

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

VOL. 5.—No. 159.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE result of the elections for the London County Council and the Govan election, shift the scales once more toward the "Liberal" side; for, as a matter of course, in spite of all disclaimers the County Council election was fought out in London on party lines. As to the Govan election, if the Liberal success tends at all to bring the Irish matter any nearer to a conclusion, it is so far favourable to us. As to the County Councils once more, it must be a very sanguine Socialist indeed who can really believe that they will have any inclination to go beyond the well understood lines of very moderate "reform," which will make no monopolist in the least in the world anxious about the safety of his heart—i.e., his purse.

It is surely a matter to regret that our generous-minded and energetic comrade John Burns should be pitchforked into that thicket of red tape, which our new "Parliament for London" is pretty certain to turn out; but, undoubtedly, the return of such a "dangerous" man at the head of the poll is a sign of the times worth noting.

An account in the *Boston Investigator* of an interview with Colonel Ingersoll on the subject of Robert Elsmere, is interesting as showing the effect which the Socialist movement has had on that outspoken and eloquent Secularist. As far as I remember, in his early works Ingersoll shows no sign of being able to see beyond his own class; with him, as with so many intelligent middle-class men, the world was made up of the triumphant middle-class engaged in putting the finishing strokes to the work of demolishing feudal and absolutist oppression, and clearing away the cloud of superstition which yet hung over the latter end of the contest. The following sentence amongst several others has a very different ring about it.

"The poor man willing to work, eager to maintain his independence, knows that there is something higher than charity—that is to say justice. He finds that many years before he was born his country was divided out between certain successful robbers, flatterers, crawlers, and cringers, and that in consequence of such division not only himself, but a large majority of his fellow-men are tenants, renters, occupying the surface of the earth only at the pleasure of others. He finds too that these people who have done nothing and who do nothing have everything, and that those that do everything have but little."

Again, as to "charity": "For instance in England, think for a moment of the manner in which charities are distributed, the way in which the crust is flung at Lazarus. If that parable could be now retold, the dogs would bite him. The same is the case in this country (America). The institution has nothing but contempt for the one it relieves." It is much to be wished that all Secularist orators were as open to such generous ideas as "Col. Bob" seems to be. More power to him!

Appropos of charities, I have been begged to contribute to the Providence (Row) Night Refuge and Home for deserving men, women, and children. I have no word to say against the charity in question, which seems to do what work it can with less expensive machinery than most, and at least is doing good service in stating the facts plainly; I notice also that it has no harsh words for the poor folk it succours; but I must emphasise the word "deserving" by the way, for surely if there be any one who *deserves* less than the quite elementary help a night refuge can give him, what can that less be, short of a merciful bullet through his brains? Heavens! what strange words we use—about other people! The circular speaks about "the appalling destitution which is in the midst of us; and the number of persons who are walking the streets for nights homeless." Again, another word. Whom, I pray, does this appal, unless it be the sufferers themselves? Yet they, too, surely are long past being appalled. Will it appal the London County Council? I fear not.

And yet it well might if they could think of it. A hundred thousand people starving to death is appalling, I think, on any terms. One hundred thousand people is the population of a tolerably large town, even in the populous nineteenth century, if they were all brought together in one town. Reading, e.g., has 42,000. Fancy living in Reading with *all* its population out of work, i.e., starving! Think of yourself on a considerable island with no one in it able to do a stroke of work! Would that be less than appalling? And is it less appalling when this is happening amidst prosperous and respectable men going contentedly about their business and pleasure?

And why is not everybody who could by any chance amend it, always talking about it and about nothing else? Surely all business, public or private, should be but subsidiary to such a question as the solution of this "difficulty," this "problem," as we call it with lying cowardly evasion. For that is not all. Listen again: "There are numbers of women under the sweating system working from 6 a.m. to 12 p.m., and sometimes till 3 p.m., can only earn from 4s. 3d. to 5s. 6d. a week." We know the story, don't we? Or if we don't, *why* don't we, if it is true? As it is.

Do we know also that while business is improving, as is the word on all hands, "the applicants for poor-law relief exceed by 3,000 the number last year, and the charitable institutions are besieged." You capitalists, that is appalling enough if you will only consider what those two facts brought together mean. But you are not appalled, and I think will not be, until all doubt that your own skins are in immediate danger is at an end.

Again: "The outcasts who were at a distance, at Stratford, Victoria Station, Hyde Park, New Road, Dalston, and Hackney, had the bus fare paid to them to Liverpool Street, were most of them so poor, ragged, and dirty, that the conductors would not admit them, etc." Never mind, they were equal before the law to the Duke of Westminster and Mr. Blundell Maple. Oh pleasing and useful equality! Three cheers for civilisation!—with one cheer more for its—lice!

Yes, an old story indeed; and the why and wherefore of well-to-do people, not ill-natured or specially stupid above their fellows, looking on and sending from time to time a guinea to some such charity as this above mentioned, is not far to seek. No consideration of the subject, no talk, if it were continuous for a dozen years, would help. They would not know what to do, except by way of feeble palliatives, if they were to turn their whole attention to the subject. For they have not yet conceived the possibility of getting rid of the curse of private property and the struggle of the strongest for profits, which is its natural outcome. And the necessary outcome of that is that the extremely unsuccessful are not fit to ride in the same bus with even the moderately successful, or, if you please, even the moderately unsuccessful; so many minor grades there are in this hierarchy of the money-bag.

Most of all we have to remember that the only way out of this dreadful misery for the many, and the shame and crime for the few, of being forced to forget that it exists, is the attainment of a SOCIETY OF EQUALS. All inequality, whatever specious pretexts it may be veiled with, bears beneath the veil this grinning skeleton of stolid misery, side by side with soft, cowardly, well-to-do life. All inequality, I say, unless we are consciously striving to extinguish it, must in the end result in this last degree of inequality. The classes in a society can be "moderately" unequal when a man can be "moderately" honest and a woman "moderately" chaste.

The Immigration Bill before the Congress of the United States has suddenly flashed on the capitalist press as a kind of morning star of hope. To build a brazen wall of perpetual peace round the fools and snobs of the civilisation of a Continent, so that no soul should inhabit it except the said fools and snobs and their miserable slaves, is indeed an invention worthy of the Nation of Inventors. It is no wonder that the *Telegraph* is so enthusiastic about it. A reasonable man however, is likely to ask, "Will it work or burst?" W. M.

WHIGS ASTRAY.¹

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN

OWEN HARRI BAKOUMETS JONES, an architect (unsuccessful), and—the
Rev. SWAIN STRIDE, a Nonconformist parson, and } advanced Radicals.
Mr. JEREMIAH BROWN, a business man }

SCENE—A comfortable bachelor-looking room in Mr. BROWN'S house, with tobacco and pipes and grog to the fore. MR. STRIDE and MR. BROWN sitting on either side of the fire, looking important and self-satisfied. Between them MR. JONES with an occasional ill-concealed grin on his face.

(Concluded from p. 19.)

S. 'We are in favour of giving some relief by way of security of tenure to leaseholders who are exposed to enormous losses and ruin. It is true that this may only be in accordance with a contract voluntarily entered into; and it must be admitted that the evil is a difficult one to deal with.'

J. Yes, so difficult with your qualification tacked on to the remedy (as you think it) that you won't deal with it at all. It doesn't matter: a man who can have enormous losses must be rich: it is a question between two groups of capitalists. Pass on.

S. 'We are in favour of the State making some provision for employing men and women who are unable to find work. It is a matter requiring very careful treatment; but no one can believe that the State as the people's executive has exhausted its powers in this matter.'

J. Well, if it has, certainly exhaustion has come before effort; for it has never tried to give work to the rejected of the labour-market: and if it did try it could only do so at the expense of the workers generally.

S. Well, but you see, 'the work provided and the wages paid need only be sufficient to stave off hopeless poverty; but that at all events a wise and practical system of government might offer.'

J. Yes, indeed, only sufficient to stave off hopeless poverty: an easy job, isn't it? Man alive, do you know what hopeless poverty is? Live the life of it, and then you will know. And how many live such a life!—two thirds of all the workers? Nearer three thirds, I think. Your system of government need be wise and practical indeed to stave that off.

S. Let us hope it will be; for we say 'there ought not to be a single human being in the nation who can honestly stand up and say: I am willing to work, but I know not where to go to earn house-rent and daily bread.'

J. Of course there ought not, and I am glad to hear you say so; but what are you to do but cherish your sentiment as a pious opinion? Can't you see that if it were so, labour would be dear; the capitalist would have to compete for the workman, instead of the workman for the capitalist, as is now the case? The capitalist would be undone, and would cease to employ, unless by the aid of new machinery he could once more win the blessing of having a due amount of men willing and unable to work. And if the capitalist won't employ labour—i.e., workmen—how is it to be employed?

S. They must employ themselves, I suppose.

J. I suppose so. In that case, where are those non-producing classes that you are so tender of?

S. Well—gone, I suppose.

J. So do I suppose. And yet you have been speaking of them as though they and their necessary complement, the poor, were essential and eternal.

S. (after a pause). For my part, Jones, I think you are trying to confuse the simplicity of true democratic ideas with your pedantic political economy. Let us come back to the point. Now please attend. 'We are in favour of making justice easy of access to all. The path to the judge ought to be the most easy; but it is the most difficult. Justice ought to be the cheapest commodity in the nation; and it is the dearest.'

J. The path to the judge is pretty easy for some people; and it strikes me that when they find him, they pretty often find an animal which is a cross between a baboon and a tiger. But do you know that I suspect that by justice you mean law; and I more than doubt if that wouldn't be dear at any price. For doesn't all civil law mean the enforcement of private contract, with all its intricacy, by the overmastering violence of the executive, which doesn't trouble itself to consider whether the carrying out of the contract will be injurious to the private person or to the community, so long as it has been entered into legally?

S. I really don't understand you.

J. I fear not; and there are many in your case, who think that peace means the rule of law. So much the worse for all of us. I advise you to watch a civil process in a law court (if you haven't done so already), and then tell me what you think of it. If you then don't understand what I have been saying, it's no use trying to make you understand.

S. Well, listen to this! Now I think that you will agree with me: 'The Radical is in favour of a resolute reform of the Land Laws, with a view to getting the whole of the land into the hands of the com-

munity or the State. Our great towns, especially London, are getting dangerously congested simply because the countrymen who are pressing into them cannot get at the land; and they cannot get at the land because of laws and customs which were never made for tenants and labourers, but for landlords and aristocrats; and there will never be any hope for the labouring classes in the country districts until these bad old laws and customs are changed.'

J. I agree with what you say, and with what you might mean, but which I don't think you do mean, since you began by cursing those who set class against class.

S. Why! what do you mean?

J. Ain't the landlords and aristocrats a class?

S. Well—well—perhaps they are.

J. They are, when you have properly understood the meaning of the word aristocrat nowadays; to wit, a person privileged to live on the labour of others.

B. Of course he doesn't mean—

S. (interrupting). Yes, yes, Brown, you're quite right. Of course, I don't mean that the land shall be taken from the landlords without compensation; though, perhaps, not full compensation.

J. Mr. Brown, will you lend me a pound?

B. (putting his hand in his pocket). With pleasure, my dear fellow.

S. (laughing rather sulkily). Only he will require compensation.

J. Twenty shillings, eh?

B. Oh, silver will suit perfectly well.

J. Now I was thinking 15s. would do.

B. (grinning). I see; an apologue. No, Mr. Jones, I shall want the twenty shillings in full.

J. So will your landlords, friend Stride—if they can get it. Believe me, they will try for more if a Radical government should (the fancy is a wild one) try such a measure as "getting the whole of the land into the hands of the community or the State." And if they can't get more, I promise you they won't take less without fighting for their position.

S. I don't know; perhaps they will if the thing is done carefully, without frightening them. Of course they won't if you go hilloaing Socialism at them.

J. Well, if you like, we will grant that they will agree to the land nationalisation which you propose to them. What are you going to do with the other capitalists?

S. The other capitalists! We shan't meddle with the capitalists at all.

J. Indeed! They will do what they like with their riches then?

S. Certainly; it would be mere slavery for them else.

J. And what are their riches?

S. Well—well—well—

J. I see you don't know, so I must tell you. So much privilege to make the producers of wealth pay for leave to live for no cause except the "interests" of the taxers. That is what you have got to take away from the landlords and aristocrats. If you leave them that, whatever measure of land nationalisation may be passed, whoever or whatever owns the land, they will monopolise the use of it. And how can you compensate people for taking away such a monopoly but by giving it back again to them?

B. (gasping). But—why—Mr. Jones, you are advocating the abolition of private property!

J. Mr. Brown, you are a clear-headed man. Shake hands!

[BROWN seems rather doubtful, but JONES seizes his hand and shakes it enthusiastically.]

S. Never mind, Brown, he doesn't mean half he says.

J. I wish I could say half I mean.

S. Now comes the really important and practical part of our platform. We 'are in favour of one man one vote . . . of equal suffrages for men and women . . . of a more democratic House of Commons . . . the candidate under certain conditions should be freed from the official conditions; and it might be good policy to offer a small annual payment to those M.P.'s who need and desire it—'

J. Hold on, your qualifications and exceptions and cautions are muddling me sadly; but it don't matter.

S. We 'are in favour of making an end of the House of Lords as a house of hereditary legislators.'

J. Yes, so that you may have the Lords in the Commons; more qualifications. Well, go on; are you nearly at an end?

S. Yes, yes! I'm just at the end. 'When Ireland has its Parliament for Irish affairs, and Scotland has its Parliament for Scotch affairs, and Wales has its Parliament for Welsh affairs, the present House of Commons might be turned into the English Parliament; the House of Lords might then be converted into a great Imperial Parliament for Imperial affairs, in which there should be representatives from every part of the Empire at home and across the seas. This is the great Radical ideal.'

J. Well, that's a new way of abolishing the House of Lords, certainly! I don't think they will grumble much at it. At any rate, you wind up with a good thumping piece of nonsense.—Well, I must be off; that lecture will be half over by now, and I promised to go.

B. (showing renewed energy after a tendency to sleep). Stop a bit, Mr. Jones; I think I ought to explain to you what the earlier part of our programme—

S. (interrupting). Yes, Brown, yes; our friend understands. You see, Jones—

B. (rather indignantly). I say, Stride, just let me have one word. Mr. Jones, all that about land nationalisation, and State works for

¹ The portions of this dialogue between the single "quotes" are taken from a genuine document—"A Radical's Creed," by John Page Hopps, in the *Pall Mall Gazette* Dec. 10th, 1888.

the unemployed, and the old people at the workhouse, and all that—you musn't be too severe upon it; because, I say, it is put in—(no, Stride, let me go on!)—just to make people, or some people, help us in these suffrage matters, which is the thing we advanced Liberals or Radicals really care about; and I flatter myself we know something about it too.

J. Well, I must say I think you ought to, considering the number of years you have been hemming and hawing about it. But look here, gentlemen, I must go, I bet the lecturer is just in his peroration. But, I say, isn't "Advanced Radicals" rather lengthy in spelling?

B. But, Jones, how would you spell it?

J. Try—it will save you some letters—try W-H-I-G-S A-S-T-R-A-Y—it means the same thing if it don't spell it. Well, good-bye; I shall just be in time for question-time.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

The stonemasons of Berlin have been on strike since the 9th of this month. On the 2nd of January they were asked to sign a sheet presented to them by their foreman, by which they agreed to resign from the union of their trade. This Stonemason's Union has existed for over seven years, is very well organised, and has done a lot of good to the members, especially as a relief fund for patients. The workers, of course, declined to sign their resignation, and in consequence of their refusal were at once dismissed. Our Berlin friends now request their English comrades to do for them all they possibly can, in order to enable them to win the battle. All moneys in support of the strikers are to be sent to the following address: Joseph Jeschky, stonemason, Melanhton Street, 5, Hof I, Berlin, N.W.

The German police at Hamburg has suppressed the paper of the chalk and stoneworkers, *Der Grundstein*, which was a very ably edited trade organ.

BELGIUM.

The tribunal of Mons has begun its work of vengeance against the miners who some weeks ago struck in the Centre and Borinage districts. A first series of fourteen workers have been tried and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, ranging from one to seven months. Other series will follow, and then only the "big" trial for high treason against Defuisseaux, Laloi, Gérard, Maroille, etc., will take place. These last-named Socialists have done nothing whatever which looks "high treasonable," but the Government could not afford to spend all their dynamite for mere trifling trials with two or three months jail as ultimate result. Hence "high treason" must be got up and shall be.

Comrade Laurent Verrycken, the initiator of the open-air propaganda meetings in Belgium, is now being tried in half-a-dozen courts of justice for the flimsy offences of obstruction, rioting, unlawful assembly, and so on, and takes opportunity of making also indoor meetings before the magistrates. He is always sentenced, of course, but only in a fine of 4s., which is much cheaper than the hiring of a hall would be, and the magistrate's courts are always fully crowded with Socialists.

The Belgian *Parti ouvrier* has started a Socialist satirical paper at Brussels under the title of *La Trique* (The Cudgel).

AUSTRIA.

At Fünfhaus, ten Socialists have been arrested, among whom are comrades Sticht, Schuhmaier, and Wiesinger. At Ottaking, seventeen more "criminals" have met with the same fate, comrades Trojan, Haubner, Vitza, and Schmidt being among their number. At Vienna, comrades Raab and Hader have been expelled. The editor of *Gleichheit*, comrade Adler, will soon have to stand his trial, and for certain will be found guilty of all sorts of mischievous deeds. And so it is that the social revolutionary ideas day after day are winning more ground in that old feudal and rotten land of the Hapsburgs.

SWEDEN.

We told our readers, some weeks ago, that three Socialist papers had been prosecuted, and now we have two more to add to them, the *Socialdemokrat* at Stockholm, and *Arbetet* at Malmö. The editors of the three former have just now been sentenced to several months of imprisonment; Pehr Erikson, editor of *Volksstimme* (People's Voice), to twelve months for one article. At this very moment all the most known Socialists of Sweden are in prison. The government have resolved to kill the Socialist movement, and never before has the party entertained better hopes towards its rapid development. That is the curse of persecution.

RUSSIA.

A Russian paper gives some interesting but dreadful figures on transportation, from which we take the following *résumé*:—Number of persons transported to Siberia from 1827 to 1846, 159,755; from 1847 to 1876, 156,585; from 1877 to 1877, 114,370; from 1880 to 1886, 120,000; total, 545,710. Out of that number the following were "political" criminals: from 1827 to 1846, 51,000; from 1847 to 1876, 78,500; from 1877 to 1877, 62,442; from 1880 to 1886, 64,531. Alexander II. caused even more people to be transported to Siberia than the atrocious despot Nicholas, and then we find "respectable" historians telling us that Alexander II. was a most liberal-minded ruler, and that he, at least, did not deserve his fate.

V. D.

There are, practically, two absolutely opposite kinds of labour going on among men for ever. The first, labour supported by capital, producing nothing. The second, labour unsupported by capital, producing all things. A little while since, I was paying a visit in Ireland, and chanced to hear an account of the pleasures of a picnic party, who had gone to see a waterfall. There was, of course, ample lunch, feasting on the grass, and basketful of fragments taken up afterwards. Then the company, feeling themselves dull, gave the fragments that remained to the attendant ragged boys, on condition that they should "pull each other's hair." Here you see, in the most accurate sense, employment of food, or capital, in the support of entirely unproductive labour.—Ruskin, *Pors* No. 2.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 2, 1889.

27	Sun.	1606. Trial of Gunpowder Plot conspirators. 1775. Schelling born. 1806. D. Strauss born. 1814. Fichte died. 1817. J. E. Godin born. 1832. Mazzini founds "Young Italy." 1842. Marcellin. 1842. Outbreak at Oporto. 1871. Capitalism of Paris.
28	Mon.	1796. William Stone tried for high treason. 1824. Bernard Becker born. 1876. Francis Deak died. 1885. Industrial Reorganisation Conference began.
29	Tues.	1737. Thomas Paine born. 1794. Hamilton Rowan tried for sedition. 1794. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at the Globe Tavern. 1799. <i>Northern Star</i> , organ of the United Irishmen, suppressed. 1833. First "reformed" Parliament met. 1860. E. M. Arndt died. 1890. A secret press of the <i>People's Will</i> seized at St. Petersburg after armed resistance; compositor Lubkin shot himself.
30	Wed.	1649. Execution of Charles Stuart the Elder. 1794. Hamilton Rowan tried for seditious libel. 1871. House of Representatives (by 172 to 21) welcome Fenians to the United States. 1877. Trial for a demonstration on the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg: 21 tried, 5 sentenced to the mines, 10 to Siberia.
31	Thur.	1804. Lighting of the Beacons. 1811. Peter Finnerty imprisoned for 18 months and bound over for 5 years for "libel" on Castle-reagh. 1849. Auguste Reinsdorf born.
1	Fri.	1801. Maximilian Paul Emile Littré born. 1840. Commutation of sentence on Frost, Williams, and Jones. 1851. Mary Wollstonecroft Shelley died. 1863. Lassalle publishes his "Open Letter" to the Leipzig Central Committee on the convoking of a General German Workers' Congress. 1875. Lock-out of 50,000 South Wales miners.
2	Sat.	1808. Ledru Rollin born. 1866. Fœnias (Special Commission) trials closed: convicted, 36; acquitted, 3. 1884. Wendell Phillips died.

Bernard Becker.—German political writer, born at Breslau 1824. After the revolutionary events of 1848, in which he took an active part, he was compelled to leave his native country and went to London, where he lived up to the year 1862. He then returned to Germany and settled at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. After the foundation of the "German General Workingmen's Association," Ferdinand Lassalle designated Becker as his representative for the section of that body established at Frankfurt. November 2, 1864, he was elected by all the branches of the country president of the Association, in lieu of Lassalle, who died on the 31st of August previous. But soon after the great agitator's death, disharmony and discord grew fast among the members of the party, Countess Hatzfeldt and Becker were unable to come to an agreement, the latter refusing to allow the Association to serve the interests of the Prussian Government and those of the reactionary-feudal party. In the month of July 1865 Becker was expelled from Prussia, and at the end of the same year he resigned the chairmanship of the Association. In the course of one year he succeeded, in spite of the intrigues of Countess Hatzfeldt, in trebling the number of the members of that once famous organisation. He then went to Vienna, where he started, with some other revolutionaries, in the month of February 1868, the first Austrian Socialist paper, *Wiener Arbeiter-Zeitung*. In 1872 the Brunswick section of the International Workingmen's Association delegated him to the General Congress of the Hague, where he always voted with the *authoritarian* fraction, represented by Karl Marx. Since that time he alternately lived in England and in Switzerland. As his writings contain valuable information for various periods of the history of the social revolutionary movement in Europe, we may as well quote here his principal productions: 'die deutsche Bewegung von 1848' (Berlin, 1864, 8vo); 'Missbrauch der Nationalitätenlehre' (Vienna, 1867, 8vo); 'die Reaction in Deutschland gegen die Revolution von 1848' (Vienna, 1868, 8vo); 'Enthüllungen über das tragische Lebensende Lassalle's' (Schleiz, 1868, 8vo); 'National-öconomische Raketen' (Sonderhausen, 1871, 8vo); 'Der alte und neue Jesuitismus' (Brunswick, 1872, 8vo); 'die Arbeiterfrage und das neue Evangelium' (Schaffhausen, 1872, 8vo); 'Karl Fourier' (Brunswick, 1874, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Pariser Commune 1789-1794' (Brunswick, 1874, 8vo); 'Briefe eines deutschen Bettel-patrioten' (Brunswick, 1875, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Lassalle's' (Brunswick, 1875, 8vo); 'Geschichte der Pariser Commune 1871' (Leipzig, 1879, 8vo). This last work, full of dirty insults and of deliberate calumnies, has caused many revolutionaries in nearly all European countries to raise vehement protests against the writer, who since that time seems to have given up all Socialist writing and now devotes his literary faculties to the interests of commercialism and bourgeoisdom.—V. D.

The following note relates to Jan. 24, 1867:—

The Unemployed sack bakers' shops.—Hyde Park riots were not the only revolutionary symptoms of these years of Reform agitation. Bread was dear and wages were low, and riotous demonstrations were common by impudent people who declined to starve while bread could be had, by the most irregular means. If distress was bad anywhere it was bad in Deptford and Greenwich. The suspension of shipbuilding and other works had caused a great scarcity of employment in these populous suburbs, and a large number of workmen were reduced to severe distress, aggravated by the inclemency of the weather. Doubtless under these circumstances the good bourgeois were not surprised to see symptoms of a riot appearing in Greenwich and Deptford, unemployed men parading the streets and attacking some of the shops. During the afternoon some relief had been distributed at the relieving offices, but it was not sufficient for the hundreds who were clamouring for bread. They were turned away empty, and this catastrophe followed. Suddenly a simultaneous movement was made towards the shops in High Street, Deptford, and in a few minutes the crashing of glass was heard and a baker's shop was completely cleared out. They then came to the shop of another baker, who to save damage distributed his bread freely among the people. In the Broadway another attack was made upon the shop of a baker, and bread was carried off under the noses of the police, who were, we are assured, in additional force that evening, but were wholly insufficient to prevent the riot; and it was not until the arrival of large reinforcements of mounted men that "order" was restored. Next morning large numbers of men again assembled, panic-stricken tradesmen closing their shops in every direction; but there was no renewal of the rioting. Its effect as usual was seen in the effusive distribution of middle-class charity, although of course it was all put down by the ordinary press to that dreadful and malign creature the London "rough."—D. N.

Non-union carpenters are referred to in Denver as "bushwhackers," in Pittsburg as "jay-bawkers," in Texas as "Punch and Judy showmen," and in California as "travelling chips."



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

LURGAN (Ireland).—Can any of our readers give name and address of a probable correspondent?

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London—Freie Presse	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette	San Francisco Arbeiter Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seaman's Journal	PORTUGAL
Ruskin's Reading Guild Journal	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Lisbon—O Protocolo Operario
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Telegraph Service Gazette	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Protariat	Arbeiter-Weeken-Chronik
Madras—Peopl's Friend	La Revoltte	DENMARK
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NOTES.

For staggering superlatives, the political promises dangled before the eyes, and dinned into the ears of the working-men in Govan, during the past contest, were enough to make the spread-eagleism of the biggest mouthed spoil-seeking swash-buckler in the United States take a back seat in the top gallery. The big braggadocios on either platform went through their antic pranks on this occasion for the entertainment of the working-men alone. The non-workers and overpaid under-strappers don't require to be convinced of what the good Parliamentary men do for them in this "great and glorious" empire, but the working-men apparently need a lot of convincing.

Both platforms rung with the praises of the late member for Govan—Sir William Pearce—and what he did for the working-men of the Clyde. They took as granted that if William Pearce had not lived, the world's commerce would not have required the ships his firm built, and the workmen would not have got the work they did. The working-men of the Clyde enabled William Pearce, who came among them comparatively poor, to die, leaving a fortune of a few hundred thousand pounds over a million. He died a millionaire, they are working-men still, and some of them starving.

From the one platform the working-men were assured that if they voted for Pender, the Unionist candidate, the Tory Government would

send lots of war-ship work to the Clyde; but if they voted for Wilson, the Gladstonian, the Clyde and all its works would be wiped out from the face of the earth. The other platform assured the working-men that they owe all their "liberties and advantages" to the Liberals, and if they voted for Wilson, the Gladstonian, they would be supporting "the righteousness which exalteth a nation," and all they have to do after that is to shut their eyes and see what god will send them.

It is hard to tell which was the biggest bamboozler. Both candidates roll in wealth made up of the balances left after "doing their best for the working men in their employ." The pretensions of both were equally insulting to the intelligence and manhood of the working men they addressed. The antic pranks of both in their frantic fight have something akin to those which characterise a street brawl, got up to entertain the dupes who become the victims of the nimble fingers of pals in crime to the pair of performers who are so mad at each other. The political world is, at last, becoming too thin to deceive working men.

It is reported in the Unionist paper: "Sir John Pender said they would not expect a long speech from him, because he had a good deal of hard work in prospect, and they knew what that meant. One reason for his coming to the Govan Division at this time was his desire to keep them all hard working." Has it come to this, that an acceptable bribe to working men is the assurance of being kept hard working? Socialists somehow have been under a delusion in thinking the working class did too much work and received too little wages. The work which Sir John Pender promises to bring to the Clyde is enough to undermine the loyalty of other shipbuilding places in this "great and glorious" empire, for, according to his statements, if he be returned the Clyde will get all the trade and the integrity of this "great and glorious" empire will be secured, even although the Clyde's gain should be the Thames' loss.

The pranks and pretensions of the religious ranter are no less ridiculous than those of the political paltroons. At the Free Church Presbytery meeting in Edinburgh which settled the call to the Rev. John McNeill, London's choice told his brethren that "at length he had come to sufficient light from heaven to make the decision." The congregation of Regent Square will now be the happy possessors of a minister who possesses "sufficient light from heaven."

The "ladies and gentlemen" of Kelvinside—according to a "J. B. Fleming" who writes to the Glasgow Herald in a hey presto manner about the affair—have demonstrated the fallacy of an allegation often made by Socialists. It appears from this great economist's crowing that 278 of the Kelvinside gentry have, by a prodigious effort, managed to collect £156, 10s. for "Old John," a car and bus driver, who has been on their route for the past thirty-five years. With that sum they purchased an annuity of £6 4s. 8d. per quarter from the Prudential Assurance Company, and in that transaction "J. B. F." finds sufficient argument in support of the following silencer to Socialists: "The result shows how false is the allegation frequently made by Socialist agitators that the better classes have no care for their humbler neighbours. This man was honest and civil and obliging in the station God placed him, and he has not been left to want in his old age."

The cock-sureness of "J. B. F." in his "result" is really refreshing. He appears to think that the growing discontent of the workers with the present arrangement will be removed by this isolated act of charity, which, after all, the "better classes" do not provide. If he would reflect on the source of the Prudential Company's income, and how they are enabled to provide this annuity, he would see, if he be not economically blind, that it is not the "better classes" who have really come to "Old John's" aid in his old age. Justice, and not charity, is the great need.

The "better classes" of Kelvinside are mostly persons who have risen from as humble a position as "Old John's," through the tricks of trade. Obviously the traits of character which they admire in "Old John" did not form any part of their assets "in the station God placed them." The care of the "better classes" for their humbler neighbours, notwithstanding its rarity and thinness, has always lurking within it something of the insurance policy or the investment intended to bring profit. G. McL.

HENRY GEORGE.—Henry George's Standard makes a protest against the attitude of the Chicago authorities toward public meetings and processions. It is too late in the day, Mr. George, for you to pose as a champion of freedom of speech. You once had a chance to vindicate that cause such as comes to a man but once in a lifetime, and in the trial hour you not only failed the cause, but betrayed it. Let one of the meetings against the suppression of which you now protest be held; let someone present throw a bomb and kill an officer; let the speakers be arrested on a charge of murder; let a jury packed with the hirelings of capital convict them; let a judge sentence them to be hanged; let the supreme court formally sanction the whole; let a large portion of the people, hounded on by a bloodthirsty and prostituted press, clamour for these men's death; and let this culminate in the middle of a political campaign in which you are running for office: under these circumstances should we not see you do again what you have done once already,—declare that a supreme court can do no wrong, that in face of its opinion you recant yours, that the convicted men deserve to be hanged, and that you will not lift voice or pen to save them? We have known you, Henry George, in the past, and we know you for the future. The lamp holds out to burn, but for no such vile sinner as yourself. In vain your efforts to return to the fold. As Ingersoll says, "Twon't do."—Liberty.

SKINNING THE LOUSE.

" See Sir James Grubb absorbed in deep laid schemes,
Gold haunts his thoughts all day, all night his dreams.
Possessed of half a million, still he's poor,
And saves a penny to increase his store :
Give him the hide and tallow for his pains
He'll whip a louse a mile, and boast his gains.
In thrifty maxims he displays his wit,
'Get what you can, and hold fast what you get.'
He'll tell you with an oily canting tongue,
'Man wants but little here and that not long':
Though from his eager groping it appears
As if he thought to live a thousand years."

In a foot-note to the above passage it is related of Sir James Lowther that one day, after paying twopence for his dish of coffee, for which he changed a piece of silver, he was helped into his chariot (being very lame and infirm) and was driven home. A short time after he returned to the coffee-house, on purpose to acquaint the woman who had served him that she had given him a bad halfpenny, and demanded another in exchange for it. Sir James had £40,000 per annum, and was at a loss whom to appoint his heir.

If it were not for some such louse-skinning, it would never be possible to pile up such stupendous fortunes as from time to time the papers make note of. It is reported that in 1888, ten persons died leaving behind them for the lawyers to lie about, £10,544,000; seventeen others bequeathed £8,500,000; nineteen others left £7,000,000; and 900 additional persons left £25,000,000. Close on £52,000,000 in the hands of a little over 900 persons. This sum of money was left in sums of £3,544,978 to a minimum of £150,000.

Some, perhaps, may urge that louse-skinning would do but little towards piling up such gigantic sums, but such objectors miss a very essential point—that all large masses are made up of infinitely small atoms. All, or most of, these immense fortunes are made up by the power which the exploiter has of repeating a very small operation an infinite number of times. Go on to any exchange and note the haggling which takes place over a fraction of one per cent., the secret of the chaffering lies in the fact that the particular deal may be for some hundreds of thousands of one particular article, in great demand.

Very few great fortunes are made by deals in articles of little demand, such as Castles or Koh-in-noors. Manchester cotton goods, of which the output is reckoned by hundreds of millions, has probably been the source of some of the largest fortunes in this country, and has allowed more of the louse-skinning. By the almost imperceptible addition of china clay and other adulterants, the quality of the fabric has been reduced, which gives two chances of profit; selling rubbish at price of cotton and quickly returning demand; but with slow improvements in manufacture comes increased output at reduced cost, and increased power of playing man off against man, and increased power of sweating the operatives paltry pittance. A manufacturer with ten men at work for him could make but a small living for himself, even if he fined the ten men two shillings each; but having ten thousand men in his employ, could live luxuriously on a fine of one penny per man.

Two shillings per man on ten men would only be £1—not enough for a bottle of wine, some would say. One penny per man on ten thousand men is just on £42; good louse-skinning that. John Rylands, one of the merchant princes who died a few weeks ago, had some twelve thousand men in his employ. Among other sources of revenue he kept a laundry, and it is related that on one occasion, over-hearing a conversation which led him to think he had been robbed of the cost of washing a shirt, he "raised snakes" for the hands of the washerwoman's department.

Besides the sweating of wages which is so profitable over large numbers, there are a hundred other ways in which the control of large numbers of slaves is made to produce an infinity of profits so small in themselves as to escape challenge, but which in gross make large fortunes. By supplying the necessities of daily life, by providing some sort of lodgment at extortionate rents, by lending money in advance of long-deferred payment of wages, and last, but not least, by *borrowing* of the workers. "Borrowing?" say some; aye, borrowing. Hundreds of thousands of pounds have been borrowed by unscrupulous employers in the pettiest of sums on promise of interest or annuity, sometimes repaid, but very often not. Ten thousand workers invited to take shares in their works subscribe a few pence, or perhaps a shilling a week. Ten thousand sixpences, £250 per week, or £13,000 per annum. Of course, no slave paying in only sixpence per week is allowed to challenge the financial solidity of the "Firm," and wouldn't know how to go over the accounts if he did. At the end of ten years comes a smash, and the £130,000—invested in the wife's name—is just enough to retire to Italy on, or go into the House of Commons with. Hurrah for louse-skinning!

Arrived in the "House," the opportunities of skinning are vastly increased. Invited to become managing director of some big company, he can carry on his same old games, by the power of securing Government contracts for the vast stores required by the nation; by securing the appointment of some relative to manage a clothing factory, say, the sweater inside helps the sweater outside; by the power of war-making all over the globe the demand for stores is increased; for a royalty of a few pence a patriotic inventor will sell a new shot, or any other war material, to his own country—or any other.

Our soldiers in Egypt to-day, sent there to support the pretensions of the vilest gang of skimmers who ever cursed two countries, are fighting with shoddy weapons, made by the same sweaters who supply

the enemy against whom they are arrayed. No matter, the stuff is made and sold, and the skinner skins until he dies and leaves his three or four millions sterling; and the millions still go on growing simply by force of attraction. This power of attraction has been proved repeatedly of late years in a variety of ways in the increasing number of large fortunes left by manufacturers, and in the tendency to amalgamation of firms, companies, and special industries.

A great outcry is being made as to the growing evil of syndicates, rings, corners, etc. This is all nonsense. We should welcome the naked expressions of monopoly as the most positive evidence of the speedy breaking up of present-day commercialism; as a proof that the much-vaunted claim of the so-called captain of industry is all rot; as a proof that the capitalist pure and simple is not an essential in production, for he can be replaced by the small shareholder, managing directors, foremen, and other reasonably-paid servants taking the place of the now played-out speculator-in-chief.

It is related in Pliny's 'Natural History' that at one time one-half the province of Africa was owned by only six landlords, whereupon the emperor—Nero—slew the whole six. See the amount of knife-grinding which this syndicate saved, as compared with France a hundred years ago. This emperor evidently understood the great advantages of having to deal with a syndicate, for he expressed a wish that all his enemies could have but one neck, so that he could have one big strangling match. ●

The syndicate-mongers of to-day are performing a most useful function: they are reducing to a coherent, easily-understood system the absolute power of a few over the many. The "advantages of competition to the general public" has been played down so fine that the "doctrine of diminishing profits" now proves to the competing exploiters that they must now do their skinning without competition.

While the public had more than one sole garment to be robbed of, the robbers robbed independently, and the sufferer failed to understand all the details of the performance. Now that there is nothing but the one skin to remove, the robbers agree to do the scalping in Indian fashion—one to scalp and the others sit in a ring and smoke. Now that there is nothing but skin to remove the public will kick, and there are fewer to serve the kicks out to, so each will have a bigger share.

And they will get it too. It is generally believed that "making a cross," as done by uneducated persons when unable to sign their name in full, dates from the time when even the nobility were in the same position. The cross represents a sword, in the pommel of the sword was inserted a seal. Charlemagne, when issuing the document by which the Romish liturgy was ordained throughout France, "made his mark" to it, and Mezeria states that under the mark was commonly inserted, "I have signed it with the pommel of my sword, I promise to maintain it with the point."

Education is spreading, very few now use the mark the masses can even read, and as a result they are learning how much the sword has been concerned in their exploitation. Of all the shams of this sham-ridden country, the talk about our commercial supremacy is the rottenest, in that it claims that it is "powerful." The fashion in which some men of light and leading talk about the blood stained fashion in which the Old World empires were built up, while our mighty empire has been simply the result of the force of ideas, aided by our very superior manufactures.

Among the great landowners the farther you travel back the nearer you get to the time of the sword. The instrument of conveyance was not a parchment but a sword, the conveyancer was the owner of the strongest arm. Gained by the sword, sealed by the sword, maintained by the sword.

Then come the manufacturers, the emigrant, and the colonial trading company. The first helping to drive the second out of the country; the emigrant by force or by fraud, or by both, effecting a landing, securing a footing, and at last killing off the native of the desired land; opening new markets for the manufacturer, and paving the way for the big trading company, which at last in the new land unites in one body the devilments of both the landowner and capitalist manufacturer, as found and left at home.

Every now and again, where the killing out of the aborigines has not been effectual, there comes a big upheaval, as the Sepoy *mutiny*, or as the Egyptian, and at this particular minute in Central Africa. Once more comes the demand to uphold, by the power of the sword, the supremacy of the peaceful missionary and his equally peaceful blood-soaked exporter-manufacturer; and more important still is it borne in upon the whole of the units concerned, that what has been gained by the sword will have to be maintained by the sword, even the right (?) to "Skin a Louse" foreign or native.

THOS. SHORE, JUN.

In ancient Egypt, crimes could not be compounded as in so many other ancient lands by the payment of a fine. The man who witnessed a crime without attempting to prevent it, was punished as a partaker. The civil laws were administered in such a manner that the poor could have recourse to them as well as the rich.—*Winwood Reade's 'Martyrdom of Man.'*

The true root and basis of all Art lies in the handicrafts. If there is no room or chance of recognition for really artistic power and feeling in design and craftsmanship—if Art is not recognised in the humblest object and material, and felt to be as valuable in its own way as the more highly rewarded pictorial skill—the arts cannot be in a sound condition; and if artists cease to be found among the crafts, there is great danger that they will vanish from the arts also, and become manufacturers and salesmen instead.—*Walter Crane.*

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

STRIKE AT LIVERPOOL.—The shore-gangs struck on Jan. 17th, and at a meeting same night they decided to stand firm.

ENGINEERS' WAGES.—The men engaged in the repairing shops at South Shields, who were out for an advance of 2s. per week, have had their demands granted.

BIRMINGHAM NAILMAKERS.—A meeting representing 15,000 nailmakers was held in Birmingham on January 17th, and an application made for an advance of 10 per cent.

LIVERPOOL SEAMEN.—The demand of the seamen of Liverpool for higher wages is likely to be conceded. On Friday 18th several crews were shipped at advanced rates, and no disturbance took place.

MAYBOLE SHOEMAKERS.—The men and women employed in St. Cuthbert's Shoe Factory, after being on strike since the new year, resumed work on the 18th, the dispute having been amicably settled on the day previous.

SHIPBUILDERS' STRIKE.—The shipyard hands of the Tees and the Hartlepool left their employment on Jan. 16th, having declined an offer of 5 per cent. advance on piece-work and 1s. per week on time wages, with a similar advance in July. They demand 7½ per cent. and 2s. per week. Eight or nine thousand men are affected.

BLOCK CHAIN TRADE.—Notice has been given on behalf of the operatives engaged in the block-chain trade for an advance. They ask for a return to the 4s. list, which represents an increase of 10 per cent. on rates now paid. Two attempts have been made to convene a conference of employers and representatives of the operatives to consider claims, but they failed, and the operatives felt that they had no alternative but to demand an increase in the usual way. The men have been empowered by the Midland Trades' Federation to give notice, and will no doubt receive the support of that organisation.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—The seamen and firemen of Glasgow came out on strike on Friday 18th. At a meeting of the National Amalgamated Seamen and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That we, the seamen and firemen of Glasgow, considering our wages to be far lower than they ought to be, resolve to demand the following rate of wages—for firemen, £4 5s.; seamen, £4, in all classes of steamers, except weekly boats, for which the wages demanded will be 30s. per week; for sailing vessels to the Baltic and Quebec, £3 15s., and southwards £3."

LURGAN HEMSTITCHERS.—The strike among the hemstitchers has extended in a very serious manner. In addition to the employes of Ross and Co., who have been off work a fortnight, the hemstitchers of Thomas Fallon and Co. and of James B. Hanna and Co. have now gone on strike. There is reason to believe that the operatives now out are being sustained by the hemstitchers of other concerns not affected by the present movement. Some of the employers allege that if the strike continues much longer it will inflict permanent injury on the trade of the town, but outside the principals in the trade there is undoubtedly much sympathy with the workers in their effort to resist unjust and unfair treatment.

COTTON TRADE.—At Macclesfield the strike of weavers at the Globe Mills, after lasting six months, has ended in a defeat for the strikers, who have accepted 5 per cent. under standard rates, instead of the Blackburn list they asked for.—At Soughbridge (Kelbrook), weavers have gone back on being promised all they asked; same at Navigation Mill, Blackburn.—At Holme Mill, Padiham, over 400 looms are idle through extra work and other grievances.—At Millsteads Mill, Todmorden, the Blackburn list has been conceded, and trouble is over for the time being.—The grinders at Beard Mill (New Mills) have won. Some of the rats that came to take their places are out in the cold and seem likely to be kept there.—The Bolton strike has been brought to an end by the acceptance of the operatives' terms.

ABERDEEN.—Under the heading of "Dundee Mill-workers," a report appeared in this page last week of a strike of the employes at Broadford Works. A correspondent writes that these works are situated in Aberdeen, not Dundee. The workers remained out for three or four days, but as there was no combination among them, and as they had no funds to enable them to remain out on strike, it was deemed best to go in again on the old terms in the meantime, but to form a union of the 3,000 girls and men, and if the desired increase of 5 per cent. were not given in a few weeks, to come out again organised, and with funds to support them while out. The Rev. Henry Williamson (Dundee), Rev. Comrade A. Webster (Aberdeen), and the local Trades' Council have fought well for the workers; but it is very suggestive of the character of trades' unionism as a whole, that an attempt was made by a minority of the Trades' Council to pass a vote of censure on some of their office-bearers for presuming to take up the cause of unskilled and unorganised labour without the permission of the Executive, to obtain which it would have been necessary to call a meeting, which would have paralysed all action for several days.

A MINER'S INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.—Everything nowadays is becoming sensational, except coal-mining, says a Lancashire correspondent of the *Labour Tribune*, and even in that avocation the continual recurrence of accidents, fatal and otherwise, is looked upon as something extraordinary; and I am hoping that, notwithstanding the resistance of some of the workmen, the period is close at hand when by full compliance with the law, and the introduction of safety appliances in the shape of detaching hooks preventing overwinding, safety catches and extra precautions in preparations and examinations of shafts, levels, brows, and working places by competent officials, and last, but not least, by the adoption of an explosive compound that will not ignite gas when exploded in the presence of a feeder or sudden outburst, accidents will be few and far between. While the coal industry in this district is as good as it is at present, everybody engaged in this great industry should learn to "make hay while the sun shines." Six days per week at the pit ought to be sufficient for the man who works; but of course four has been the most that could be put in during the Christmas and New Year's holidays; consequently the strain upon the housewife's purse has been greater than it could possibly bear. I happened to drop into a house on Saturday afternoon last, where there are seven. The father and one boy aged thirteen were the workers. The pay had just arrived, and myself being recognised as the best scholar present, I was requested to dot down the items of income and expenditure. The latter I give; the former—as I leave your readers to guess—was insufficient to meet demands. Here are the items of expenditure: Rent (a fortnight), 9s.; grocer, 7s.; baker, 4s. 6d.;

vegetables (or greengrocer), 2s. 9d.; clothing, 2s.; coal, 1s. 6d.; milk, 1s. draper, 1s.; clock repairs and literature, 3s.; insurance, 1s.; understandings (boots and clogs), 2s.; ornaments, 1s.; sundries—for crocks, blacking, black-lead, etc., not mentioning paste for plate; amounts to £1 17s. 9d.; while father and son had only mustered in real wages about £1 2s. 0d., deficiency 15s. 9d. This has to be fetched up by extra effort, increased vigilance, more work, or longer hours in the mine. All this with a 10 per cent. advance recently conceded, an increasing trade and unprecedented prospects. For, taking prices of coal all round, as given in the Manchester papers, it averages 6s. 6d. per ton. So putting: getting and drawing per ton, average 1s. 10d.; haulage, hooking, and brow work, 7½d.; ripping roads, packing ditto, etc., day wage, 1s.; management and office work, 7½d.; royalty and wayleaves, 9d.; depreciation, or reserve fund, 3d.; total, 5s. This deducted from 6s. 6d. leaves just 1s. 6d. profit. Now, just take a colliery yielding 2,000 tons per day, the profit would be £40 per day, or for six days per week, as colliers in this district are working, £300 per week. Supposing the capital invested to be £60,000 and the working weeks forty, a profit of £12,000 is shown, or an interest of 20 per cent. While this is so, is it right or reasonable that the collier should toil to the extent that when he ceases it must be from sheer exhaustion, rendering his little bit of leisure time as useless as it is possible to make it for want of rest?

THE GOVAN ELECTION.

THERE is a deal of significance in the result of the Govan election to Socialists. At the last election Sir William Pearce, Tory, polled 362 votes over Mr. Dickson, Gladstonian Liberal; while at the present election Mr. Wilson, Gladstonian Liberal, has polled 1,071 votes over the Unionist candidate, Sir John Pender. The election was fought on the very same questions as before. Whence, therefore, the difference? I am absolutely certain that not five men in a hundred have changed their views on the Irish or on any other question during the interval. The reason is really this: Whereas before the Unionist candidate, Sir William Pearce, was the most influential employer of labour in Govan, the present Unionist candidate has no trade connection with the district whatever; whereas before the Liberal candidate had no trade interest in the district, the present Liberal candidate has. It is true Mr. Wilson's works are situated in the adjoining constituency; but his interest as a local employer of labour is not much the less on that account. He is in a business way connected with and is probably on friendly terms with all the Govan shipbuilders. They did not care—or dare—to boycott him and use their influence with their men against him, as they cared and dared to do against Mr. Dickson, the previous Liberal candidate, who was a stranger. On the other hand, Sir John Pender, the Unionist candidate, had no direct means of coercing the electors, like Sir William Pearce. Sir William Pearce employed when busy nearly 5,000 men. It was notorious that—explain it as we may—Sir William succeeded in making hundreds of his employes who were Gladstonians either vote for him or abstain from voting altogether, for fear of losing their bread—not to mention butter. At least 1,000 men have voted Gladstonian in this contest who did not vote at all at the last contest; while some 260 have deserted the Unionist side. Thus we see how the electors, being, comparatively speaking, free on this occasion to vote as they chose, have voted for Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule, instead of Toryism and coercion—it being apparent to every observer that in Govan as in most parts of Scotland the majority of working men are, and were at the last general election, on Mr. Gladstone's side.

We have therefore in the final result at Govan a most significant example of the power of the capitalists to enslave the workers not only economically but politically.

It is the universal opinion that had young Sir G. W. Pearce, the son of the late member and the present head of the great Fairfield Shipbuilding Company, stood as candidate—politically ignorant and incapable as he is—the result would have been vastly different: which means, as plain as plain can be, that his power as an employer of labour would have constrained the workers of Govan to violate their political convictions. The incident therefore shows that in this country, as in America and elsewhere, no amount of mere statute or constitutional freedom can secure freedom of political action to the workers. So long as the workers are economic slaves they will be political slaves.

The new member, Mr. John Wilson, has no qualities to recommend him as a candidate except that he is rich and is willing to support Mr. Gladstone on the Home Rule question. He has no sympathy with the claims of the workers, and is opposed to almost every proposal of an "advanced" kind. His record as an employer of labour is bad. He was the first employer in the brass trade to raise the hours of labour from 51 to 54 per week, and to reduce the wages of the men 1s. per week. Even during the contest an action at the instance of H. M. Inspector of Factories for violation of the Factory Act was brought against him, and is still *sub judice*. The jubilation of working-men at his return is therefore a species of insanity. One Irishman was heard to exclaim, "It is the greatest victory of modern times next to the battle of Waterloo—except perhaps the battle of Bannockburn!" There is however an aspect of the matter in which even we as Socialists may see cause for hope, if not rejoicing. The more capitalists of the type of John Wilson sent into Parliament the sooner the working class will see the hypocrisy of their pretensions as champions and friends of the rights of labour, and the sooner will active hostility between the capitalist class and the working class be begun. In the meantime at least it is better to send capitalists than Socialists to Parliament—capitalists will speed the revolution, Socialists will only retard it.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

Is it not so To-day?

In the modern world we find luxury the harbinger of progress; in the ancient world the omen of decline. But how can this be? Nature does not contradict herself; the laws which govern the movements of society are as regular and unchangeable as those which govern the movements of the stars. Wealth is in reality as indispensable to mankind for purposes of growth as water to the soil. It is not the fault of the water if its natural circulation is interfered with; if certain portions of the land are drowned while others are left completely dry. Wealth in all countries of the ancient world was artificially confined to a certain class. More than half the area of the Greek and Roman world was shut off by slavery from the fertilising stream. *This single fact is sufficient to explain how that old civilisation, in some respects so splendid, was yet so one-sided and incomplete.—Winwood Reade's Martyrdom of Man.*

THE BATTLE-CRY OF FREEDOM.

(ADAPTED FROM A CELEBRATED SONG OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR.)

We will rally round the Red, boys,
We'll rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
We will rally from the hill-side,
We will rally from the plain,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Chorus—Then Labour forever! Hurra, boys, hurra!
Down with the tyrants, up with the flag,
While we rally round the Red, boys,
Rally once again,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are answering the call
Of our brothers gone before,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And we'll fill the vacant ranks
With a million freemen more,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

We are gathering around us
The noble, true, and brave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And although he may be poor,
None shall ever be a slave,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

Many fall amid the fray, boys,
But we'll face them to the last,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And our comrades brave shall hear us
As we go rushing past,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

For the liberty of Labour,
We are leaping to the fight,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom;
And we'll make the Wrong go under,
Win the victory of Right,
Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

SOCIALISM V. INDIVIDUALISM IN LEICESTER.

COMRADES.—Some time ago a local Fabian here induced the Leicester Secular Society to have the Fabian lectures on the Basis and Organisation of Socialism given in the Secular Hall. The first series is now over; has been brilliant, Clarke's lecture calling forth the admiration even of the Individualists. The Secular Hall has been quite full, and reports have been sent to the advanced local press. But the Individualists determined upon a course of lectures to counteract, or throw off the scent. The first was a real red-herring trailed by Mrs. Fawcett, widow of the late Postmaster-General. She consented to come down here for the modest sum of £15 (afterwards commuted to £12 we hear). There she stood, glittering in diamonds, flattering the "dogged honesty" of her sex, that safe-guards it against Anarchism and wicked schemes of expropriation. Her subject was, "Why are Women's Wages Lower than Men's?" Her matter was a string of commonplaces, except when she declared that appropriating the land would be robbery, and the removal of capitalists social suicide. People were expecting an eloquent discourse; they were disappointed. Our next antagonist was J. H. Levy on "The Economics of Individualism." You must know that the "Liberty and Property Defence League" have published the statement that they organised this opposition course of lectures in Leicester. Levy took up time in denying this, and repudiated the L. and P. D. L., evidently quite ashamed of it. He opened with a loud flourish of trumpets. He would challenge Socialists to find "a loophole in his armour" (*sic!*). He coolly appropriated some of the principal positions of Socialism as Individualism, and then denounced Socialism as tyranny, slavery, and wholesale interference with everybody. He diverted attention from the main question by turning down the by-lanes of "population" and "vanishing rate of interest." He said man had a right to all his own faculties do produce, and no one should stand between him and the "raw material." Being asked whether the labourers' faculties had not produced the improvements put into and on the land, and whether Individualism proposed the restitution of these with the "raw material," he did not answer. Contradicted Mrs. Fawcett point-blank *re* land nationalisation. Was good enough to remind Socialists of the difficulties they would have to encounter in carrying out their principles. Predicted the recession of the revolutionary wave, etc., etc. Mr. Levy has a very objectionable manner of gesticulating in the faces of opponents. He directed his gaze and his discourse towards us Socialists several times, as if "put on" to us. In his opening flourish of trumpets he undertook to be rigidly "logical." He was reminded of this in the discussion following, and some half-dozen pure assumptions in his address pointed out to him; but he declined to answer and make the attempt to justify himself.

Next Individualist lecture was by a Mr. Reed, "Philosophy of Individualism." It was originally intended for Individualists: if they never have it delivered to them they will be more fortunate than we. I cannot describe it better than one of the audience did—"something like the weather of late." At the outset of the Fabian lectures, Hubert Bland, hearing the Individualist lectures announced, congratulated the audience. He said he had found Socialism had always spread more after a course of Individualist lectures. It would be so in Leicester. His prediction has been fulfilled; *teste* the opposition to the Individualist doctrines, and the loud applause accorded to the Socialist lecturers and discussants. Our cause is pushing forward; the ideas are working; prejudice is broken; we are comprehended. The Fabian method is a wise one for a town like Leicester. We are converted nearly, hundreds of us, and may be quite by the end of the lectures; but still I doubt if we shall organise any more. We shall see.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

THE DESPOTISM OF ORDER.

AMONG the superstitions of education are those in favour of what is called order. It is not that there is no such thing as order, but that its advocates are bigoted, narrow, and exclusive. It is coolly taken for granted that if what somebody calls order is good, what that same somebody calls disorder is bad. As if there might not be bad order as applied to things? It is simply arrangement according to some notion, and disorder is simply arrangement according to some other notion. If a parlour is arranged with chairs in rows all around the walls, with everything in right lines, every one says, "How stiff, how intolerable, how little taste is manifested!" But swing round the lounge in the corner carelessly; let the chairs be scattered about, just as they would be if persons had but used them; shove the centre table a little out of the very middle of the medallion, so that it shall not be set, and then people say the parlour has a social and easy air. What is this but a disguised revolt against the despotism of order?—*New York Ledger*.

INSCRIPTION FOR AN OBELISK IN PRINTING-HOUSE SQUARE.

A page of the *Times* the Devil read,
And he flung it down:—Ahem!
I'm the father of lies, I know, he said,
But I'm damned if I father them!
—LINTON'S *English Republic* (p. 249).

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

Annual Conference.—The Annual Conference will be held on Whit-Sunday, June 9th. Place of meeting and other particulars will be duly announced.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Membership Cards can now be had by the Branches at 9d. per dozen from Central Office.

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 2s. 6d. per 1,000.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Feb. 4, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888.—Clerkenwell, to December, 1889.—Leicester, to January.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Contribution fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

H. K. Austin, 14s.; Aug. Heine, 1s.; J. W. Browne, £1; W. Bell Scott, £1.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following sums have been received towards this fund:—S. Presburg, 1s. 6d.; D. Nicoll, 1s. 6d.; J. Presburg, 1s.; H. Davis, 1s. 6d.; H. Daum, 6d.; L. Trunk, 1s.; E. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 1s.; W. B. Parker, 1s.; J. Lane, 5s.; F. Kitz, 1s.; H. H. Sparling, 1s.; M. Morris, 1s.; Wm. Blundell, 1s.; Samuels, 6d.; S. Mainwaring, 6d.; Kahn, 6d.; Rochman, 1s.; J. Morris, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; A. Seglie, 1s.; C. Tilley, 6d.; B. (per R. Turner), 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Knifel, 6d.; Diemshietz, 3d.; Matlouski, 2d.; and Goldstein, 1d. The following have also given in their names as guarantors for sums of not less than 6d. weekly:—Curtis, Morris Wess, W. Leatham, Friedentoll, A. Solomon, Esther Isaacson, V. Dave, and A. Scheu. Five hundred wanted.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—Good meeting at the Green, addressed by Brooks, Nicoll, and Hicks. After the meeting, comrades and friends adjourned to the hall at 13, Farringdon Road, where Cores lectured on "Will Parliamentary Government Benefit the Workers?" An animated debate followed. The subject stands adjourned for discussion to Sunday evening next.—P.

FULHAM.—A fair meeting addressed by Smith, Bullock, and Grosor on Tuesday evening, at back of Walham Green Church. Sunday evening, after Grosor and Ashburn had spoken outside, R. Catterson Smith lectured in our rooms to a good audience. Many questions, good discussion, and 2s. 8d. collected.—G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning at 11.30 a.m., fair audience; speakers were Maughan and J. Smith, assisted by choir. Good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 p.m.; speakers, Wm. Morris and Lyne, jun. *Commonweal* sold fairly during day. In evening, S. Olivier lectured at Kelmiscott House; good discussion.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 14th, G. B. Shaw's paper, "My Friend Fitzthunder the Unpractical Socialist," read and discussed. Simple in chair, and attendance good. At Castle Street on Saturday night, large meeting addressed by Barrow and Leatham, choir singing "The Proletariat," "March of the Workers," and "Hark the Battle Cry!"—L.

GLASGOW.—Two very successful meetings on Sunday—at 2.30 Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke on Jail Square; at 5.30 the same speakers addressed a good audience at Paisley Road; 1s. collected and the *Commonweal* sold out. In the evening, under the auspices of the Christian Socialists, comrade the Rev. Mr. Forrest of Kilmarnock delivered an admirable address on "Social Salvation" in the Waterloo Hall to a large audience.

NORWICH.—Sunday afternoon, large meeting in the Market Place; Mowbray spoke upon the condition of the workers; audience very attentive; good collection; *Commonweal* sold out. In evening, good meeting of members and sympathisers held to consider position of *Commonweal*; several suggestions made, and a guarantee fund opened by the Branch. It is hoped as many comrades and sympathisers as possible will support it, in order to help to make the paper a success.

YARMOUTH.—As Sunday morning was wet, there was no meeting. A fairly attended meeting was held in afternoon; some *Weals* and *Chants* were sold. The mayor of Yarmouth has denied that there is exceptional poverty, and attributes the agitation to the Socialists. Several names have been received for starting a branch. It is hoped to find a place of meeting during week, and get branch started at once, although many of the men are afraid of being seen at our meetings, fearing to lose their work. Several Radicals are joining.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (3-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Business meeting every Sunday at 7.30 p.m. Sunday Jan. 27, at 8.30, J. Turner will lecture on "How to obtain Anarchist Socialism without the aid of 'Parliamentary Government,' continuing the discussion on 'Parliamentary Government.'"

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday January 27, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then."

Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

Hammersmith.—Kelmcott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 27, at 8 p.m., William Clarke (Fabian Society), A Lecture. Wednesday 30th, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Socialism."

Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

Mitcham.—Meets every Sunday, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, at 11 a.m.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Friday Jan. 25th, debate between Samuels and White. These discussions will be continued every alternate Friday.

Warrooth and Camberwell.—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

Wimbledon and Merton.—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

Bristol.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

Dumfries (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

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

Glasgow (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

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

Grays.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, Hall open from 8.30. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Hall open from 8.30. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Sunday February 10th, a farewell Demonstration by comrade Mowbray will be held.

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

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

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

Yarmouth.—All desiring to join branch in course of formation here should communicate with C. Reynolds, Row 45, George Street, who is acting as Secretary *pro tem.*

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 27.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Regent's Park.....The Branch
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch
3.30...Hyde Park.....Nicol, Parker, & Cores
7.30...Broad Street, Soho.....The Branch
7.30...Clerkenwell Green.....Cores
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk.....Hammersmith

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 27.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schack & Cores

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at 63 Lincoln's Inn Fields, on Saturday Jan. 26, at 7.30 p.m. Members please send their subscription cards to the Secretary for audit.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The sixth lecture will be delivered on Sunday February 10th by Annie Besant—subject, "Industry under Socialism."

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

IPSWICH LABOUR REFORM LEAGUE.—Pioneer Club, Theatre Yard, Tacket Street.—On Sunday Jan. 13th J. Thomas lectured to good audience upon "What is Socialism?" F. Brown in chair. On Sunday 20, F. Brown gave interesting lecture on "Christianity v. Science" to fair audience; Murphy in chair. Good discussion both times.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting will be held on Saturday January 26th, at 40 Berner Street, at 8.30, to discuss the amalgamation of the East-end Branches of the League. Members please note.—A united meeting of members of the Hackney, London Fields, and Mile-end and Bethnal Green Branches will be held at 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney, on Sunday February 3rd, at 4.15 p.m.

DRUM AND FIFE BAND.—Junior members of the S.L. and other revolutionary bodies willing to join a band are requested to attend at the Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, Sunday January 27, at 6 p.m. prompt. Those who have already given their names in, please notice. The object of the band is to assist in every way possible the revolutionary propaganda. For further information address communications to R. Turner, jun., care of F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Road.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed immediately if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . 1d
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . . 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist lullaby. By William Morris. In Wrappers . . . 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . 1d.
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