

THE COMMONWEALTH

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. COMMISSIONER KERR deserves to be long remembered for the language of his sentence on our friend Gough. Mrs. Gamp at her best could hardly have achieved a greater success than this remarkable production: that is, as regards its manner: as to its matter, Mr. Commissioner Kerr finds it extraordinary that anyone, still more several persons, could be found to swear that the police were—well, mistaken—in asserting that the prisoner committed an assault on a constable's—helmet. Amazing indeed that any citizen should venture on such boldness as flying in the face of police evidence after all that has passed during the last three months! I remember being rather surprised when a policeman who shoved me in the Thames Street Police-court swore that I hit him; but I was not much alarmed, because I thought that a serious citizen's word would weigh at least as heavily as that of an excited policeman. We have changed all that now, and witnesses who contradict police evidence had better nerve themselves against indictment for perjury.

At the same time our comrade Gough must be congratulated for not being tried by Edlin, who would probably, after praising him for his good character and admonishing him for his rashness, have given him six months. Considering the times we are in, he probably thinks himself lucky in getting off with a month for *not* hitting a policeman. Great are the blessings of law and order certainly, yet it is now as in the days of David, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

This morning (Feb. 18th) the Government of the British Islands won a great and notable victory: the friends of two citizens who had been imprisoned for trying to speak on a piece of public land proposed to meet them and greet them at a tolerable early hour as they came out of prison, the hour being the usual time for such release and at which it was announced that they would be released. By a stupendous exertion of strategy the prison officials thrust out the prisoners an hour and a half before the appointed time, so that many of the friends aforesaid missed seeing the prisoners, and, triumph of triumphs, John Burns had to wait about the neighbourhood of the prison for his wife for some time! Such preposterous shabbiness shows how low prison life will bring the officials connected with it: the poor devils have to spend their days in carrying out the multitudinous petty tortures of the place, whose aggregate makes up a severe torture enough, and one can scarcely wonder at any shabbiness that they may perpetrate. But just to think of all the elaboration of officialism, the wheels within wheels, the whole force of army, navy, and police, not to mention the judges, lawyers, etc., brought to bear upon such a shabby little trick! For indeed it takes all that to do it.

Ireland has carried the day in eloquence at least, and the speech of William O'Brien will be long remembered as a mark in the record of her rebellion. Mr. Balfour must receive the kind of praise for moral courage and self-restraint for not answering him the same evening, which a duellist does who manages to walk away from the field of honour without drawing his sword; it was almost *too* courageous. Doubtless he thought it well to wait till the effect of O'Brien's speech had worn off a little, but the alternative was not very happy after all, and the effect of O'Brien's speech remains.

The Liberals have at last won an undoubted victory in the big majority in Southwark; but the big majority still remains against them in the House of Commons, and they may chasten their exultation by remembering that Disraeli pulled the string of the shower-bath upon him owing to the encouragement which the Southwark bye-election of that year gave him.

In any case how will they spend the time between the time of the hope of office and its fulfilment? Probably in thinking of nothing political except electioneering; as for other matters they will go on hoping that "things will come round and be all square." If they were wise (as they are not), they would reflect that though the relief from the very worst to something not quite so bad will give them a chance of popularity, yet the present period of resolute government has bred discontent that is gathering hopes and ideas, and that a com-

promise with the Irish demands, followed by masterly inactivity, will not satisfy those hopes or smother the ideas; so that they also will have their own crop of discontent to deal with.

The reception of the prisoners of liberty on the evening of the 18th was most enthusiastic, and the meeting was in every way remarkable. It is needless to say that both Burns and Graham spoke heartily and to the purpose, though their voices had been thinned down by "prison discipline." Mr. Blane, M.P. (condemned to four months for the usual "crime"), made a very favourable impression on the meeting by a speech full of friendliness and good feeling, which was far more advanced and less national than the conventional Irish member's speeches are wont to be. The tremendous cheers that greeted him on rising, however, were obviously given to him as a rebel. It is worth noting also that while the cheers for the rebels, both Irish and English, nearly took the roof off the hall, Mr. Gladstone's name was only cheered by a small minority of those present, and that when the said minority seemed inclined to persist an ominous boing arose, which did not cease till the cheering ceased.

The meeting held on Monday to welcome Graham and Burns was a very remarkable one, and in most respects very satisfactory. But whatever differences of opinion there might be between different sections of the audience, some of them need reminding that a meeting assembled to defend freedom of speech should allow a hearing to any one who may differ from them, and that though they had a right to express their disapprobation of Hyndman's speech, they had no right to prevent other people hearing him. For the rest the fact to which he drew attention was obvious enough; it would have been strange indeed if the meeting had separated without noting that the Liberal and Radical members were conspicuous for their paucity,—if nobody had called attention to the conspiracy of silence on the part of the orthodox party (which aspires to be popular) on the subject of the Tory dragooning. Hyndman's indignation was felt by many other persons who had no opportunity of expressing it. W. M.

The reported secret understanding between this country and Italy, by which Lord Salisbury is said to have pledged the English navy to defend the Italian Court in the event of war, is, if true, as fraught with import for the fortunes of the Government as the Coercion Act itself. Should war break out, and France be involved, as she probably would be in the long run, the Briton might easily find the second navy in the world arrayed against him, and French gunboats and ironclads in unpleasant proximity to his "island home." A French invasion in the shape of a landing is a thing hardly to be thought of, but it is by no means unlikely that open coast towns like Brighton or even Liverpool might receive a few shells, sufficient in any case to make the "brass-headed jewesses" of the Queen of Watering-places and the self-made men of the northern metropolis feel a little queer. They doubtless only require to realise this fact in order to discover that a change of administration is indispensable to the interests of the country. E. B. B.

PRISONERS FOR LIBERTY.

THE days of receptions here in England are only just beginning. We have had a whole week of them, beginning with Sullivan and O'Brien, and ending with Burns, Graham, Culwick, Leggett, and others. The gathering together of thousands of workers to greet them is a greater assurance that their labours are appreciated than the presentation of any number of illuminated addresses by political hacks ever could be.

There has been a most remarkable oneness of purpose about these magnificent demonstrations. Cunninghame Graham, on Saturday night "called upon every man, whether he called himself Radical, Socialist, Liberal, Communist, or even Tory, to take his part in the great Battle of Freedom which had commenced." And such a heterogeneous body as this has been fired with one purpose (the last-named element perhaps only to a very small extent)—the determination to secure, if not that full freedom for which Socialists labour, at any rate that out of which it must grow, namely freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

Burns, Graham and others, have attempted to secure this small measure of freedom, and for so doing have been sent to prison, one of them with his skull cracked. Monstrous as this is, we are reminded

that their sufferings are small indeed compared with other champions of the cause of the people. We should be unworthy of the freedom we hope to enjoy did we not recognise this, and to the credit of Burns be it said, that he at any rate had courage enough to acknowledge that his month's imprisonment was as nothing to "the ten years' imprisonment of Michael Davitt, the two years of Ernest Jones, the fifty years of Blanqui, or the sufferings of Kropotkin." To and from prison these have gone, marking the way that labour shall win its own, and amidst chains, and shouts and tears, to and fro many more will go until life and liberty be won for all.

It is satisfactory to note how bludgeons and coercion are driving the workers all together, how it is making them march together behind one banner, be it green or red, recognising the mutuality of their interests, if only for the time being. Is this the beginning of that solidarity which must precede their triumph over privilege and monopoly? Surely yes; surely they at last begin to see the oneness of their cause! One thing their rulers see and they must see as well, and that is, that behind the question of free-speech lurks the great labour question. It is the rights of labour, that is the right to a good joyful life, which is at stake, the securing of which is only possible when the so-called rights of property no longer exist. Privilege and monopoly know this and hope to stave off extinction with the bayonet, bludgeon, and prison. And they will succeed if the workers do not rouse themselves and think and work. But these are stirring times, and the great arousing that is taking place just now is a sign that the struggle between the masses and the classes has at last begun in earnest. The tithes and crofter questions in Wales and Scotland, the land, unemployed, and free-speech questions in Ireland and England, are all manifestations of its beginning.

To win their rights the workers must voice their wrongs, and to do this they must meet in the public places that they may take council together; and whatever differences, small or great, they may have as to the end to be realised, they must first remove the barrier which stands between them and the righting of any of their wrongs. Our friends Graham and Burns have headed the way and done their best to remove it, and had there been "10,000" to follow them, all the king's horses and all the king's men could not have set up the humpty dumpty of Warren again. But their efforts have not been in vain; the repulse they have met has, to use the words of Graham, given the workers "a common cry for a common wrong," the end of which will not only be the vindication of the right to meet in Trafalgar Square and other public places, but the closer communion which the "common cry" has brought about will hold them together long after their first wrong has been righted—aye, likely until they have completely emancipated themselves.

It is only the ordinary political huckster that undervalues the vast importance of the present struggle, but men like Graham and Burns fully recognise it; and this they and nearly every speaker which followed them last Saturday night showed by pointing out that it is not freedom of speech that the classes fear, but what it must lead to.

The atmosphere which pervaded the great gathering which met to welcome Burns, Graham, Culwick, and others reeked with revolution, and this although the majority of the speakers were not professed revolutionists. Perhaps the spirit of revolution is contagious, else why was it that an ex-M.P. and an Irish Nationalist M.P. pronounced themselves so strongly for it? The fact of the matter is there has been much painful eye-opening going on lately outside the orthodox political camps, and a great widening of the mental vision in consequence. The workers are growing tired of lame old crawling and jog-trotting politicians, and are beginning to see the advisability of becoming their own political "knackers"; that it is time they did their own work, dirty or clean though it be; and in doing so they will make a deuce of a mess in the stable-yard of politics.

Those who stand in the vanguard of the battle for liberty, as all the men we have been welcoming from prison this last week do, are the friends of the people, and who when they are tried are not found wanting. And "these are the times that try men," and all the host of men who are in and have been in prison for championing the cause of the workers are indeed real soldiers of Freedom. They may not any of them come up to the Socialist ideal, but they are on the side of the workers, and it is the business of Socialists to keep them there. Sullivan, O'Brien, and Graham are not Socialists, but they are fighting their battles, and so long as they do it is the duty of Socialists to fight with them. The day of parting may never come, for the struggle for freedom may not be ended ere their lives.

H. A. BARKER.

THE NEW ETHIC.

(Concluded from p. 51.)

THE highest expression of Socialist morality, Socialist religion, is of course the readiness to sacrifice all, even life itself, for the cause. In the new ethic of Socialism, moreover—and this is a thing to be noticed—we have for the first time in the world's history the conscious sacrifice of the individual to the social whole. In the case of the French National Guard before mentioned, we have the type of this true moral heroism. Early man was ready enough to fall for his tribe or gens, but then he had not awakened to the full consciousness of himself as an independent individual. He was so completely identified with his society that he could not conceive of his having an independent interest or even of life apart from it.

It is not so now. In the world of to-day the self-consciousness of

the individual *quâ* individual is fully developed. The Paris workman consciously surrendered himself; the contradiction between the content of his moral personality and its form is absolute—the form succumbs. *La solidarité Humaine*, the Social ethic, has triumphed over Individualism; the Personal ethic. The Paris workman, in deliberately exposing himself to certain death, believing in no personal immortality, in no sort of continued existence for himself as individual, for the sake of the cause of human brotherhood, embodies the highest expression of the new ethic the world has yet seen. Martyrs to the individualist-introspective religions there have been without number, martyrs who believed that while their pain endured but for a moment, their joy would be everlasting—in brief, that their souls would rise to higher realms, their personality to union with the Divinity. All very fine, all very noble, doubtless, but without a gleam of aught but sublimated Individualism, and rarified self-seeking. How different the workman who died willingly for his class and through his class for Humanity!

Let us now take a glance once again at our Benthamite Utilitarian friends who see nothing in morality but self-interest. The belief that in the *ought* of conscience there is any element that is not personal and individual (the Spencerite modification of the theory by incorporating with it the notion of heredity does not affect my case)—this belief they tell you is an illusion, and in confirmation thereof point to the stamp of self-interest which every action on the part of the individual apparently bears upon its face. Now I contend that the illusion is on the other side, and consists in confounding the merely superficial form of the action with its *end*, the motive-material which is its content. This barren abstract form has deceived them. Their proceeding is exactly merely analogous to that of the metaphysician who thinks he has made a profound discovery when he has reduced everything to the barren category of Pure Being. Of course every action emanating from the individual bears on it the stamp of its source. But the enunciation of this singularly empty proposition leaves us exactly where we were. What the ordinary person means by self-interest is not merely that the action begins with the individual, but that it ends there, that its *telos* is the personality. As in a great many similar cases, by a verbal juggle two distinct things are confounded in one. To say that I am actuated by self-interest when I with others place myself in front of a mitrailleuse, with the dead certainty of having my empirical self annihilated, and without any belief in any immortality whatever,—to say that this is self-interest, that I do it to please myself, is either the flattest of all platitudes, or else it is a piece of the wildest Bedlamite nonsense. It may be either, according as we take it; the truth being that in this case the motive-material, the content of the action, has absorbed and abolished its form. The individual in that very act of Will by which he apparently affirms himself—"pleases himself"—*really* negates himself, contradicts himself, and *a fortiori* the interest or pleasure which is identified with himself. Of course the example chosen, that of the deliberate choice of immediate death for a cause into the realisation of which the individual as individual does not enter, is an extreme one, but the same principle holds good in the case of working for such a cause—that is, sacrificing personal pleasure and interest for results which we know we shall never see. Here, though the form of self-interest is not immediately abolished, the individual does not negate himself as in the former instance, yet nevertheless he supersedes his interest as individual, the material of impulses and motives proclaims the inadequacy of their form. The man who works for such a cause tacitly admits the inadequacy of himself as an end to himself. And this brings us back to the point from which we started, and therewith to our concluding summary of the results of this investigation.

First, then, we find that the meaning of the *ought* or of conscience, of the moral impulse, "moral sense," moral consciousness, or by whatever other name it may be called, is nothing more nor less than the implicit or explicit consciousness of the inadequacy of the individual and his interests as an end to himself. This consciousness is presupposed in the existence of Human Society at all. But while this fact is ultimate, the forms of it, the manifestation of the moral consciousness, no less than its object, are determined by the conditions of social and economic evolution. At first the "society of kinship" is the end of all duty, the individual implicitly conscious of his own inadequacy, is sunk in the society, knows and cares for no existence outside the society. This is from the Socialist point of view the highest morality which up till now has been generally prevalent in the world. But with the break-up of early society with its kinship basis, with the rise of the State with its property basis, and the leisure thence resulting, the old ethical object of the individual gradually lost its power. He no longer recognised his end in the society, but rather in himself—either as a natural individual or as a spiritual individual. Hence arose the two systems of Individualistic ethic, which, though infinitely varied, have remained fundamentally the same from then till now. On the one hand, amongst the well-to-do, you have, as it were, a light froth, the Epicurean-Benthamite ethic of enlightened self-interest. On the other the Stoic-Christian ethic of personal holiness and sin. This is fundamentally the same, whether in Neo-Platonist, Buddhist, Parsee, or Christian. It boasts an enormous literature, from the noble musings of a Marcus Aurelius, the Sermon on the Mount, and the 'Imitatio Christi,' down (and verily, great is the fall!) to the last goody-goody volume of edification issued by Messrs. Griffith and Farran or Nisbet & Co. The morality of the early world was a naively objective ethic; this is a naively subjective ethic.

The consciousness of a new meaning to the term goodness is now gradually dawning on men. The Christian and the introspectionist even (and this is one of the surest signs of a change) are driven on

the defensive and feel themselves compelled to try and read a social meaning into the personal ethics of their creed. The old ethical sentiment they instinctively feel has exhausted itself and is passing over into its opposite, although its form may remain intact. The end is now no longer self-renunciation, but the identification of self interest with social interest. Evil tendencies are on this view to be combated rather by means of their *exhaustion* than their *suppression*. We are now beginning to see that any morality of which self-renunciation is an end, or even an essential element, is one-sided and fallacious. In a concrete ethic, self-sacrifice can never be more than an accident, the substance of such ethic consisting, as before said, not in the suppression of self, but in the affirmation of self in society. By this is not especially to be understood the "living for others" of the current Christian ethics, which at best means sacrificing oneself for other *individuals*, as such. What we mean is, we must again repeat, the identification of self with society, which in the first instance can only be effected by the identification of the material conditions of individual wellbeing with those of society.

Now at last, with the dawn of a new economic era—the era of social production for social uses—we have also the dawn of a new ethic, an ethic whose ideal is not personal holiness, but social happiness, for which the perfect individual is subordinate to the perfect society, and the test of personal character is not self-renunciation in the abstract, but the possession of social qualities and zeal for definite and positive social ends. This may be termed, in a sense, an absolute ethic. It is no longer naïvely objective, like the ethic of the primitive world, when the individual was unconscious of possible interests apart from the community; still less is it naïvely subjective, the attention of the individual being no longer primarily directed towards the mortification or the performance of other surgical operations on his wretched self, but towards the broad issues of social life and progress. In this new conception of duty the individual consciously subordinates himself to society, this time not a society of kinship, but of principle; not limited by frontier, but world-embracing. It recognises the call of duty, to do and to forbear, only in things which directly concern society—all actions not having an immediate social bearing being morally indifferent.

Thus in the new ethic the two previous ethical momenta are at once absorbed and abolished. The *naïveté* and the limitation of the first social ethic have passed away, never to return. The Individualism and the abstractness of the second have also passed away, never to return. The separation of ethics from politics, and both from religion, is finally abolished. In Socialism ethics become political, and politics become ethical, while religion is but the higher—that is, the more far-reaching—aspect of that sense of obligation, duty, and fraternity which is the ultimate bond of every-day society. Yet, nevertheless, all that was vital in the two earlier stages of the moral consciousness will be preserved in this one,—the social object of the first; the conscious definiteness of the second.

In treating the subject of Ethics, I might have proceeded very differently. I might have filled this paper with an account of various practices and customs drawn from every conceivable source—ancient and modern; savage, barbarian, and civilised—and in this way I should doubtless have pleased many. But this has been done often enough, and this was not my object. My object was, by indicating the salient points in a thorough-going analysis of the moral consciousness, to lead the reader to regard Ethic in its essential character and as embodied in the historical races, rather than as many do, content themselves with a mere co-ordination of the casual manifestations which are its temporary and local expressions. Again, I have purposely refrained from entering upon the speculative problems which lie on the confines of the subject. To treat such even in outline would require not one but a series of papers like the present. One very obvious question, for instance, arises as to the *telos* of society, and the connection between the moral consciousness and this *telos*. May we regard the inadequacy of the individual as an end to himself as the indication that the *final purpose* of society, as such, is not to be merely *for* the consciousness of its component personalities, but that they are in the end destined to be absorbed in a corporate social consciousness; just as the separate sentiency of the *organic* components of an animal or human body are absorbed in the unified sentiency and intelligence of that body? We leave this as a closing suggestion for those of a speculative turn of mind.

E. BELFORD BAX.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The immense strike of the coal-miners is assuming a dangerous character—dangerous not for the men, who have nothing to lose but a miserable, wretched existence, but for the middle classes. The passions and hatred of the men are worked up to the highest pitch, and an explosion of a gigantic nature may be daily expected. Sharp strokes of lightning have flashed through the air and shown to an anxious public the terrible dark horizon. Rarely, even in America, a strike has happened where from its early beginning the strikers have assumed so determined and uncompromising an attitude.

Congress has at last been forced to show some interest in the matter, and resolved to appoint a committee to investigate the differences existing in the Lehigh and Schuylkill region of Pennsylvania between corporations mining coal and the miners, and report the same to the House, with such recommendations as the committee may agree upon.

Some mines have been started with scab labour. On the 31st of January the wives and daughters of the striking miners of the Glendower Colliery met the scabs now working at this mine. Each of the women carried in her hand a loaf of bread. A delegate woman of the crowd advanced and read

an address to the scabs about the shame of taking the place of their husbands and brothers, and offering to share their last crust with them. They then, as a proof of their earnestness, offered the loaves to the men, but the scabs thought it best to run away. The women, disgusted with such sneaking action, showered the loaves upon the heads of the running men and chased them to the miners' tram, which arrived just in time to take the sneaks out of the reach of their female pursuers. This was the first collision during the strike. A public meeting was held soon after this episode, and the action of the women endorsed.

The place is swarming with police, detectives, and Pinkertons. At the few mines restarted, all the scabs work under police surveillance. On the 3rd of February the ill-feeling created by the importation of foreign labour into the coal-regions to take the place of strikers has caused the first fight between the police and the strikers. The Polish and Lithuanians engaged in the strike are especially very bitter against all the scabs, and can with difficulty only restrain their angry feelings. When the scabs were leaving work to go home, it seems some stones were thrown at them from a crowd watching their departure. The coal and iron police at once attacked the people and arrested one man, who, however, was speedily liberated by his friends. After this the police at once drew their revolvers, firing into the crowd and seriously injuring three men. The police retired to the office of Squire Monaghan, but were pursued by the people, demanding the surrender of two of the policemen, desiring to lynch them. The house was stormed, and with difficulty the law and order murderers made their escape through the windows. Special officers, or rather legalised murderers, and all the fire companies in the district, were sworn in by the sheriff. Another outbreak occurred on the 4th of February. The scabs returning from work from William Penn colliery had to pass through a crowd of strikers. A few stones were again thrown at the sneaks, which made the cowardly men scatter in all directions. The police at once again drew their revolvers, and as one capitalistic paper says, "when they got right in front of the strikers they halted and facing them, pointed their revolvers at them, most of them having two. The crowd of spectators watched with bated breath for the flash of fire that would send at least a score of the men to eternity—but it did not come. Just as the officers were about to fire, the captain raised his hand and the revolvers fell by their sides. The mob stood still all the time but did not even speak." The scabs had by this time managed to escape, and the police thought it best to follow their example. The strikers, now excited beyond endurance, followed the bluecoats and hurled some stones at them. Then the police halted again, faced the men, and fired. The strikers fired back, and about forty shots were exchanged. Nobody, however, received any serious injury. The police soon after managed to disappear. Half an hour later about sixty policemen armed with repeating rifles appeared upon the scene, but the strikers had gone home; there was no chance to slaughter starving people.

For the last three days no bloodshed has happened, but the excitement in the district is intense, and a feeling of indignation against the police general. The Wyoming miner delegates have finished their session in Pittston. The closing hours of the convention were marked by considerable enthusiasm, which was intensified by an address from John L. Lee, the leader of the Schuylkill strike. The delegates adopted a resolution making an immediate demand upon the coal companies of Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys for an increase in wages of 15 per cent. An answer to this demand is expected on the 20th of this month. The delegates voted 7000 dollars to support the strikers and promised 8000 additional. Each man will contribute a day's wages per month.

The velvet cutters who were imported under contract last spring by the Compton Company, Providence, R.I., are on strike, claiming the contract void and demanding decent wages.

The shoe manufacturers of Cincinnati at a secret meeting of their association, decided to lock out their three thousand employes because the latter decided to send a committee to one firm and demand the payment of wages due twelve girls which the firm refused to pay, after it had been well earned.

A dispatch from Pittsburg says: "As was feared, a collision occurred this evening (the 4th inst.) between the non-union men at the Solar Iron Works and the strikers, in which three persons were injured.

The Speaker of the House has not yet been able to form the committee to investigate the coal trouble. A dozen or more prominent members have begged off.

On the 6th of February the non-union men in Pittsburg were stoned by the strikers.

Thirty-eight families of the striking New York cigar-makers must leave their homes; evictions flourish as much in America as in Ireland.

The strike against the employment of children under the prohibited age in the cotton factories of Cornwall, Ont., continues.

All the carpenters in Pittsburg, Pa., have asked for an advance of 10 per cent. in wages and "a nine-hour day," with payment for overtime.

The masons' strike at Pittsburg has been settled pending an arrangement to be made May 1.

Several large tube-work concerns in the vicinity of Pittsburg, Pa., have decided to reduce the wages of their employes, and a strike involving 6,000 men is threatened.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|--------|
| Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 25 | ... | ... | 36,337 |
| 26...Milwaukee, Wis.—Brewery employes, unionism | ... | ... | 60 |
| 28...Paterson, N. J.—Newspaper employes, for an advance and fewer hours | ... | ... | 25 |
| 29...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Tube works employes, lock-out because of refusal to accept a reduction of wages | ... | ... | 500 |
| Total number of strikers known to January 30 | ... | ... | 36,922 |

LIST OF STRIKES FOR FEBRUARY.

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-------|
| 1...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Wire mill employes, against reduction | ... | ... | 300 |
| 1...Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shoe hands, lock-out because of alleged violation by employees of agreement with manufacturers | ... | ... | 3,300 |
| Total number of strikers known to February 1 | ... | ... | 3,300 |

HENRY F. CHARLES.

New York, February 8, 1888.

In the Pennsylvania strike many thousands of men are idle, and their families suffering from hunger and cold, all by the obstinacy of a few wealthy men, whose income from these industries is each year a fortune.—N. Y. Truthseeker.



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

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

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

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 22.

| ENGLAND | | BELGIUM | |
|------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Anarchist | Boston—Woman's Journal | Ghent—Vooruit | Liège—L'Avenir |
| Justice | Chicago—Yorbot | Milan—Il Fascio Operaio | SWITZERLAND |
| London—Freie Presse | Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer | Geneva—Bulletin Continental | SPAIN |
| Labour Tribune | Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West | El Productor | Madrid—El Socialista |
| The Miner | Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt | Berlin—Volks Tribune | AUSTRIA |
| Norwich—Daylight | N Haven—Workmen's Advocate | Arbeiterstimme | ROUMANIA |
| Railway Review | Providence (R.I.)—The People | Muncitorul | |
| Worker's Friend | St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole | | |
| INDIA | San Francisco (Cal) The People | | |
| Bankipore—Behar Herald | San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung | | |
| UNITED STATES | FRANCE | | |
| New York—Der Sozialist | Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) | | |
| Freiheit | La Revolte | | |
| Truthseeker | L'Echo de la Montagne | | |
| Volkszeitung | Guise—Le Devoir | | |
| | HOLLAND | | |
| | Hague—Recht voor Allen | | |

THE NEWSPAPER NUISANCE.

A RECENT article in the *Commonweal*, by comrade Henderson, on "Wasted Labour," in dealing with various aspects of the general question, touches incidentally upon the particular point of newspaper work, which I propose to treat of more in detail.

It is difficult for me to lay down a newspaper without a feeling of shame at having wasted time over it. The taste for newspaper reading is, I think, a very unwholesome one. It may be better that people should read newspapers than nothing at all, perhaps. It is certainly necessary for us, who believe in a movement that is to change the face of the world, to know from time to time how the world is going on; and I would by no means seek to keep from the poor workman his almost only means of mental relaxation. But as Ruskin strongly says, "Do you not know that if you read this you cannot read that?" There is so much that it behoves a man to read and understand, that time spent upon newspapers is comparatively if not positively wasted.

The ambition of a journal is to be the first in the field with every item of news. This is very well from a commercial point of view, but why this feverish haste, this mad rush to learn the latest news? It reminds one of the old Greeks in the time of their decadence, who were always seeking to hear "some new thing" and scoffed at the earnestness of Paul and at his revolutionary gospel. There is, it seems, some French school of journalists who have discovered what they call the "perspective of journalism," and consider the fact of a cat being run over on the boulevards of more importance than the loss of a thousand lives at the Antipodes. To a Socialist facts are important in proportion as they affect the lives and conditions of mankind as a whole. It is quite possible, too, to conceive that certain events which happened, let us say, about the time of William the Conqueror or even of the Trojan War, are of more importance to us to know and comprehend thoroughly than almost anything now taking place. And why? Because what we have to do, what people have to do in all ages, is to learn how to live, and to get a knowledge of the springs and principles of human action and their results from the most notable and instructive examples to be found. People cannot really understand the significance of the events of to-day, if the events of to-day are all that they ever think of; they stumble about in the sandy soil of unconnected unrelated experiences if their feet are not planted on the rock of universal historical truth. It was a characteristic remark of Thoreau that if he understood a principle of human action he did not care to be pestered with the individual application of it. But, extravagant as the remark may be, it has a solid truth in it, for people are apt to forget the principle entirely in the thoughtless excitement of a nine-day's wonder.

It is implied in what I have said that the modern newspaper is a product of this temporary and transitional state of society, and I have no doubt that before long the newspaper as we understand it will be a thing of the past. There are several reasons why this is a

thing to be hoped for. First, as I have hinted, when people are really educated in the true sense of the word from childhood up, they will cease to care for mere news and hashed-up opinions. Besides, the demand for newspapers nowadays is really a forced one. The news which appears is not half of it given for people's genuine information and enlightenment, but to serve some party political purpose; that is, some commercial purpose. Again, "politics being eliminated," as Lane has it, columns on columns of political speeches, and equally tiresome comments on such speeches, need no longer be painfully printed and published. We may reasonably hope that the law-courts will find less to do when every one is usefully employed, and has no property or useless possession to look after; and it is certain that the existence of property is the bulwark of our legal system. Also, production being carried on for use and not for profit, collectively and not chaotically, advertisements of wares would (it is almost too good to be true) disappear finally and at once. Thus there would be little or nothing left of the newspaper as we understand it. There would be no reason why bulletins should not be issued as far as necessary, giving particulars of social engagements, theatres, concerts, sports, announcements of books, etc., and the promulgation of really original ideas would receive far more encouragement from such a society than it does from this. Really original ideas are the salt of the earth; they are constantly being swamped at present in the resistless current of journalism to order.

But see what a saving of labour would be effected. First, consider the journalists, editors, sub-editors, reporters, and scribblers of all kinds. I am impressed nearly every time I look at a paper with the amount of talent, nay, *genius*, wasted in journalism. Some happy turn of expression, some neatness or felicity of style, shows what a man might have done with plenty of time to write, and no necessity to write about what he thought uninteresting or unimportant. At present, thousands of good literary workmen are compelled to write at high pressure on "topics of the day," or whatever may be given out to them. This is a prostitution of the mental powers; it is obvious that these men sell their brains, as women sell their bodies, for a *livelihood*. The reporters again, who attend the debates of Parliament, law courts, executions, boxing matches, fashionable weddings, etc., perhaps dozens of them in one place, why cannot all their labour be dispensed with?

Moreover, all this unnecessary and poisonous scribbling has to be set up by compositors, pulled off the machines, and go through a variety of processes; the papers are sold by thousands of newsagents and newsboys, all of whose labour is wasted. The same news appears, more or less garbled, in half-a-dozen competing prints every day, and is hashed up afresh every week. The same puffing advertisements appear in all the different papers, the names of different cocoas or soaps being repeated down a whole column perhaps, in the most senseless manner, simple obtuseness being the result aimed at. Surely the people will breathe more freely when a clean sweep is made of all this competitive tomfoolery.

Let me ask any one who thinks this a small matter, to reflect that it is by petty tyrannies like this that the aggregate of misery is made up. To take this burden off the hands of those who now have to bear it would leave them free to help their brothers in other industries. Indeed, it is precisely the *simplification of life* at which we must aim, and it is this which the social revolution will tend to bring about. This does not mean that life will be emptied of whatever we now think makes it endurable or pleasurable; but it means that by removing any useless burden, however small, from the shoulders of the people, we shall leave them free to choose whatever pleasure a simple and natural life desires. And the revolution will not be complete if it leaves anything behind which is not simple, natural, and necessary.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of February was 110,319, of whom 61,307 were indoor and 49,012 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 6,166 over the corresponding week of last year, 9,802 over 1886, and 12,540 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,208, of whom 1,070 were men, 123 women, and 15 children under sixteen.

THE FATE OF A RADICAL RAT.—Mr. Jesse Collings has been "chucked" by the Allotments Association. The society was of his own creating; its early meetings were held in his own drawing-room. It was called into existence, indeed, for the purpose of strengthening Mr. Jesse Collings's Parliamentary action. The charge against him is that he deserted the principles of the association by his support of the Government against the Allotments Bill of last session.

1702 AND 1887: A CONTRAST.—The following anecdote of Lord Chief Holt is so applicable to late events that every Englishman should be in possession of it. A tumult occurring in Holborn, notice of it was sent to Whitehall, and a party of guards was ordered to the spot, but an officer was sent to the Lord Chief Justice acquainting him of it, and requesting that he would send some of his officers with the soldiers, in order to give a countenance to their proceedings. The officer delivered his message. Lord Chief Justice Holt said, "Suppose the populace will not disperse at your appearance, what will you do then?" "Sir," answered the officer, "we have orders to fire on them." "Have you, sir?" replied his lordship: "then take notice of what I say. If there be one man killed and you be tried before me and found guilty, I will take care that you and every soldier of your party shall be hanged by the neck. Sir," continued he, "go back to those that sent you and acquaint them that no officer of mine shall attend soldiers, and let them know that the laws of this kingdom are not to be executed with the sword. These matters belong to the civil power, and you have nothing to do with them."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

COMRADE MORRIS seems to be trying to scare some of us with the word "Practical" between inverted commas; but I who have by turns been denounced as Conservative and Communist for a good few years, am little likely to be frightened by this new bogey. It is true that it is the so-called "one-sided Socialist" who is attacked, and therefore I am not obliged to "put on the cap"; but it is rather with what is implied—with the mental attitude of the writer, in short—that I take issue. With a score or so of ambiguous lines deleted, comrade Morris's article remains simply a poet's plea for recognition as a factor in the making of the Revolution; and I am therefore compelled, in order to raise an issue between us, to state my views rather in the form of a counterblast than of a criticism. I would point out, too, that really the only indictment he has made against the "practical" Socialist—for although he instances two "traps" or pitfalls, he himself afterwards resolves them into this one unpardonable sin—is this, that the "practical" Socialist insists on reading the life of the present into his conception of the society of the future; and I would say thereon that this point relates to a difference in ideal, and as I understand, the difference between the "Practical" and the "Micawber" Socialists is not so much a difference of ideal, but rather as to the best way of realising their common ideal.

As to the charge of one-sidedness, I fail to perceive how it applies to the too exclusive advocate of the economic view of Socialism, more forcibly than to the Socialist whose vision is focussed on the far-distant future. But it by no means follows that because one does the work that lies nearest to his hand, that therefore he is unable to picture to himself the good time coming of which comrade Morris writes so charmingly. There are few "Practical" Socialists, I venture to think, any more than myself, who would be likely to find much fault with his ideal society. (Possibly there might be some little details as to water-mills, etc., to be adjusted, but nothing very serious.) It is not, however, with "brilliant pictures of the future," but with the bare and ugly present that I as a "Practical" Socialist am most nearly concerned. I hold that a true revolutionist is one who combines a cool head with a warm heart, who is able to bring something of the fervour of a fanatic to bear upon the ordinary every-day life of his own generation. Faith without works is dead. It has always appeared to me something of a cowardly policy to simply stand aloof, and carp and cavil and criticise the efforts, blundering though they be, of those who strive to realise for the workers of to-day a foretaste at least of the blessings which Socialism has in store.

The Unpractical Socialists—the apostles of inaction, or deferred action—seem to me to be for the most part, either extreme theorists, who are content to go on "educating and agitating" indefinitely, like so many John the Baptists crying in the wilderness, hoping and waiting for the day when all mankind shall accept the true gospel; or the younger, more ardent, and impatient spirits, with somewhat hazy notions who often deal largely in denunciation, who do not take kindly to a "wait-for-the-crisis" policy, but console themselves for their forced inaction with the belief that some day soon they will carry Socialism with a rush.

I hold that a truly Socialistic Society can only be established and administered by Socialists—that is to say, by men and women imbued with the spirit of *solidarity*, of fraternity and equality—who are prepared to work together for the common weal, foregoing the spirit of domination and desire for self-aggrandisement engendered by the present horrible wolfish struggle for existence. Until there is at least a well-organised and compact and determined and intelligent minority, prepared to take control and carry on the necessary business of the community, it is of little use to clamour for the overthrow of the exploiting classes. Wretched and abominable as are the results of the present haphazard, disorganised, competitive mode of production and distribution of commodities, it is at least doubtful whether if it was forcibly overthrown to-morrow we should, with the ignorance and incapacity now so widespread amongst the masses of the people, be able to much improve matters. It is all very well to cry out and declaim against those who rob and rule us, to denounce the rapacity and oppression of our task-masters, and to call upon the bourgeoisie to surrender their unjust power to extort and impoverish the workers. But to whom are they to surrender? If conscience-smitten, by one consent the whole host of exploiters should cry, "Relieve us of the burden of our iniquity," to whom are they to deliver up their functions? Of course, in the vanity of our hearts we say, "Oh, things could not be possibly worse managed than they are," and with a light heart, and a light head too, I am inclined to think, some of the more youthful and exuberant enthusiasts would at once dash themselves upon the citadel of Capitalism. It may be well to remind these too heedless and impatient spirits that the walls of Jericho did not fall till the trumpet blast had sounded seven times, and that the modern Jericho will not tumble to the tootings of a penny whistle.

It is useless for the mere handful who form the advance-guard of the revolutionary forces to precipitate a conflict with the organised power of the monopolists. Until the main body—the mass of the workers—are leavened with the spirit of Socialism, and are marching in line towards the enemy, they but invite their own destruction by so doing, and would but delay the accomplishment of the overthrow

of Capital and the final Emancipation of Labour, which is the end we all seek, however diverse may be the means chosen by which to realise it.

The Cause of the workers is not to be won by a sudden rush, by a tumultuous outburst—a mere revolt. Such uprisings, doubtless, are inevitable, and will compel our sympathy. But even as we admire the heroic charge of the six hundred at Balaclava, notorious blunder as it was, so also our sober reason enables us to perceive that a revolt is not a revolution, and however successful as a destructive force, can achieve even at the utmost a mere change of governors instead of the Co-operative Commonwealth we desire.

There are, however, persons who seem unable to conceive of the Social Revolution except as a sudden transformation from darkness into light, a complete overthrow and dislocation of everything, out of which is to emerge full-blown the ideal commonwealth, as a matter of course apparently, without any preparation, since the workers are to abstain from any attempt to better their condition or to take part in the administration of public affairs,—all such things being merely palliatives, and of course to be looked upon as unclean by the true believer.

It is all very well for people in comfortable circumstances to go in for the "whole hog," to deprecate the vulgar comfort of the middle classes, and to make light of ameliorative changes in the condition of the workers. But those whose daily life is brightened and made happier and more hopeful by these little changes so slightly spoken of are not likely to be favourably influenced by the abstract notions of doctrinaires. "A bird in the hand," etc. The workers have been told by those whose function it is to administer spiritual consolation, that their privations in this life will be compensated in heaven; and it seems to me to be pretty much the same thing to ask them to forego an advantage within their grasp for the promise of a beatific state of society in the indefinite future. Of course it may be urged that the motive in one case is to produce submission and in the other to provoke revolt; but this line of policy if logically carried out is both cruel and dangerous, and unjustifiable. It is assumed to be essential to keep the masses of the people uncomfortable in order to keep up the revolutionary spirit. What does this really mean? Why, that the more ignorant, foolish, and fanatical proletarians are to be manipulated by the theoretical revolutionists, who, being of superior metal, I suppose are not corrupted by the aforesaid bourgeois comfort, and so are not called upon to deprive themselves of a single luxury meanwhile. The attitude of those who reason and act in this way is essentially the same as the reactionists. The question of motive is of little importance to the workers. Some employers are accustomed to give lofty reasons for the employment of women at cheap rates and for their preference for non-union labour, but their professions are generally received with an incredulous shrug of the shoulders; and there is danger of some of our comrades having their action misunderstood when it takes the form of antagonism to progressive movements which may not be exactly on the lines they would like.

Advanced principles that are not put in action are of little value to the workers. Ideals are but as beacons to guide us on the path of progress; but the mere knowledge of the end to be desired will profit us little so long as we delay to take the preliminary steps towards the accomplishment of our wishes. But it is illogical to suppose that we can prevent the leaven of Socialism working and so modifying the various institutions of the country. It seems to me, therefore, much more rational to follow the course of evolution, forbearing with those who do not come up to the level of our "superior" intelligence, and recommending our more advanced views by our earnestness and fidelity in helping forward everything tending honestly in the direction of Socialism.

It seems to me that nothing but good can result from such procedure. Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrines will not need the spur of hunger to make them fight if need be. Whether or no the transition from our present degraded society, as so vividly portrayed by comrade Morris, to the communal form which is our common ideal be brought about or accompanied by conflicts between the masses and the classes, it cannot be gainsaid that the turmoil of the transitional period will be considerably lessened and the blessings of the new era be sooner realised in proportion as the workers begin to formulate their desires and to agree upon some common course of action. It is because I believe this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, can best be achieved by improving the material condition of the poorer classes, that I hold myself free to use any and every means calculated to attain this object.

I have of course in this reply only affirmed the policy of political action as against the negative. The nature of such action, and many other points in comrade Morris's article, would form profitable themes for discussion in these columns by other comrades.

T. BINNING.

[Comrade Binning having found some fault with my article, I asked him as Editor to put his animadversions in writing: I must say there is very little in his letter which I should quarrel with; but it seems to me beside the subject of my article, which does not profess to deal with the methods by which either transitional Socialism or the completed communal society is to be attained. To clear up any misunderstanding there may be between us, I should say that my remarks were meant as words of warning to those, on the one hand, who are blind to the ideal which we have before us, and to those, on the other hand, who seeing and knowing that ideal, are afraid to put it before persons lest they should startle them too much. I never supposed that comrade Binning belonged to either of those groups, the latter of which are composed almost wholly of middle-class persons: as to the former, I think it of great importance to put the highest ideal before them, so as to encourage them to the utmost.—W. M.]

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THREATENED STRIKE OF 100,000 MEN.—The colliers of South-East Lancashire, who number nearly 100,000, have given notice that their present engagement will terminate at the end of February if the masters do not abate the deduction made for "dirt" sent up with coal.

The employers in the Leeds building trade have given the men six months' notice to abolish or amend the present working rules, with a view, it is stated, of proposing an increase of four working hours per week. The men have also given a similar notice for the purpose of asking for an increase in wages.

THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.—The lockmakers who are on strike at the factory of Messrs. J. Payton and Co., Walsall Street, Willenhall, still continue to receive liberal support from other lock factories. The total sum collected for the men during last week was £29. The suggestion of settling the dispute by arbitration has fallen through, and the men now seem determined not to restart work unless the town's prices are paid.

FIFESHIRE MINERS' STRIKE.—The miners' strike in Fife and Clackmannan against a 10 per cent. reduction is said to have collapsed on Saturday; but a number of the men apparently are still holding out and the masters threaten a lock-out if they do not at once return to work. The capitalist press says the miners had little chance to gain in the dispute, seeing the coal-owners have from 300,000 to 400,000 tons of coal accumulated at the pit-head. Why did the men allow this?

EMPLOYERS AND THE POOR LAWS.—The *Cotton Factory Times* reports a curious instance of the way in which the administrators of the Poor Laws play into the hands of the employers. Mr. Catlow, at Garden Vale, Colne, is in want of weavers to take the place of those on strike. The Guardians of the Burnley Union finding that there were in the workhouse some people who had been weavers at some time or other, actually sent them to Mr. Catlow with a letter of introduction. It is satisfactory to learn that they did not turn up as expected.

MINERS' AGITATION IN SOUTH WALES.—The employés of the Ocean Colliery Company, South Wales, numbering between five and six thousand hands, decided at a mass meeting on Monday to join the Rhondda Valley Steam Coal Miners' Association. Mr. Abraham, M.P., attended the meeting. Several important resolutions were adopted, and the secretary was directed to send to the general manager of the Ocean Colliery Company a resolution calling upon the management to carry out the timbering clauses of the Mines Regulation Act. It was also resolved to support the views of the workmen's representatives on the South Wales Sliding Scale Committee that colliers should not be called upon to stow away rubbish, but simply to give it "one throw."

A NOBLE EMPLOYER.—A female weaver employed at one of the oldest mills in Bacup, was on Friday discharged by one of the tacklers because her eyesight was dim, her fingers had lost their nimbleness, and she could only earn very low wages on her three looms, and she did well if she got nine shillings per week. As she had worked at the mill nearly 30 years, she took matters rather hard, and was advised to see the master. She went to his mansion along with two other weavers, and on seeing her he exclaimed, "Well, Sally, what's up now?" She commenced crying, and said she had been sacked, after working for him and his father for 30 years. "Who says so?" says the master. "Th' tackler," says she. "Oh, that's the game, is it? Here's summat to dry thi tears with (giving her a sovereign), and be at th' looms in th' morning, and stop there as long as I live."—*Cotton Factory Times*.

PICKETING IN THE SHOE TRADE.—An important case as to picketing has occurred in the boot and shoe trades at Leicester, and will come before the assizes for settlement. Mr. Edward Kell, president of the National Boot and Shoe Trades Union, was charged with intimidating Mr. J. E. Hyde from manufacturing boots and shoes. It appeared at the investigation before the magistrates that Mr. Hyde has a branch factory at Sibley, about ten miles from Leicester, and pays the country workmen lower wages than those in town. The Leicester factory was closed for several months until the standard rate of wages should be conceded. On Mr. Hyde attempting to open the factory the workmen were stopped by pickets, and therefore business could not be carried on. At interviews it was explained that the unionist leaders demanded that the factory at Sibley be closed. The defendant was committed for trial at the Assizes, and the case, when it comes on, will be one of great interest to trade unionists.

MAGISTRATES AND THE FACTORY ACTS.—The *Cotton Factory Times*, commenting on a "glaring instance of antipathy against imposing a suitable penalty for serious breach of the law" at Oldham, says: "As a rule magistrates, at least most of them, are far from being disposed to assist the factory inspectors in putting down the illegal practices to which limited companies seem so fond of resorting. A spinning company, which has previously been convicted twice for offences against the Factory Act, was again recently caught infringing the law by employing a number of reelers during prohibited hours. The inspector took a few names, but could have taken many more had he wished to do so. He was also obstructed in the execution of his duties by the lights being turned out, contrary to his instructions, for which he could have made out a case, but elected not to do so in the interest of the company. By way of an example, and to make an impression on the management to be more careful in the future, and to adhere to the law, he asked that a fine of £3 each and costs should be inflicted in two cases and costs in the remainder, but to his surprise and regret the bench only agreed to inflict a fine of 10s. and costs in each case. The inspectors are at one with the operatives in declaring that an alteration in the law is desirable, so as to take the power out of the hands of the magistrates in fixing the amount of penalty when a case has been proved, and such cases as these only tend to increase such a feeling."

VALUE OF UNIONISM.—A surprise has sprung upon a mill manager and his mule overlooker, as well as upon the minders employed under him. From what has been communicated to us, we gather that at a well-known spinning company in the Chadderton district, near Oldham, the manager and the mule overlooker, who are said to be two genial and comfortable men to work with, set about the task of calculating the prices, and both were of opinion that the prices paid were too high, and wanted reducing to the terms of the list. They accordingly agreed upon what would be a fair reduction to propose to the minders, and gave them one week's notice to pay the new prices. The men informed the committee of the union of the proposed alteration of

prices, and the matter was investigated by the officers of the association, who found that, instead of a reduction, the men were entitled to an advance, and such advance has been paid on all the woff mules in the mill. This is an instance of the value of unionism, as the men would undoubtedly have had to accept the proposals made to them if they had not been assisted by a union. Although, as was admitted by the manager, the proposed reduction was made under a misapprehension, it would not have been found out had the men not been connected with the union. Such cases as these do more good to unionism than all the lecturing and writing which can be done in favour of the cause, and the more such cases are made known the better for those who are trade unionists.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—Last week a meeting was held in Darlaston to consider the advisability of a general strike and demanding the list price of 1881. Mr. R. Juggins occupied the chair, and in opening the meeting said he and the workmen concerned in the Truck cases had that day waited upon the solicitor to the association and given the necessary information, so that the summonses under the Truck Act would be issued in a few days. He also said that in his opinion the best way to bring about a more speedy settlement of the present dispute was to give a general notice to every employer in the town to demand wages in accordance with the list of 1881 without any discount. This would simply mean the restoration of the 5 per cent. that was taken off the workmen in 1885. Mr. John Richards, chairman of the Executive Council, said he was very pleased to find that the Darlaston nut and bolt makers had been so staunch in supporting the men on strike at D. Harper's without any outside help. A general discussion then took place as to the best means of bringing about a settlement of the present strike. It was stated that other employers were supplying Mr. David Harper with work, and as a consequence the strike may be protracted for a long time. It was agreed "That this meeting considers it most advisable that the opinion of the whole of the members should be ascertained upon the question of demanding wages to be paid in accordance with the list of 1881, and in case the employers refuse, that a meeting be held on Thursday next to decide upon the advisability of a general strike."

THE MINERS AND THEIR MEMBERS' SALARIES.—A meeting of the delegates of the Northumberland miners was held on Saturday at Newcastle, the principal business being to discuss resolutions respecting the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s, which it was recently decided by ballot should not in future be paid out of the funds of the union. It was agreed after much discussion that voting papers be again issued and a fresh ballot taken in the county. A Northumberland correspondent writes:—"The objection to the payment of the M.P.'s is not founded on any differences of opinion on political subjects, or on the injustice inflicted on the Conservative element among the miners, strong as that element may be, so much as on the unwavering allegiance of the M.P.'s, to the leaders of the Liberal party. While the body of the miners can see no differences of principle, except on the question of Home Rule, between the regular Liberal party and the Conservative party, the labour M.P.'s allow questions of the most vital importance to the miners to remain in the background in order to suit the party interests. The miners' representatives will denounce with all the eloquence they can command the high charges made as royalty rents and wayleaves when addressing meetings of miners; but for some reason or other they will not take up the time of the House of Commons with a discussion on the question. While the House is spending weeks over the Irish question, no word is uttered by the labour members about the distress at home, although in the large towns it is not less severe than in Ireland. Land is going out of cultivation, the sweating system is regarded by some classes of workmen as a crying evil, yet the labour M.P.'s have no word to say on these matters in the House of Commons. On the pressing question of the immigration of pauper labour, they have no solution to offer. Clearly men like Mr. Cunningham Graham, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. S. Mason are of far greater value to the miners than the so-called labour representatives, and these men require no salaries. This aspect of the question is being pressed on the miners' notice by the Socialists, and the miners are discussing it very quietly and very earnestly."

Mr. Bradlaugh in reply to a question the other day, said it was heart-breaking to see over one hundred strong young crofters compelled by Lady Matheson to leave their native land; still the question had two sides, and he would not like to interfere with the "liberty of the individual." Wonderful and monstrous wisdom! Mr. Bradlaugh would allow Lady Matheson to compel the crofters to emigrate, but he would not compel Lady Matheson to allow them to stay at home, even though their forced expatriation should be heart-breaking. How true it is that we have but one law for rich and poor in this land!—*Miner*.

THE "LABOUR TRIBUNE" AND THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The *Labour Tribune* appears to have reversed the old Radical watchword "Measures not men," in its anxiety to serve Messrs. Burt and Fenwick. In an article last week on "The Miners of Northumberland and their Members of Parliament," the writer runs amuck against all and sundry who do not worship his little gods. Reference is made to certain "sneaking, cowardly, secret-working spirits" who are charged with wishing to deprive the miners of a voice in Parliament. The writer says: "Why these malicious people seek this end we know not, nor care to ascertain; but it is plain on which side the loss will fall if it be attained. The prime movers are not within the ranks of the miners, and they would do well to hesitate before they give sanction to the teaching, whether done directly, or by base innuendo. It would suit the maligners if the miners were voiceless; but what would be the results to those whose wrongs can only be remedied by men who speak with feelings and ideas formed in the same rough, but effective, school?" Observe the *Tribune* does not know why these people act as they do, nor does it care to inquire, and yet it takes upon itself to pass judgment. This is strange language and behaviour for a journal which claims to be in the van of progress. It is really too ridiculous of the *Tribune* to keep on telling us that the miners have no option but to support the present members or be voiceless. I scarcely need tell the readers of the *Commonweal* that the "malicious people" hinted at are the Socialists who have very properly taken Messrs. Burt and Fenwick to task for their very "soft fighting." Mr. Fenwick's attitude towards Socialism, too (feebly echoing Mr. Bradlaugh's fallacies) does not seem to have made a very favourable impression on the "sturdy miners" who do their own thinking. They appear to be fast arriving at the conviction that Socialism is not a "calamity" to be averted, but a blessing to be welcomed. It would be much better if the *Tribune* would face the facts fairly instead of whimpering and trying to obscure the main issue with all sorts of reckless and foolish imputations.

T. BINNING.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

Belgium last week lost one of the veterans of the Social Revolutionary Cause, Désiré Brismée, compositor and printer at Brussels. He was born at Ghent, in 1821, but in his early youth came to the capital and never since left it. He has always been a straightforward Socialist, also devoting a great deal of his time in spreading among the working-classes the gospel of Atheism and Materialism. During more than forty years he has been at work, day by day organising the various worker's trades, encouraging his fellow comrades by his most persuasive and manly eloquence, and very often courageously suffering for the defence of the rights and the interests of the people. Not only was he a splendid organiser and an inspired tribune, but as a sound thinker and a popular writer he was equal to the best. As far back as 1848 he was editor of the Socialist paper, *Le Drapeau* (The Flag), when he was sentenced to eighteen months of imprisonment. He was one of the founders of *Les Solidaires*, a society of Socialist Freethinkers who have struck many a blow on the reactionary parties of Belgium. In 1861, *La Tribune du Peuple* (The People's Tribune) was created by his and his friend's endeavours, and for long years was the most advanced organ of the Belgian democracy, and a forerunner of the doctrines of the International Association of Working-men. When in 1864 this great association was inaugurated at London, Brismée was amongst the first Socialists who organised the Belgian branch of the same, and from its very beginning to the end of its existence was in office as a member of the Belgian General Council. He represented Belgium at several International Congresses, so at Basel, Lausanne, Brussels, the Hague, etc., and contributed very actively to its official organ, *L'Internationale*, from 1868 to 1873. At the time of the defeat of the Commune, Brismée's house became the very home of the Parisian exiles, when side by side with his admirable wife, a keen-hearted matron of olden type and of strong revolutionary sense, he helped them one and all through the first struggles of a new existence. None of them, I feel sure, will ever forget "Father and Mother Brismée," as they used to call their generous friends. The Belgian workers, too, in every nook of the land, will always keep in remembrance the name of Désiré Brismée as one of the most devoted and ablest forerunners of the cause of social, political, and religious emancipation.

A few days ago, a full pardon was granted at Brussels to one Vandermissen, a barrister and clerical member of Parliament, sentenced to fifteen years hard labour for the murder of his wife. This well-to-do assassin has not done one single day of "hard labour," but has been confined at the prison of Mons for a few months only, receiving his friends all day long in a "saloon," writing and smoking and drinking fine wines as much as he liked, receiving his meals from a first-class hotel in the town, and so forth. And yet our comrades of the mining strikes of 1886, who were sentenced for crimes committed not by them, but by Society and its murderous institutions, who are really victims and not criminals, are still at hard labour in the real meaning of the word, and not likely to be amnestied before a long time, in spite of all the manifestations already made on their behalf. Every day that our friends Falleur, Schmidt, and their comrades pass in jail is a renewed outrage to justice, and we earnestly urge upon our Belgian co-workers in the Cause not to rest until all these victims of an execrated commercialism are set at liberty.

HOLLAND.

One of the largest china-ware making firms of Holland, and almost of Europe, Regout and Co., at Maastricht, is at the same time one of the most brutal and cruel to their workers. Week after week they reduce their miserable wages under pretence of foreign competition, and now they replace as far as they possibly can adult by infant labour. The students of the University of Utrecht, in order to help the wage-slaves to resist that stupid system, have unanimously resolved to refuse to take any longer their meals served in plates manufactured at Regout's works, and they are going to persuade their fellow-students of the Dutch Universities to do the same. That's not very much perhaps, but at any rate it is a good token of sympathy and solidarity coming from quarters where solidarity and sympathy with the workers are not very often found.

At Almelo (Overysse), an important manufacturing centre, the spinner-masters have decided to reduce the already very low wages of their "hands." A big strike has been the immediate result, and for some weeks past the slaves have refused to accept any reduction whatever. Relief funds are sent to them from all parts of Holland, and they intend keeping on to the utmost. Another reason of the strike is that these exploiters, being also shopkeepers, force their workers to provide themselves with all the necessaries of life at the master's shops. This also they won't accept any longer, claiming to be free to spend their miserable wages where they like. It needs not to be added that Almelo is occupied by the military, who are to settle, at first call and in their own way, the relations between capital and labour. We hope the workers will succeed, aided as they are by their comrades all over the country.

A new paper has been started last week at Amsterdam, entitled *Multatuli*, this being the *nom de plume* of Douwes Dekkers, the famous Dutch Socialist philosopher who died some months ago. It is to be a weekly organ, and each number will be accompanied by a cartoon. Go ahead, friends!

It is stated by *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All), that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis has accepted to stand as a candidate for the Dutch Parliament at the forthcoming election in the district of Schoterland. I very heartily wish that our distinguished comrade may run aground on the job!

GERMANY.

Bismark and Puttkammer, who have been convicted of using damnable means and shameful tricks in the prosecution of Socialism, and who had prepared a new scheme exceeding even the existing laws, have not succeeded in their diabolical plans. Thanks to the scandalous revelations of comrades Singer and Bebel the new law has not passed, and the old one, which is bad enough, is to be prolonged for two years.

The German Socialists have had a heavy loss in the person of Dr. Adolph Douai, who was born on February 22, 1817, at Altenburg, and who died a month ago at New York, where he acted as chief editor of the Socialist newspaper, *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (New York People's Gazette). Dr. Douai studied at Leipzig until 1841, and went afterwards to Russia, living as a private teacher. In the year 1846 he came back again to his native place, founded there a lyceum, which was very flourishing at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848. The prominent part he took in public affairs at that time brought as a first result ruin to this institution; he was

sent three times to prison, and besides tried five times for high treason, but always dismissed. In 1852, Douai and his family emigrated to America, and went first to New Braunfels, Texas, where he established a pro-gymnasium, and also became the editor of the *San Antonio Zeitung*, in which he vigorously struggled against slavery. After having suffered very much indeed at the hands of the slave proprietors, he was obliged in 1866 to leave Texas for Boston, where he created a new institution and founded the first American *Kindergarten*, which still exists. At the instigation of Carl Summer, he became a deputy to the National Convention of Detroit, and there, with his friend Carl Schurz, worked very actively to bring about the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. He soon became a mortal foe to the clerical party and to the Boston puritans, and after several severe struggles which lasted for years, he was finally compelled to leave the place and went to New York, where at first he found an occupation as editor of the *New York Democrat*. In 1861, he created at Hoboken, near New York, the German-American Academy, which is said to be the best school throughout America, and which he presided over for more than six years. He afterwards, in 1868, became chief editor of the *Arbeiter Union* (Union of the Workers), and on the 28th of January, 1878, he entered in the same capacity the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and remained there until his death. He has laboured very hard and with some good results in two fields of human activity, where work is difficult and enjoyment rare, viz., the education of the youth and the organisation and instruction of the "people," and he deserves to be cheerfully remembered by all those who have at heart the final triumph of the ideas of justice and equality.

ITALY.

Socialists in all countries are preparing for the commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871, but not everywhere do they commemorate it in the same manner. For instance, our Italian friends have found the following way, and to my mind at least it is not a bad one. On the 22nd of last month, the revolutionary organisations of Milano decided to pass around subscription lists among all the Socialist groups, and to divide the monies so collected in equal parts between all existing Italian revolutionary papers, taking advantage of this distribution to recommend the various schools of Socialist thought to avoid in the future all personal and intestine war, as this only tends to weaken instead of strengthening the cause of Revolution at large.

V. D.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 3, 1888.

| | | |
|----|-------|--|
| 26 | Sun. | 1786. D. F. Arago born. 1797. Banks suspended cash payments 1848. French Republic proclaimed. |
| 27 | Mon. | 1534. "Kingdom of God" established in Münster. 1854. Lamennais died. |
| 28 | Tues. | 1869. De Lamartine died. 1878. Insurrection in Thessaly. |
| 29 | Wed. | 1887. Unemployed attend St. Paul's Cathedral; 3,094 police present. |
| 1 | Thur. | 1769. Williams pilloried for publishing <i>North Briton</i> . 1789. J. R. McCulloch born. |
| 2 | Fri. | 1629. Speaker held in chair while Commons passed motion condemning the king's policy. 1882. Attempt to shoot the Queen. |
| 3 | Sat. | 1756. W. Godwin born. 1848. Louis Philippe as "Mr. Smith" landed in England. 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia. 1879. W. K. Clifford died. |

Banks suspended cash payments.—Macbeth: "How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags! what is't you do?" Witches: "A deed without a name." Such would have been the correct answer of the members of the King's Privy Council on Sunday February 25, 1797, for on that day was perpetrated a shameful swindle. When the Bank of England closed Saturday evening it was practically bankrupt; there had been a run; gold was going out at a pace which would have made the bullion-chest empty within a few hours of reopening on Monday morning. The governors therefore persuaded Pitt to call a special Cabinet Council on the Sunday, and an Order in Council was issued that the bank was to forbear issuing gold till the sense of parliament was taken on the question. It has been calculated that on the 25th Feb. the bank's liabilities on notes in circulation only was £8,540,250, while the total amount of cash and bullion in the bank was only £1,270,000. The Ten Hours Bill, the Factory Act, took thirty-three years of agitation; how speedily governments can act when against the general good of the public was proved in this case. To hold a special meeting of the Privy Council on Sunday, issue an order to take effect next morning, to draft, read, pass both Houses, and to receive royal assent, all this can be done in a few weeks; for on May 3rd the 38 Geo. 3, ch. 1., termed the Restriction Act, received royal assent. The Great National Swindle Act was to remain in force for fifty-two days; on June 22, two days before the expiration of that term, it was renewed till one month after the next session of parliament; it has been renewed again and again, and the gigantic National Debt, the devilment of the funding system, and the stock exchange swindle, and the evils of credit trading and debt, national and domestic, may be really said to date from 25 Feb., 1797.—T. S.

Attempt on the Queen.—As the Queen with the Princess Beatrice was getting into her carriage at Windsor station on returning from London, she was fired at by a man named Roderick Maclean; no damage done, even to the bystanders. Maclean was at once arrested, and on the 19th of April tried for high treason, being acquitted on the ground of insanity and ordered to be confined during "Her Majesty's pleasure." Thus fell to the ground many hopes of fixing "plots" on innocent people.—S.

Landing of Louis Philippe.—A passage having been secured for them in the *Express* steamer, the ex-King and Queen went on the 2nd in an open fishing-boat from Honteur, whither they had fled, to Havre, the King passing as "Mr. William Smith," an Englishman. Early next morning they landed at Newhaven, in Sussex. A man named Stone recognised Louis a good way off in the boat which brought him ashore, and benevolently assured him of English protection. The actual conversation is too good to be lost:—"Stone: 'Welcome to England, your Majesty.' Louis: 'I—I thank you, I thank you; I—I have always felt pleasure in coming to England. Thank God, I am in England once more!' Stone: 'We will protect your Majesty.' Louis (much agitated): 'I th—thank you, I—I thank you!'" The ex-King wore a rough pea-jacket—borrowed from the captain of the *Express*—and grey trousers, with coarse blue cloth cap, and round his neck a common red and white comforter; on his chin a stubble of a week's growth. The ex-Queen could not be seen in a large plaid cloak and heavy veil. A great deal of very funny reading is afforded by the adventures of the "royal exiles" who swarmed into England about this time.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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 March by May 1st.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.
1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

C. J. F. (2 weeks), 5s. K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. Langley (2 weeks), 4s. P. W. (2 weeks), 1s. Oxford Branch, 2s. C. J. Gladwell, 2s. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Sunday morning at St. Pancras Arches, Mark Morley spoke; Neilson in chair. 3s. collected for Gough's wife and family.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 15, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Radicalism of the last Century." On Sunday, Feb. 19, T. E. Wardle on "Radicalism and Socialism." Brisk discussions.—B.

GLASGOW.—Owing to the severity of the weather these two weeks past our outdoor meetings have been in great part abandoned, but notwithstanding the cold wind that prevailed on Sunday night, Glasier addressed a good audience in Infirmary Square, all of whom seemed in sympathy with our comrade's animated appeal to them to embrace Socialism, the new and nobler life. After going to our rooms, comrade Schulzer gave an interesting account of "The Progress and Methods of German Socialism."—S. D.

NORWICH.—This branch is getting along well, increasing in numbers, and doing good work. Wednesday, the 15th, the Tory party tried a Protection and Anti-Foreigner meeting, but owing to the exertions of Mowbray and other comrades, assisted by the Radicals, it was not a success for the promoters. Sunday the 19th, a very large afternoon meeting was held in the Market Place, and in the evening Mowbray lectured in Gordon Hall.

WALSALL.—On Monday, Feb. 13th, Sanders lectured to an appreciative audience on "Revolution: what Socialists mean by it, and why they believe it inevitable." Questions and discussion followed the conclusion of the address.—J. T. D.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—At the last meeting of this Society, held at 64, Charlotte Street, Fry read a paper on "The Woman Question." Discussion followed. On Saturday, March 25th, Cooper reads a paper on "The Reward of Labour," at 65, Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp.—H. W. F.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 26, at 8, Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism." March 4, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital."

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 23, at 8.30, Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." March 1, Social Evening—members and friends.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday February 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain." Wednesday Feb. 29, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, "Notes on the League Manifesto." Sunday March 4, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wed. 7, H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Sun. 11, Mr. Touzeau Parris.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 26, at 8, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8, 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: Forfarshire).—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.

Dundee (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.

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 26, at 7 p.m., S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

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. General Meeting on Tuesday, Feb. 28, to consider the best method of organisation. All comrades should attend.

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 26.

10.30...Acton—the Steyne Day
11.15...Starch Green Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Acton Green Tothatti & Day
11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn" The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. Wade & Pope
11.30...Merton—Haydens Road The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park Nicoll & Mrs. Schack
11.30...St. Pancras Arches Bloomsbury Branch
11.30...Stamford Hill Parker
11.30...Walham Green Fulham Branch
3 ...Hyde Park Parker
7 ...Acton—Prissy Smith & Day

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.
Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

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

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 26, at 3.30 p.m.

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