington Bridge Mill, Stockport, has failed. This result affords one more illustration of the futility of operatives expecting to better their position unless they have previously organised and put themselves in a position to sustain a contest with the powerful hand of capital. The position of the men engaged in the trade is not an enviable one. They earn 19s. for a week of 56½ hours, overtime being paid for at the rate of 4d. per hour.

In a good many occupations employers of labour are making efforts to introduce low-paid female labour in competition with that of men. In some of our Lancashire towns hundreds of men are walking about the streets partially or wholly maintained by their sisters or their wives. This constant running after female labour has a tendency to intensify this, and to transfer the position of wage-earner for the household to the wrong sex. No one can rightly object to a woman earning her own living, but when their weakness is constantly held over men as a threat to keep down wages it becomes another matter. The cure for this is efficient organisation.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

The dining room girls of Chicago refuse to wait on the Pinkerton detectives on duty there protecting the scabs.

The women on strike in a shirt factory at Washington, D. C., received but 4½ cents for making a shirt. And yet people wonder that labour is discontented.

John Donahue, the labour member of the New Jersey Legislature, who will hold the balance of power on joint ballot, is a typo.

The Knights of Labour at Richmond have started a co-operative underwear factory for the benefit of their female members.

On January 8, 1887, Henry George will publish the first number of the *Standard*, a weekly newspaper "for all who work with hand or brain."

THE GREAT TROY BOYCOTT.—At last the contract-breaking firm of Fuller, Warren, and Co., of Troy, have been made to feel the weight of organised labour. On Wednesday, Dec. 1, they closed their largest moulding shop, employing over 250 moulders, and they are now stacking their stoves as they do pig-iron. They are unable to sell the scab goods which they have on hand, and before the 25th of this month their entire works will be shut.

FRANCE.

ROUBAIX.—The Spinners' Syndicate of Roubaix have issued a warning to the workers of the *Nord*, apropos of the strike at Ghent, from which I quote a few passages: "For three months past the spinners of Ghent have been on strike. Like the bourgeois press of France when it is you who are struggling, the press there throws out calumny after calumny, insinuating that French workers are ready to take the place of their Belgian brothers. This is quite false, but knowing the dangers and temptations attendant on such a crisis, we feel bound to put all comrades on their guard against the same. . . . It is obvious that if the Belgian masters get French workers so as to lower the wages of their own 'hands,' the French masters at the least complaint from us, will look out for Belgians to work for them to avoid complying with our demands."

LE CREUSOT (SAONE ET LOIRE).—The situation here goes from bad to worse, and is truly deplorable. The Schneiders manage very skilfully the inevitable and constant lowering of wages. They begin by dismissing their hands ten and twenty at a time, and engaging fresh ones, of course at a lower rate, there being always men in so miserable a state as to accept anything, too hopeless to attempt to stand up for themselves and their fellow-workers in any way. With this dodge a man who formerly gained 5 fr. now gets 3 fr. 50 c. Crowds of men out of work wait daily at the office in the hopes of getting taken on.

MARSEILLES.—A strike of women is announced here at a military equipment maker's workshop. The strikers, to the number of 300, marched out in a body to "manifest" before the workshops of the Catalan quarter of the town, and thence proceeded to others to proclaim what they had done. Their example should encourage the others to do likewise.

MONISTROL (HTE. LOIRE).—The workers at a firm of locksmiths here are on strike. The actual number of strikers is 130; 200 of the rest remain at work while claiming higher wages. The masters have no intention at present of coming to terms.

VIERZON.—There is a new strike here, this time among the porcelain makers and labourers of the Michaud firm.

On the fulfilment of the different terms of imprisonment of those concerned in the disturbances here, and their arrival from Bourges, enthusiastic manifestations take place to welcome them and show sympathy with them, the meetings being invariably honoured by a military escort.

We know that many ludicrous observances are *de rigueur* in factories and workshops English and foreign, and are never surprised at the many vagaries and fantasies of masters and overseers and the like, encouraged as they are by the apparently inexhaustible powers of endurance manifested by those whom they hold submissive to their will; but it is almost impossible to hear with heart unmoved that *music is de rigueur* among the employés of certain tanneries in one of the Parisian suburbs. And such music! Shudder, oh shade of Orpheus at the thought. The entries and exits of the men is announced not by a bell or whistle, but by clarions and drums, cornets, trombones, and any other instruments they can get a shriek or groan out of. Scene: The interior of a workshop; flourish of trumpets, alarms, excursions, enter the *Jacquerie en blouse*. Chorus of the unemployed, "We don't want to fight, but by jingo—" Recitativo and Aria by the good young Socialist (light tenor) on Hamlet's remark, "The time is out of joint—oh cursed spite, that ever I was born to set it right!" Here are hints for a comic opera for Messrs. Gilbert and Sullivan, which we give to them gratis. Socialism is quite in the fashion this year, the artistic and æsthetic affectation being played out utterly. The providers of witty foolery had better "consider o' it."

BELGIUM.

VERVIERS.—I have been informed just lately of such crying abuses that I should consider myself failing in duty not to make them known. Here are some well-authenticated facts concerning the Xhawire coal-pit. Sunday work is in force there, and any worker who absents himself on that day has to pay a fine of 2 fr. 50 c., which, as he only gains 18 fr. a-week, is an amusement he can ill afford. There is a relief-fund established here, into which each worker has to put 3 per cent. of his weekly wage. At this rate it would be easy enough to give substantial relief in cases of sickness, but in reality the relief given consists of 3 fr. a-week. Naturally no workman is allowed to meddle with the administration of these funds. We are religious at Xhawire, too: last week 1 fr. was kept back out of each man's wages for the purpose of celebrating a mass on the fête of Ste. Barbe, the patron saint of miners.—*L'Avenir*.

LIEGE.—A strike is reported at the Esperance-Longdoz establishment, caused by a reduction of between 10 and 20 per cent. on the wages of the employés. A general meeting of the men was held, under the auspices of the Association des Metallurgistes, unanimously deciding on a strike. A delegation afterwards had an interview with the directors, who have promised a definite answer in a few days.

GOHYSSART.—Laurent Verrycken, a member of the Belgian Labour Party, has been preaching Socialism here successfully. Among other meetings he spoke to one composed entirely of the miners' wives. It is interesting to note that the women here are as determined about the strike as the men; one enthusiastic dame, who evidently ruled the roast at home, was heard to declare her determination to "break her broomstick about the ears of her man if he was such a coward as to take work again under the conditions imposed."

REVOLUTIONARY RUMBLINGS.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 96,078, of whom 56,938 were indoor and 39,140 [outdoor] paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,832 over the corresponding week of last year, 2,588 over 1884, and 4,307 over 1883. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 706, of whom 530 were men, 151 women, and 25 children under sixteen.

At the quarterly general meeting of the London Branch of the Iron Founders' Society, held at the Sun Inn, Union Street, Borough, on Tuesday, December 14, the following resolution was passed unanimously:—"That this meeting deplores the action of our corresponding secretary, Mr. W. H. Hey, in attending the London Trades' Council Sandringham deputation without any authority to represent this society, and is of an opinion that such servile conduct is deserving of our most severe censure."

GLASGOW.—A correspondent in this city sends us particulars of a case of the kind that is always recurring and must recur under class-rule and the exploitation of labour. A poor old woman past the power of being profitable to an employer, destitute and deserted, died of hunger and cold. She had begged a cup of hot water from a neighbour nearly as poor herself, wherein to soak two dry mouldy crusts, and was found soon after dead. Either the crusts had choked her or the cold. How long will the people perish thus-wise unresistingly, while food and fuel are heaped around for the taking?

IRELAND.—The struggle intensifies day by day. On every hand are indications that it will be fought out determinedly. Over £100,000 has, it is estimated, by now been paid over to "Plan" trustees, and strong meetings continue to be held. On the other hand, the "landlords' land league," as Reynolds calls the Government, are going deeper and deeper into the mire of coercion, Mr. Dillon and five other M.P.'s having to appear on a charge of conspiracy as we go to press. All the old-time arts will be tried, of course—venal judges, corrupt advocates, packed juries—but the Irish people and their leaders seem to be determined, although there is a rumour of a strong desire on Mr. Parnell's part to "hedge" in time. His followers, should he do this, are certain to break away from him and go ahead; and from this point of view his defection would not be an unmixed evil. The Cork grand jury last Saturday, on breaking up, passed the following resolution and sent it to prominent politicians and the press: "That we, the grand jury of the Munster Winter Assizes assembled, having, in the discharge of our duties, heard evidence bearing on nearly all the agrarian offences sent forward for trial, deem it our duty to state that we consider such evidence points clearly to an amount of social disorganisation traceable almost wholly to the past and present deplorable condition of the land question." A cartoon issued with the *Weekly Freeman's* last issue cannot fail of doing good propagandist work in the country, it so well puts the contrast between the producer and the plunderer. In a really admirable letter in Monday's *Daily News*, Allanson Picton made a strong appeal to Liberals and Radicals, and sought to arouse them to a sense of their duty, but no sign is as yet apparent of any return of courage to these sneaking fainthearts. Their time is over; other men are needed to secure the confidence of even that part of the people that still believes in parliamentary measures. Meanwhile, both in Ireland and Great Britain, the bitter death struggle of landlordism in Ireland is educating the masses in the true meaning of it all.—S.

AMERICA.

UNITED LABOUR IN PHILADELPHIA.

At the second convention of the United Labour Party, a declaration was adopted which says: "In the vote polled in many parts of the country, amounting to a moral victory, we hail the opening of a new era in American politics, the beginning of a struggle to purify our political methods, to establish the American Republic on the firm rock of equal rights, and to apply principles enunciated by our fathers to the social difficulties of our time. We assert the brotherhood of man, and by aiming at the abolition of the wrongs which permit thieving and compel begging, we desire to do away with all class distinctions by securing to all equal access to all natural opportunities, and by such equitable distribution of the products of labour that all men shall be working men, and each shall be free to enjoy that pleasure which is necessary for the full development of his whole nature. We adopt the name of the United Labour Party because we recognise the existence of an oppressed mass of toilers, composing a large majority of our people, as a fundamental fact, and the emancipation of this large class as its first object."

FRANCE.

The details of an ugly family butchery are filling French journals just now for the excitement of the public. Of the actors the *Cri* says, this cheerful couple, man and wife, come from a long line of murderers inhabiting the wild village of Barnas, which hangs among the heights of the Cervennes in desolate stretches of basaltic rocks. Sensational stories of evil inn-keepers with human ingenuity and brute ferocity, and of ill-starred travellers falling in their hands, are, unfortunately, by no means the invention of cheap novelists; here, for instance, we have among the wild romance and dreary beauty of these volcanic districts, a family of inn-keepers yielding to their long-inherited, long-indulged instincts and blood-madness, and one may add, following their traditions, just as respectable families follow theirs amid the plaudits and approbation of historians. Hold them up to execration by all means, kill them by all means out of the way, but in the name of common-sense don't wonder at them as strange monsters in nature having no *raison d'être*. The reason of their existing has to be looked for in the past and in the present times. In a reasonable state of Society, such monstrosities would in truth be unnatural; to-day they are of natural growth.

BELGIUM.

The "Sainte-Barbe" is a fête-day of some importance here, that saint guarding and watching over miners in especial. But the Belgian workers of late have preferred to celebrate the "Sainte Barbe rouge," which I may render "Saint Barbe the Red," a sort of hybrid revolutionary saint of their own coining, who is not at all Catholic and certainly would find no place of honour in the Saints' Calendar; for Ste. Barbe the Red presides over Socialist meetings and countenances hot speeches of sedition and revolt, and words of hope for a new state of things, in which the Holy Catholic Church will be very much in the shade, or non-existent. Altogether Sainte Barbe must have opened her eyes the other day at the different spirit in which she was fêted by the different "believers" of the Belgian land!

CORRESPONDENCE.

"EVOLUTION VERSUS REVOLUTION."

I always read with interest articles in the *Commonweal* by J. Sketchley. But in his last article his just wrath against the iniquity of the present system blinds his judgment. His heading should have been reversed—*Revolution v. Evolution*. At the outset of this reply I declare myself an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary Socialist. It is only the difference of an "R," but it is all the difference between practical and unpractical Socialism. Evolutionary Socialism rests on a sound basis and is certain to develop. Revolutionary Socialism is a contradiction in terms. But grant it possible to maintain itself for a certain time, by excluding the idea of evolution it will have no scientific basis and must end either in confusion or an evil reaction.

It is one of the beauties of language that words can be used in metaphorical senses. This is all very well in poetry or poetical prose. When we have to deal with scientific questions, words must be used carefully. Socialism is essentially a science—the science of human life. Now the word "revolution" used metaphorically means a violent overturning; but in its primary sense it is a turning again—that is, a coming back to the same point; as, for example, a wheel on its axis or the planets in their courses. Does Socialism aim at always returning to the same point without any advance? Now what is evolution? It is a turning outwards, or, to use an older expression, development—one condition giving rise to other conditions, and these in their turn to others. This is just what will be the case with Socialism. True we may have an evolution of evil conditions, as indeed it is in the present system, which is a bad evolution of Individualism. So may Socialism become, if care be not taken to secure good conditions and to make the best of those conditions. Socialism cannot come all at once; but the conditions to which it will give rise will breed other conditions, tending, we believe, to advance human beings towards perfection. In view of this, revolution—the violent overturning in order to start fresh—will accomplish after all but a poor result. Past revolutions have shown this.

Now to put matters in another light, let us, instead of using the nouns *Evolution* and *Revolution*, employ the corresponding verbs and say, *Socialism* must evolve; *Socialism* must revolve. Look at the two expressions. The first states a pregnant truth; the second is absolutely meaningless. The first is simply this, *Socialism* must grow.

I think that so far from the words *revolution*, *revolutionary*, *revolutionist* advancing *Socialism* in this country, their use seriously retards its progress. It is very different in such a country as Russia. Violent overturning is there absolutely necessary, and the sooner it comes about the better for human progress. But here in this old home of liberty—not perfect liberty by a very long way, I admit, yet with a constitution all the better for not being a written one, for it is not stereotyped, and is the outcome of evolution—surer, more satisfactory development of *Socialism* will be secured by persuasion and education than by threats or exercise of physical force.

Let me not be understood to say that physical force must not be resorted to even in this country under any circumstances. On the contrary, it would be the sacred duty of Socialists as brave citizens to fight with such "resources of civilisation" as they could obtain should the enemies of liberty be the first to attempt to crush out *Socialism* here by force of arms. In this country even the enemies of *Socialism* know that the temper of reasonable non-Socialists is opposed to violent repression of opinion, or action within constitutional lines. Let not Socialists damage their just cause by listening to or acting out bloodthirsty counsels. The aim should be to make Socialists—to win converts. When the great majority are converted to *Socialism*, the measures necessary for the benefit of all will be carried out in a peaceable—that is, in a legal and constitutional manner. No doubt it would be good if the true Social State were established tomorrow. But that being impossible, let us, to some extent at least, curb our "divine impatience"; not to sit down "waiting for something to turn up," but "girding up our loins" help forward the emancipation of the workers by establishing the Social Commonwealth on the sound basis of Reason.

Mr. Sketchley correlates evolution and revolution as thought and action. This is to misapprehend evolution. Evolution is action—very much action indeed. Beside it the most violent revolution is child's play.

D. C. DALLAS.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

A Children's Party will take place in the Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Monday December 27, at 3.30 in the afternoon.

General Meeting.—The next General Meeting of London Members will be held on Tuesday January 4, 1887, at 8 p.m.

Executive.

At their usual weekly meeting on Monday 20th the Council voted the following resolution: "That the Executive Council of the Socialist League, though believing that the Irish people can never be free until they hold and possess in common the land and the means of production, indignantly protest against the brutal action of the English Government in trying to suppress a movement initiated for the purpose of securing to the Irish soil-tiller a larger share of the product of his labour. They further consider that every step taken by the Irish people—legal or illegal—to free themselves from so infamous a yoke as that imposed by England and the landlord class would be perfectly justified." H. A. Barker was unanimously elected Secretary, *vice* Sparling resigned. H. H. Sparling was appointed sub-editor *vice* Bax resigned. Leaflet on Strikes, read by Lane, was adopted and ordered to be printed. Next meeting of Council to take place Tuesday 28th inst. at 8 p.m.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. B., 6d.; S. M., 6d.; M. M., 1s.; W. M., 2s. 6d.; R. M., 6s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Deficit, £2, 8s. 6d.

Ph. W., Treasurer, Dec. 21.

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E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly) H. C. (weekly), 1s.; W. B. (five weeks), 2s. 6d.; Collected by Ph. W., 16s.

Ph. W., Treasurer, Dec. 21

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Dec. 17th, Mr. Gungeberg, L.P.D.L., gave a lecture on "State Education"; animated discussion followed.—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, December 15th, a letter was received from Annie Besant expressing regret and severe indignation; this naturally prevented her giving the lecture entitled, "Means for Staving off the Revolution," but H. H. Sparling readily filled up the gap, and spoke on the same subject; excellent audience. Good discussion followed a very interesting lecture. On Sunday evening, a short open-air meeting was held on the Green, after which T. E. Wardle spoke on "Socialism." Fair audience and discussion. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday, December 18, we held a concert, at which Binning, Blundell, Barker, Nicoll, Graham, Mainwaring, and others obliged with songs and recitations. On Sunday, H. Davies lectured, and good discussion followed. One new member. The Branch has already got ten names towards forming a brass and string band. Shall be glad of assistance by subscription and otherwise.—H. M., sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday evening, December 19, R. A. Beckett lectured upon "Equality," showing that the present constitution of Society makes individuals unequal, and that true equality could only exist when men are alike politically, and socially, free. Some discussion followed.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening in our club room, W. Blundell lectured to a very fair audience, the subject being "Machinery, is it a Curse?" The lecturer pointed out that all inventions and improvements of machinery tended to displace manual skill, and he was followed with great attention as to the statistics of the census taken from 1861 to 1881, especially in regard to the social condition of the workers in numbers since that time. He also explained the vast increase of female labour, especially in certain branches of industry, and showed most distinctly that machinery, as used under the present system, is a curse to the worker and benefits only the capitalists. Before leaving us, Blundell sang Morris's chant, "The March of the Workers," which was taken up by the audience. Sale of *Commonweal* good.—S. G., sec.

NORTH LONDON.—On Friday, Mr. Greening, editor of the *Store*, gave to the members a very interesting description of "The Familistere at Guise" at the Branch meeting-room. We held our usual meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday morning, in spite of the weather, and Arnold spoke for about an hour to an appreciative audience. Important business next Friday, members please attend.—T. C.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, December 19, P. Bland read his paper on "Competition," at Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade. The paper was well received, and was followed by a lively debate, in which Minty and Henze took part. A few pamphlets and *Commonweal* were sold.—C. H., sec.

GLASGOW.—Owing to the exceptionally cold weather, our open-air arrangements were somewhat altered. On Sunday at mid-day, Glasier addressed a meeting on George's Square. At 2.30, Warrington and Glasier spoke to a large and very attentive audience at the Green. In the evening, instead of discussing Joyne's "Catechism," the members adjourned from our rooms to George's Square, and held an open-air meeting. Afterwards the members re-assembled in our rooms, when the monotony of propaganda work was broken by comrades Muirhead, Brown, Fisher, M'Laren, and McFarlane singing revolutionary songs.

LANCASTER.—Good meeting on Friday night. In the morning comrades distributed nearly a thousand Socialist bills to Wagon Works men and others. Five new members enrolled. Leonard Hall spoke on "Wealth, who makes it and who takes it." A spy from one of the workshops caused some trepidation amongst the audience.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

LEEDS.—Last Sunday, at 3 p.m., in Vicar's Croft, the debate between T. Maguire and an opponent named Thornton came off. The weather was bitter cold, and snow was falling, but, nevertheless, there was an attentive audience of about 250 persons. Our comrade opened with an exposition of the "Principles of Socialism," and proved that Socialism was economically and morally sound and just, and that the glaring anomalies that obtain in the present system could not possibly exist under a Socialist regime. His opponent admitted that Socialists were well-intentioned people, but "hell is paved with good intentions," and in his opinion Socialists were but good men gone wrong. He occupied the most of his time in asking such foolish questions as, How would you regulate the wages of one man who could eat more than another? and Who would do the dirty work? etc. Our comrade very properly ridiculed these tactics, and the debate was closed with the understanding that a further debate shall take place on the first Sunday afternoon in January, the subject to be the "Practicability of Socialism." A number of *Commonweal* were sold. In the evening, we attended at the Gardner's Arms to take part in the adjourned discussion that arose out of our comrade Maguire's lecture at that place a fortnight ago. There was no real opposition. Arrangements were made for another lecture to take place on Sunday evening, Jan. 16th.—F. L. CORNWELL, sec.

MANCHESTER.—Edward Carpenter lectured at the Hulme Radical Club on "Our Railway System; should it be Naturalised?" There was a good attendance, who seemed to agree with the views of the lecturer, and the discussion afterwards showed that a considerable amount of interest was taken in the

subject. In conclusion, Carpenter played several marches on the piano. Our comrade Prince was in the chair.—F. H. C.

NORWICH.—Successful meetings held at Sprowston and on St. Mary's Plain at 11, the best meeting of the day being as usual the Market Place at 3, when over 2000 persons were present, and at 7 opposite the Agricultural Hall, where the largest meeting I have yet addressed at this place was held. At 8.15 our meeting-place was crowded. We have taken another Branch-room in Ber Street in order to hold weekly indoor lectures. We were presented by one friend with 5s., another 4d. People here are taking a very keen interest in Socialism, and our membership is steadily increasing.—C. W. M., sec.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. No Lecture will be given on Friday 24th (Christmas Eve).
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 26. No Lecture. Wednesday 29. Edward Carpenter, "Railway Companies." Business Meeting first Sunday each month.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Dec. 26, at 7.30 p.m. Andreas Scheu, "The Socialisms of Owen, Marx, and Blanqui." Sunday Jan. 2, 1887. C. J. Faulkner, "Property, or the New Bigotry."
Fulham.—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.30. Members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday Jan. 2, 1887, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "What we want, and how to get it."
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 26, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Public Work under Socialism."
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Dec. 26. No Meetings.
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions will be held every Sunday morning.
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.
North London.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.
Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.
Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday open-air meetings will be held at the Green (Jail Square) at 12.30 and 4.30; and on George's Square at 6 o'clock. In the evening, in our Rooms, the question of "How we can best assist the Strike Committee and promote Socialism amongst labour organisations" will be discussed. *Special Notice*—The Hall at No. 1 Carlton Place, Clyde Side (adjoining Gorhals Parish Church), has been secured by the Branch for a three months' course of lectures. The first lecture will be delivered by Dr. Cecil Reddie, of Edinburgh, on Sunday evening, Jan. 2, at 6.30 o'clock; Subject, "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society."
Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Blackwell School.
Hull.—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m.
Ipswich.—The Branch has left the George Inn, and have not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.
Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.
Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Saturday evenings at 7.30.
Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Lecture with discussion at 8 o'clock.
Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 26.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"H. Charles
 11.30...Hammersmith—Beacon Rd.The Branch
 11.30...London Fields—BroadwayH. Graham
 11.30...Regent's ParkT. E. Wardle
 11.30...St. Pancras ArchesD. J. Nicoll
 11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch
 3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

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

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
For Whom Shall We Vote? Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. 8pp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. 4d.
Trades' Unions. By E. Belfort Bax. 1d.
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