

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

MR. JUSTICE GRANTHAM, in charging the Grand Jury at Norwich, apropos of the events which so unhappily delivered two of our comrades to the tender mercies of that strange specimen of humanity, the Special Fool in a high place, sung a song of triumph over that glorious institution, the workhouse. Oddly enough, in the issue of the day before of the same paper that gave us the solemn wisdom of this genius, there is printed a paragraph which is a good commentary on that blessing of modern times—that refuge for the unlucky which, according to his lordship, affords such a firm and satisfactory stand-point from which to aim at the conquest of health and wealth—the workhouse. We give the passage in full:

“WANDSWORTH.—CASUALS AND THEIR FOOD.—James Harding and George Wright were placed in the dock charged with refusing to work while casual paupers in Wandsworth workhouse.—George Cheshire, the superintendent, said the prisoners were admitted on Saturday night, and that morning he set them to work. Both refused to work.—The prisoner Wright said he could not work on the food given to him. He had dry bread, and was put in a place where he was perishing with cold all night. He would not do it for the Queen of England.—The superintendent said the wards were heated. The food consisted of eight ounces of bread for breakfast, half-a-pound with 1½ ounces of cheese as dinner, and eight ounces of bread with hot water to drink for supper.—Mr. Bennett: Not any cocoa, nor anything of the kind?—No, sir.—The prisoner said he had a pail of hot water and dry bread. A pail of hot water was brought in as if to a horse.—The witness stated that the diet was given by direction of the Local Government Board.—Mr. Bennett said if the prisoner had any ground of complaint he must go to the Local Government Board.—The prisoner said he might as well go to Buckingham Palace, and knock at the door and ask for the Queen.—Mr. Bennett committed the prisoners for seven days.”

The only comment on this paragraph that is possible is to ask if there is not some mistake in the report that the prisoners were sent to prison for seven days?

Mr. Justice Nupkins (we ask pardon, Grantham), being in a jovial and joking humour apparently, was so pleasant as to say that certain persons who misled the people and told them they were badly treated—to be sure: badly treated when going to the workhouse they can get their water *hot*: hot water, the drink at present of the more refined among the “cultivated classes”—that these persons told the working-classes that they ought to have money whether they worked for it or not. Setting aside Mr. Justice Nupkins' confusion of ideas about the working-classes who don't work, which is of itself pretty to behold, his lordship has only to attend a few Socialist meetings (he might draw up his carriage at the edge of the crowd) to hear those who want to have money without working for it pretty sharply denounced by these very misleaders of the working-classes. He would there learn that the living on other people without working is the very thing we demand to be abolished, though it must be admitted that at present it is the very foundation of that society of which his lordship is so starting an ornament.

It was announced last week that the Government were going to make a new departure in coercion, and would bring forward a regular gagging Bill, which would serve for arranging Irish affairs at present, and would also be available for dealing with English, Scotch, or Welsh discontent, as it was to be made applicable to the whole of the United Kingdom. Socialist organisations, we were told, might expect to be particularly honoured by the notice of this new Act.

This news seemed from the first almost too good to be true; but it seems it was true for the time, and that the Tory Government, on the look out for something to damage their really strong position, had hit on this device as a satisfactory one. But unluckily it is almost impossible for them to go on with the gagging enterprise, as it would stir up the vigorous opposition of the Radicals, and even the Liberals would be shamed into voting against such a measure. Accordingly they are now backing down: are going to begin with the bill on procedure, and will *only* make their gag for Ireland, though even on these terms they have very little chance of getting it through Parliament.

Mr. Goschen is carrying on his candidature for Liverpool merrily, and in spite of the result of the last election, in which the Liberal candidate was successful, he will probably get in, owing to the servility of all parties towards “a distinguished official,” “a man of so much importance,” and so forth. Meantime this light of intellectual finance has introduced himself by making a long speech down there which was

really remarkable for emptiness, dullness, and twaddle, even among election speeches.

Apropos of Members of Parliament, the following story told by Mr. Labouchere at Spalding on Thursday week is too good to be lost. He said:—

“The atmosphere of the House of Commons does not seem to agree with Radicals. They soon want to become fine gentlemen. He remembered a case in one of the divisions with regard to the admission of Mr. Bradlaugh. About ten minutes before the division a highly respectable gentleman on the Liberal side of the House came to me and said, ‘You know I have been thinking this over, and my conscience won't allow me to vote for Bradlaugh.’ I replied, ‘I have not got time enough to talk about your conscience—what do you want?’ The Member said, ‘What do you mean? I am not that sort of person’; whereupon I said, ‘Do you want to be made a knight?’ and the gentleman replied, ‘No, you are entirely mistaken.’ I next asked him, ‘Have you got a wife?’ and he answered, ‘Yes.’ ‘Well, do you get asked to those crowds, those receptions, at the Foreign Office?’ The hon. Member admitted that he and his wife rather complained that they had not, and then I said, ‘You go in and vote, and I'll see that you are asked to them in the future,’ and in about ten minutes afterwards I polled that patriot in.”

Walpole, in the good old bribing days, would have been happy if he could have bought his votes as cheap as that.

The Commission on the Depression of Trade has issued its report. It will be criticised hereafter in these columns in some detail, so that it may go for the present with a few words. It is a matter of course that the Commissioners try to put the best face possible on the state of things commercial, though they do not succeed very well in the attempt. They say, “There can be no question that the workman is in this country, *when fully employed*, in almost every respect in a better position than his competitors in foreign countries.” The italics are our own. Will the Commissioners pretend that they do not know that even in good years the great mass of working-men in and about London are unemployed for four months out of the twelve? that the workmen of the great industries have to “average” their wages, have to insure, so to say, against the months that they are “at play,” from strikes and lock-outs and the like? Will they say where in Europe or Asia they can find a workman more miserably pinched and resourceless than the south-west country labourer with his income of 10s. a week when things are going well?

Or need one keep one's patience any longer with those miserable fools and liars, paid to lie and paid to be dull by a blind society amidst its last corruption? It is true that they are not paid to be imaginative; but a little imagination is necessary to most men, if only to keep their bodies from stinking in default of salt. Let them, then, bring their imagination to bear upon facts, and try to picture their noble and cultivated selves reduced to the condition of those workmen whose lot they are so contented with. Let them think of themselves as living and keeping a home together on 10s. a week in a Gloucestershire cottage, or worse still, on 16s. in a London slum; and if they have really tried to do so and have any honesty left in them, if they can do nothing else, at least let them hold their tongues and live silently on the proceeds of the perpetual *robbery* which habit has made them look upon as a holy right and the cement of society. WILLIAM MORRIS.

MEN VERSUS CLASSES.

THE well-intentioned, kind-hearted gentleman who perspires philanthropy all over at the bare thought of the working-classes, is often shocked at the fact that modern Socialism starts from the idea of an irreconcilable class-struggle. “Look at me,” he says, “and others like me; we are middle-class men, and yet we have a profound sympathy with the people. It is surely unreasonable to attack a whole class in the way you do when it contains such excellent and noble-hearted representatives.” Now, irrespective of the genuineness of the particular person in question or his friends, there is undoubtedly a point touched on here which to the neophyte in Socialism requires elucidating.

Socialists attack the middle-class as the root of all evil. The neophyte knows that he daily comes in contact with middle-class men whom he respects, nay, who may themselves be working for Socialism. On the other hand, he finds that there are plenty of men belonging to the working-class whom he cannot respect. Now, here is a problem for the Socialist! What is the solution?

In the character of every human being, man or woman, in the present day, we shall be able to detect without much difficulty two sides, more or less distinct, more or less blended. On the one hand, you have the side of friendship, of devotion, of good-nature, of sentiment, of the social qualities generally; on the other, that of acquisitiveness (greed), meanness, hypocrisy, coarseness, brutality—in fact, the anti-social qualities. Now, we maintain that in every civilised human being these two elements are present to a greater or less extent, it is only a question of degree. The anti-social qualities belong at bottom, to the anti-human, or pre-human nature, which human nature has inherited, and which were superseded by the specifically human nature or qualities which presided over the institution of tribal Society. But, in their present form, we contend they have taken on the forms and become crystallised into expressions of class-opposition. Some of them, indeed (*e.g.*, vulgarity in its various forms, and hypocrisy), are entirely the offspring of the class-society of modern times. The social qualities, on the other hand, are inherited from the human nature which, as we have just said, superseded men's brute nature in the earliest forms of society. But these, again, have maintained themselves only in spite of the class system, and have disputed the ground with it inch by inch. It is evident, then, that every man in the present day, inasmuch as he belongs to one or other of the two great modern classes, the fleecers or the fleeced, the oppressors or the oppressed, the middle-class or the working-class, possesses, in addition to his manhood, a classhood. The classhood necessarily interpenetrates his whole system, although it may not be always obvious. His social qualities may gain the upper hand, and permanently repress the anti-social qualities and prejudices which he inherits from his class. Again, his class-character may completely eat away his human character. Like the cells and fibres of cancer in the human body, his class character may be latent, and only become active from some external cause. It may then break out in the most unexpected ways. In any case, the human or social character varies in an inverse proportion to the class or anti-social character of the man. This is an important fact. A mathematician might make a reputation by wrapping it up in curves and equations.

And it will be observed that I make no distinction here in favour of the working-class as such. All class character *qua* class character is bad. Were the working-man any more than the middle-class man a seraph, Socialism would be unnecessary. Socialists who recognise individual character to be the child of social condition, could not expect a class degraded materially to the condition of Proletarianism not to bear the mark of this degradation on the character of its members. We may observe, however, in passing, though it is immaterial to the point, that while the class-element alike in the character of Proletaire as of Bourgeois is bad in itself, yet it has probably in the former case been less generally successful in corrupting the human nature into which it has entered than in the latter. The particular class-qualities in the character of the modern capitalist may be roughly indicated by the definition, *vulgarity in a solution of hypocrisy*; the particular class-qualities in the character of the modern proletarian as *brutality in a solution of servility*.

How plainly both are the outcome of economic condition will be evident at a glance. Open your morning paper, and you will see both illustrated in its columns. They are the obverse and the reverse of the same medal—modern civilisation. But, we repeat, these class qualities may be reduced to the minimum in favour of the essentially human or social qualities in individual instances in either case; or they may on the other hand be so highly developed as to exclude the latter altogether. The last case may be best illustrated by types drawn from those concerned in class-politics. Almost any statesman—let us take as types a Harcourt or a Goschen—exhibit the class-element in its purest embodied form. Such men are lumps of class-feeling. A hypocritical vulgarity has in them absorbed humanity. The corresponding illustration of the mere proletarian class-element may be looked for in that section of the Anarchist party which pursues the tactics technically known as *diebspolitik*, and of which a Stellmacher is a type. Here also the class-element, a servile brutality, the mere bloodthirstiness and lust of gain of the slave, has eaten out humanity. Of course, these are extreme instances on both sides. Human life would be manifestly impossible were the whole male middle-class transformed into Harcourts or Goschens, no less than if the whole proletariat were transformed into Stellmachers. Between them lie the great mass of both classes, where human feeling struggles with class-feeling with varying success. In the centre a nucleus is beginning to form. It is the International Socialist Party. And just here the chief superiority of the working-class as a class over the middle-class comes into view. Among the working-classes there is a large section, especially on the Continent of Europe, among whom the mere class-qualities have to a large extent succumbed to human qualities, although they necessarily and properly (as we shall show directly) take a class-form. Such, in the nature of things, is not the case with the middle-classes. They, as classes, have material power and wealth bound up with their class-being; so that while with the working-man culture in the natural course of things is a direct avenue to the elevation of the class-feeling within him to a human feeling, with the middle-classes it too often only cements it with a thicker varnish of hypocrisy. The educated workman knows that human progress is bound up with the ascendancy of his class. The educated bourgeois knows that human progress is bound up with the decay and overthrow of his class; so that where we have among the working-classes whole sections that are Socialistic, we have among the middle-classes only isolated individuals.

How, then, it may be said, if we admit class-feeling to be that element in the modern character in which its worst and anti-social features are embodied, can we make the abatement and exacerbation of class-feeling the starting-point for a social reconstruction in which classes shall be abolished? Is not the attitude of the benevolent old gentleman who says, let us ignore classes, let us regard each other as human beings, more consonant with what we have been saying? We answer no, if we are to deal with facts and not with phrases. Classes exist; you may ignore them, but they will exist still with the respective characters they engender. Though you ignore them they will not ignore you. The difference between the Socialist and the benevolent bourgeois Radical in their respective crusades against classes is, that while the one would affirm the form of class-distinction, knowing that thereby the reality of class-distinction will be negated, the other, though ostentatiously denying the form of class-distinction, would affirm the content or reality of class-distinction, inasmuch as he would leave it untouched. He thinks to get rid of class-instincts while maintaining classes. To be rid of classes, the possessing and expropriating class must be itself expropriated—expropriated of its power of expropriating, in other words—of that control of the instruments of production by which its class-character is maintained, when it will disappear together with its correlate, the possessed and expropriated classes. It is not true, as might at first sight be supposed, that the political class-feeling of the Socialist workman is the mere anti-social class-feeling of the ordinary proletarian (*lumpen proletarian*), or of the mere bloodthirsty Anarchist. It is human feeling in a class guise. The Socialist workman's conscious end and aspiration is the annihilation of classes, with the class-element in character. He knows well enough that his classhood places him at a disadvantage. He knows that the fact of his belonging to an oppressed class is an insuperable obstacle to the development of the best within him; just as the middle-class Socialist knows that the fact of his belonging to an oppressing class is equally an obstacle to the development of his nobler qualities. Mere class-instinct, which *per se* is necessarily anti-social, can never give us Socialism. That is why the most degraded section of the proletariat are, to a large extent, useless for the Cause of Socialism. Their lower class-instincts are incapable of being purified of their grosser elements, and transformed into that higher instinct which, though on its face it has the impress of a class, is in its essence above and beyond class; which sees in the immediate triumph of class merely a means to the ultimate realisation of a purely human Society, in which class has disappeared. With those who have attained to this instinct, classhood or class-interest has become identical with humanity or human interest. In the Socialist workman the class-instinct has become transformed into the conviction that, in the words of Lassalle, "he is called to raise the principle of his class into the principle of the age." He knows that in the moment of victory—of the realisation of the dominion of his class—the ugly head of class itself must fall, and Society emerge. Militant, his cause is identified with class; triumphant, with Humanity.

Meanwhile, we who live to-day, who are the offspring of a class Society, and who breathe the atmosphere of a class Society, bear ineradicably the mark of the class-demon upon us. It is engrained in our characters. Even among Socialists, where its grosser features are toned down or obliterated, it shows itself ever and anon. It is only a question of more or less. In no human being born in a class Society can the class element be altogether absent from his character. In the best working-class Socialist there is a strain of possible brutality. In the best middle-class Socialist there is a strain of possible snobbishness. Meanwhile, we know that these things endure but for a day. We may, therefore, take heart of grace. One more decisive affirmation of class-interest, and then the end of *Classes* (with their hypocritical vulgarity on the one side and their servile brutality on the other) and the beginning of *Men*.

E. BELFORT BAX.

WEALTH.

(Concluded from p. 26).

HAVING arrived at the conclusion that wealth is power, and we hope our arguments are sufficiently clear to carry the assent of the reader, we shall now endeavour to specialise our definition—that is, to indicate the kind of power that is meant. The way to do this will be to name the opposition, the forces, that wealth overcomes. These forces range themselves under two categories—one permanent, the other temporary. The permanent forces comprise those that under all circumstances are opposed to man in the struggle for existence—or instead of "under all circumstances," the natural forces that he has to overcome in seeking to supply his needs or to procure enjoyment. The temporary forces comprise those that man opposes to man: it is the conflict between these forces that has hitherto been the subject-matter of history. The history of the Roman Empire, for instance, is simply a series of struggles between the Romans and other nations, and, in the absence of such struggles, another series between different parties in the Empire itself.

As a consequence of the dual character of the human struggle for existence, we find two broadly distinct classes in human society. Soldiers, policemen, and other government officials are embraced in the class that contends with what we have called the temporary forces; while the industrial classes are those that contend with the permanent forces. Under no circumstances can the former class live except on the latter; under easily enough conceivable circumstances, however, the latter can do without the former. These two

classes are pretty much the same as the productive and unproductive classes of the economists. This, however, by the way. Suffice to remember that the human struggle for existence is of a twofold character—the struggle of man with man, and the struggle of man with Nature. The struggle of man with man is *per se* a barren struggle; during its continuance nothing is produced, much is wasted. The struggle of man with Nature is the only struggle that is productive, and that results in progress.

In seeking to define wealth we do not require to take into consideration those temporary forces that it enables us to overcome. For every nation those forces are different; consequently the science of wealth would be different in every nation. The forces that we have called temporary are matters for the consideration of statesmen—not economists—and from such consideration is framed the public policy. These forces being temporary and fluctuating, the policy of a nation varies; being, moreover, as already pointed out, different in different nations, the policy of one nation differs from the policy of another.

It is from the permanent forces that man has to contend with that the meaning of wealth is to be got at. These forces we have also called natural forces; by them we mean the opposition that Nature offers to man's continued well-being. For instance, to live and to thrive man must have food and water, and must keep himself up to a certain temperature. Now these things are not attained without an effort; the want of food, of water, and of shelter is not satisfied without some opposition being overcome, and the power to overcome this opposition and to satisfy this want is wealth. Wealth, then, is power to satisfy desire, to attain ends. The wealthier man is, the greater is his power to satisfy desire, to attain his ends; while the poorer he is the less is this power.

That the definition of wealth just given is correct, may appear more clearly from a consideration of some of the definitions given by political economists. Take Adam Smith's: "The annual produce of the land and labour of the Society." Here, in addition to the error, already pointed out as common to all definitions yet given, of neglecting to consider wealth as an abstract noun, we have a misconception introduced by the word "annual." The wealth of England, for instance, at the end of a year, is not surely to be measured by what England has produced during that year. The roads, the railways, canals, docks, ships, warehouses, machinery that have been made in previous years in England, go as much towards contributing to the wealth of England as the produce of the year under consideration.

Besides, suppose a country where everything is free, where man has only to pluck and eat, where there is no necessity for toil; then, the produce of the labour of that country would amount to nothing—and consequently its wealth, if wealth is to be regarded as the produce of the labour of a country, would amount to nothing. Such a country would, instead of being the richest, as we should ordinarily be inclined to regard it, be the poorest country in the world.

It may strike the reader that we have dealt with only part of Adam Smith's definition in the preceding paragraph, and that our strictures are not applicable to the whole of it—viz., that the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, not of the produce of its labour only. We took this latter part by itself merely for convenience, and not with any evasive intention. Let us now consider the definition as given by Adam Smith himself, and let us suppose two countries instead of one where the fruits of the earth are to be had merely for the plucking. In respect of the produce of the land these two countries are equal in wealth; it is, however, necessary for one country to build fortifications and to keep itself provided with the instruments of war; for the other country no such necessity exists, it being made impregnable to foes by Nature, and it accordingly is not provided with any such things. Now if the wealth of a country is the produce of its land and labour, which of these two countries is the wealthiest? The one whose land and labour produce is greatest. Now that would be the one that had to be prepared against attack, because its land and labour produce would be greater than the produce of the other by the results of the labour imposed on it by its position. Here, then, would be a disadvantage leading to an increase of wealth, which is of course absurd.

With such a view of wealth as that laid down by Adam Smith, there is no inconvenience, no matter how great, that cannot be shown to be a source of wealth. For instance, if we suppose, as John Stuart Mill does, that from some revolution in Nature the atmosphere at the disposal of some community were to become too scanty for the consumption and had to be artificially supplied, then here would be additional labour imposed upon the community, and consequently additional wealth would ensue. Such are the erroneous conclusions that we are led to from regarding wealth as the produce of the land and labour of a country.

The preceding remarks on Adam Smith's definition of wealth apply with equal force to the definition, "all useful and agreeable things possessing exchange value." In the first place, this also overlooks the abstract nature of the name wealth. In the next place, if a community existed where all useful and agreeable things had no exchange value, in other words if they were as free as air is now, then such community would have no wealth at all. Ordinarily we should consider such a community to be extremely wealthy, inasmuch as its members enjoyed such facilities, such power, to satisfy their wants.

That wealth is power has frequently been remarked. Among others we find Hobbes calling wealth power. Adam Smith, however, denied this, adding that although a man may have a large fortune he may not rise to political power, the large fortune only enables him the more easily perhaps to secure that power. This criticism applies only to a

large fortune and to political power, which are by no means synonymous with wealth and power. Mill also incidentally remarks that wealth is power. Nowhere, however, so far as the present writer is aware, is wealth formally defined to be *power to satisfy desire, to attain ends.*

W. B. R.

"POMARE."

(By HEINRICH HEINE. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

I.
ALL the Cupids in my breast,
All the little Love-gods there,
Cry aloud, and will not rest,
"Hail to our great Queen Pomare!"

Not the Queen of isles Pacific;
Nay, a Christian convert she;
Mine is turbulent, terrific,
Fierce, impetuous and free.

Twice in every week she prances,
Where her worshippers may view;
In the public gardens dances
Polkas, and the Cancan too.

Majesty in all her paces!
Every inch a Queen by right!
Bounteous glimpses of her graces
Dazzle each beholder's sight.

Let her dance—but in my breast
All the little Love-gods there
Cry aloud, and cannot rest,
"Hail to our great Queen Pomare!"

II.
She dances. How her body glides!
What grace her every movement guides!
Such raptures through the gazers thrill,
Their beating hearts they cannot still.

She dances. When she shows her charms
By whirling round with outstretched
arms,
Then stands erect on pointed toe,
My sense and reason reeling go.

She dances. 'Tis the self-same dance
In Herod's sight did gleam and glance,
Before his fair niece paused for breath
With lightning in her eyes like death.

She'll dance me mad; my brain's on
fire,
Speak, girl, what is't thou dost desire?
She smiles: ha! slaves, the doom is
said;
Go smite me off John Baptist's head!

III.
Yesterday, to earn her food,
Danced she where thick mud was
strewn;
But to-day in carriage proud
Rides she through the common crowd:
On the silken cushions there
Lies her raven length of hair.
Seated high she scorns to greet
Folk that trudge with weary feet.

Ah, when thus I see thee ride,
Pity needs must pardon pride.
Woe is me! another day
Thou wilt ride a drearier way
To the hospital, where death,
Foul of form, will stop thy breath.
Students then with greasy hand,
Fain thy fate to understand,
Thy fair body will inspect,
All thy lovely limbs dissect;
And thy steeds, for fate is hard,
Yet will tread the knacker's yard.

IV.
Nay, the plot has been amended;
Kind is Fate that seemed so dread;
God be thanked, thy life is ended;
God be thanked that thou art dead.

Yes, the attic was thy mother's,
Where thou lay'st in woeful wise;
Her kind hand, and not another's,
Was the hand that closed thine eyes;

Bought a shroud to deck thee duly,
And a pillow pure and clean;
Though thy train of mourners truly
Was a trifle poor and mean.

Not a priest his presence lent;
Not a bell for thee might stir;
By thy bier none other went,
But thy dog and hair-cutter.

"Often have I combed her hair,"
Sighed he, "hair that reached her
knees,
As she sat before me there—
Black locks o'er her white chemise."

For the dog—with much misgiving
From the churchyard door he goes;
He will find a famous living
Later on with Mistress Rose.

Mistress Rose, who once for spleen,
When she first from Provence came,
Grudging thee thy name of Queen,
Did her best to blast thy fame.

Poor lost Queen, whose crown of clay
Graced—as such crowns can—thy
head,
By God's loving hand to-day
Thou art saved, for thou art dead.

As thy mother, so thy Father
Now takes pity on thy state;
This, methinks, he does the rather,
Since on earth thy love was great.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Commonwealth, Adelaide, South Australia, is an advanced, alert, and readable exponent of land nationalisation and tax reform. It is also an honest labour paper, a great desideratum in that part of the world.

The *Pioneer* is a new Radical paper, published at 1d. weekly at 42 Argyll Street, Glasgow. It is rather more advanced than the name "Radical" generally conveys, and if it keeps up to the lines laid down in its first issue, will do much to destroy the loathsome Whiggism that masquerades under the more advanced name.

Articles of interest to Socialists. *Scottish Review*: "Byzantinism and Hellenism"; "Egypt on the Eve of the English Invasion." *Statistical Society's Journal*: "Economic Science and Statistics"; "Working-men's Co-operative Associations in Great Britain." *Edinburgh Review*: "English Land, Law, and Labour"; "The Ancient Laws of Wales." *Quarterly*: "Epidemics"; "The Coming Session." *London Quarterly*: "The Alternatives of Socialism"; "Mr. Arnold's Report on Continental Education." *Political Science Quarterly*: "Scientific Socialism"; "Theories of Property."

George F. Rohrbach, one of the Labour representatives elected to the Illinois Legislature, received an annual pass from the Alton road and returned it, writing, "I must respectfully beg to decline it, being under no obligation to you whatever, nor wishing to put myself under any, and knowing no reason why this railroad pass should be sent, except it was for some purpose of your own or to further ends that are to the advantage of railroads and detrimental to the constituents I represent—namely the people."

Ghent, Jan. 25.—Disturbances occurred at the theatre here to-night during the performance of a Flemish piece, in which the occupation of Belgium by the French Republicans is represented in an unfavourable light. At a given moment a large number of workmen and Socialists among the audience interrupted the performance by hooting and hissing, and a scuffle thereupon ensued between the working men and the tradesmen and middle-class people among the audience. The police eventually intervened and effected a number of arrests. During the disturbance inside, a large number of Socialists collected at the entrance of the theatre singing the Marseillaise.



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

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

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

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.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 26.

ENGLAND Eastern Daily Press Luton Free Press Glasgow—Pioneer Worker's Friend Norwich—Daylight Justice	CINCINNATI (O.) Unionist Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier Corning (Iowa) Revue Icarienne	TURIN—Il Muratore
SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Journal du Peuple Guise—Le Devoir Lille—Le Travailleur	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia Cadix—El Socialismo
CANADA Toronto—Labor Reformer	BELGIUM Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	PORTUGAL Oporto—A Parola
UNITED STATES Model Commonwealth New York—Freiheit Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Vienna—Gleichheit
		ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta
		DENMARK Social-Demokraten
		SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten

NOTES.

In its comments upon affairs in general the *Spectator* indulges in the following: "The taxes have not pressed perceptibly; bread has been abnormally cheap; wages have declined less than the fall in provisions, and the suffering has not fallen on the body of the people. The Haves have borne the brunt instead of the Have nots."

As for the taxes, any taxpayer will answer that taxes have increased much beyond any asserted greater efficiency in the public service.

Bread has been cheap, but not so cheap as the tone of the *Spectator* would seem to imply; even if it were, what particular benefit would it work to the proletariat, seeing that the present system at once transfers all saved thereby to the pockets of their exploiters?

Wages can only be said to have declined less than the price of provisions, because other things, such as rent, have risen, and because the lessening of the cost of subsistence must necessarily go before the wage-lowering that it causes.

The man is to be envied for his consummate impudence, or despised for his falsity, who can look round upon the people to-day and assert that "the suffering has not fallen upon the body of the people."

"The Haves have borne the brunt." Of what? Of misery, anxiety, degradation? Have they been driven again and again to despair and suicide? If they, not we, are miserable, why do they not throw aside their hampering wealth and come out of "the House of Bondage"?

Accidents happen pretty impartially to rich and poor—that is to say, accidents not arising directly from the conditions of the lives of the poor. The notice taken of them varies, however, to an enormous degree. Seventeen people are crushed and trampled to death on Tuesday at Spitalfields, and it is not until Wednesday afternoon that any details reach the public, and not until Thursday that the full story is published. Had the seventeen been "swells," and the place a West End hall, what a noise would have been made!

One of the so-called comic journals in a late issue propounded a brilliant plan for relieving the present distress. "How would it do to engage one half of the unemployed as extra policemen, with the special mission of locking up the other?" Most probably, to the man who wrote and to the men who read this it would require a tremendous

amount of explanation to show that this was much like what is continually being done to keep the system going—one half the working-class being uniformed and set aside to keep the other half "in its place."

A friend writes giving us the particulars of a case which came under his own observation. A young lady made application by letter to a draper for employment. She was quite inexperienced in such matters, and wrote a simple, plain statement of her qualifications and requirements, incidentally mentioning food and sleeping accommodation. She had no reply from the firm, but one of the assistants employed there saw her letter and wrote very kindly to give her advice to guide her in writing after another berth. The chief point in the advice was—"Never ask about sleeping accommodation or food: you will always find it resented." The friend who writes is quite astonished at all this, and says, "Service in shops and abject slavery are very much the same thing." The particulars given not long ago in these columns, as well as those that have appeared in many other places, go to show that among wage-slaves the shop-assistants are the most ill-treated; but all people dependent on an employer are liable to this kind of treatment, nor can it be wondered at that employers are touchy as to their dignity while their position confers such power.

This month a Warrington leather cutter died from having his arm crushed by machinery. The widow said he had several times complained of the danger and that he should be crippled. The manager admitted that others had been injured. After the coroner (W. F. Husband) said "there was no doubt risk attending the working of the machinery, but this must have been known to the deceased, who was at liberty to leave," the jury returned a verdict of accidental death, expressing the opinion that precautions should be taken. Of what value are our protective laws while men still work at dangerous and complicated machinery?

"Archdeacon Farrar denounced the luxurious habits of the present day, which gave 'the picture of wealth, a monster gorged, side by side with suffering and starving poverty.' He candidly confessed himself, however, unwilling to abandon the flesh-pots." (Quoted in *Vegetarian Messenger*.) The Archdeacon, speaking also of the "dribbles given away in charity," says we are at this moment stupendously and overwhelmingly wealthy, and we have in ten years invested and laid by for the enrichment of our families 120 millions of pounds. "There is money enough in the country to beautify every city and gladden every home." We are glad to find any one in such a position denouncing Mammon-worship, the love of selfish luxury, family aggrandisement, and personal display. May we not hope that the Archdeacon will go on to discover that our archbishops and bishops need converting to renounce the filthy lucre which they are now loth to lose, and that finally he will join the Socialists to sweep away the iniquitous system which in so many cases brings ugliness to our cities and sadness to our homes?

We understand that the Earl of Derby was lately the nameless donor of £5, 5s. to the Vegetarian Society. What a pleasing surprise there is in store for those who now provide for his lordship, when they learn that he has acquired the vegetarian's art of living on a shilling a-week! His tenants may then laugh at foreign competition; and the patient plodding labourer change from the long-suffering, despised rustic into a free and light-hearted peasant; for the feast (and houses, horses, dogs, and all) Hodge now provides will be no longer required when his masters are taught by this beneficent society "How to Live in the Street called Straight."

John Smith, labourer, was indicted for having on the 31st ult. broken the window of Messrs. Austin's establishment, Westmorland Street, and stolen two silver bracelets value 35s. The evidence showed that the prisoner had in broad daylight smashed the large pane of plate glass with his hand and snatched up two bracelets. He was caught redhanded and brought off to the station. The Recorder directed a verdict of "Guilty." He asked the prisoner what he had to say for himself. Prisoner: It is a very hard case that some people should have their shop windows lined with jewellery while others should be going about without a shilling in their pockets. The Recorder said he could not treat this kind of ruffianism like an ordinary case: he must sentence the prisoner to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. (*Dublin Daily Express*, Jan. 15.) Which is the "ruffianism" that cannot be treated as an ordinary case—stealing the jewellery, or protesting against the system under which one displays his wealth whilst others starve? Would the quondam philanthropist who represents Law and Order in Green Street kindly say?

At Frankfort on Saturday the great Socialist trial was finished. Thirty-one of the accused were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The German Socialists in New York have held a mass meeting at which the dissolution of the Reichstag was denounced, and a resolution was passed to supply the working men of Germany with funds for the electoral campaign.

THE S. D. F. AND THE NORWICH SOCIALISTS.—The following resolution was unanimously passed at the meeting of the General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation, held on Monday Jan. 24: "That this meeting of the General Council of the Social-Democratic Federation expresses its deepest sympathy with their comrades of the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League, who have been so harshly dealt with by Mr. Justice Grantham in connection with the disturbances in that city, and strongly condemns the ferocious partisanship and indecent distortion of facts shown by a judge who gained his seat on the bench by doing the dirty work of the Tory Party."

THE NORWICH SOCIALISTS.

A TOWN IN TURMOIL.—SHAMEFUL SENTENCES ON COMRADES HENDERSON AND MOWBRAY.

THE news of rioting and amateur rebellion in Norwich on the 14th, took most people by surprise. It was thought that the "unemployed question" had been settled by the alleged revival of trade. The reports published by the London papers were very meagre, just large enough to get a string of lies in. They made the impression that a riot had been provoked by the Socialists, and was quickly quelled by the valiant police. But this turns out to be a totally wrong impression of what took place.

On Sunday, at 2 a.m., I arrived in Norwich from London, and found about a score of members of the Branch at the station. I soon set about getting at the real facts of the disturbance of the previous Friday. The Branch of the Socialist League has not been carrying on a special unemployed agitation, and had no part in calling the meeting at which the riot occurred. The unemployed took the move in the agitation themselves, and carried out the arrangements from first to last. After having arranged to hold the meeting they asked for a Socialist speaker to address it, and this request, of course, could not be refused. Mowbray agreed to speak at the meeting, and Henderson went with him. The meeting took place, and there were very few members of the Socialist League present. A stranger moved "that Mowbray take the chair," and this was carried by acclamation. A deputation was then appointed, in which Henderson was included, and it went to interview the mayor. This official did a good deal to exasperate the people by the indifference with which he treated their complaints. The meeting sent up a series of yells, which had the effect of reducing the dignity to a civil mood. While the deputation was in the Guildhall, Mowbray kept the meeting together with a speech, which was certainly not of a very inflammatory character. After waiting one hour and a quarter, a message was brought to the meeting by the deputation that the mayor would put a notice in the paper calling a meeting of his friends, and would see what they could do, and that their decision would be conveyed through the press. This kind of reply was hardly likely to put hungry men into a good temper. They called aloud for Mowbray to lead them, and they would sack the shops. Mowbray answered that in laying their case before the mayor he had done all he could, and must now leave the matter in their hands. The meeting sang "The Starving Poor of Old England." Henderson addressed several short speeches to the crowd, and it is difficult to find out exactly what he said. Some say he told the men to go and take food, others that he told them the food was there, and that they would be criminals if they allowed their families to starve while it was there. After this the crowd moved down towards the Market Place. On coming to a street called "The Gentleman's Walk," the crowd got more turbulent, and arguments and other things were used. A solitary ham was all the food stolen. A banker's, a grocer's, a tea merchant's, and a confectioner's windows were smashed. About fourteen policemen then charged the crowd. They used their truncheons very freely, although no resistance was offered. Hall was taken first in the act of trying to smash a window. The whole fourteen policemen took one man and marched him off to the station. Mowbray was then taken. He made no resistance, and dissuaded the crowd from protecting him. One of the policemen went to strike him with his truncheon, but somehow Mowbray got hold of the weapon and pitched it away, and "stealing a truncheon, the property of the corporation," is among the other crimes laid at his door. Henderson, and afterwards Hurrell, were also arrested. The crowd soon dispersed, and things quietened down. Mowbray is known to have saved an old woman's nut-stall from being pillaged by someone, but this will not tell so much in his favour as if he had saved the banker's window.

Such is a true and fairly complete account of what happened. The speeches made, whether wild or not, were endorsed by the crowd and by half the workmen in the town. On Sunday I addressed four meetings, and in every case there seemed the utmost unanimity in supporting the imprisoned men. Hurrell and Hall are not members of the Branch, and are total strangers to the Socialists. At this moment it is impossible to say what the result will be. The four prisoners were committed on Saturday to the Assizes, and their case will come on for trial on Tuesday or Wednesday; the result will most likely be known as soon as this number of the *Commonweal* is published.

The meeting in the Market Place on Sunday, was attended by over 5000 people, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Three stentorian cheers were given for the Social Revolution, and another three for the imprisoned men. A considerable sum was collected for the defence. In the evening at seven another very large meeting was held in the open-air. At eight, the Branch lecture-room and the street adjoining was packed with those anxious to hear the lecture, and testify their interest in Socialism.

Of course, the town authorities soon passed from a state of callous indifference to an absurd panic. Orders for bread and soup are being given out pretty lavishly, and the hungry and miserable have again been taught that where begging fails threats and disturbance will succeed.

J. L. MAHON.

Norwich, Monday Night, January 17th.

Since receiving our comrade Mahon's letter, the verdict and formal sentence have been given; the verdict, of course, Guilty, as seldom

fails to be the case when the cats try the mice; as to the sentence, from Mr. Justice Nupkins-Grantham, it was not likely to be a light one, but most people who have noticed the case must have been rather startled when they saw that Mowbray was sentenced to nine months' hard labour, and Henderson to four. As to the trial it is clear that in the minds of the judge, and probably in those of the jurymen under his direction, the prisoners were not being tried for creating a riot, but for preaching Socialism in Norwich for the past six months. The judge's charge was worthy of the times of Peterloo, and was undisguised advocacy against the accused; and it was a mere farce to call the trial a trial by jury.

The judge stopped Mowbray in his statement before the sentence, and told him "to refer to what took place on the occasion, and not to make a speech," although in his charge he spoke chiefly of what had happened before the riot; so that he was clearly of opinion that there should be one law for the prosecution and another for the accused. The dwelling on the previous convictions of Mowbray for the terrible crime of creating a technical obstruction as an aggravation of his offence, was of a piece with the whole; and the judge ignored the fact that in those convictions the magistrate repeatedly asserted that he had nothing to do with the opinions of the open-air speakers, though he could scarcely fail to know that such was the case.

An unfair trial, a judge who was determined to get a conviction, and a vindictive sentence! Strong language will scarcely add to the impression of the violence, brutality, and baseness of "authority" frightened out of what it is pleased to call its wits, which reading the report of the trial in the local papers gives one. In short, our comrades are being punished not for rioting but for being Socialists; and our comrades generally may take note that they are at any time liable to the same fate even if the Government does not succeed in passing a Gagging Act. And what will it be in a year or two? What will become of our boasted tolerance of opinion as events threaten more and more the break-up of our system of robbery? If they do these things in the green tree what shall they do in the dry? W. M.

On Sunday, Jan. 23, an indignation meeting of 6000 people was held in the Market Place. Strong resolutions were carried condemning the action of the judge and in favour of the Social Revolution. A petition to the Home Secretary to intervene and review the sentences is being extensively signed in the town. Nicoll, in reporting to the Council, says "the workmen are entirely with us." There has been some mistake about the guaranteeing of the expenses, which are very heavy. Subscriptions are flowing in, but very much remains to be done. Our comrade Mahon reports that at meetings held by him, subscriptions have been taken up to assist Mowbray's wife and family, at Oxford, 11s. 2d.; at Bedford, 7s. S.

A NEW BOOK ON THE DRINK QUESTION.

ONE of the first objections launched at Socialism in England is that the poor have mostly deserved their fate, that they are drunkards, &c. Some of the most obstinate opponents of our propaganda are temperance lecturers. They still make use of arguments long since refuted by modern science, as to the cause of poverty. For them the great factor of misery has always been drink, whilst we all know quite well that except in rare cases, mostly pathological, drink has not caused misery, but misery has caused drink and its consequences. Those gentlemen charge drink, besides, with all sorts of other vices, and with as much unreason, criminality, and suicide, diminishing the rate of births, and so on. We do not wish to go so far as the French *savant* Fournier de Flaix, who lately tried to prove that the more alcohol a country consumed the higher it stood with regard to civilisation, the strength of its people, rate of increase of its population, having a smaller number of crimes when compared with countries where alcoholism is rare, and as example opposing countries where alcoholism prevails, as England, Scotland, Holland, Sweden, with Italy, Spain, Greece, where drunkenness is rare, whilst crimes are numerous and ignorance is great.

I am far from agreeing with the conclusions of that *savant*. I know that drink is often a moral plague, but though myself a teetotaler for seventeen years, I cannot deny that as far as the economical influence of drink is concerned, the devil is not so black as he is painted. But how often in discussions do not we feel the want of thoroughly reliable and unbiased statistics on the subject of alcoholism, not of the sort concocted by various Giffens, Leone Levys, and their kidney, to refute at once the objections of the blue ribbon lecturers.

Our comrades who know Italian can now get all the information they may desire on this subject. Dr. Napoleone Colajanni (the author of a highly interesting book, 'Il Socialismo') has just published at Catania (Filippo Tropea, editore 1887) a small book replete with statistics. The book called 'L'Alcoholismo, sue conseguenze morale e sue cause,' is divided into two parts, the second especially being of importance to Socialists, as it treats of the causes of drunkenness and its cure by the transformation of the present state of society. Colajanni gives as the principal causes of intoxication, as physical cause, the climate; as economical cause, poverty; as psycho-social causes mostly allied with misery—ignorance, want of pleasure, sociableness, the condition of the homes of the poor classes, moral depression, idleness, the social organisation of the present day.

We must add Dr. Colajanni has made use of all the best works published on his subject, and that the tables relate to all the countries of Europe. BROCHER.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

BRITAIN.

DUNDEE.—The jute-spinners' wages have been increased five per cent.

Meetings of seamen were held at North and South Shields on the 20th inst., and a resolution was carried that it was desirable to again confer with the shipowners, with a view of obtaining the wages demanded by the men; or, if not, that they come out on strike on February 1.

Manloves and Elliott, Engineers and Machinists, Nottingham, have given notice of a reduction in wages. The union men, numbering about 30, will come out if the reduction is carried out.

At the Miners' Conference in Glasgow, a resolution was carried by 17 votes to 4, advising the miners of Scotland to cease working at once unless an advance of 6d. per day be conceded.

On Tuesday notices were posted at all the Welsh collieries under the "ocean sliding scale" that a reduction of 5 per cent. will be made in the miners' wages rate for the next three months. This reduction will affect several thousands of workmen.

The delegates of the Northumberland miners have decided that the men at the collieries who have not received notice of a reduction shall, if the ballot confirm the decision to strike, give in their notices, so that the stoppage shall be general.

A meeting of delegates from all the Northumberland collieries was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on the 19th inst., to consider the ultimatum of the owners announcing a reduction of 12½ per cent. in wages and refusing to accept 10 per cent. as a compromise. Mr. T. Burt, M.P., attended. It was decided by an overwhelming majority that the miners of the county should strike, but that a ballot should be taken at the collieries before the strike commenced. Jan. 26.—The men have decided by 9,745 votes against 2,167 to strike. Altogether twenty-four thousand men and boys will come out.

The Monk Bretton miners have held a meeting, and decided unanimously that unless the manager (Mr. Marshall) agrees to meet the deputation they have chosen to represent them to discuss their grievances with him, they will send in their notices at once to leave their work. The resolution was proposed and carried by non-unionists, and a committee of non-union men was appointed to give effect to the arrangements for carrying out the resolution.

The demand of the South Staffordshire finished ironmasters for the abolition of certain extras now paid is creating a strong resistance amongst the men. A meeting has been held at West Bromwich to consider the masters' action. It was reported that at one works where the masters were already attempting the reduction the men had come out on strike. It was resolved to resist the demand as unjust in the face of a rising market, and it was further resolved to give notice for a ten per cent advance as a counter-claim.

CARLUKE MINERS.—On Wednesday evening, Jan. 20, the miners of Carlisle met in the Black Bull Hall. The meeting was large, consequent upon the important issues now before Lanarkshire miners. Comrade Small was present, and gave a résumé of the proceedings of the Birmingham Conference. The policy to be adopted to force an advance of wages was fully discussed, and at the conclusion the following motion was unanimously carried: "That no legislation on the coal or other royalties be accepted by the miners unless based upon nationalisation without compensation."

HAMILTON MINERS.—The miners of Hamilton district held a meeting in Scott's Hall on Jan. 20, Mr. Cochlan presiding. The chairman submitted as an alternative to the proposed general strike of the Miners' Union a "Plan of Campaign," which included the raising of a fund of £1000 and the taking out on strike of 1000 men if an advance of 1s. were not granted. The scheme further proposed the clearing of the pits on strike of all the officials, and the putting of the executive officials on a strike allowance. The chairman contended that under the plan they could, without any outside aid, hold out for three weeks, while no master, without his oncost men at work, could afford to allow his pits to stand three days. It was suggested that 6d. instead of 1s. should be named as the advance, but the chairman maintained that the latter amount was justified by the state of trade. The Plan was adopted and ordered to be submitted to the County Board for their consideration. Jan. 25.—At a largely attended meeting of the Bellshire and Bothwell miners, held at Airdrie to-day the men decided to come out on strike. Fully three thousand are now idle, and the masters are determined not to give the increase of one shilling a day demanded.

RISE IN STEEL-WORKERS WAGES.—Mr. Riley, the general manager of the Steel Company of Scotland, has called a meeting of the men employed at the Newton Works and at Blochairn, and intimated that on account of the prospects of the advance of prices during the spring the directors have resolved to grant a slight advance of wages, to date from last Monday. The advance will be the half of the last reduction, made about twelve months ago, and will be from 2½ to 3¼ per cent, according to the grades of work done. This advance was given unsought, and came on the men as an "agreeable surprise." Mr. Riley spoke of the "good relations existing between the employer and the men." [The old proverb says one should not look a gift horse in the mouth. In the same way I am inclined to think the steel-workers will not need to scrutinise the motives too closely which prompted the above "agreeable surprise," with the accompanying tag about "good relations," etc. Good relations between the fox and the geese! Surely the workers will not be much longer duped with such goody-goody twaddle. They are beginning to understand that they themselves produce their own wages, big or little, and that no thanks are due to those who fleece them gently only that they may continue to fleece.]

RAWTENSTALL.—GLARING CASE OF OVERTIME.—There is a weaving shed in this district which is becoming notorious on account of the great amount of time which is cribbed. The engine only stops twenty minutes for breakfast, and sometimes less than that, and during that short space of time the weavers have to swallow their breakfast as best they can, and also take the waste and broken cops to be booked, and bring the weft to last them till the following breakfast time.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

FARNWORTH.—COERCION AT SPINNING MILLS.—Public attention is being drawn to the unjust rule enforced by some millowners at Farnworth, by which Catholic parents and others are deprived of their parental and legal right to choose the school at which their children shall be educated. For the last forty years one large firm has made it compulsory on children employed as half-timers that they should attend a particular school chosen by the firm.

Other millowners do the same, and in many cases, owing to poverty, the parents are obliged to submit.—*Cotton Factory Times.* [Mr. Bradlaugh objects to the term "wage-slaves." By what other term can he designate those poor because fleeced of the results of their labour and denied the control of their own will, as in the above instance?]

DUBLIN.—THE RECENT STRIKE OF BOTTLE-MAKERS.—The members of the Dublin Society of Bottlemakers have presented our comrade Schumann, with a testimonial in recognition of the invaluable services rendered by him to the bottlemakers during the late strike. The testimonial which consisted of a silver service of plate beautifully chased and a gold watch and Albert, was presented at a meeting presided over by Mr. Dawson, an old but retired member of the trade. Schumann, in returning thanks, congratulated the society on the successful termination of the strike. The Dublin bottlemakers had, as the outcome of the strike and the departure of the Swedes who had come to take their places, been the first society in Ireland to establish an International Society of Bottlemakers, the influence of which was considerable throughout the United Kingdom in advancing the cause of Trades' Unionism. He also spoke of the good work done by the Dublin Trades' Council on behalf of the bottlemakers. An illuminated address and purse of money was presented to Mr. Graham, Secretary of the Society.

FEMALE LABOUR IN SPINNING ROOMS.—The secretary of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association has completely exposed the hypocritical sophistry of Colonel Bailey, the secretary of the Master Cotton Spinners' Association, who endeavoured to discredit the motives of the men in seeking to put a stop to the employment of female piecers. Mr. Fielding has himself been an operative spinner and employed female piecers as his assistants. He is therefore likely to have a fuller knowledge of the daily life of the spinners than Colonel Bailey and his committee, and he repels with indignation the insinuation that his assertion as to the dress and attitudes of the women are to be taken as insults. "They know me better," he writes. "I do, however, hope and believe that my efforts in their behalf have aroused in them a sense of the moral degradation to which they have long been subjected. If so, my object has been partially accomplished. My primary motive was to bring before our men the injury they were unconsciously inflicting upon their daughters; that I have succeeded is proved by their resolution of a month ago, and which was confirmed in silence at another meeting held last night. It redounds more to their credit when it is borne in mind that they, the parents, will have to suffer the loss of wages, if any, by the course they have decided upon. Personally I have the consoling reflection that, in opposition to all that Colonel Bailey and his committee may say, I have killed a system which ought never to have had an existence." The *Dispatch* appears to doubt the statements made by Mr. Fielding, and, as is not unusual, seems inclined to take the employers' view of the matter. It is a disgrace to the workers, especially those who are organised, that they continue to support such capitalist papers.

AMERICA.

Chicago laundry girls are organising an assembly of K. of L.

The store girls of Pittsburgh have organised a K. of L. assembly.

The K. of L. of Frankford, Pa., are building a co-operative textile factory. South Adams, Mass., K. of L. have started a co-operative meat market.

The cigarmakers of Weaverville, Pa., who were recently defeated in a strike, have started a co-operative cigar factory.

The Amalgamated Carpenters of Chicago have a contract to build three houses for 6000 dollars.

The boycotted firm of Fuller, Warren & Co., Troy, N.Y., have closed their entire establishment, there being no demand for their stoves.

The Chicago Trades Assembly have elected William Kliever, the Socialist candidate, for president, and F. W. Long, also a Socialist, as vice-president.

Two thousand five hundred persons employed at Messrs. Higgins' carpet factory, in New York, have struck work owing to a number of men having been discharged.

The employés of the breweries in Philadelphia, including brewers, drivers, cooper, engineers, firemen, and other hands, numbering in all over 2000 men, are on strike against a 20 per cent. reduction.

The vice-president of the Iron and Steel Association has expressed fears that the price of iron will reach the importing point, and that foreign iron will flood the market. He says that to his own knowledge 6000 tons of steel rails have been imported into New Orleans at two dollars per ton less than the Pennsylvania mills could supply them.

The San Francisco car strike is still on. The cars have been running to some extent in daylight but not at all in the evening. And they run empty, mostly. One of the strikers was asked to come back to work, and was promised three dollars a day, two detectives to escort him from his residence to his car, two more to escort him from his car to his residence, and two policemen to escort him on the car. Why it's a whole procession! And yet he wouldn't walk in it, adhering to the wise and good old rule, "My son, if sinners entice thee, consent thou not." Whether the strike is hurting the men or not, it is hurting the companies terribly.—*Weekly Star.*

FRANCE.

AMIENS.—The Mayor of Amiens, through his skilful administration, has had the extreme kindness to fix the salary for communal works at 1 fr. 30 c. a-day, and that of the town sweepers and cleaners at 90 c. To raise the voice in expostulation against this "reward of labour" is only to bring on one's head a shower of official insolence and blinded arrogance.

IVRY.—The Socialists of Ivry are going to try to get up a "groupe" in this Commune, and issue an appeal to those "who have the heart to free themselves from the present situation, to come together to seek out the means of remedying the same."

MERY-SUR-OISE.—In this Commune also the Socialist propaganda and study of Socialism has been set on foot.

CIVRAY (VIENNE).—The navvies employed in the construction of the railway of Civray au Blanc, have declared themselves on strike, demanding a rise in wages.

VIERZON.—A telegram to the *Cri* announces that at Vierzon village, Samson, a Socialist, has been elected mayor, and Baudin and Rossignol, two well-known Socialist names, first and second deputy-mayors.

MEMUN (CHER).—The porcelain makers on strike here have had an interview with the Mayor, the delegates insisting with energy on their condition, which is the dismissal of an obnoxious director or overseer. The place continues to be absolutely quiet.

VIERZON-FORGES.—The strike of glass-workers still continues. The strike committee wishing, under the circumstances, to try every means of bringing about an understanding between the men and their employer, *Sieur Auhriot*, sent several delegates to discuss the matter with him, but he refused to receive them. In consequence of this unconciliatory attitude, it was decided at a meeting held by all the strikers to sustain the struggle to its end.

HAVRE.—The strike of tilers continues, the men demanding 75 c. the hour instead of 65 c. Some of the employers have given in, but twenty or thirty have protested through the press against the proceedings, threatening to leave the men "out in the cold," which matters the less, as they are by their own act already out in the cold.

ROUBAIX.—The weavers at the house of Couronble and Carrette have been on strike since the 4th inst., the motive of the strike being the persistent diminution in the price of labour. At the demand for a rise the employers have merely intimated that those who are not content can take up their "books" and go. Knowing that if they get their "livrets" and shake the dust off their feet, there are plenty of their fellows who will step into their places eagerly at whatever price almost, the strikers prefer to make a stand and attempt to arrive at some sort of a compromise, poor comfort as that may be!

The saddle-makers of the houses of Lecerf, Sarda, and Helbronner, in Paris, in consideration of the wages imposed upon them, have agreed to strike, and after holding a general meeting to discuss the situation have appointed a Committee and sent delegates to ask for an audience of the War Minister, so as to prevent these houses, who contract for the army, from obtaining a delay in the completion of their contracts. Reduction of wages has gone on here rapidly as elsewhere, for in two years alone the price of labour in the military equipment industry has fallen between 30 and 70 per cent. Of the quality of the goods served out to the French army it is almost superfluous to speak; one has but to call to mind the fearful rubbish which our soldiers have to wear and use, the tradition of shoes with paper soles being a type of the general excellence of the goods, and no exaggeration.

DECAZEVILLE.—For nearly two months the Company has only sold coal to the neighbouring country folk every two or three days. Every day it occurs that twenty and thirty of them are obliged to hang about with their animals for several days, waiting for the trucks to bring them some few sacks of coal. This is the Company's way of avenging itself. The directors prefer not to execute all their orders rather than take on again those dismissed in consequence of the strike, which they could not get on without if they worked all the boards, and did not wittingly and wilfully make the population of an entire district want for coal. This voluntary arrest of work paralyses circulation; the retailers on the roads have no longer their transitory clientèle, every one feels it and every one complains. The townsfolk are obliged to utilize the cinder-siftings while awaiting the good pleasure of the Company to deliver goods due a month ago. The coals delivered lately, moreover, have been nothing but stones. . . . One hears that over sixty families have left the country for America, others preparing to follow in the spring. . . . Bad as the present situation is, it is like to grow worse, for the new director entering into the views of the Company proposes to stop in March three-fourths of the furnaces and workshops.—*Cri du Peuple*.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

EDWARD AVELING delivered in Farringdon Hall a partial account of his experiences in the States, last Wednesday, to a crowded audience. He found that Socialism was much more advanced in the States than at home. The workmen are to a greater extent than in this country the foremost men in its propaganda; not only are there more Socialists in America, but they are much better organised. They are a more compact body, and can more readily take combined action. In this we would do well to imitate them. By their exertions they have created an exceedingly good labour press, which has now great influence. Referring to the Knights of Labour, Dr. Aveling described their organisation as a very heterogeneous one, containing within it men who were very conservative, and others who were pronounced revolutionists. It is curious that though their declaration of principles states in effect that they desire to bring about the abolition of the wage-system, and the substitution of universal co-operation, yet many of them feel alarmed when they are told that that is Socialism. Dr. Aveling regards it as probable that in the near future there will be a schism in the Knights of Labour. The minority of active and intelligent men will come into the Socialist party, and the others remain on the old Conservative lines. At present, it is widely thought that Powderly—who is a Roman Catholic—is too much under the thumb of the priesthood, and that more than once recently the workmen have suffered through the intrigues of capitalists and priests who have used Mr. Powderly as their tool. Mr. Powderly says that there are very few Socialists in his organisation; but let some crucial labour question come to the front, and let Mr. Powderly shilly-shally or trim, and he will find his organisation will split as nearly as possible in halves, the left wing declaring for the socialisation of land and capital. The researches of Edward Aveling and Eleanor Aveling have led them to conclude that the position of the workman in England is, on the average, the same as in America, and that those who hold out hopes of better wages to English workmen if they emigrate to the United States are spreading a pernicious fallacy, the facts being that the small increase in money wages is quite swallowed up by the expense of living, etc. Wise workmen will stay here in England to help forward the Social Revolution, and in doing so they will not be sacrificing any advantage. Dr. Aveling said that the feeling of the American public towards the condemned Anarchists in Chicago had undergone a complete change, and he regards it as very probable that a new trial will be granted, in which case, unless evidence of a less bogus and perjured character is forthcoming than was at first trial, they will be acquitted, and this change has been brought about to a very great extent by the persistent agitation of the Socialists. The lecturer will continue the subject next Wednesday (Feb. 2).

It is a pity the mass of the people in all climes and countries are so stupid, ignorant, or indolent, or all at the same time, to leave their fates in the hands of a few ambitious statesmen, whose sole aim is self-glorification, and who look upon the masses as so many sheep to be driven to the slaughter-house, whenever their hides are wanted. We read amongst the European telegrams that France intends to increase her armaments on account of Germany; and the latter is doing the same because of France! The true secret, however, is that in either country there are a few villains, who, in order to satisfy their ambitions, do not shrink to murder thousands of their dupes if necessary.—*Our Commonwealth* (Adelaide).

THE COMING CHANGE.

OWING to the severity of the weather, the depression of trade has heightened to an alarming extent; everywhere, in our midst and our surroundings, haggard faces are discernible, the harrowing cry for food may be heard; cases of death from starvation are revealed almost daily; yet the guardians of the different parishes throughout England seem powerless to act, and the Local Government Board leans a deaf ear to the voice of the people who ask only for a trifling endowment of that which they have been so heartlessly robbed. The charities that have been left for distribution to the poor in time of need, throughout England, have mostly been appropriated by the middle-class to their own use, and even these not being sufficient to satisfy their cravings, they tax the people exorbitantly to meet the demands which they (the people) do not incur. They have shirked the responsibility which rested on them, to alleviate the distress of the needy, they have bled the workmen to such an extent that there is little left for the nourishing of their bodies, and consequently they are dragged down under the pressure, to equal nothing better than the poor negro slave. Everywhere the torture rack is being used with undue severity by capitalists masters against the workers, so that those who are in work are very little better off than the unemployed. Long hours, hard work, and short pay, are the methods that are adopted for the endurance of British workmen, who in return for such kind considerations are quite willing to submit to eke out a miserable existence, whereby their days are shortened, their children are, in many instances, stunted and deformed, and life, instead of being bright and happy, is made a drudgery even worse than the beasts of burden have to endure. How long this struggle for bare existence will continue is more than philosophers have predicted; but even as Rome fell a victim to its own vices, so also must the crash come here, and England will no more be a mighty power governed as it now is, by a few crafty statesmen, for the eyes of the people will be opened, the political tricksters will deceive themselves, and like Napoleon, at the Franco-German war, will sink insignificantly into chaos. Swiftly as the birds fly the day dawns that will bring to mankind their deliverance. Each day brings news from abroad which is putting anxiety into the minds of Statesmen; the state of the whole British Empire is unsatisfactory to their interests; the tithe war in Wales, the land question in Ireland, and also in Scotland, coupled with the brutal evictions; the depression of trade in England, all tend to harass the minds of ministers; while Socialism is taking rapid strides in our dominions and will probably be a death blow to landlordism, jobbery, and corruption. Such is the state of affairs, and who shall predict what the next few years will bring forth. Time is the harbinger of strange events. What would not be listened to to-day may become a living monument on the morrow. And what is mocked at and scorned now, may be raised up and exalted at no very distant date. Every living being who takes a part in life's drama, cannot always personate the same character, and so it may be seen (I hope in my time), when Dives and Lazarus will change their positions and come on an equal footing with each other; and this can be accomplished by the federation of the workers, each one working mutually with another, casting aside all party prejudices; each one claiming that which is his due; and by rallying round the banner of freedom our emancipation will be achieved. JOHN BULL.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Branch (Capitation) Subscriptions.

The Treasurer would be glad if the Branches made every effort during the year to pay up their subscriptions at the end of each month, so that the advertisement of these subscriptions would show the united energy of the League.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Croydon, to September 30. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to Nov. 30. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Lancaster, Oxford, to December 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

H. C., 1s.; J. L., 1s.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. Ch., (2 weeks), 2s.; T. B. (2 weeks), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; total, 10s.

Ph. W., Treasurer, Jan. 25.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Our comrade Mowbray, who has been sentenced to nine month's imprisonment, leaves his wife and five children totally unprovided for. Henderson's sentence is imprisonment for four months. His case is not so hard, he being a single man. The cost of the trial amounts to £50, this has to be repaid, and the wife and family of Mowbray provided for during his imprisonment. You are earnestly appealed to, to give all the assistance you can. Collection cards have been issued, and can be had on application to the Committee: Lane, Charles, and Barker, at 13, Farringdon Road, London, E.C. All monies received will be acknowledged in *Commonweal*. Money can be sent addressed to Committee, and those who cannot take cards are asked to respond liberally to this appeal.

Collected in Hyde Park by Mainwaring, for the wife and family of Mowbray, 2s. 6d.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 21st, A. Donald discussed the 5th chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 19, Edward Aveling spoke on "Socialism in America." (See report of lecture in another column). Edward Aveling will give continuation of this subject at the hall on Wednesday, Feb. 2, at 8.30 p.m., when trade unionists are especially invited. On Sunday, Jan. 23, Hubert Bland gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "Nihilism." The lecturer pointed out very vividly the cruelties, punishments, and terrible hardships which the Russian Nihilists have undergone for the Cause. Numerous questions followed, which were replied to by the lecturer. 71 *Commonweals* sold, and fair sale of pamphlets. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

CROYDON.—On Wednesday, the 19th inst., we, in conjunction with the Mitcham and Merton Branches, attended a Self-help Emigration meeting at the Town Hall, Croydon, organised by the Croydon Charitable Society, and presided over by the Mayor, who was supported by the Vicar, Commander Cameron, and some local magnates. The Mayor elected to veto all discussion, and refused to allow a resolution sent in by our comrade Kitz to be put to the meeting, saying that they had not met to argue but to state facts. Thereupon the assembly became very lively, all the "facts" being so fiercely challenged that the lecturer had to admit the existence of large numbers of unemployed in the Colonies, the inadequacy of the proposed scheme for relieving the local distress, etc., and ended by giving a really good anti-emigration lecture. We were treated with great respect by the authorities, they providing us with a most powerful police escort gratis. They regard us rightly as public benefactors, for we were the only live element in an otherwise dull meeting, and we have furnished matter for more than three columns of local news. I don't think any more emigration meetings will be held here just yet. On Sunday, Sydney Olivier lectured on "A Social View of Wealth." He pointed out the difficulty of ascertaining the exact value of any one's work, and that it is impossible to discover what are the "full fruits" of any individual's labour. This line of thought led him to endorse the Communist dictum, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." Fair discussion and good collection.—A. T., ast.-sec.

FULHAM.—Usual outdoor meeting held on Sunday morning at 11, moderate attendance. Members are invited to write the secretary for information and literature. It is confidently anticipated that rooms will be opened shortly.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, Jan. 23, Mrs. C. Wilson lectured here on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century." She clearly traced the causes which led to the revolt of workers against the exploitation of their masters. Referring to the Luddites she said that they were dimly conscious of the true cause of their misery, and contended that through middle-class influence they were deluded into adopting constitutional means to remedy their condition. The problem being economical, it could not be solved by any political changes but the possession of the land and instruments of production by the workers themselves. Good discussion and sale of literature.—H. M.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, H. A. Barker opened a discussion on "Socialism v. Individualism," which was well taken up by members present. At the close of the meeting the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the Socialists of Norwich, and places on record its disgust at the mean, cowardly, and biased attitude assumed by Mr. Justice Grantham toward them on their trial.—E. POPE, sec.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, January 23, F. W. Sowett gave a lecture on "Socialism and Reform" at the Exchange Discussion Club, City Road, which proved a thorough success, no opposition being offered, but signs of progress were shown towards a better understanding of Socialism and its necessity. Sale of literature good. On the same evening, P. Bland read a paper on "Our Indian Empire" at the Newmarket Hotel. The Sunday previous, G. A. Gaskell read a paper on "Individualism and Socialism" at the Royal Oak, Shipley.—C. H., sec.

DUBLIN.—On Monday evening, at the Coffee Palace, Townsend Street, before an audience of about 300, mostly labourers, a paper entitled "Trade Wants," was read by Mr. J. Charlton. The lecturer recommended to the workers the usual middle-class farrago—thrift, temperance, technical education, etc. Discussion having been invited, comrade T. Fitzpatrick mounted the platform, and forcibly pointed out that however good temperance and its kindred virtues may be in themselves, or might benefit isolated individuals, their general adoption under the present system of Society would not materially improve the position of the workers; while technical education would only make the worker a more skilful tool in the hands of the capitalist. What was wanted was the substitution of a co-operative form of that Society in place of the fratricidal strife that necessarily results from the present relations between capital and labour. The remarks of our comrade were well received.—O'G.

GLASGOW.—On Wednesday evening, comrade Geo. McLean delivered a lecture on Socialism in the Hall of the Unitarian Church, St. Vincent Street. The lecturer described the present industrial system in vigorous terms, and pleaded ably for a reorganisation of industry. A long discussion followed, in which several of our members joined. On Saturday evening,

in the Southern Literary Institute, Arch McLaren delivered a lecture of unusual merit upon "Anarchism," in which, while expressing his belief that Socialism must precede Anarchism, he maintained that law and majority-rule were, and must be, oppressive, and that individuals and minorities must preserve their liberty by revolt. On Sunday evening, in our Hall, Carlton Place, comrade McLaren again lectured, his subject being, "The Graechi, or Social Conflict in Ancient Rome."

HULL.—On Sunday, we opened the meeting with "No Master" and "March of the Workers." Devlin spoke on the "Condition of the Working-class," which he contended was little, if any better, than that of chattel-slaves. The slave-owners did see that their slaves were fed, but the modern employer cares not a straw whether his slaves starve or not. An earnest discussion followed, to which Devlin replied.

OXFORD.—Mahon lectured to a good audience on "The Paths to Socialism," and was very well received, the opposition being very weak; 14s. 3d. was collected at the meeting for the defence, etc., of our Norwich comrades.—I. M.

SOUTH HACKNEY WORKING-MEN'S CLUB, Brooksbys Walk, Homerton.—On Sunday, Jan. 23, Lane lectured on "The National Loaf, who earns and who eats it." No opposition was offered. The audience was quite in sympathy with the views of the speaker. 2s. 6d. was paid the lecturer, which has been handed over to the Propaganda Fund.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street.

Friday Jan. 28, at 8.30, a Lecture will be delivered. **Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8.30. Sydney Webb (Fabian), a Lecture. Wed. Feb. 2, at 8.30. Edward Aveling, "Socialism in America."—Members' Business Meeting at the Hall first Sunday in February at 7 p.m. sharp, when important financial matters will be discussed; please attend.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Jan. 30. George Bernard Shaw, "Some Illusions of Individualism."—General Annual Meeting of the Branch next Sunday at 3 p.m.; Members please note.

Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street. **Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—On Sunday Jan. 30, H. Charles, "Who is the Thief?" **Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8. A lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 30, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 30, at 8 p.m. D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Middle Class."

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.—Free Tron Hall, Monday January 31, at 8 o'clock. Archibald Campbell, B.A., "Social Utopias."—Monday Feb. 7. R. W. Armour, "The use of Banks"

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, J. Shaw Maxwell will lecture on "The Labour Struggle."

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

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.—Hull Radical Club, Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. On Thursday Feb. 3, at 8, E. Teesdale on "Socialism and Social Reforms."

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

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

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 30.

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

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

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

COMRADE MAHON is pursuing his Provincial Propagandist Tour, and wishes us to say that he will be in Manchester on the 28th, 29th, and 30th inst.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 30, D. Nicoll, "The Benevolent Bourgeois."

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

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