

# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 108.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

The question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square has again been raised, this time by comrades Hicks (S. D. F.) and Gough (S. L.) Hicks did at least speak, and is therefore "guilty" to begin with, of something, but Gough only sat on a seat and when attacked by the police threw away a stick he held, in the vain hope that this would prevent his being charged with having used it. He stands committed for trial for "assault," and Hicks has appealed against the order to find sureties for his "good behaviour."

So the farce goes on! Vaughan the venomous, in sentencing Hicks, observed that although he was not charged with assaulting the police, "under some circumstances passive resistance was equivalent to an active resistance"! This is the kind of logic that our governors go by, and it is fortunate that one at least is foolish or frank enough to speak it out.

But mere folly or wrong-headedness either on the press or on the bench, is not so dangerous as dishonesty such as the *Times* or *Daily Chronicle* invariably display. Mean-man Mumford, the editor of the "Radical-Unionist" paper, again and again asserted that Louise Michel was shot at by another Anarchist, even after every other paper had contradicted this lie.

The anonymity of the press enables these crawling assassins to stab where they will with small danger of discovery. It is a pity that Mr. O'Connor had not the courage from the very beginning of the *Star*, to discard this effete and exploded superstition, and not follow in the ruck of conventionalism. A beginning he has made of a sort, and it is to be hoped he will carry it further.

By the way, we should like to know the name of the genius who adorned one of his notes in the *Star* itself with a reference to the "petroleuses of the Paris Commune" who "shrieked for massacre between a giggle and a scream"! This myth has been so often exposed that its repetition anywhere is a surprise—how much more in the *Star*!

The 26th of January has come and gone, and paper after paper, led by the *Pall Mall*, has raved over the anniversary of Gordon's death, but not one save ourselves has had a word to say of the immeasurably greater man who died on the same day only nineteen years ago. Ernest Jones laboured and fought for the people, suffered and was imprisoned and died in their service, without the glamour that besets the soldier of fortune or the romance of the lonely death in the Soudan; theatricality moves the crowd, and thus they make choice of heroes!

The "Cass of Canning Town," Miss Coverdale, has not been quite so badly treated as her prototype. Warren apparently was not so struck with Bloy's lie-power as he was with that of Endacott, and did not at once interpose for the protection of a "useful officer," and has now only "exonerated" him without a public whitewashing. However with a little care a naturally ardent imagination may be made so useful that in a little while we shall see *Sergeant* Bloy in the witness-box to swear to a Socialist "assault" upon the police.

Burns and Graham, when they come out, are to have a reception. This is as it should be, but I heartily agree with a member of the S. D. F. who has publicly urged that the humbler martyrs should have their share of the "honours of war," and hope the rumour will prove true that this is to be carried out. Burns and Graham are brave and good fellows, far too brave and good to be put on a pedestal away from their comrades in captivity. "Remember the unremembered!"

"What has become," asked the *Standard* on the 23rd, "of all the outcry about the 'unemployed'?" They are not in Trafalgar Square." Whereupon the *Pall Mall* comments, "How beautifully characteristic this is of the Tory method of logic and of policy! When the unemployed did go to Trafalgar Square, the *Standard* was all for punching their heads and filling the Square with police to keep them out. Having succeeded in thus banishing them, it now turns round and asserts triumphantly that there are no unemployed at all. The *Standard* is clearly of Lord Cowper's belief, that if you drive a grievance—or a crime—beneath the surface, you have done with it."

The salt-tax has been raised in India, and the miserable ryot and his town-dwelling brother have their lot made harder thereby in order that

"public works" of the Frontier Railroad kind may go on. The reason publicly given is that the expenses of the Burmese War have been heavy. "Our mission in India," as elsewhere, seems to be to make ourselves rich as soon as possible, with as little risk as may be.

Another victim of our "beneficent" rule, King Ja Ja of Obopo, has sent messengers to London in the hope of getting justice. He is to all appearance not sufficiently "within the pale of civilisation" to know how futile it is for one in his position to make such an appeal. Let him remember Cetewayo, Arabi, Ayoub, and a hundred others, and be careful!

The *Vienna Politische Correspondenz* hears from Rome that the Pope has just completed and will shortly issue the Encyclical Letter on the social condition of the working classes, upon which he has been engaged for the past twelve months, and about which he has consulted several prominent economists. This Letter declares, in principle, for State intervention in favour of the working classes, and exhorts Catholics to support the Governments of their respective countries in any efforts for the accomplishment of social reforms, and to promote any measures having for their object the amelioration of the lot of the labouring classes.

Now before the ultra-Protestants arise and howl, they should do as much for the People, and not confine all their love to the Purse. S.

Cunninghame Graham's manly and outspoken letter upon his sentence is refreshing, after hearing the wailings and gnashing of teeth about wearing prison dress and association with criminals that has emanated from certain politicians sentenced under the Crimes Act. Graham clearly recognises that the criminal is a product of society as at present constituted; yet upon the ground that the press has elected to grant him the prefix Mr. and not to Burns, a writer in the *Referer* bitterly attacks him, accusing him and all well-to-do Socialists with insincerity and desire for self-advertisement. They give nothing away, says the sapient "Pendragon" (alias H. Sampson), as if alms-giving is the duty of a Socialist, who objects to the system which begets misery. I don't know the magnitude of "Pendragon's" charity, if any, but however great, it would not alter conditions productive of poverty.

The working-men's clubs have amongst their membership some ardent lovers of sport, apart from the thievish brutal "barneys" lately got up to rob the gullible admirers of the "noble art," but the *Referer* is black-listed on account of its virulent attacks upon the Socialists and Radicals.

Another writer in the same paper, by the way—"Dagonet" (alias G. R. Sims)—once got a magnificent ovation in the East-end on account of his writings on behalf of the poor; but, time alters things, and as a critic said recently, he runs on all fours now. The wealthy patrons of "sport," as understood by slaughtering pigeons and mangling faces, extort their incomes from the misery of the poor. Hence the wearing of the plush. F. K.

## 'RUSSIA, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.'

By L. Tikhomirov. Translated from the French by E. Aveling, D.Sc.  
(Swan Sonnenschein, 1883.)

This is one of the most remarkable and erudite works on Russia that have been published in foreign tongues. I will not say that from the point of view of a Russian political observer the book is altogether without blemishes. Through all the first book, dealing with the border provinces which were annexed in comparatively recent times, and examining the claims of various nationalities to independence, L. Tikhomirov shows himself a decided partisan of "Russia one and indivisible" of the French Jacobins of 1793. True, in another part of the work (vol. ii., p. 145) he gives the programme of the *Narodnaia Volia*, including among other things a demand for "large local autonomy and elective nomination to all offices." But this vague paragraph admits of several interpretations. If "all offices" includes those of a local legislative body, it means something sensible: a provincial Home Rule—federalism as it is understood in England and practised in America. But if we exclude the local legislative body from the above-mentioned term we have nonsense at the best: provincial executives, supported by the provincial militia (the only military force admitted by the

*Narodnaia Vglia* programme) and a supreme legislative body sitting in the capital, with no real authority over any separate part of the State. Or we have an illusory local self-government like that we see in the German Empire, and the concentration of an unlimited power in the hands of a chance majority of a heterogeneous central parliament. As Tikhomirov promptly rejects (vol. i. page 62,) the claims of the Ukrainian (South Russians) Nationalists, who are not separatists but simply federalists and home rulers, I cannot help concluding that he is decidedly in favour of a centralised unitarian polity in general. This we, Russian federalists, consider as quite incompatible with Russian geography and ethnography, as well as with the experience of the nations politically most advanced.

That is my only objection to Tikhomirov's book—very important from a Russian point of view, as the disputes between the Home Rulers and Unionists are for England. These are, however, our domestic dissensions. They are irrelevant for the English readers, who will estimate the book by the amount of information it is likely to give them upon its special subject.

Thus far no exception can be made to the book. As an editor of a paper which devoted a large place to Russian interior questions, the author has had the best opportunities of studying for many years and from direct sources the many questions of which his book treats. His is a painstaking work, a real mine of information of the most varied kind, condensed in as small a volume as the literary interest of the book would allow.

There is only one work upon Russia in the English language which in this respect can be compared with Tikhomirov's: it is the 'Russia' of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. The two books are much alike as to their general descriptive character, the method of treatment of their subject, and the field of observation they cover. They stand, therefore, necessarily as competitors. Some parts of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace's 'Russia' will always preserve their freshness as personal reminiscences of a foreign traveller, who spared no pains to understand well the country he undertook to describe. His account of the various sides of our rural life, village communes, agrarian arrangements, which change very slowly, as well as his chapters upon popular religion, can be consulted with great advantage nowadays. But as to the political, intellectual, and economical conditions of Russia, and to the various elements at work within the leading classes of the country, Mr. Mackenzie's book, written more than ten years ago, is decidedly out of date. Tikhomirov's comes, therefore, very opportunely and will undoubtedly enjoy a lasting popularity among the growing class of people who take a lively interest in Russian affairs. Its great advantage is that there is no gap in it. It offers a picture of Russia upon all sides as a political, social, economical organism. Whatever the detail may be which is likely to interest any general reader, he is certain to find some account of it in this discursive work. Sometimes the answer will be full and exhaustive, sometimes necessarily brief, but always clear, precise, documentary. The author's opinions and explanations can be sometimes traversed by a Russian who looks upon the facts in a different light, but they are absolutely free from any positive errors and from those glaring blunders in judging the inner working of the various elements of Russian life, which no foreign writer, not even Mr. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, has avoided, and which spoil so much Mr. Mackenzie Wallace's work.

The opening of the book is somewhat dry, as it gives to the reader the chilling idea that he is about to be indoctrinated in Russian geography. But the impression soon vanishes. The first book is in fact (with the above-mentioned exception) one of the most interesting as it gives in a nutshell a lot of information upon the social and political condition of all our border land—Finland, Baltic provinces, Poland, Caucasus, Central Asia. The second describes the races inhabiting Russia Proper, the three branches of Russian people—Great Russians, Little Russians, or Ukrainians, and White Russians—with a brief characteristic of each. In this latter task the author does not appear at his best. The same must be said as to his characteristic of the Great Russian peasantry in general in the fourth chapter of third book. Individualisation is not Tikhomirov's forte; broad generalisation, summing up of many facts of social or intellectual life, are the elements upon which his literary talent are exhibited to their greatest advantage. Both these qualities make the chapters devoted to the description of our village life the most picturesque and interesting part of the first volume.

"A Russian village is not very beautiful. One of average dimensions is generally bisected by a long street. . . Here and there along the street are wooden houses, covered with thatch. . . A great Russian village has no colours. The beams of the *izbas* (cottages) are sombre, the straw of the roofs black; no trees, no flowers. The village is dirty; it is all smoky. . . The great Russian village, if it is not very beautiful is full of life. Men there are not tied together mechanically, because they happen to be living in the same place on a map. They are bound by a thousand pledges, a thousand common interests. They are linked together by community of property. Besides land, the communes have property of another kind: fish lakes, communal mills, a communal herd for the improvement of oxen and horses; finally, store-houses, intended for the distribution to the peasants of seeds for their fields or food for their families. The enjoyment of all these various things must be distributed among the members of the commune, must be distributed regularly, equally, equitably. Thus a fair distribution to-day will not be fair five or six years hence, because in some families the number of members will have increased, in others diminished. A new distribution, therefore, will be necessary to make the shares equal."

Then follows an elaborate and graphic description of the manner in which this scope is attained; the organisation of the *Mir*, the method of distribution of public burdens, the system of working in common, and general administration. These pages will be read with particular interest by Socialists and social reformers interested in agrarian ques-

tions. For those who wish to go to the root of the subject, the following chapter (Chap. II., book iii.) will give a brief summary of the history of our original agrarian arrangements.

Want of space prevents me from speaking of the succeeding book, which describes the origin and the present state of our privileged classes, old and new; the chapter upon the Russian clergy being the freshest and fullest. For the like reason I will skip over the book upon "Economic and Industrial Russia," embracing the agriculture, commerce, protective system, and its monstrous abuses which favour a small group of men at the expense of all others, and kindred matters.

But if my notice had not been already too long I should have willingly dwelt upon the sixth book (vol. ii.), "The Intellectual Movement," which is not only the best part of the whole work, but the most talented and comprehensive thing extant upon this most difficult and interesting subject. Tikhomirov is entirely in his sphere here. Taking the totality of the manifold intellectual influences under which modern Russian society has grown—literature, university teaching, exceptional position of woman, relentless despotism crushing the whole, whilst fostering the unrestrained individual freedom of the spirit—he makes a very subtle and searching analysis of the psychology of the Russian "intellectual class," and throws a flood of light upon that strangest phenomenon of modern history, that in the most backward of European countries the bulk of the educated people, taken as a class, are by far the most advanced in Europe as to their social, ethical, and religious views, and by their true and straightforward democratism. As the offshoot of it we have that in Russia, besides the Conservatives or reactionary—which are the less numerous, and who owe their predominance only to the fact that they are naturally the most agreeable to the Czar—besides this party we have only two others, the Liberals and the Revolutionists, who both can be counted as Socialists of more or less pronounced type.

Tikhomirov is quite right in saying that:

"The Liberals in the true [I would rather say in the current European] sense of the word, with the exception of wholly isolated personalities, are very few in Russia. Taken as a whole, the Liberals are near akin to French Radicals, and their opinions are on some points distinctly Socialistic. The most characteristic organ of the Liberals, *The Messenger of Europe*, has recently published, *e.g.*, an article of M. Slonimsky, in which the author shows the necessity of nationalisation of the land, and the absurdity of the mere idea of landed property. That the article should be published in this review is sufficiently astonishing. *The Messenger of Europe* is very distinctly Liberal. But if we turn to the bulk of the Liberals, we find there many who are quite Socialists by conviction. Among them especially, are a large number of followers of Karl Marx and the Socialism of the German school. . . Generally the Liberals, who have originated from the same intellectual movement of which I spoke above, are imbued with all the ideas that it has thrown into circulation. Their ideal is a society based on liberty and self government, made up of advanced free individuals, with equal rights, and a material position guaranteed by a regular economic organisation. If after this we look at the programmes of the Socialists (*i.e.*, Nihilists-Revolutionists) party, we shall find it very difficult to draw a distinctive line between the ideas of this party and of the Liberals." (I would rather say advanced section of the Liberals).

This unity of the democratic aspirations of the bulk of our educated classes is certainly one of the best guarantees for the brilliant future of Russian Socialism, when once Russia gets rid of the incubus of her present Government.

I will not go farther. From these cursory remarks the reader may well see for himself that the book before me is a very valuable contribution indeed to English knowledge upon Russia, and is equally interesting to students and general readers. The peculiar touch of impartiality and fairness pervading Tikhomirov's book will, I am sure, not be one of its smaller attractions for the English reader.

STEPNIAK.

## A Proposed Anti-Credit League.

A PAMPHLET entitled 'How to raise Wages,' by Edward S. Cooper, of 143 Queen Victoria Street, was put into my hands by the author the other day. It is marked by an unusual insight into economic truth, but is made to point a single one-sided moral. One point which is well grasped is that the main cause of depression of trade arises from the fact of the workers receiving in wages only a fraction of what they produce, thus lessening their purchasing-power to a proportionate extent. After speaking of the lowering of wages, which the author regards as more due to "the natural instinct of all men to acquire material good" than as the result of a law of competition among the proletariat, he says: "To prevent wages being driven down to the minimum that life can be supported on, a *resisting power* needs to be placed in the hands of every worker, and such can alone be found in the power of self-employment. . . . Power to each one to trade or manufacture on his own account must be given, and miserably paid labour will then be of the past." While it is undoubtedly true that such a resisting power is necessary to fight the capitalist, our author does not state, so far as I can see, what form it should take. The key of the capitalist's position being, of course, the monopoly of land and capital, this monopoly must inevitably be broken up before he can be dislodged; and how this is to be done without collective effort of some sort is not at all clear. But the point which absorbs most of the author's attention, so much indeed as to blind him to more obvious issues, is what he calls the "artificial element" of *credit*:

"The operation is as follows: A trader commencing business with say, £1,000 capital will, by a judicious use of the credit such a sum will command, make up the sum to be traded with £10,000 and upon the larger amount he will, of course, get more profit than the naked capital could possibly bring. A wage-earner starting at the same time upon small savings and unable from their smallness to

obtain credit, has no chance of success as against the trader with the large amount; for the latter can give as well as get credit and so absorbs the trade. The wage-earner, as a result, succumbs; capital gets everything into its hands and labour has to a large extent to submit to its dictation. Enormous firms, both manufacturing and distributive, absorb the trade of the country through their power to give credit and to get it, while small traders and manufacturers are being pushed out of business to increase the number of dependent wage-earners. One trader will have over 60 retail shops and absorb to himself the profits of the whole. His capital would probably stock ten of them, credit doing the rest, and, but for rapid accumulation under the credit system, he would probably have at most but 3 or 4 shops and those serving under him would most likely be in the others as masters and not servants. Another trader, having a large concern started and supported on the same system, will have as many as 1500 persons under him, all depending for subsistence, probably, upon the health, success, or caprice of one employer, and obliged to accept the remuneration that a liberal or penurious nature may offer, instead of being self-employed. Thus the bearing of credit on industry is altogether adverse to a healthy distribution of wealth, which should follow skill, rather than capital, and would do so if left to natural laws and not artificial arrangements."

Now, while it is undoubtedly true that, as things go, credit enormously helps the big capitalist, and is consequently an agent in crushing out the small trader and independent artisan, it is by no means sure that its abolition, and the consequent reversion to a ready-money system, would do more than palliate the evils of commercialism, as the primary monopoly of the means of life would be left untouched. It is therefore extravagant to say that credit "is the source of all that is mischievous in our industrial system." Further, though it really seems harsh to say so, the swallowing of the small capitalist by the big is a necessary part of the evolution towards the destruction of capitalism altogether, and if credit helps this process it is working towards Socialism from one side. And again, one day there will be thought to be something gross and barbarous in a ready-money system, when every man's position as a free citizen of a working community shall be assured, and when the tender of a certain quantity of precious metal in exchange for service rendered will be a childish superstition.

I conclude this hasty notice with a remark which seems particularly acute when coming from one at present outside the pale of Socialist economics :

"Laws of political economy appear to be nothing more than ascertained results of industrial operations. They do not profess to explain, or deal with, the causes producing and controlling such operations. There may be a recurrence of effects noted as unvarying as can be desired to establish any one of these laws, but, influence the causes, and a set of wholly different results will follow."

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

|    |       |   |
|----|-------|---|
| 5  | Sun.  | 1881. Thomas Carlyle died.  |
| 6  | Mon.  | 1649. House of Lords abolished.   |
| 7  | Tues. | 1649. Monarchy abolished. 1812. Charles Dickens born.   |
| 8  | Wed.  | 1576. Robert Burton born. 1886. Unemployed riots in West End. 1887. Anniversary Meeting on Clerkenwell Green proclaimed but held. |
| 9  | Thur. | 1848. Great Protection Demonstration in London. 1849. Proclamation of Roman Republic.   |
| 10 | Fri.  | 1843. Richard Carlile died. 1880. Attempted Execution of the Czar.  |
| 11 | Sat.  | 1650. René Descartes died. 1867. Great Reform Meeting in the Agricultural Hall.   |

*Thomas Carlyle.*—Feb. 5th, 1881, died Thomas Carlyle, the Grand Old Irreconcilable, who was born at Ecclefechan, in Dumfriesshire, Dec. 14th, 1795. The son of a farmer, he had some slight education at Annan, and being intended for the Church entered Edinburgh University at the age of 14 and remained there seven years. Was two years a teacher of mathematics in Fifeshire, and there decided to forego the Church in favour of literature. In 1823, he began by contributing to Brewster's 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia' articles on Montesquieu, Montaigne, and others; translated a work on 'Geometry,' to which he added an 'Essay on Proportion.' Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' and 'Life of Schiller' followed next. In 1827 married, and in 1834 moved to London, and there died in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In 1837, published 'French Revolution' and 'Charitism'; in 1839, 'Five Vols. of Collected Essays'; in 1840, he delivered as lectures 'Hero-Worship'; 'Past and Present' 1843, 'Latter-Day Pamphlets' 1850, 'Life of John Stirling' 1851. In 1860-64, 'Life of Frederick the Great' appeared; was elected Rector of Edinburgh University in 1865. In December, 1873, accepted the Prussian Royal Order 'For Merit,' but in 1875 declined the English Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. Not a Freethinker himself but a maker of such; not a reformer but an inspirer of such; not a Socialist, but possessed with such a deadly hatred of our shoddy civilisation, that some of his words, such for instance as those about the Poor House, seem to hiss or burn. His terrific attacks on bad law-makers and worse administrators, and his constant contempt and belittling of every effort at reform; his persistent iconoclasm and quite as persistent iconolatry, his egotism and his pity, make up a wonderful study in the Gospel of Grumble without a suggestion for hope; magnificent strings of musical words leading to everlasting Nowhere, unless it really be in his idea that the genuine use of gunpowder is to make all men alike tall.—T. S.

*Charles Dickens.*—Feb. 7th, 1812, at Landport, son of a navy pay-clerk engaged in Portsmouth dockyard, born Charles Dickens, who later scalded in 'Little Dorrit,' Government officials and Circumlocutionists generally. Early removal of the family to London made Dickens a Londoner, and he died Thursday, June 9, 1870, very much a victim to the cockney life which great success in life forces on such men who live in cities. The rudiments of his education he received from his mother, followed by some from a Baptist minister while living in Chatham. On a second removal to London, after a short period of blacking packing, he went to Wellington House Academy in the Hampstead Road, and then began life as an office-boy, studying meanwhile shorthand, and was soon fairly floated on his literary life. After the first flight, he was in the usual sense of the term a constantly growing success, and too early death was the result. In him

was lost a good democrat, both as writer and worker. In Betty Higden he gives expression to the popular opinion on our Poor Law. It is usual to decry novels written with a purpose, but most of his writings are so and to a large extent the purpose was fulfilled. In 'Dombey and Son' we have a picture of bourgeois society, where woman is hawked from place to place for a good market, and recognised simply to breed sons to "Houses"; in 'David Copperfield' also the Woman Question in various forms bulks largely. Attacking in 'Pickwick' the Fleet, and in 'Little Dorrit' the Marshalsea, he did good work, and so in all; but the 'Lesson for Our Day' is in the 'Tale of Two Cities.' Some suggest that early in the 21st century will be written a similar work for this country, with a Winans or Lady Matheson taking the place of Monsieur the Marquis; a Cunningham Graham acts nephew; a Murdoch or Macrea plays Jacques, and a stock-jobbing Chancellor of Exchequer plays up to a lamp-iron. In book or speech or letter he was always for the poor and the weak, and almost warmly he writes of some people who having a petition treated with disrespect took their rides, whereupon the gentlemanly party walked out without a blow.—T. S.

*Protectionist Demonstration.*—The fact that it was an attempted demonstration in favour of Protection which led to the affair of "Black Monday," lends interest to the fact that almost on the same day forty years ago there was a great demonstration to Trafalgar Square with the same object. A laughable contrast too does that of '86 show to that of '48! A procession of boats gathered in three divisions at North Fleet Hope, Long Reach, and Limehouse, and proceeded by water to Westminster Bridge with flags flying; the shipping on the river also flew their colours and fired guns. There were 192 boats, manned by about 1,150 men, drawn by three steamers carrying from 1,000 to 1,200 masters, mates, and petty officers. They marched from the water to Trafalgar Square, turned there and marched back again and re-embarked, sending a deputation to the Home Office by the way. It was noticed that every aid was given both by the Government and the police to this meeting, while those of the reformers held the same year were continually being "warrenned."—S.

*Richard Carlile.*—Born at Ashburton, Devonshire, Dec. 8, 1790; died at —, Bouverie Street, Feb. 10, 1843. Having learnt in the village free school to read, write, cypher, and know enough Latin to read a prescription, he went into a chemist's shop at Exeter, but left through being set a task he resented. For awhile he coloured pictures for his mother's shop, and then was apprenticed to a tinman, a hard master, who made the iron bite deep into his soul. In 1813 he got a job in the Blackfriars Road, and in 1816 in Holborn. Here he saw a work of Tom Paine's for the first time, and was roused by it into action. He wrote letters to newspapers, and tried to interest Hunt and Cobbett, but without success. In 1817, Wooler's *Black Dwarf* appeared, and was more to Carlile's taste than Cobbett's *Register*. Borrowing £1 from his employer and braving all dangers (the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended), he started out on the 9th of March, 1817, with 100 *Dwarfs* in a handkerchief; for several weeks he continued to carry it round, walking 30 miles a-day for about 1s. 3d. When Steill, the publisher of the *Dwarf*, was taken, Carlile volunteered for the place but was not accepted. He printed and sold 25,000 copies of Southey's *Wat Tyler*, despite the protest of the renegade writer. Hone's *Parodies* being suppressed, Carlile reprinted them, and also a number of his own, *The Political Litany*, *The Sinecurist's Creed*, etc. These cost him 18 weeks in prison, from whence he was released without trial when Hone was acquitted. In 1818, he issued Paine's works with a memoir, and being attacked followed them up with similar publications. By the end of October, there were six indictments against him; next month he was condemned to £1,500 fine, and three years in prison. His trial lasted three days, and attracted world-wide notice; it was forbidden to introduce any news of it into Russia. In jail he began the *Republican*, which ran to 14 vols. (7 years), 12 being dated from Dorchester jail. Mrs. Carlile joined her husband for two years in 1821 for publishing *Republican* and other works; but he still managed to publish, and at once issued a report of her trial. £6,000 was raised by a "Constitutional Association," at the head of which was the Duke of Wellington, to put down the "centre of infection" and prosecute Carlile's assistants; the sheriff seized his house, 55, Fleet Street, with all its contents; and still his publications issued from the prison. Next year (1822) the house was again seized under the pretence of satisfying the fines; but from neither seizure was one farthing paid off the fines; what was taken was clear plunder, and he had to work out his fines in prison at the rate of 12 months per £500. July, 1821, his sister Mary Ann was fined £500, and imprisoned for a year for publishing his *New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain*. In 1825, the Cabinet resolved to discontinue the prosecutions, but the last nine of his shopmen who had been arrested were made to complete their time, Peel refusing to knock off a day. None of his publications had been suppressed. After his release Carlile published *The Gorgon*, and *The Lion*, a 6d. weekly. In 1830, to encourage free speech, he hired the Rotunda in Blackfriars Road; most prominent men in London attended the discussions, and, stimulated by the French Revolution of that year, the liberty of speaking was such as had never been attained before in England. Carlile's house was assessed for church rates and his goods seized; he retorted by taking out the front windows and showing a bishop arm in arm with a devil and a distraining officer. He was fined and called upon to give sureties; refusing, he was imprisoned for three years. In 1834-5, he was again imprisoned for ten weeks—making a total imprisonment of 9 years and 4 months. At one time when his shopmen were so often arrested, he had an arrangement with the names of his books, etc., on a dial; the purchaser turned the hand to the one he wanted, and on depositing the price it dropped before him. He left his body when dying to St. Thomas's Hospital for dissection. He did more than other Englishman for the freedom of the press, of which, by the way, he said truly that "the greatest despotism ruling the press is popular ignorance." His life (by G. J. Holyoake) and works of all kinds are well worth attention from students of the popular movement in England.—S.

*Reform League Demonstration.*—Meeting in Trafalgar Square, a procession of about 60,000, headed by the mounted farriers and a band, and well sprinkled with banners of the League and different trade societies, marched to the Agricultural Hall, where a meeting was held. On the route the procession was watched by princes, lords, and so on in large numbers; in one club window was Charles Dickens in the midst of a bevy of bishops. The hall was reached at two o'clock and was quickly filled, thousands not being able to get in. The chair was taken by Mr. Beales, and the speakers were Ernest Jones (who received an ovation), Professors Rogers and Beasley, T. B. Potter, P. A. Taylor and The O'Donoghue, M.P.'s, Councillor Bird (of Glasgow), the Rev. Arthur O'Neill, and Mr. Bradlaugh. A letter was read from J. S. Mill, and during the evening the "Reform Minstrels" sang the "Reform Chorus."—S.

OUTRAGE AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.—A painful incident occurred during the forenoon of the 24th in the Reading Room of the British Museum. One of the readers—a clergyman—was observed deliberately cutting one of the volumes and secreting the cuttings. On being challenged by one of the detectives he denied the charge, although when taken before the authorities he admitted the offence and produced the cuttings. He was "ignominiously expelled and his ticket cancelled." Private property he would be imprisoned for stealing, but for destroying the common property of the people he goes unpunished, his name not even being published. For such criminal laxity the library authorities deserve a sharp rebuke.—S.



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.

W. T.—Received, but hardly worth notice, the thing is so usual.

G. P.—Thanks; hardly suitable.

IRONSIDE CAPTAIN.—Look out for the *Link*, and meanwhile read your directions. CALENDAR.—Yes; as already announced, the Calendar will be printed at the end of the year. Send on any events you notice omitted or would like inserted.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 1.

|                        |                                 |                              |                        |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| ENGLAND                | Danver (Col.) Labor Enquirer    | Belgium                      | Ghent—Vooruit          |
| Jus                    | Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West    | Brussels—L'Avant-Garde       | Brussels—L'Avant-Garde |
| London—Freie Presse    | Hammonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier | Liege—L'Avant                |                        |
| Labor Tribune          | Mitwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt     | SPAIN                        |                        |
| Norwich—Daylight       | N Haven—Workmen's Advocate      | Madrid—El Socialista         |                        |
| Railway Review         | Providence (R.I.)—The People    | Barcelona—Atracia            |                        |
| Worker's Friend        | San Francisco (Cal.)—The People | PORTUGAL                     |                        |
| NEW SOUTH WALES        | Coast Seaman's Journal          | Lisbon—O Protesto Operario   |                        |
| Hamilton—Radical       | San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung  | GERMANY                      |                        |
| INDIA                  | FRANCE                          | Berlin—Volks Tribune         |                        |
| Madras—People's Friend | Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)     | AUSTRIA                      |                        |
| Bankipore—Behar Herald | Le Socialiste                   | Brunn—Volksfreund            |                        |
| UNITED STATES          | La Revolte                      | ROUMANIA                     |                        |
| New York—Der Sozialist | Lille—Le Travailleur            | Municipal                    |                        |
| Freiheit               | Guise—Le Devoir                 | DENMARK                      |                        |
| Truthseeker            | HOLLAND                         | Social-Demokraten            |                        |
| Volkszeitung           | Hague—Recht voor Allen          | SWEDEN                       |                        |
| Solidarity             | Amsterdam—Voorwaarts            | Stockholm, Social-Demokraten |                        |
| Chicago—Labor Enquirer | ITALY                           | Malmö—Arbetet                |                        |
| Vorbote                | Milan—Il Fascio Operaio         |                              |                        |
| Chicago—Alarm          | Marsala—La Nuova Eta            |                              |                        |

THE NEW ETHIC.

PROBABLY few subjects have been more written about and discussed both by philosophers properly so-called and by the ordinary man of letters, than the meaning and basis of Ethics. But in all that has been talked on the subject of Ethics it has been almost invariably assumed that the problem was to explain and deal with moral obligation or duty as a basal, perhaps, but nevertheless isolated, fact of human nature. Again, the sanctions of conscience have either been treated by moral philosophy as something not merely *a priori*, but supernatural and absolute, or else they have been confounded with the mere phenomena of the moral consciousness. The first of these standpoints is that of the old metaphysical schools and of those modern semi-theological writers who found more or less on them; the second is that of the modern Empiricists who in this as in other departments, think they have exhausted the essence of a thing after they have merely traced the series of its phenomenal expression. With these latter as with the others, morality is a matter centering in the individual character; the individual living in society, that is, in combination with other individuals, finding it necessary to his own enjoyment or even existence to recognise certain obligations towards other individuals on condition of their recognising the same as regards himself. This, which of course is the ethical side of the Social Contract theory, has been handed down from Bacon, Hobbes and Locke to Bentham and Mill and those who have been inspired by them. It resolves all morality into a question of individual utility. For this, despite all protestations to the contrary, is what the theory really says. The former theory is no less but rather more individualistic. According to it, moral sanctions are absolute and eternal, inasmuch as they constitute part of the relation of the individual soul to its Divine source, and hence their connection with society is purely accidental. It will be seen then that both the ordinary theories—the ordinary spiritualistic theory and the ordinary materialistic theory—alike regard morality as having for its end the individual. The theological ethics find its criterion and aim in individual "purity," "humility," "likeness to God," etc.; the empirical ethic finds it in the fulfilment of the pledges towards other individuals which his existence in community with those other individuals implies—his non-interference in fact with their rights as individuals. Self-interest is the keynote of both moral systems. The theological or spiritualistic system apotheosises the "soul." Its method is a con-

tinuous introspection and communing of the individual with his own soul. Out of this comes the higher morality on its lines. The Empiricist apotheosises "self-interest," which to him is the ultimate fact in human nature, the problem being therefore to deduce morality from self-interest, and the method to identify the necessary requirements of social existence with self-interest. By self-interest is here meant the interest of the individual as individual. Both these theories it will also be observed, as before said, regard Ethics as an isolated fact to be explained apart from the concrete whole of human nature to which they belong. Such a treatment as this is necessarily abstract, and every treatment must be so that neglects to take into account the entire evolution of society, in which human nature is shown in the making, so to speak, and in which the several elements constituting it are displayed in their interconnection.

This has not been altogether unrecognised. Auguste Comte and Mr. Herbert Spencer, although taking their stand on Empirical Ethics, have both endeavoured to deduce morality from general social evolution, but the empirical method which they adopted, precluded them from attaining any real insight into the matter. The mere phenomena of the moral consciousness collated and forced into accordance (more or less) with the assumption that the antagonism of self-interest and social interest is permanent and that morality is always a conscious effort to reconcile the two, can never afford anything but a fallacious view of things. Add to the above that in both cases, especially in that of Comte, not merely the current bourgeois ethics, but even the relics of the older theological Introspectionism are obtrusively evident, and it will be quite clear that but little is to be expected from the learned and popular writers in question in this way of a philosophy of ethics.

Before we can hope to attain such a philosophy we have to get rid of the notion that society is at bottom an aggregate of individuals, and that hence there is a permanent antagonism between individual and community, or that these two categories are ultimate or absolute in any sense. The recognition of this is only the obverse side of the recognition of the dependence of ethics—that is, of the view taken of duty, of the relation of the individual to other individuals and to the community—on the material conditions, social and economical. As soon as society can be said to exist at all, ethical sentiment must exist implicitly if not explicitly. The ethical sentiment is the correlate in the ideal sphere of the fact of social existence in the material. The one is as necessarily implied in the other, as the man is implied by the shadow. But just as the shadow bears the impress of the particular man whose shadow it is, so does the ethics bear the impress of the particular society whose ethics it is.

The essence of the sentiment of duty is that the content, the meaning, of individuality is not coincident with the form of the living individual. This content is not exhausted in the form, but seeks its completion outside its form. Otherwise explained, the individual is dependent; he is not a self-contained whole in himself, but an element in a larger whole. The end of everything is to *realise* itself; to reach its highest expression. In the consciousness of the inadequacy of the form of individuality to the content of individuality, and the desire to realise or inform this content adequately, consists moral sentiment, and what is the same thing in a higher potency, religious sentiment. If the above be admitted, it follows that there can be no greater absurdity than the attempt to found morality on a calculation of profit-and-loss to the individual, or in other words, on the self-interest of the Utilitarians. Out of pure Individualism it is impossible to get an ethic at all, since morality is that side of the individual or the personality which proclaims his inadequacy. It is the expression of the abiding contradiction within him. In one respect the theological and (in the popular sense) metaphysical Ethic has more plausibility than this crudely materialistic Ethic of the English thinkers. The former at least recognises the inadequacy of the content to the form in individuality, it sees that the individual is not a self-contained whole, and that in this fact the ethical problem takes its root. The explanation offered, the solution of the contradiction, is of course found in God as the *telos* of all things; in God the individual finds his perfection, his realisation, the want of which, considered *per se*, is indicated in the moral and religious sentiment. This is at least in one sense an intelligible explanation, which is more than can be said of the Benthamite theory. If the individual is a complete and independent totality, if his end is in himself, then any voluntary self-restraint even, let alone self-sacrifice, on the part of the individual is unintelligible. We are aware, of course, of the attempts made to evade this difficulty—of enlightened self-interest, and the rest. But allowing the greatest possible latitude to the "enlightenment" displayed in the profit-and-loss calculation, we still contend it leaves the main body of moral activity unexplained. Admitting the hypothesis, when was the account originally cast up, and how has it been modified? If the individual contains his end within himself as person, where can the *obligation* lie to prefer a painful course, let us say, which can never possibly redound to the interest, enlightened or otherwise, of his personality, to a pleasurable one which cannot (we will suppose) result in any ulterior pain to himself as individual? To talk of obligation in such a case as this is plainly absurd, when the standard of obligation is supposed to lie within the skin of the individual; for on the hypothesis neither the "enlightened" nor unenlightened interest of that individual is concerned in the matter. To affirm merely that the "enlightened" self-interest always lies on the side of virtue, is simply to beg the question in the baldest manner and explain nothing.

ERNEST BELFORD BAX.

(To be continued.)

## THE GENTEEL IRISH BANK CLERK.

THERE are nine banking corporations in Ireland. Of these the wealthiest is the Bank of Ireland. It keeps all Government accounts, and changes its rates of discount with the Bank of England. Clerkships are obtained by competitive examination. But education is a secondary consideration to the directorate, which, before the examination, carefully investigates the social position of the candidate, and when he has passed requires from him "respectable" security for one thousand pounds. The successful candidate is almost immediately sent as junior clerk to one of the branches, on the salary of sixty pounds per annum, which rises to one hundred, but rarely increases much further.

The attempt to be genteel on a salary inferior to the wage of many a skilled artisan forms the main difficulty of the Irish bank clerk's mind. No matter how provincial the life around, he is the best dressed man in the town, insisting on the latest cut after the Dublin fashions, which, though not always similar, are as expensive as those of London. In the dulllest and smallest country town he is seen every day with kid gloves, high collar, and spotless clothes. His lodgings cost, on an average, ten shillings per week; that is, a third of his salary. Citizens usually associate dreams of the country with cheapness of board and lodging; the genteel Irish bank clerk soon realises the bitterness of this delusion. Rich men often dress shabbily and feed on simple diet; the genteel Irish bank clerk dresses richly, lives luxuriously, and yet is an extremely poor man. He can make this fine show on his miserable pittance because he is offered almost unlimited credit. Country shopkeepers never refuse credit to a bank clerk, because they themselves are dependent for credit on the banks, and believe it is good policy to be accommodating to the officials.

An Irish country town is divided socially into six or seven grades. The genteel bank clerk forms one of these grades by himself. He is above the shopkeepers and below the proprietary class, that is, those who draw incomes from stocks or land and do no work. This latter class are chiefly those who belong to what are called "good families," good not from a moral point of view, but rather in the sense, good-for-nothing. The shopkeepers speak reverently of the clerk as "one of the gentlemen in the bank," the good families mention him as "only a bank clerk," and contemptuously ignore him.

In most towns with banks there are reading-rooms, debating societies, and political clubs—democratic institutions with which the genteel bank clerk will not contaminate himself. He may attain to membership of a lawn-tennis club, and if so he is happy; but he is still happier if he is admitted to the ordinary social club, for here he meets the gentry, and they may speak with him in the coffee-room though they never seem to see him in the streets. As a general rule he is acquainted with a few merchants, one or two professional men, and the district inspector of constabulary; but the solicitors, though professional men, he will not know; and, in a town where there are several different banks, the clerks of the Bank of Ireland usually hold aloof from the clerks of the other banks.

Of course, the attitude of the genteel Irish bank clerk towards social questions is one of absolute ignorance. Cut off from all the intellectual resources of a city, he becomes an easy prey to the miserable sensual seductions of the country town. When he leaves his office in the evening, he goes for a drink; then to dinner, after which he spends his time in the bar or billiard-room of an hotel, and goes home to bed frequently with unsteady steps. Next morning, however, he speeds sprucely to his office, kid gloves and all.

In politics he is a Conservative. He hates the national movement, not only because he does not comprehend it but chiefly because it is democratic, and all the yearnings of his soul are towards gentility. He speaks of the Irish members as a "pack of cads." He would not be content with imprisoning the leaders of the people, but would hang them.

The public who see him in daily and familiar proximity to heaps of notes and specie, are apt to confound his resources with those of the bank. Yet when he wants an increase of salary, he cringingly begs for it as a rare favour. When obtained it seldom exceeds £10.

Of his own profession, that of banking, he is profoundly ignorant. He is not interested in the art of banking or the science of political economy. He is a mere totting machine.

The merchants, the shopkeepers, even the farmers who enter to deposit their savings—the working stock of the bank—know more of banking and the current condition of the financial world than the genteel bank clerk himself.

If he lives long enough, thirty or forty years more, he will gradually assimilate some few official facts which will render him eligible for the position of manager. Such is the summit of his ambition.

He will then possess one of the best houses in the town; the good families may still ostracise him, but his social circle will widen with the permanent addition of the doctor, the clergy, and the richest of the merchants, who, though they despise the clerk, fear the manager.

OLDER STRANGE.

"Live within your means" is the advice given by the *Journal of United Labour*, and very good old-fashioned advice it is. But the means of every honest producer of wealth should be sufficient to provide the best of wholesome food, good clothing, and a happy and comfortable home for himself and his family, together with all that is needful and wholesome in the way of books, amusements, and virtuous pleasure. Any system of society which denies this is an iniquitous system.—*Labour Reformer*.

## THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.

THE first general meeting of the Law and Liberty League was held on the 25th ult. at the National League Hall, 26, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster; J. Tims, Metropolitan Radical Federation, in chair. Forty-seven associations sent delegates. Annie Besant read report of provisional committee, setting forth the objects of the League and nature of the organisation by which it proposed to carry out its work. The treasurer's report showed £680 subscribed and £525 expended, as follows—Legal expenses, £320; fines, £33; relief, £80; hire of halls and offices, £25; printing, postage, etc., £20; salary and miscellaneous, £20; funeral expenses, £27. Liabilities incurred amount to £600 more, for which further subscriptions are earnestly requested. The general council was ordered to meet on the second Saturday in each month at seven o'clock. The chief discussion took place upon the organisation of the Vigilance and Ironside circles, which are being formed in London, and which it was proposed to place under the direction of the executive of the League; ultimately all that had been done was endorsed. The following members were elected as members of the executive committee:—W. Morris, S.L.; J. Tims, M.R.F.; Annie Besant, Fabian; Brady, I.N.L.; Herbert Burrows, S.D.F.; Pike, Hackney district; W. T. Stead; F. Smith, S. Army; Stewart Headlam, L.R.L.; Ben. Ellis, Peckham; Stern, Marylebone and West London; and G. Bateman, S.D.F. The following resolution was carried unanimously with great enthusiasm:—

"That this meeting expresses (1) its abhorrence of the sham administration of justice that disgraces our police-courts, and the courts of quarter sessions, whenever men accused of offences in defence of liberty are tried by magistrates without juries; (2) its indignation at the scandalous outrage on humanity and civilisation involved in treating political prisoners in London and in Ireland as criminal convicts; (3) its surprise and disgust that no Liberal leader has deigned to express his sympathy with the sufferers so heroically borne by so many working-men in their attempt to vindicate the right of free speech in the time-honoured meeting-place of the London democracy. And this meeting further resolves that copies of this resolution be sent to all the occupants of the front Opposition bench, to all metropolitan members, and to all metropolitan magistrates."

## GEORGE ENGEL.

HE was born on April 15, 1836, in the city of Cassel, Germany. His father died when George was eighteen months old, and left a poor widow with four small children. When George was twelve years old his mother died, and he was thus thrown upon the mercy of the world. He knew already what hunger meant, and he now learned what starvation was. A hard struggle was ahead for the poor, friendless boy. But finally the clouds began to lighten. He crossed the path of a kind and good man, a painter by trade, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and stayed with him until he had learned his trade. Then he began, like many other workers, his "travellings." In January, 1873, he went to Philadelphia, and secured work in a sugar factory. The summer came, and he began work again in his calling as a painter. In Philadelphia, for the first time in his life, he heard something about serious labour troubles. The militia marched along the streets. They came from the coal mines, where they had "subjugated some troublesome, starving miners." "I watched them," he says, "when a bystander said to me: 'These scoundrels ought to be hung on the spot.' That remark surprised me, for, at that time, being an 'ignorant foreigner,' I sang the praises of this 'free and glorious' country. I told him anybody could earn good wages if he wanted to, and save money besides; in short, I reiterated the well-known trash of the capitalistic newspapers. I earned what was called good wages, and laid by a little for a rainy day. The rainy days came soon enough; I became sick, my savings were soon gone." He removed to Chicago, where, for the first time in his life, he heard something of Socialism. A fellow-worker induced him to read Socialistic literature, and won Engel over to Socialism. Later on, when many Socialists despairing of the ballot as a remedy, formed the International Working People's Association, Engel became one of the most active workers among them. About the labour problem he says: "The development of machinery renders working-men more and more superfluous, puts them on the road, and degrades others from skilled labourers to mere machine hands. The solution of the labour question is in co-operation. There can be no question that the present owners of land and machinery never will give them up to the people without resistance. The strikers and boycotters are met with the policemen's clubs, the rifle of the militia, and the deadly bullets of the Pinkertons. The history of all times teaches us that the oppressing classes always maintain their tyrannies by force and violence. The right to vote is, in my opinion, a double-edged sword, a most dangerous weapon. It makes the wage-slave believe that he is a freeman, while his enemies use that illusion most effectively to his deception and enslavement. . . . Some day, not twenty-five years from now, the war will break out. There is no doubt about that in my mind. Therefore, all working-men should unite, and prepare for the last war, whose outcome will be the end, forever, of all war, and will bring peace and happiness to all mankind."

They who seek nothing but their own just liberty have always a right to win it and to keep it whenever they have the power, be the voices ever so numerous that oppose it.—*John Milton*.

The most obvious division of society is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the number of the former bear a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that the rich in return is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burthens of the poor. In a state of nature, it is an invariable law that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and invariable that those who labour most enjoy the fewest things, and that those that labour not at all have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things thus strange and ridiculous beyond expression. We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being in the least surprised. . . . Indeed the blindness of one part of mankind, co-operating with the frenzy and villainy of the other, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society. And as their blindness has caused their slavery, in return their state of slavery is made a pretence for continuing them in a state of blindness.—*Edmund Burke*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE. BRITAIN.

Two hundred men have been thrown idle by a fire in Kely Colliery, Fifeshire. The owner is insured; and the workers can undergo privation until the machinery restarts.

The Fife and Clackmannan miners have decided to stop work for a fortnight, owing to the refusal of the employers to withdraw the notice of a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

**MIDDLESBOROUGH STEEL-WORKERS.**—The strike has resulted in the manager withdrawing his obnoxious pressure on the men by which he would have separated them from their union, and the men will therefore return to work so soon as the extensions and repairs are completed.

It is reported that the North Eastern Railway Company keep two men employed on a pilot engine at Leeds passenger station fourteen hours every day. As this engine is continuously working in and out of the station among passenger trains and other engines, the dangers of such a system are too apparent to need any words from us to explain them.—*Railway Review*.

**SCOTTISH MINERS' FEDERATION.**—After a protracted sitting on Tuesday, the Scottish Miners' Federation passed the following resolution: "That this conference approves of the policy agreed upon by the men of Fife and Clackmannan, namely, 14 days' holiday, and strongly urges upon the miners throughout the country to adopt five days per week and eight hours per day."

**END OF A STRIKE.**—The strike of the iron-ore labourers employed by the Port-Glasgow Harbour Trust terminated on Thursday. The men struck work about a fortnight ago, to have their wages increased from 6d. to 7d. an hour. The advance was temporarily granted, but was again taken off. At a meeting of a deputation of the men and the Trust, it was agreed to begin work at 6½d. per hour, and the men have resumed.

**THE CHAINMAKERS.**—The result of the 18 months' strike amongst the chainmakers has been that the men have tried co-operation, and find it is the best remedy they have yet used against the oppression of the small petty-fogging masters who have reduced the whole trade to so pitiable a state. They have now good hopes that their long struggle which has entered on a new phase is near its ending.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The outcome of the miners' conference has resulted in the following resolutions being addressed to the owners: "(1) That the working day shall be eight hours from bank to bank in case of single shifts, and seven hours in case of double shifts; (2) That one day's holiday be taken in every week; (3) that there be a week's seepage throughout the country in order to exhaust the surplus stocks and secure 10 per cent. advance in wages." The masters of the district decline to comply with the resolutions.

**SCOTTISH SHALE MINERS.**—At a conference at Broxburn, a series of resolutions was adopted recommending united action at once to obtain the wages taken off in July last, advising miners not to sign contract and rules which demand more than five days per week from individual workmen; and that there should be a general idle day. In regard to the tenancy of houses, the resolution was to the effect that, in event of strikes or lock-outs, companies be not entitled to evict till matters in dispute have been referred to arbitration.

**THE COTTON TRADE.**—Depression is reported in the Lancashire cotton trade. There are several difficulties between masters and workpeople at Blackburn. Over 500 weavers have struck work on the ground of bad material. An agitation is on at Brierfield in the plain printing trade, and a strike is expected. The weavers complain they cannot get to know the length of the pieces they weave. The quarterly reports of the Weavers' Associations state that the number of members has increased, and the union all round is in a better position.

It is stated that, in the hope of doing something "to bridge over the gulf which separates class from class in London," a sum of two hundred pounds per annum has been guaranteed for five years to support a mission for the benefit of the men employed at the Great Eastern Railway at Stratford. Without saying a word against this or any other philanthropic mission, we must confess that we cannot see how such efforts, however well intentioned they may be, can bridge over the gulf that separates the classes. So long as railway-magnates, rolling in wealth, grind down their workmen to the lowest pittance, the gulf will not be so easily bridged as some seem to imagine.—*Railway Review*.

**DUNDEE COTTON SPINNERS.**—Many of the spinners who struck work in three Dundee mills on Monday, causing fully 2,000 persons to be thrown idle, have returned to work. At North Dudhope Works so few spinners returned that the works were closed for the day. There are still about 800 persons idle, but the strike may be said to have collapsed, the operatives having returned on the old terms. At an adjourned meeting of Dundee millowners and manufacturers it was reported that about three-fourths of the trade had been waited upon with reference to the proposal to put the works on short time by closing them on Saturdays, and that they were unanimous in favour of the movement. It was agreed to hold another meeting next week, by which time the remaining members of the trade will have been called upon.

The colliers at Northwood Colliery, Hanley, have come out on strike against an order of the manager to discontinue the use of gunpowder in firing shots. The proprietors insist upon the use of gelatine or lime cartridges for blasting purposes, which are said to be proof against explosions; but the men object on the ground that their earnings will be diminished. Why should not the owners be compelled to adopt "all the resources of civilisation" to protect the lives of the miners? Why should the workers be called upon to jeopardise their lives and limbs and the wellbeing of their families, or be taxed out of their starvation wage to provide proper appliances for safe working? These are questions which all those who read this column should seriously consider.

### PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

At the annual meeting of the Ashton and district Miners' Association, held in Bolton last week, Mr. S. Woods, miners' agent, presented a report of the year's operations. It stated that 94 lives were lost in connection with the West Lancashire coalfield during 1886. During 1887 wages had been lower than ever, the average wage of thousands of colliers being 14s. to 16s. per week. There had been 54 local strikes, 18 of them being stated to be the result of either political or petty spite by underground managers.

There is still a vast amount of destitution and distress at Greenwich and Deptford notwithstanding the reported revival of trade. In Greenwich alone there are more than 2000 out of employment, and more than 6000 are in a state of absolute destitution, and the resources of the Guardians are taxed to the utmost. In spite of the most strenuous efforts the distress apparently increases. It is to be hoped that the efforts of the relief committee may be able to cope with the situation, which is very serious.

From Ireland the same dismal tale of trade depression and distress is heard. In Drogheda the building trades are at a standstill, the cotton mills have begun working half-time, the iron works of Messrs. Grendon & Co. have been working half-time for months past. In the Arran Islands the distress is so great that there is talk of the Irish Executive starting relief-works and providing seed potatoes for the islanders.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 106,969, of whom 60,549 were indoor and 46,420 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,998 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,939 over 1885, and 10,366 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,136, of whom 1,044 were men, 144 women, and 48 children under sixteen.

**HOW PAUPERS ARE FED.**—At a meeting of a Welsh Board of Guardians Mr. Murray Browne, Government inspector, said some of the inmates complained of the fish dinners. Mr. Cornelius Morgan, guardian, said the dietary of the paupers had not been revised for 32 years, and hasty pudding, which was given for dinner, he considered no better than paperhangers' paste. He had heard the poor people curse the house, and it was no wonder they would rather starve in the ditch than enter its portals. A committee was appointed to revise the diet.

**LABOUR STATISTICS.**—In 1884 a statistician, Mr. Giffen, wrote a pamphlet, "The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century," in which occurs the following: "While the money wages have increased, the hours of labour have diminished. . . . The workman gets from 50 to 100 per cent. more money for 20 per cent. less work; in round figures he has gained from 70 to 120 per cent. in fifty years in money return." The work was written in the nature of a brief, and the writer proved that the working classes ought to be very happy and contented, and study how best to spend their earnings. The consciences of the capitalists were eased, and Mr. Gladstone sent congratulations to the learned economist who so clearly showed that "the war of the land nationaliser and socialist [with a little s] is not so much with the capitalist as with the workman." We have now a Labour Bureau. A blue-book has been issued from that establishment which shows further light on the "great progress of the working classes." Opinion greatly differs as to this progress. The editor of the *Birmingham Gazette*, dealing with the subject, says: "Taken collectively, the labour statistics hardly support the theory that wages are higher to-day than they were forty or fifty years ago. The markets have grown more crowded, trade has in some cases declined or become temporarily stagnant, foreign competition has become keener, and the machine has taken the place of the man." Some of the unemployed who have the misfortune to walk the streets day after day seeking work can give the best answer to the statistician.

### THE EVILS OF OVERTIME.

The leading principle of unionism as applied to the hours of labour is, and always has been, that all work obtained in the market should, as far as possible, be shared amongst its members. From our point of view it is therefore in the highest degree impolitic and unfair for one body of men to work beyond the normal day whilst others have no employment at all. The above view of the matter may be open to the charge of sentimentality, but we think if the trades give the question a thorough investigation they will discover that it is to the highest interest of all that there should be as few men as possible totally without work. The pressing wants of a family cannot be ignored; they are painful to witness and to share, and frequently drive men to accept conditions of labour and wages which their manly nature would under other circumstances repudiate and resist. The unemployed in a trade consequently constitute a standing danger to the upkeep of wages and other labour interests. We have always insisted, and we have never had reason to doubt the truth of our contention, that the lessening of the hours of labour, so far as is consistent with the general prosperity of the trades, is the most substantial gain that the working classes have acquired through the force of their organisations. If, however, the normal number of hours for a day's work is only taken advantage of to increase the opportunities for overtime, those who are parties to such an evasion are guilty of the betrayal of the best interests in their order. We have been informed of the painful truth that many workmen who should know better are themselves in favour of overtime, and miss no opportunity of adding to their regular income by this unfair and unpatriotic practice. We earnestly appeal to all the trades concerned to make a systematic effort to do away with the overtime system as quickly and as effectually as it is in their power to do. This should be done with care and prudence, in order, if possible, to avoid strikes or serious disputes in carrying out the terms of the resolution. The Congress which passed this resolution also expressed a desire for the further reduction of the working hours to a total of 48 per week. There are trades that have in some districts already brought this about by their own energy and self-sacrifice in the past. While overtime is so general, it is, however, mere hypocrisy to talk of establishing an eight hour scheme. We have the power, if we like to use it, to kill this vicious system of overtime. Let us, therefore, set about it, as an earnest of our genuine desire to really shorten the working week. Until we do so it is futile to plead that we are sincere in asking for an eight hours day.—*Monthly Report, Iron Moulders, Scotland.*

R. L. (West Calder).—The labour notes unfortunately arrived too late for publication. Your offer gladly accepted. Please send in time to reach here on Tuesday.—T. BINNING.

It is wonderful that all people cannot see that if certain members of the community wax rich upon monopolies and privileges not enjoyed by the rest of the community, it is the rest of the community that has to pay for same. So long as we have rich idlers, so long there must be poor workers. It is not to be wondered at that the rich object to any and all reforms which might interfere with their privileges; but it is wonderful that the down-trodden workers do not rise in their might and demand the immediate abolition of all those monopolies which rob them to enrich a privileged few.—*Our Commonwealth.*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

A fortnight ago, Jean Baptiste André Godin, the founder of the world-known Familistere, died at Guise (Aisne Department). He was born at Esquéhères, in the same department, on January 26, 1817, as the son of a poor agricultural labourer, who also had a small locksmith's workshop. At the early age of ten, he was obliged to leave the primary school of his village and became a locksmith's apprentice. At seventeen he made the usual *tour de France*, travelling from town to town to become a skilled artisan. This happened at the time when the ideas of Fourier and Saint Simon began to spread amongst the proletariat, then suffering very heavily from the effects of the industrial revolution brought about by the introduction of machinery, and young Godin soon became a Socialist of the Fourier school. He then started in his native village a small locksmith's shop, and his business succeeded rapidly owing to an invention of his, consisting in the use of cast-iron instead of sheet-iron or plate for heating apparatus. Six years afterwards, 1846, he worked with forty companions, who shared in the profits of his trade, at the same time transferring his works to Guise, which have gone on extending till now over 8,000,000 kilogrammes of cast-iron are produced yearly. After the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III., the Phalansterians made an appeal in order to raise a fund for the creation of a Communist colony in America (Texas), and Godin at once subscribed one-third of his fortune. The experiment, under the leadership of Victor Considérant, one of the most brilliant disciples of Fourier, proved a failure, and Godin resolved to try by himself the realisation of his favourite ideas. In the month of April, 1859, he laid the foundations of his Familistere, which he then extended year after year up to its present achievement. In 1878, he definitely associated his fellow-workers, numbering 1,800, in the whole concern, leaving them co-proprietors of the social palace, of the factories, the invested and rolling capital, etc. Besides, by his last will, he *restitutes* to them the six million francs they have helped him to win. He was not only a practical business man, but also a Socialist theoriser who propagated his ideas in numerous writings, of which the following may be quoted here:—'Social Questions,' 'The Nature of Government,' 'Wealth in use for the People,' 'The Socialists and the Right of Labour,' 'National Mutuality,' 'Social Mutuality,' 'The Familistere of Guise,' 'The Revision of the Constitution,' 'International Arbitration and European Disarmament,' 'Inquiry on the Working-men's Associations,' 'Work and Consumption,' 'National Heredity opposed to State Heredity,' 'Extinction of Pauperism by means of National Mutuality,' 'Transformation of Universal Suffrage,' etc.

On Sunday, the 22nd inst., a brute whose brains have been deteriorated by the stupid clerical education which he received, and also by the large quantities of alcohol which he has been in the habit of absorbing, fired two shots from a revolver at our friend Louise Michel, while she was lecturing at Le Havre in support of the Socialist paper *L'Idée Ouvrière* (The Worker's Ideas), which is published in that town. One of the bullets tore her ear, and the other entered her head and has not as yet been extracted. The hole in the temporal bone is a large and ugly one, and should there be internal inflammation recovery would in all probability become impossible. As she is courageously battling against her wounds, and shows not the slightest sign of depression but remains bright and lively as usual, we earnestly hope that she will recover. In her magnanimity, Louise Michel wrote to the wife of her would-be assassin that she would try to get him out of trouble, and she is doing her best for him. The whole press (I mean the bourgeois press) has been obliged to acknowledge the courage and the disinterestedness of Louise Michel, and it is quite true, as was stated, that in point of sentiment, in pluck, in generosity, in fortitude, and tenderness of heart, she is the greatest human being of her age. Again we express the most hearty wishes for her complete recovery.

## GERMANY.

At Hamburg, the police have lately burnt about twenty thousand kilogrammes of Socialistic literature, newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets, seized in the course of last year. Happily it is only the paper which has been spoiled, the spirit remains among the comrades, and that's all we want.

At Freiberg, in Briagau, five Socialists have been sentenced to eight, five, four, three, and two months' jail respectively, for having received from Switzerland and spread in various parts of Germany large quantities of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, of Zurich.

A trade paper, *Der Schneider* (The Tailor) has been suppressed at Altona, one of the blessed nooks of German soil held under state of siege by Bismarck, the best promoter of Socialism in the country and even in Europe. At Berlin, a pamphlet entitled *Anti-Sklaverei* (Anti-Slavery) and a leaflet entitled *Zum 18 Januar* (the 18th January), met with the same fate. Also a paper called *Pfälzischen Freie Presse* (The Palatinate Free Press).

Next week I shall have something to say upon the speeches made in the German Reichstag by the Socialist deputies, Singers, Bebel, and others, on the ugly business of the international blood-hounds, entertained and fed all over Europe by the Iron Chancellor and Puttkammer, his faithful servant.

## HOLLAND.

A new paper, entitled *De Anarchist*, has been started at the Hague without special editorship. Every one who cares to do so can write in it. I fail to understand this method of journalism, and although I have the best wishes for the paper's welfare, I fear it won't last long; at any rate, in that shape.

V. D.

## "We are all Socialists now."

The word Socialism is in the last degree ambiguous, or if my reader pleases, elastic. In one sense it includes not only all critical investigations into the progress, the arrest, and the retrogression of civilisation, but any effort which individuals, governments, or communities make in the direction of detecting social mischief, and in providing remedies against that which they discover. It is also possible to include under the Socialist hypothesis any religious movement which has intended to benefit humanity generally, any theory of the philosopher from Plato to Herbert Spencer, which disputes the excellence of present arrangements, and propounds more or less drastic remedies for discovered and reputed evils, and any effort which governments and legislators have attempted and carried out with a view to controlling and modifying individual action. In short, all that people call *Altruism* may be called Socialist action.—*Thorold Rogers.*

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

A few more details about the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. This benevolent public carrier, for whose benefit Mayor Hewitt of New York found it necessary to say a few words by declaring the Knights of Labour to be a combination of highwaymen and robbers, belongs to the Coal Trust. The Coal Trust is a combination of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, the Delaware Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company. The anthracite coal regions of the State of Pennsylvania are completely under the control of this combination. From time to time the presidents of the different companies meet, and over a champagne lunch or a dinner determine how much coal shall be mined during the year, who shall be permitted to mine it, and who shall carry it, and how high a price they might dare to charge the public. During the past year they decided to mine only 35 million tons of coal to keep up the price. This decision involved the shutting down of the mines for several months, thereby throwing thousands of men out of work. But what does a miners' happiness signify to a railroad president? Plenty of men to be had at any price. Coal is sold in New York at 7 dols. a ton; the miners get about 60 cents for producing it. Now a word or two about the Labour organisation. In 1875 the working-men's Benevolent Association, which at one time embraced nearly all the miners in the Pennsylvania coal region, was broken up, after a five months' struggle with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. The men surrendered unconditionally, and resumed work upon terms which they had scornfully rejected months before. During the succeeding ten years there was no miners' organisation in the coal region. In the summer of 1883 George Harris, now State president of the Amalgamated Association of Miners, came into the coal region and made a fruitless effort to organise the men. He returned early in the spring of 1885, and met with better success. Inside of a month the miners of the whole county were organised. Then the reorganisation of the Knights of Labour was begun, and in the course of a year fully two-thirds of the miners became enrolled under its banners. A new schedule of wages was adopted in April 1887. A strike was contemplated for May 1st, but postponed to more opportune time. Finally it was agreed that a demand for a general advance of fifteen per cent. should be made on the 1st of September 1887. The Reading Company compromised by granting an advance of 8 per cent. The Lehigh operators refused to enter the agreement. The Lehigh miners went out on strike in September. The Reading Company agreed to pay the advance during 1887, but would do so no longer after new year. These are the two bodies now fighting each other; there is still the revolt of the employés of Reading Railroad, the details of which I reported to you in previous letters. The strikers are as buoyant as ever, and continue firm in the belief that the strike will terminate in their favour.

The condition of the Lehigh strike is also unchanged. The Lehigh Valley Coal and Navigation Company operates the ten collieries in the southern coal-fields of Pennsylvania. With one small exception, every one of the collieries, employing about 30,000 men, is at present idle, and has been since the 10th September last. For years the Lehigh miners as a rule have worked and been treated like slaves, and even where constantly employed have been allowed to earn only enough to keep body and soul together.

The sentence of one year's hard labour against Paul Grottkau, editor of the Milwaukee *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, has been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. Grottkau agitated for the eight hours movement and spoke on the 3rd May 1886 in Milwaukee, counselling moderation. Riots occurred a few hours afterwards, in consequence of which Grottkau was indicted. The first jury disagreed; the second about a year ago sentenced him to the above term. Such is ever the fate of the moderates.

The strike in Louisville of printers, including the *Journal* office, will necessitate another assessment from the printers of the country.

The International Bricklayers Convention, in session at Boston, decided that hereafter bricklayers will refuse to lay bricks for any man who employs non-union men during a strike.

Work has been suspended indefinitely on the rail department of the Allentown, Pa., Rolling Mill, and 150 employés are idle in consequence.

Thousands of employés were thrown out of work in the shoe-shops of North Adams, Mass., through the strike of the lasters.

Typographical Union 2 have ordered out all the job-printers in mixed offices in Philadelphia.

The demands of the locomotive-engineers made upon the Santa Fé road have with slight modifications been acceded to, putting an end to any possibility of a strike.

There will be no general strike of the cigar-makers in New York. Most of the firms are making arrangements with the workers.

The striking steam-pipe and boiler-felters met and reported that six more of the men had formed a co-operative firm, and had plenty of work to attend to. This makes four of these firms organised since the strike, and all doing well.

New York, January 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members.**—On Monday next, Feb. 6, the usual meeting of the London Members will be held, on which occasion special business will be laid before them.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st of March by May 1st.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Jan. 26, a successful social evening, when five new members were elected. CLEBKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 25, J. Lane on "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought," and on Sunday, Jan. 29, W. B. Parker, on "What the Workers want, and how to get it." Good audiences and useful discussions.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday at 8, meeting at Fulham Cross, Tochatti and Smith spoke. Sunday morning, Walham Green meeting addressed by Catterson Smith. In evening another meeting held by the Hammersmith choir, Tochatti, and Day; Kitz afterwards lectured in our rooms on "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint." Good audience. We intend during the winter to give up our station at Fulham Cross, and to speak every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green.—S. B. G.

HOXTON.—Pope and Parker held a good meeting here last Sunday morning. Commonwealth sold well.

GLASGOW.—Sunday at 2 o'clock, Gilbert and Glasier held meeting at St. George's Cross. At 4 o'clock, Glasier lectured to the Young Ireland Society; lively discussion followed. Objectors were answered to entire satisfaction of audience. At 7 o'clock a large audience listened to the exposition of Socialism for two hours by Pollock, Glasier, and Downie in the Infirmary Square; slight opposition. Good sale of Commonwealth.—S. D.

NORWICH.—We held one outdoor meeting on Sunday in Market Place, audience listening attentively for over an hour, notwithstanding weather; at Gordon Hall in evening, Mowbray concluded series of lectures on "Is Socialism Sound?" Houghton in chair. Fair sale of Commonwealth.—S.

WALSALL.—On Monday, E. Guillemard lectured on "A Workman's Life in France," dealing with the subject in a most able manner.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, Jan. 28, J. McConnell lectured on "Technical Education," from the employers' standpoint. The Socialist view of the subject was ably put by Fitzpatrick; Schumann also spoke.

EDINBURGH.—On 29th, James Mavor lectured on "Schemes of Industrial Progress."

NOTTINGHAM.—We were nearly boycotted Sunday last. When we went in the afternoon to the hall we could not get in. It was only after a deal of talk that they let us have the place at night, as we had advertised the lectures. However, J. Sketchley spoke to a good audience upon "Socialism the only efficient remedy for existing social wrongs."—W. D.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Athenaeum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road. Annie Besant (Fabian Society) will lecture on "Socialism, Old and New," on Thursday Feb. 2, at 5 p.m. Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30, Quarterly Business Meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sun. Feb. 5, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday 8, at 8.30, Annie Besant "Communalisation of Industry." Sun. 12. H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wed. 15, H. H. Sparling, a lecture.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green.

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 5, at 8 p.m. Wm. Clarke (Fabian Society), "Quack Solutions of the Land Problem."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 5, J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." Feb. 12, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 5, at 6.30, Andrew Dewar on "Trade Depressions: their Cause and their Cure." On February 12, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism."

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

Glasgow.—81 Glasgow St. Reading Room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Prof. Inglis Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8.

Leeds.—17 Cheamers St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

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

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 5.

- 11 Acton Green .....Hammersmith Branch
11.15 Starch Green .....The Branch
11.30 Garrett—"Plough Inn" .....The Branch
11.30 Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Wade & Pope
11.30 Merton—Haydons Road .....The Branch
11.30 Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch
11.30 Regent's Park .....Nicoll
11.30 St. Pancras Arches .....The Branch
11.30 Stamford Hill .....Parker
11.30 Walham Green .....Fulham Branch
3 Hyde Park .....Parker

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

EAST LONDON SOCIALIST CLUB.—Special notice to the members and delegates of the Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stoke Newington branches.—A meeting will be held at the Commonwealth Office on Friday evening February 3rd, to consider very important business—time, 8.30 prompt.

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Meeting held at 20 Newman Street, Saturday Jan. 28; Coras read a paper on "Socialism and Individuality." Discussion followed, and several new members made. On Saturday Feb. 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 5, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

February 4 . . . BERNER ST., COMMERCIAL RD. Applications for engagements to be made to Manager. H. A. Barker

The Lamp

AN ENTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on Saturday February 18, at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme—price Threepence.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

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Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

Chicago Martyrs.

THE HAYMARKET SPEECH OF ALBERT R. PARSONS. Delivered at the Haymarket on May 4, 1886, and repeated by him before the jury. Paper, 6d.

THE FACTS CONCERNING THE EIGHT CONDEMNED LEADERS. By Leon Lewis. Paper, 6d.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE TRIAL. Taken from the Official Records. By Dyer D. Lum. Paper, 1s. 6d.

THE ACCUSED: THE ACCUSERS. Famous Speeches of the Eight Anarchists at the Trial. Paper, 1s. 1d.

AUGUST SPIES' AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Containing Portraits of August Spies and Nina Van Zandt Spies. Paper, 1s.; cloth, 2s. 8d.

WAS IT A FAIR TRIAL? By Gen. M. M. Trumbull. Paper, 6d.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

CABINET OF A. R. PARSONS as "THE CARPENTER OF WAUKESHA." (Parsons as he appeared while working as a carpenter at Waukesha, Wis., where he sojourned seven weeks after his escape from Chicago.) Each, 1s.

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