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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

If Socialists retain any illusion as to the apparent defeat of Matthews and Warren (which was so loudly crowed over by a part of the Radical press) having any influence over the conduct of the police to the people, the brutality on 16th inst. will surely have swept such illusion away. It is not easy to imagine a worse case of arbitrary and cowardly violence than that which was perpetrated on our comrades of Berner Street, reproducing some of the worst features of Bloody Sunday, such as the beating of prisoners in the police-cell. Furthermore, is it probable that such things are done by the police out of the pure cussedness of the individual? That would be absurd to suppose; the authorities expect their men to behave in this manner, such deeds are practically, not condoned, but approved of. It is assumed that every poor man must be treated as an enemy of that society which is undoubtedly his enemy. And if he adds revolutionary ideas to his poverty—well!!

I can imagine a smug orderly well-fed military-looking higher officer of the police talking to some *refined* gentleman, and saying to him, "Well, my dear sir, you don't know the London rough; you can do nothing with him unless you knock him about; and as to who are roughs, why in such places as Berner Street the whole population are roughs. You must just let us act, my dear sir, and don't pay any attention to any outcry that a parcel of poor Jews may make. They can't do you any harm; the native roughs are quite inclined to fall upon them, and some day it will have to be done." And the refined gentleman would go away thinking it was all right, slumming being now out of fashion again. But if he could only bring his mind to bear upon so dull a subject, he might see that it is somewhat dangerous that it should have become an understood thing amongst the poor that the police are their natural enemies. "Those whom the gods will destroy they blind," says the ancient proverb.

The London County Council has made a very false step in closing the doors of its committee rooms on the public. This is going the way of the Board of Works. Why, it is exactly these committees that it is important for the public to know all about, that they may detect the first germs of corruption, criticise short-comings, discover incompetency, and encourage administrative qualities where they exist. It is very little use the public being admitted to the mere parade-days of the Council if it is to be excluded from its business meetings. This hole-and-corner resolution was passed owing to the laziness of the Progressives on the Council, who, one would have thought, might at least have been present on such an occasion. Or what explanation have they to offer?

The government have not been leading a happy life lately. The opposition have been working their victory in the Parnell Commission for all it is worth, and it has proved rather remunerative. However, one need neither affect to feel special moral reprobation, and still less surprise. Morally they are in a bad position, because they have been found out; that is all. For the rest, though they are cornered as to matters of detail, they have a good defence to put forward in the lump which should be accepted by the other side if *they* were not so steeped in hypocrisy.

For, after all, what is their business? The defence of property; the defence of the brigandage of the classes. We must at once get out of our heads that they have *anything* else to do. So what these Tory robber-chiefs or thief-syndicate have to say to their Liberal attackers is simply: "You know the interests which we have to defend, and how paramount they are; *you* in the enthusiasm of playing the party game have made a false step, and (no doubt without intending it) have attacked the rights of property, and have let loose upon us a crowd of ignorant Irish peasants, who don't know what they want, though they know that we (and you) keep them poor. They are headed by an ambitious, astute, and satisfactorily short-sighted politician, Mr. Parnell. So now it is our business to try and cure your blunder, if it be not incurable; and the only way to do that, as

you yourselves will one day find out, is to use all our resources of force and fraud, and set ourselves stiffly to say 'No' to any claims that could be brought against us, whatever humanity or justice there might be in them.

"And as to all this pother you are making about our using our advantages in the shape of prisons and spies and rapscaillon magistrates, really it is very unconstitutional of you, when you *know* that any and every government would use the same instruments whenever it thought it necessary. Why didn't we have a State prosecution against Parnell and his gang? Why, because we thought it would be such a breakdown if we failed, as we feared we might; and we thought that if we carried it on under cover of the *Times*, that at all events some of the dirt might stick, and that we might have gone about bragging that we *could* have prosecuted had we pleased. However, you will see, the time will come when a Liberal Government will have to do just the same sort of thing, when these damned Socialists begin to make a little head, perhaps. And how will *you* like it then? No, my friends, remember that passage of holy writ, and do as you would be done by."

But if the Government are rather hard set on by their declared enemies, they can't be said to help themselves much. Just as there is a fate on the Liberals to push on questions which they had much better have left alone, like the agrarian question in Ireland, so there is a fate on the Tories to discredit their party by saying the very worst that they possibly can for themselves. Lord Salisbury, *e.g.*, made a most unaccountable blunder in his hint that perhaps after all the forged letters were not so very much forged. Real generosity is not to be expected from politicians on any occasion, but a little simulation of it would help them wonderfully sometimes, and on this occasion a little "frankness" of this sort might almost have retrieved the position for the Tories. It is lucky that reactionaries are such fools.

Neither should a man in his position have begun by using the words "calumnies and falsehoods." Says the proverb, "Don't speak of a rope in the house of a man whose father was hanged." And the parliamentary history of the last few days has done something towards putting some of the said "calumnies and falsehoods" into a different category, that of facts.

As to the rest of his speech, it was in the main, if properly read, an eloquent plea for revolution, under cover of a defence of law and order; for what it practically said was this: "Granted that the Irish have grievances against us, that the prison system is bad, that men are being put in prison for making political speeches of a certain tenour; yet is it not all law? Did not you, the English democracy, allow these laws to be made? If you want them altered go to parliament and get them altered." Behind all which there was a kind of gleeful chuckle, Don't you wish you may! For of course Lord Salisbury's true complaint is that his opponents have used the really effective weapons of boycotting and the Plan in the teeth of constitutionalism, and he very naturally "says you haven't played fair."

All this may be damaging argument for a debate, in which pure constitutionalism is to be assumed. But we may almost hope that pure constitutionalism is getting played out, and that the democracy will have the wits to see that if a change is good, it is good against the law, and that those who try to uphold the law against it are simply the enemies of the human race. Meantime it is encouraging to think that the great Liberal party, with Mr. Gladstone at its head, are accused of egging on people in Ireland to break the law wholesale, and that as a matter of fact it cannot rebut the accusation.

But we must not be too sanguine; it is only in Ireland that the Liberals like law-breaking as an instrument for law-mending. Doubtless the time will come when they will have to face the same trouble in England. The Irish question once shelved, the question of labour and capital which is involved in many side issues in the Irish matter will lie bare and obvious before them, and what will they do

then? How, for instance, will a Liberal Government treat a no-rent manifesto in London? And why should a labourer be fined for wanting to sleep under a roof in London any more than in Tipperary? Will you say, the Irish cottar has laboured on his land, and has got just enough to keep himself and can pay no rent. True, but has not the English labourer done the same? Yet Lord! What a set of evasions the politicians will have to use to point out the essential difference between the two! And how easy it will be to clap Socialists into jail for doing the sort of thing that O'Brien has been doing and over whose fate the Liberals have been so indignant. W. M.

We are informed by a lady friend that a poor sewing-woman was lately employed by a clergyman's wife to make underclothing at a starvation price; for instance, for a night-dress sewn entirely by hand she received 1s., and was offered 9d., which latter price she refused. Any one who understands what work there is in hand-sewn linen, will appreciate this preposterous price—perhaps the pious lady threw in religion as a make-weight. The friend who told us the story said that she herself employed the woman to do some sewing for her, and on offering her what she considered a moderate price, the poor soul was so much taken off her guard with surprise, that instead of taking it without a word she exclaimed at the enormity of the pay, which was twice as much as her other patronesses would have paid her. And, indeed, it is not the poorer folk that beat down prices from sheer necessity, but often ladies and gentlemen from mere self-complacency at their power of bargain-making, and who, with all their cultivation and sensibilities, have got no nearer to justice and right dealing than this—beating down prices in the smaller industries with one hand, and with the other perhaps subscribing to a Mansion House Fund or a Dog's Home.

The lately published prospectus of the "Bellite Explosive" Company (Limited), gives far more prominence to the advantages this new explosive possesses in warfare than to those which recommend it as useful in mining operations. The company are confident of the greatest success; every scrap of news that points towards warfare, in whatsoever part of the world, will, one must think, cause directors and shareholders to rub their hands in glee over the newspapers at their comfortable breakfast-tables. It is nothing new, this trading and speculating in warfare—any more than is the trading on and coining human miseries of all sorts—but every fresh announcement of the sort, frank and impudent and brutal, renews one's disgust at the social order which endures, approves, and applauds the rage for money-making (without personal labour) at whatever cost to others.

Here we have more of the same sort. In a recent issue the *Star* says: "It is believed that a new industry is about to be started by the Birmingham Small Arms Company (Limited), who have lately fitted up a branch for the manufacture of drawn steel shells, the company having secured two War Office contracts which will keep them busy for the remainder of the year." M. M.

THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

In making our claims for the changes in Society which we believe would set labour free and thus bring about a new Society, we Socialists are satisfied with demanding what we think necessary for that Society to form itself, which we are sure it is getting ready to do; this we think better than putting forward elaborate utopian schemes for the future. We assert that monopoly must come to an end, and that those who can use the means of the production of wealth should have all opportunity of doing so, without being forced to surrender a great part of the wealth which they have created, to an irresponsible owner of the necessities to production; and we have faith in the regenerative qualities of this elementary piece of honesty, and believe that the world thus set free will enter on a new cycle of progress. We are prepared to face whatever drawbacks may accompany this new development with equanimity, being convinced that it will at any rate be a great gain to have got rid of a system which has at last become nearly all drawbacks. The extinction of the disabilities of an effete system of production will not, we are convinced, destroy the gains which the world has already won, but will, on the contrary, make those gains available to the whole population instead of confining their enjoyment to a few. In short, considering the present condition of the world, we have come to the conclusion that the function of the reformers now alive is not so much prophecy as action. It is our business to use the means ready to our hands to remedy the immediate evils which oppress us; to the coming generations we must leave the task of safeguarding and of using the freedom which our efforts shall have won them.

Nevertheless, we do partly know the direction which the development of the world will take in the immediate future; the evolution of past history teaches us that. We know that the world cannot go back on its footsteps, and that men will develop swiftly both bodily and mentally in the new Society; we know that men in general will feel the obligations of Society much more than the later generations have done, that the necessity for co-operation in production and life in general will be more consciously felt than it has been; that the comparative ease of life which the freeing of labour will bring about will give all men more leisure and time for thought; that crime will be rarer because there will not be the same temptation to it; that increased ease of life and education combined will tend to free us

from disease of body and mind. In short, that the world cannot take a step forward in justice, honesty, and kindness, without a corresponding gain in all the material conditions of life.

And besides what we know, a knowledge without which we should not take the trouble to agitate for a change in the basis of Society, we cannot help guessing at a great deal which we cannot know; and again, this guessing, these hopes, or if you will, these dreams for the future, make many a man a Socialist whom sober reason deduced from science and political economy and the selection of the fittest would not move at all. They put a man in a fit frame of mind to study the reasons for his hope; give him courage to wade through studies, which, as the Arab king said of arithmetic, would otherwise be too dull for the mind of man to think of.

There are, in fact, two groups of mind with whom Social Revolutionists like other people have to deal, the analytical and the constructive. Belonging to the latter group myself, I am fully conscious of the dangers which we incur, and still more perhaps of the pleasures which we lose, and am, I hope, duly grateful to the more analytical minds for their setting of us straight when our yearning for action leads us astray, and I am also, I confess, somewhat envious of the beatitude of their dreamy contemplation of the perfection of some favourite theory; a happiness which we who use our eyes more than our reasoning powers, for noting what is going on in the world, seldom or ever enjoy.

However, as they would and do call our instinctive vision dreaming, and as they almost always, at least in their own estimation, have the better of us in argument when we meet in friendly battle, I must be careful what I say of them, and so will for the present at least only deal with the visionaries or *practical people*. And one thing I must confess from the beginning, which is that the visions of us visionary or practical people differ largely from each other, and that we are not much interested in each others' visions; whereas the theories of the analysts differ little from each other, and they are hugely interested in each others' theories—in the way that a butcher is interested in an ox—to wit, for cutting up.

So I will not attempt to compare my visions with those of other Socialists, but will simply talk to you of some of my own, and let you make the comparison yourselves, those of you who are visionaries, or let you unassisted by me criticise them, those of you who are analytically given. In short, I am going to give you a chapter of confessions. I want to tell you what it is I desire of the Society of the Future, just as if I were going to be reborn into it; I daresay that you will find some of my visions strange enough.

One reason which will make some of you think them strange is a sad and shameful one. I have always belonged to the well-to-do classes, and was born into luxury, so that necessarily I ask much more of the future than many of you do; and the first of all my visions, and that which colours all my others, is of a day when that misunderstanding will no longer be possible; when the words poor and rich, though they will still be found in our dictionaries, will have lost their old meaning; which will have to be explained with care by great men of the analytical kind, spending much time and many words over the job, and not succeeding in the end in making people do more than pretend to understand them.

Well now, to begin with, I am bound to suppose that the realisation of Socialism will tend to make men happy. What is it then makes people happy? Free and full life and the consciousness of life. Or, if you will, the pleasurable exercise of our energies, and the enjoyment of the rest which that exercise or expenditure of energy makes necessary to us. I think that is happiness for all, and covers all difference of capacity and temperament from the most energetic to the laziest.

Now, whatever interferes with that freedom and fulness of life, under whatever specious guise it may come, is an evil; is something to be got rid of as speedily as possible. It ought not to be endured by reasonable men who naturally wish to be happy.

Here you see is an admission on my part, which I suspect indicates the unscientific mind. It proposes the exercise of free will on the part of men, which the latest scientists deny the possibility of, I believe; but don't be afraid, I am not going into argument on the matter of free will and predestination; I am only going to assert that if individual men are the creatures of their surrounding conditions, as indeed I think they are, it must be the business of man as a social animal, or of Society, if you will, to make the surroundings which make the individual man what he is. Man must and does create the conditions under which he lives; let him be conscious of that, and create them wisely.

Has he done so hitherto? He has tried to do so, I think, but with only moderate success, at any rate at times. However, the results of that moderate success he is proud of, and he calls it *civilisation*. Now, there has been amongst people of different minds abundant discussion as to whether civilisation is a good thing or an evil. Our friend Bax in his very able article on the subject, did, I think, really put the matter on its true footing when he pointed out that as a step to something better, civilisation was a good, but as an achievement it was an evil. In that sense I declare myself an enemy of civilisation; nay, since this is to be a chapter of confessions, I must tell you that my *special* leading motive as a Socialist is hatred of civilisation: my ideal of the new Society would not be satisfied unless that Society destroyed civilisation.

For if happiness be the pleasurable exercise of our energies and the enjoyment of necessary rest, it seems to me that civilisation, looked at

from the static point of view, as Bax phrases it, tends to deny us both these good things, and thereby tends to reduce man to a machine without a will; to deprive him gradually of all the functions of an animal and the pleasure of fulfilling them, except the most elementary ones. The scientific ideal of the future of man would appear to be an intellectual paunch, nourished by circumstances over which he has no control, and without the faculty of communicating the results of his intelligence to his brother-paunches.

Therefore my ideal of the Society of the future is first of all the freedom and cultivation of the individual will, which civilisation ignores, or even denies the existence of; the shaking off the slavish dependence, or on other men, but on artificial systems made to save men manly trouble and responsibility: and in order that this will may be vigorous in us, I demand a free and unfettered animal life for man first of all: I demand the utter extinction of all asceticism. If we feel the least degradation in being amorous, or merry, or hungry, or sleepy, we are so far bad animals, and therefore miserable men. And you know civilisation *does* bid us to be ashamed of all these moods and deeds, and as far as she can, begs us to conceal them, and where possible to get other people to do them for us. In fact, it seems to me that civilisation may almost be defined as a system arranged for ensuring the vicarious exercise of human energies for a minority of privileged persons.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 6, 1889.

31	Sun.	1867. Fight at Killooney Wood; O'Neill Crowley killed. 1882. N. Soukhanoff shot in Kronstadt for being a member of the Executive Committee and a very influential propagandist among his fellow naval officers. 1883. Sentries posted at new Law Courts, Somerset House, etc., hitherto unguarded. 1887. Three persons hanged for the attempt on the Czar of the 13th.
1	Mon.	1282. Sicilian Vespers. 1815. Bismarck born. 1820. Radical disturbances in Glasgow. 1826. First number of the <i>Ass: or, Weekly Beast of Burden</i> , London, 1d. 1848. Republican attempted invasion of Belgium. 1871. M. Thiers proclaims war against the Commune. 1872. F. D. Maurice died. 1878. Greek insurrection. 1878. First issue of <i>La Science politique</i> , Paris, monthly review by Emile Accolas.
2	Tues.	1793. Great slave-trade debate. 1794. Trial at Lancaster of Thos. Walker, William Paul, Samuel Jackson, James Cheetham, Oliver Pearsall, Benjamin Booth, and Joseph Collier, for "a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution and government, and to aid and assist the French (being the king's enemies) in case they should invade this kingdom." 1840. Emile Zola born. 1865. Richard Cobden died. 1871. Versailles open fire on Paris. 1878. Lord Leitrim executed.
3	Wed.	1854. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker tried for aiding runaway slaves. 1871. Gustave Flourens killed. 1882. Khal-tourin and Jevlakoff hanged in Odessa for killing Strielnikoff.
4	Thur.	1774. Oliver Goldsmith died. 1871. Revolt at Limoges: Duval and other Communards taken prisoners at Paris and murdered. 1871. Paris Commune abolishes State endowments of the Church.
5	Fri.	1794. Danton and Desmoulins guillotined. 1814. Napoleon banished to Elba. 1820. Battle of Bonnybridge. 1865. De Laveleye born.
6	Sat.	1593. John Greenwood and Henry Barrow hung at Tyburn for issuing seditious books. 1669. Jean Jacques Rousseau born. 1780. Commons vote that influence of the king should be diminished. 1809. Arrest of Sir Francis Burdett. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III.

Khaltourin was one of the most remarkable figures of the Russian movement from 1873 to 1882. Besides being known as author of two important terrorist deeds—death of procurator Strielnikoff and the explosion at the Winter Palace in Feb. 17th, 1880—he was certainly the most successful and popular leader of the St. Petersburg working-men. A cabinet-maker by trade, with the reputation of being the best polisher in the capital, he enjoyed confidence and popularity among a very large number of comrade workers. He joined the Social Revolutionary party in 1873, and worked well in it up to 1879, when he offered to the Executive Committee of the terrorist party to blow up the Winter Palace. He had tried almost all ways, open and secret, of propaganda and organisation in the Socialist cause, but always at the end of all his efforts met such obstacles in *politics* and *police*, that he finally decided on *regicide*. He was the originator of the first exclusively working-men's revolutionary organisation, the "Northern Workmen's Union," and also of the journal written, managed, and printed exclusively by workmen. This journal was printed in a special secret printing office, which also was founded by *Khaltourin* under such difficulties and troubles as are known only in Russia. All these results of enormous efforts of several years were hindered and destroyed by ever-watchful spies and policemen. After the unsuccessful attempt to blow up the Winter Palace, which failure *Khaltourin* himself ascribed to insufficient quantity of dynamite (120 lbs.) being stored in the basement, the police failed to discover his whereabouts until he appeared after nearly two years in Odessa, and heroically executed the order of his party, destroying the miserable life of a trained scoundrel and executioner, Strielnikoff. This important official had almost unlimited power over all political prisoners in South Russian prisons, and used against them all means of moral torture and physical hardship known to the modern inquisitors. At last the revolutionary party was tired of him and condemned him. *Khaltourin* with his assistant found him sitting upon one of the benches on a boulevard of Odessa, and shot him in the broad light of day. *Khaltourin* was arrested merely through the mistake of some mechanics passing by, who took him for a thief, and afterwards regretted bitterly that they had assisted the police in capturing him.—Tcu.

It would be an unsound fancy and self-contradictory to expect that things which have never yet been done, can be done except by means which have never yet been tried.—*Lord Bacon*.

SOCIALISM versus INDIVIDUALISM IN LEICESTER.

THE second series of the Fabian lectures dealing with the organisation of society has now come to an end. They have been much relished. *Graham Walla's* appeal at the end of his lecture was one of the most pathetic and eloquent we ever heard. *Annie Besant* was accompanied by *Herbert Burrows* and *Rev. Stewart Headlam*. All available sitting-room was occupied, galleries, platform, and all. The applause was loud and frequent. *Headlam* spoke in response to calls from audience; and *Herbert Burrows* being invited to follow, with an astonishing verbal rapidity and logical acumen, put the gist of the social problem inside twenty minutes. *Hubert Bland* succeeded in getting the Radical "dander ris." Indeed, the Radicals were the only people to square accounts with on this occasion, the Individualists having for some mysterious reason quitted the field. The Individualist lectures have alternated with the Socialist ones, and have been exceedingly lively. *Mr. Frederick Millar*, of the Liberty and Property Defence League, has a style and vocabulary that were much admired by some of us, though his abuse is apt at first to throw argumentation off its guard. Stale inanities, filthy literature, thieves, fools, and brats, are among some of the terms that *Mr. Millar* intended to pass for argument. He ended his discourse with a fine *Rule Britannia* outburst. Being ironically congratulated on his Jingoism, and on his being a fitting instrument of the society of aristocratic and plutocratic parasites and perpetual pensioners he represented, there came a challenge on the right of the word "perpetual," during which the Labour Emancipation League's leaflet, "The Liberty and Property Defence League, who and what are they?" was quoted to the audience and handed up to *Mr. Millar*, who hurled an abusive epithet at it, and refusing to touch it blew it to the ground. This the audience resented, and the lecturer was hissed.

Next came *Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe*, who at least kept us in good humour. Some of his paradoxical utterances left us wondering whether he could be in earnest. Liberty was so defined as to make no difference between it and Tyranny. Liberty included "liberty to do evil"; liberty of a strong man to knock a weak one down and rifle his pockets. As certain of the audience remarked afterwards, this kind of liberty involves slavery of the knocked down and rifled, and is too prevalent already. *Mr. Donisthorpe* threw himself unconsciously into the arms of Socialism by declaring that "Individualists accept the doctrine of Anarchy." He showed his ignorance of the Anarchic doctrine by stating that he was unaware that Anarchists advocated communisation of the means of production. The impression of the lecture and discussion on many of us was that *Donisthorpe* was recklessly inconsistent, like a man who feels his case is somehow bad. We feel that he didn't do justice even to his own side.

Lastly came *Mr. Alfred Milnes, M.A.*, who, though highly embittered against Socialism, showed himself the most reasonable of the Individualist lecturers. He played straight into our hands by asking, "How could there be such a thing as a contract except where the parties are equal?" There is no bargain, said he, where the advantage is all on one side, and where a man can say to another man, "Both of us shall observe as much as I please." Lecturer was asked whether this was not just the case between the capitalist and the labourer? He did not answer. Quoted the Abolitionist's saying to slave-owners, "Show us from God your authority for holding your slaves." Was again asked could not we put this test of authority to the landlord about his land? Did not answer. Thought in cases of "Adulteration of food," State interference could be "excused"; as also in cases "where all are agreed on something, but none dare begin it." Resented anybody interfering with him to regulate how many hours a day he should work. "If A is forcing B to work eight hours, then jump on A" said the lecturer. Was asked by one of audience, "Supposing A's working fourteen hours resulted in B only getting six hours, should we not jump on A, or call on him to partly support B?" Lecturer was much concerned with the threatened break-up of the family institution by Socialists, and alleged that it was a Socialist proposal to "nationalise woman." It turned out in discussion that such proposals were only on paper, and belonged to the Utopian epoch.

The way it strikes a Socialist is, that all along the Individualists have done their best to conceal their views that no readjustment whatever of the ethical basis of property is necessary. Cases trivial and superficial, such as the opening of free libraries sans consultation of the assumed objecting minority, have been kept well in the foreground; but the giant grievances—the fundamental injustices inseparable from the private ownership of land and capital—these have been ignored in every lecture, and conveniently let slide if brought up in the discussions. Not a word in criticism of rings and corners; not a word about the unemployed, or the status of the crofter, cottier, and agricultural labourer. No, no! *Laissez-faire! Laissez-faire* for the benefit of landlord and factory-lord; and *Laissez-faire* too, in consequence, your own condition. We have nothing to propose by way of amelioration—no positive proposals whatever to remedy any evils arising from the present relations of capitalists and labourers. And we implore you not to be so wicked as to interfere in any way with things as they are, except it be to reverse the whole current of political events these many years past, that have been alas! so tyrannical to poor us, and so favourable every way to you. But, no again! All this legislation has *not* been favourable to you. It is a delusion, and you would be better back in the old days of the unmitigated play of capitalistic conditions. It need hardly be said this view does not agree with the Radicals here, who are consequently repelled by Individualism, however slow they may be in joining the ranks of Socialism.

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Says the *Rochester (U.S.) Chronicle*: "Over some of our schools such an inscription as this might truthfully be placed: 'All children are alike; if not, they must be made so. It is not our business to inform, inspire, enkindle, but to cram. Never mind perception, relation, analogies, the ordinary sequence of ideas, and the development of aptitudes. It is detached facts that we are after. Education means not the drawing out, but the filling up.'"

JOHN SWINTON.—All friends of the labour cause everywhere will be glad to hear of the renewed health of *John Swinton*. We see from an exchange that the operation on his eye has been entirely successful, and he has thus been enabled to resume literary work. He lost the hard-won result of a toiling life over the bright strong labour-paper, which left such a gap when it fell, but it is now said that recent events have placed him above pressing anxiety either in the present or future. Rumour speaks of a book soon to be printed, containing the varied reminiscences of his long and crowded life.—S.



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

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

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. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G.—In type, but crowded out.
REGINALD A. BECKETT.—Will be used.

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Justice	Port Worth (Tex)—South West	Ghent—Vooruit
Labour Elector	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Antwerp—De Werker
Labour Tribune	Newark—Arbeiter Zeitung	Liege—L'Avenir
Leicester—Countryman	San Francisco Arbeiter Zeitung	SWITZERLAND
London—Freie Presse	S. F. Coast Seaman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco—Pacific Union	SPAIN
Postal Service Gazette		Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review		Madrid—El Solidario
INDIA		Barcelona—El Productor
Bankipore—Dehar Herald	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
Madras—People's Friend	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	Lisbon—O Progreso Operario
UNITED STATES	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Porto—A Revolucao Social
New York—Der Sozialist	La Revolte	GERMANY
Freiheit	L'Attaque	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Desmarck
Wacker Zeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokrat
Workers' Advocate	ITALY	SWEDEN
The Truth	Turin—Il Muratore	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Stockholm, Social-Demokrat
Chicago (Ill)—Verbot	Milan—Il Fascio Operario	
	Carato—Il Comune	

GROWING RESPECTABLE.

Our movement has reached a stage at which we are confronted with a new and unexpected danger. We are growing respectable in the eyes of the world! The sweets of popularity are being tasted by some of us whose names a little while ago were a stink in the nostrils of respectability. "What foolish words have I uttered, that they applaud me?" said the Roman orator whose speech was interrupted by the applause of his hearers. Without any undue indulgence in the cynic vein, we must critically examine ourselves and our methods of propaganda if we find that commendation-pence are awarded us by those from whom hitherto we have received more kicks than halfpence. During the last eight years many men have passed through our ranks who as recruits promised to be of great service to the cause of Socialism; but one by one they grew weary of the abuse that was heaped upon them, of the sneers of their fellow-workmen in the factory or at the bench, of the social ostracism to which they were condemned if they happened to belong to "the classes," and they dropped out of the movement, one, if not more, into the obscurity of the House of Commons; others to turn to account as party-lacks their trick of talk; and the rest to drift aimlessly through existence on the dead sea miscalled Life. The dust lies already on their names. We will not disturb it; but let us take heed lest elated with our successes at the polling-booth, gratified even with the stint of praise we get from those who speak fair of us now they fear us, we sink into the insignificance of the pigwiggins who wage a puny warfare on the field of party politics. Useful work may be done, and is being done, by Socialists upon Vestries, Board of Guardians, and School Boards; and even the dry bones of the House of Commons might be stirred by the presence of one or two of our less vigorous speakers whose presence could be spared

from the more important arena of the street or the market-place. But our comrades who have been placed in these positions of trust will abuse that trust if they forget that they are only touching the fringe of the question when they claim that public works should be initiated to relieve distress, that education should be free, that members of Parliament should be paid and election expenses defrayed by the State, if they forget for one hour that they are revolutionary Socialists, pledged to the overthrow of class dominion and of the hideous slavery called wagedom which results from the private ownership of the means of production. We must not forget that the praise of us in the columns of the capitalist press is conceded, not from sympathy with our aims, but because those aims are forgotten, as it is hoped we shall forget them if our steps can be turned aside from the rough road of the social-revolutionist into the pleasant paths of public office and popular favour. "Only fools and flunkeys admitted here" is written over the portals of respectability; and depend on it, if the janitor passes any of us, it is because we have servilely disguised our opinions or have foolishly lost our faith in the future. We cease to be revolutionists when we grow respectable in the eyes of the multitude, for they respect only the accomplished fact, not those who war against present facts, present systems. The social revolution accomplished, everyone will respect it; we, or our memories, will be admitted respectable; but, living or dead, living soul or dead carcase, till then we belong to the rabble. We can only masquerade, or worse, as respectabilities. "The beggars" was the term applied to those who rid the Netherlands of the Spanish yoke, but that term of contempt came to be accepted as a title of honour. So be it with us. We belong to the rabble. None so poor, none so degraded, none so oppressed, but may enlist under our banner, certain that his oppressor will be stricken down, the source of his poverty and his degradation removed, and that banner carried at last to victory full and final. We have as yet scarce entered on the conflict. The heat of the day, the burden of the fight, has yet to be borne. Amenities are still exchanged between the combatants, because the fury of battle has not been aroused, as it will be excited as soon as our attacks upon the exploiting classes grow more vigorous, as soon as they perceive that their privilege to lead pleasant, easy lives at the cost of the misery and degradation of the masses is in serious peril. It is, perhaps, a reproach to us that these courtesies are still possible, that our enemies speak any good thing concerning us. Countless thousands of our fellow-men and fellow-women are being done to death, are dying daily, victims of the brutal system to which they are subjected. Is it a time to parley with the foe? Is it so great a thing that we are admitted into council with him to debate and discuss how many more victims must be sacrificed to his greed of rule, his lust of gold? It is well to get some mitigation of the terrible penalties imposed by the rich upon the poor because they are poor and helpless, though to do so we temporise to the extent of making use of the legislative machine to serve our own purposes and frustrate those for which it was devised. But we must be guilty of no such compromise of principle as that which would earn for us a clear title to respect from society as constituted to-day, for only the successful thief, the exploiter of labour, commands general respect, while contumely is heaped upon those who have been robbed of health, of manhood, of education, of the right to earn their own bread, of everything that makes life human—robbed, too, by the very classes that sneer at those they have wronged as "the scum," "the mob," "the rabble." Better the hatred than the respect of such people, and without doubt we shall earn that hatred if we ourselves continue to hate injustice and love right. "Woe unto you [Socialists] when all men shall speak well of you."

J. HUNTER WATTS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF MILLIONAIRES.

"Le roi est mort. Vive le roi! Commonplace, fat Grover Cleveland has stepped down from his exalted position to make room for still more commonplace—if that be possible—Benjamin Harrison, the would-be descendant from Major Harrison of rebel fame, and also from Pocahontas, the lovely Indian maid, kidnapped from her native home by the cheating Virginians. Talk about the possibility of mediocrity reigning all supreme under Socialism! Well, if I thought it possible that people like Grover and Ben might be leading stars in any Socialistic community, however small, in the future, I should cease toiling for my ideal, and rather hang myself at once. Why, indeed, these gentry are the very personification of mediocrity and "decent respectability"!

Grandpa's son Ben Harrison and his partner in the game of politics, Levi Morton, arrived some days ago in good health in Washington. By the way, it's curious to see the tribes Levi and Benjamin working in harmony. Grover entertained his successor in right royal style, and industrious workmen had everything prepared for the coronation. However, Jupiter Pluvius spoiled the show. It rained all day on the glorious 4th of March. In his speech from the throne—commonly known under the title Inauguration Oration—Ben showed that he understands the value of speeches prepared carefully by political sharps. Words, words, platitudes and sentences which no intelligent human being can either interpret or understand,—that is the impression the document made upon any person of average faculties of comprehension. He said practically next to nothing, but needed an ocean of articulation to effect that. Of course, protection of our native industries is going to be strictly adhered to by our new administration. In reviewing a century's changes, Ben tells us that

"the masses of our people are better fed, clothed, and housed than their fathers were. The facilities for popular education have been vastly enlarged and more generally diffused. The virtues of courage and patriotism have given recent proof of their continued presence and increasing power in the hearts and over the lives of our people. The influences of religion have been multiplied and strength-

ened. The sweet offices of charity have greatly increased. The virtue of temperance is held in higher estimation."

Naturally we must be thankful indeed that to-day we can wear more shoddy clothes than a hundred years ago; that we can buy cheaper boots—boots with paper soles and rotten uppers. The jerry-builder, it must be confessed, is also a very useful person, and oleomargarine surely is easily digestible food for a workman's stomach. Who would dare to say that it is not very gratifying to know that in our days we have a greater opportunity to get our heads crammed with all sorts of nonsense. The sentence about "the virtues of courage," etc., is brilliant indeed, especially when we remember that the war for the preservation of the union was fought by 83 per cent. foreigners, and that the genuine Yankee was generally first at meal times but severely missed as soon as the enemy was seen approaching. *A propos* "sweet offices of charity," how long is it ago that bread buttered with strychnine was advocated to be given to tramps by generous and kind-hearted Americans? Not before the floods, I guess. Refreshing it is to read that

"we have not attained an ideal condition. Not all of our people are happy and prosperous; not all of them are virtuous and law-abiding. But, on the whole, the opportunities offered to the individual to secure the comforts of life are better than are found elsewhere, and largely better than they were here one hundred years ago."

The Anarchists high and low also come in for a little straight talking, at which I suppose both camps will snap their fingers:

"Those who use unlawful methods, if moved by no higher motive than the selfishness that prompts them, may well stop and enquire what is to be the end of this. An unlawful expedient cannot become a permanent condition of government. If the educated and influential classes in a community either practise or connive at the systematic violation of laws that seem to them to cross their convenience, what can they expect when the lesson that convenience or a supposed class interest is a sufficient cause for lawlessness has been well learned by the ignorant classes? A community where law is the rule of conduct, and where courts, not mobs, execute the penalties, is the only attractive field for business investments and honest labour."

The new administration is a good one. It meets with my full approval. It is essentially an administration of, for, and through millionaires. What's more to be desired in this best of all good countries? The Senate is at present composed of seventy-six senators, none of which owns less than a million. In the biographies of the cabinet officers we generally find the following significant paragraph: "After . . . he devoted himself principally to railroad enterprises and other financial ventures, in which he has been highly successful." Doesn't that read nice? So eminently respectable and genteel! Let us for illustration's sake take two well-known men in the cabinet, known not only in America, but also equally well known in Europe—Levi P. Morton, late of New York, London, and Paris, banker and (speculator, now Vice-President of the Union and President of the Senate; and John Wanamaker, late exploiter of Philadelphia, and sweater of Berlin, Germany. For a patriotic cabinet, two pretty international characters, aren't they? Both men owe their present positions to the boodle they have subscribed to the Republican campaign fund, and the facts I am about to relate I have taken from capitalistic papers. First, Levi P. Morton. The capitalistic paper in question begins an article on Plutocracy Personified by saying:

"Levy P. Morton is no doubt personally as good as most others of his type, if not better. It is the type that is objectionable in public office, a type that has grown into prominence since the war, with the increase of individual wealth and the assertion of the power of money in politics. It represents the most dangerous element in public life—the plutocratic element. It judges men not by their principles, but by their price. It regards public office as an article of merchandise, to be bought and sold the same as dry-goods or railroad shares. The strongest political argument it can offer is a trumping check."

It then goes on to relate how Morton used all his official positions and those of his friends to further the interests of his banking-houses in New York, London, and Paris. At the conclusion of the article, the paper gives a list of the monies spent by Morton since 1872 to achieve his ends:

1872. Grant, President	... D.50,000	1881. Carr, Sec. of State	... D.5,000
1873. Mayer, Sec. of State	... 5,000	1882. Folger, Governor	... 20,000
1874. Dix, Governor	... 50,000	1883. Carr, Sec. of State	... 5,000
1875. Steward, Sec. of State	... 15,000	1884. Blaine, President	... 75,000
1876. Hayes, President	... 50,000	1885. Davenport, Governor	... 10,000
1876. Morton, Congress (defeated)	175,000	1885. Morton, U.S. Senate (def.)	50,000
1877. Churchill, Sec. of State	... 5,000	1886. Daniels, Court of Appeals	... 5,000
1878. Morton, Congress (elected)	125,000	1887. Grant, Sec. of State	... 10,000
1879. Cornell, Governor	... 50,000	1887. Morton, U.S. Senate (def.)	100,000
1880. Garfield, President	... 250,000	1888. Harrison, President, and	
1880. Morton, Congress (elected)	150,000	Morton, Vice-President	400,000
1880. Collected	... 700,000	1888. Collected	... 550,000

Amounting in total to 2,755,000 dollars, or considerably over half a million sterling.

John Wanamaker is a man of similar calibre. Both men started life as poor boys, and are in consequence "self-made," thereby relieving the Lord of a great deal of responsibility. Wanamaker is the Whiteley of Philadelphia. He believes in protecting American labour, but has most of his work done abroad, principally in Berlin. A reporter of a capitalistic paper visited his German establishment. In the busy season he employs there several hundred women at cloak-making. The work is done by contract, vulgarly called "sweating." The girls earn from about 3s. to 15s. a-week for eight months. The reporter goes on to say:

"The girls make no secret of the fact that it would be impossible for them to live without the assistance of a friend—a "bridegroom," they call him. He helps them to buy clothes, takes them to beer and music gardens occasionally, and pays their rent in the idle season. Scarcely a girl who does not live at home with her parents but is dependent on assistance of this kind. If she does not get it she is considered unfortunate by her associates."

Wanamaker during the last election contributed about £50,000 to the Republican campaign fund.

I might go on *ad infinitum* in these revelations about a republican government, but the foregoing will suffice to show what a delusion "popular government" indeed is.

Newark, N.J., March 13, 1889.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—A course of Four Lectures on "Socialism and Practical Politics," will be given by members of the Fabian Society, on Sunday evenings at 8.30 p.m. March 31st, George Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy." April 7th, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation." 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

CORRESPONDENCE.

INTERNATIONALISM.

COMRADE.—Hoping you will find space for the following in next issue of *Commonweal*, I take the liberty to trespass on your time.

I suppose you are aware of the controversy lately carried on by *Justice*: against us Germans generally, and the German Social-Democratic party specially. Last week I wrote a letter to our comrade, the editor of *Justice*, containing a general reply against those accusations brought forward against us in *Justice*, asking him to print it, which latter he refused, making the excuse that my letter was too long. This is the reason why I now ask you for the same favour, hoping you will find it possible to comply with my desire.

First of all let me say that I cannot accept the excuse of the editor of *Justice*—viz., "my letter being too long," in the face of the fact that he cuts it down to seven lines and then he finds space for forty-five lines of his own one-sided remarks. I am pretty sure my letter would not have taken up much more space; and I should have thought the editor would have felt it his simple duty of international fraternity and impartiality to reproduce a fair reply against so many unproven assertions and accusations on his part. But now I wish to give my letter to *Justice* in substance, with a few remarks upon the forty-five lines of our comrade in last week's *Justice*.

A few weeks ago the Germans were accused by the editor of *Justice* as being exclusive and *clannish*. This is, at least in my opinion, an assertion against all known facts, and the reverse is the truth. The Germans, as is well known, travel all over the globe, and wherever they go, they mix up with and really dissolve into the native population: so much is this the case, that it is a great trouble to the chauvinistic Government in Germany. The Germans nowhere keep up their nationality; and the best proof for this are the English colonies and the United States; and I myself should not be much surprised if the Germans at present in Cameroon would sooner become niggers than the reverse. These are known facts about the Germans generally, and the same applies to German Socialists. But in the course of time other nations have become so accustomed to this German characteristic that when now a German anywhere asks to have it a little his own way, the general outcry is—O, the Germans want it all their own way.

Now we are again accused of "printing our papers in our own language, which not one out of ten thousand understands." The first is absurd, and the anticipation that we would condemn the French and English if they should take the same course in Germany is simply ridiculous; the other assertion is at least a gross and wilful exaggeration. Out of the whole population of the globe, one out of every fourteen is able to speak German; and if we take the so-called civilised world, one in every five understands and speaks German.

Then we are blamed for confining ourselves to our own national clubs. This is truth and untruth mixed together. As far as England is concerned, the German Socialists have tried their very best to mix up with their English brethren, but have very often been rebuked; whenever they tried to be active, they very often received the reply, "That is foreign," and so of course many of us by and by withdrew and confined ourselves to our own clubs—which, by the way, are very much frequented by English Socialists, and the English Socialistic papers are bought and read by a considerable number of Germans.

The truth is simply this: We Germans are international, but we decline to become English or French, and to obey one-sided orders. Internationalism means respect for each other's liberty and national habits, and not submission of one nation to the other.

But now as to the coming Paris Congress. I shall not say one word pro or con in regard to the animosity between the German Social-Democrats and French Possibilists: I am not at all speaking for a party, I am speaking for myself. When I did not object at the Congress of 1886 against the appointment of the Possibilists to organise the coming Congress, I could not think that they would go so far as to lay down the rules for admission and make a standing order ready, etc.; as far as I know, they were only charged to make preliminary arrangements, and leave the business to be done by the Congress. I am quite sure if the German party had been charged with the same object, they would have confined themselves to procuring a hall, receiving the delegates, etc., and would have left the Congress itself to do the real business. I think we are entitled to have a fair share in all affairs connected with the Congress; and if we shall be fed entirely on English pudding or French cabbage, we decline, for fear of an overloaded stomach; if we are invited to an international dinner, we want at least a dish of our own choice—a dish of Sauerkraut.

Our comrade of *Justice* offers his service to smooth over those differences between the French and Germans, but I think his tone in the whole affair shows that he is very little qualified to do so, because in my opinion all his controversy is nothing else than a good illustration of the proverb—the pot calls the kettle black. We all suffer more or less under a chauvinistic, patriotic education, and the English education is, as far as my knowledge goes, in the first place in this respect, and the result is showing itself in those one-sided remarks in *Justice*.

Concluding, our comrade in *Justice* desires me and others to join him to put a stop to such "petty wire-pulling." I for one shall gladly do so, as soon as I can see that it does not mean, "Put a stop to German wire-pulling and establish English or French." But I must say that in the German demands about the Paris Congress I cannot see any wire-pulling at all.—I am, yours fraternally,

March 16, 1889.

ANOTHER GREETING.

The following letter from Belgian comrades was received too late to be read at the Commune meeting, or to be inserted in the *Commonweal* of last week:—

Comrades.—In preparing to write you a letter on the subject of the Commune, of March 18th, I see that your commemoration takes place on the 16th of March, this evening. My letter, therefore, is too late to be read, as it does not leave Belgium before your meeting begins; even a telegram would not arrive in time. Under these circumstances, it only remains for myself and my friends, members of the Socialist Federation of Brussels (Belgium Labour Party) to send you our regrets at our greeting reaching you too late, assuring you that at this very time, while you are celebrating the great proletarian vindication of the 18th of March, we are with you in heart. Others of our Belgian friends will have sent you in time, no doubt, their greetings in the name of all.—Yours heartily,

DR. DE PAEPE.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

In the beginning of the month of May, twenty-seven Belgian Socialists will be tried before the Court of Assize of the province Hainault, at Mons, as "conspirators against the safety of the Belgian State." Our readers will remember that this is the outcome of the last strikes which happened in the mining districts of Charleroi and Mons. The accused are: Alfred Defuisseaux, solicitor; Emile Adant, engineer; Paul Conreur; Leopold Rouhette, painter; Emile Baudoux, miner; Georges Defuisseaux, editor of *La République*; Edouard Laloi; Désiré Maroille, secretary of the co-operative bakery Frameries; Alexis Ledoux, miner; Alfred Malengret, miner; Hector Conreur, tailor; Louis André, miner; Pierre Mayence, engineer; François Mignon; Joseph Carpent, miner; Fabien Gérard, newsagent; Joseph Bassart, ironworker; Victor Massart, ironworker; Léopold De Borre, agricultural labourer; Henri Hubert, miner; Constant Cochart, miner; Emile Masse, ironworker; François Rothermel, photographer; Emile Auquier, shopkeeper; Jules Urbain, grocer; Nicolas Godard, treasurer of the co-operative society at Frameries; and Charles Moyaux, miner. All the members of the Executive Council of the Republican Socialist Party are included in the prosecution. The Public Prosecutor has already published his indictment against the accused, and we will soon have an opportunity of considering, according to its deserts, that grotesque piece of class justice.

Meanwhile, comrade Ferdinand Pintelon, another of the arrested men during the same last strikes, has been sentenced to one year imprisonment, for "incendiary language."

The quarrymen at strike at Quenast are not likely to resume work before having won their battle. They show an admirable spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, and the Belgian workers generally support their fellow comrades in a most remarkable way. The administrator and owner of the quarries, Urban, having written to the bourgeois papers that his stock was large enough to supply all his wants for another six months, the Executive of the *Parti ouvrier*, to their credit be it said, answered to that piece of impudence by publicly pledging themselves to keep the 2,000 men at strike just as long as it would please Urban. From all parts of the country the workers are helping the quarrymen, by sending money, bread, meat, vegetables, etc., and they will most likely beat the millionaire Urban who wants to subdue them.

HOLLAND.

On the 16th inst. our comrade Fortuyn, one of the most energetic Socialist propagandists of Holland, stood before the Amsterdam Nupkinses, accused with "inflammatory speech." In December 1888, at a public meeting at Drachten, Fortuyn had told his audience "that it was high time for the workers to resist the existing laws and by some means or other to get rid of them." This was the only sentence in the whole speech objected to by the Public Prosecutor, and for that sentence he asked not less than *eight months'* imprisonment! Comrade Fortuyn at any rate thought the opportunity good to make a Socialist speech in court, and he delivered a splendid discourse, disclosing to the astonished judges the whole revolutionary programme of the working classes. Judgment was deferred.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

Last week our Vienna colleague *Gleichheit* (Equality) and our Brünn colleague *Volksfreund* (People's Friend) were again confiscated by the police authorities. Scarcely a fortnight passes away without the suppression of one or more of the Socialist organs in the feudal land of the Hapsburg reactionaries.

At Prague, comrade Joseph Ulrich and Franz Michalek have been sentenced for high treason to six and three years imprisonment with hard labour. Their "crime" merely consisted in the distribution of two Anarchist papers, entitled *Pombsta* and *Revoluce*. Besides, comrades Joseph Gabriel and Johann Bartosch, for not having denounced the action of their two friends, have been sentenced each to *fifteen months'* imprisonment with hard labour!

SWITZERLAND.

Last Friday, Socialists of all nationalities were assembled at the cemetery of Geneva, in order to assist in the inauguration of the monument erected to the memory of Johann Philip Becker, the veteran revolutionist who, for half a century, struggled in the ranks of the workers for the cause of justice and freedom. The German Deputy, William Liebknecht, made a very impressive speech, retracing Becker's career; Favon, Deputy to the National Swiss Council, following him, urging upon those assembled the necessity of union for international success of the workers' claims; then Héridier, in the name of the Central Revolutionary Committee of Lyons, paid a tribute of homage to the soldier of the revolutionary cause, and citizen Schrac spoke for the Swiss Socialists. The citizens Viveg, Engell, and Delafontaine replied in the name of Becker's family.

NORWAY.

Socialism is making good progress in that little land, in spite of the persecutions that our comrades there have to suffer. Their Socialist organs are steadily increasing; a few weeks ago, a new paper defending Anarchist ideas was started at Trondjem. It is entitled *Nye Tid* (New Time).

POLAND.

The Polish emigration at Paris has started a new monthly review under the title of *Pobudka* (Daybreak Reveille). Comrade L. Mengus acts as manager of the magazine, and its offices are established at the Librairie Kéva, 7, rue Berthelot. The Polish Socialists have never been able to fully grasp the international character of the social revolution: hence they call themselves Polish Nationalists-Socialists, and they believe in what is called the principle of nationalities. They declare the social question to be inseparable from that of the independence of Poland as a nation, and act and write accordingly. Every man and every nation having an indisputable right to exist and to fully develop their natural forces, their aim is to realise that principle in Poland; therefore they first struggle for the political independence of their country from alien yoke, and only afterwards they want to upset the actual economical and social state of things, based on wage-system and private ownership, which course seems to us inconsistent, since political freedom would not alter one jot the economical condition under which the Polish people are now compelled to live their miserable lives, exactly as the national independence of Switzerland and its larger so-called political liberties do not in the very least affect the material welfare of its inhabitants.

V. D.

ITALY.

The Roman riots of the 8th of February have served the government as a pretext for a ferocious prosecution of all the known Socialists of Italy. In Rome itself, according to *L'Emancipazione*, within ten days after the riots, more than a thousand of arrests have been made. About seven hundred of the victims, being provincials, have been brought to their native places, whilst the remaining three hundred have been committed for trial under the double charge of conspiracy against the State, and the organisation of armed bands for the purpose of plunder and destruction. It will be difficult, even to the vile instruments of a corrupt Government, to sustain these charges. At any rate, we have to expect a monster process equal only to the infamous prosecutions of former times in the Papal and the Bourbonic States, or the provinces under Austrian rule.

At Milano, the authorities—acting on the sound principle that prevention is better than cure—made wholesale arrests to prevent a repetition of the Roman riots. From Torino, Genova, Spezia, and other places, nightly domiciliary visits and arrests of many well-known popular leaders are reported. Despite all this, the hunger demonstrations and small riots of the unemployed form an unbroken chain through the whole kingdom. A marked feature in the movement is the agricultural element. The misery among the peasant folk in Sicilia, Romagna, Le Puglie, Mantova, Como, and other provinces, is heartrending, and not conceivable for an English workman. In Como, the agricultural workers (wage-slaves like others in the whole of Italy) threaten a general strike. The authorities have sent soldiery from Milano for the protection of the masters.

Amongst the numerous sentences lately passed against Socialists, there is an infamous piece of class justice which merits record. On March 28th, 1888, a bomb was thrown at the door of the Livorno Cathedral without doing bodily harm to anybody. An Anarchist of that town, Fortunato Gerbi, was suspected and taken into custody. After a prolonged judicial enquiry, during which he was kept in jail, he was brought before a Florence jury who found him guilty. He was sentenced to penal servitude for 11 years, though his guilt was by no means established. He ought to have been tried at Livorno, but so weak was the evidence against him that the public prosecutor did not venture to bring him before a jury of Livorno men, who are well known for their progressive ideas and honesty of judgment. It is rumoured that the authorities, encouraged by their success, will bring four other Livorno Anarchists before the same reactionary tribunal in order to secure a conviction. The Italian government may take a leaf out of Mr. Balfour's book, and get their Anarchists put before the tribunal of Removables specially appointed for the purpose of dispensing class justice.

H. Sch.

SPAIN.

MADRID.—On Sunday the 17th, the representatives in this city of the Labour Party joined forces with the "Socialist Group of Madrid," and held a very successful meeting in the Felipe theatre. There was some good speaking, which was listened to closely and with applause by the audience, and numerous letters and telegrams of greeting and sympathy were read. Meetings were held also by the Socialists of Malaga, Valencia, Bilbao, and Tarragona, etc.

M. M.

SOCIALISM IN NORFOLK.

We arrived in the quaint old city of Norwich after a sharp ride of three hours from the great Inferno—London. A large number of comrades of the branch received us at the station, and hand-shaking and hearty greetings followed. On reaching the Gordon Hall, a further muster of comrades were there to receive us, whose eagerness to make us comfortable proved them to have fully imbibed that spirit of brotherhood, so necessary to make good Socialists. After some talk, the comrades rendered some revolutionary songs, and thus we passed a very pleasant evening.

Next morning (Sunday) we went to Yarmouth, comrades Reynolds and Ruffold meeting us at the station, who are certainly to be commended for their earnestness for the Cause. On arriving at Priory Plain, a large audience quickly collected, whose earnest interest in the doctrines we preach was obviously apparent. It was evident, too, that our position has been greatly strengthened by the fight for free speech which took place there last year. We are sure to have a very strong branch here soon, and no doubt when the great struggle between the rich idlers and the poor workers takes place, Yarmouth will be among the first to proclaim the Commune.

Large and enthusiastic meetings were held in Norwich on our return there. The good seed sown in Norwich during the past few years is still bearing fruit, despite the great loss sustained by the return of comrade Mowbray to London. The gap caused thereby, however, is being ably and effectively filled by the energetic members of the branch.

H. DAVIS AND MRS. SCHACK.

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.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March.

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

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 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

Propaganda Committee.—The Committee meets on Tuesday, April 2nd, for the discussion of important business. Branches are asked to assist the Propaganda Committee in circulating Samuel's leaflet, "A Straight Talk to Working-men," by purchasing 500 or a 1,000 copies, as expenses are very heavy. The price per 1,000 will be announced. Orders to be sent to the Secretary of Propaganda Committee, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Propaganda Fund.—Jean Armand Byl, 6d.

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.

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The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 1s.; Mrs. Schack, 1s.; J. Presburg, 1s.; Blundell, 1s.; R. Turner, 2s.; J. Turner, 1s.; Kitz, 1s.; Kinfel, 1s.; Seglie, 1s.; B. W., 1s.; Nicoll, 1s.; S. Presburg, 1s.; Tilley, 1s.; and Rose, 6d. North London Branch, 2s.; Norwich Branch (Mar. 13th), 3s. 0d. and 2s. 2d.
Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—In the absence of the lecturer at Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road, last Sunday evening, G. Cores opened a discussion on "Communist Anarchism and the use of Physical Force." A good debate followed, in which Doughty, Humphreys, Parker, and others took part; Mrs. Lahr was in the chair. We are now boycotted by the proprietor of this hall, who fears the respectables who rent the place from time to time, will not continue their patronage if Socialists are tolerated there. Comrades are asked to turn up on Sunday afternoon in order to hear latest arrangements.—W. B. P.

BROAD STREET.—A procession marched from Hyde Park here last Sunday evening; Mrs. Lahr and Parker were the speakers. Good meeting.—W. B. P.
CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, March 24, Mowbray in chair, D. Nicoll lectured on "The English Revolutionary Movement, 1815-17, Spa-field Riots and Derbyshire Insurrection." This lecture was given in place of comrade Sparling's (as advertised) "Luxury now, Necessity then," it being announced with regret that he was confined to his bed on account of illness. Comrade Sparling has promised to lecture at a later period, which will be duly announced. The hall was well filled with very attentive audience. Good meeting on the Green by Mowbray and Brookes.—S. P.

EAST LONDON.—A good opening meeting was held at Gibraltar Walk on Sunday morning, which promises to be a most excellent station; Charles and Cores addressed the audience here. In Victoria Park in the afternoon, Davis, Cores, Charles, and Hicks, spoke to a long and successful meeting. Mr. Hoffman, a courteous opponent, took exception to the Anarchistic tendency of the speeches, but was well replied to by Charles and Davis. Next Sunday at 4 p.m., the points raised will be further discussed by comrade Charles and Mr. Hoffman.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting held last Sunday, 11 a.m., at Latimer Road, and we had a large and appreciative audience; speakers were Dean, Crouch, Lyne, sen., and Maughan, assisted by choir; and by the efforts of our comrade Lyne, we sold all our *Commonweal*. We held a good meeting at Weltje Road at 7 p.m.; speakers were Dean, Tarleton, Lyne, sen., and Maughan; choir sang 'The Proletariat.' Fair sale of *Commonweal*. The comrades in this district (Latimer Road), intend to extend their efforts shortly in the neighbourhood of North Kensington.—G. M.

HYDE PARK.—As we are getting crowded into a corner of the park away from the Marble Arch, under the pretext of protecting some new grass sown where we have spoken for 4 years, we made a start on our old ground. Parker opened, and was immediately requested to go to the other side of the park, and after a conference with the two police-inspectors we agreed to use the space pointed out to us, and if we found it unsuitable to take further steps to contest the point; in the meantime we would interview the Office of Works. A good crowd followed us to the spot indicated. Parker opened, and was followed by Mrs. Lahr, Mainwaring, Groser, and Cantwell. *Commonweal* sold out and 1s. 10d. collected. Pamphlets also sold well.—T. C.

NORTH LONDON.—At Regent's Park, owing to speaker not appearing till a quarter to one, a rather short meeting was held. 30 *Commonweal* sold and some pamphlets; 1s. 10d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—Large and attentive meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, addressed by Aiken and Leatham. Quite a flood of questioning at the close, the meeting being prolonged for three hours. At indoor meeting on 25th, comrade Bateman's rousing pamphlet, "Socialism and Soldiering," read and discussed.

EDINBURGH.—Through inadvertence, report of Commune celebration here not sent last week. We had enthusiastic meeting. Two French comrades who fought for the Commune in '71 were present. Usual revolutionary toasts drank, and songs sung. Lebeau sang "La Carmagnole," and Mellet, Davidson, Donaldson, Gilray, and Glasse spoke.

GLASGOW.—Kropotkin's meeting on Sunday was a great success. The hall was crowded, 1,500 being present, although admission was by payment at door. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., rode thirty miles in the rain from Gartmore to take the chair, and was in capital form—his speech from the chair full of characteristic spirit and epigram. Kropotkin, whose subject was "Problems of our Century: What has been done to solve them, and what remains to do," spoke with remarkable fluency and force. He gave a comprehensive survey of the economic and social changes of the century, and pointed out the manifold evidences of the inevitable approach of a Socialist régime. At the conclusion he answered several questions, his replies being received with great applause. A resolution in favour of Socialism was moved by Downie, seconded by Leo Mellet in an admirable speech, and carried with only few dissentients. Shaw Maxwell then delivered a spirited speech, and Pollock and Glasier also spoke. Several new members joined, and over eight quires of *Commonweal* and nearly six quires of *Freedom* were sold. The meeting was well reported in the local press—an unusual act of grace.

NORWICH.—On Monday the 19th inst., we concluded the celebration of the Commune by holding a social meeting in the Gordon Hall; a very enjoyable evening was spent; the chair was taken by comrade Morley; comrade Davis opened with an address, followed by Mrs. Schack, upon "How women can help the Socialist movement." Mrs. Schack made a special appeal to the females present. This was followed by revolutionary songs and recitations, given by members, comrade Davis, and Mrs. Schack—the latter recited in the German language. The Celebration was brought to a close at a very late hour by singing the "Marseillaise," and concluded with three hearty cheers for the Social Revolution.

—On Sunday last, in the morning, a large number of old *Commonweal* were distributed in the surrounding villages. In the afternoon, the usual open-air meeting was held in the Market Place, addressed by comrades Darley and Foynts: our audience was somewhat detracted from the speakers, through one or two individuals raising a discussion on the outskirts of the meeting. In the evening, Poynts lectured in the Gordon Hall to a fair audience—subject, "Slavery"; chair taken by comrade Emery. Several questions asked, and discussion followed; comrades Emery, Adams, and W. Moore took part. Fair sale of *Weal*.

YARMOUTH.—A very good meeting held on Priory Plain Sunday afternoon. Ruffold opened the meeting with a few well-chosen remarks, after which Reynolds gave a lengthy address, dealing more especially with the drink question, and religion. The audience very attentive. Sold 16 *Commonweal*, and collected 2s. 7d. Several members joined during past week.—C. R.

IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.—Good debate held here last Sunday night on the "Local Government Bill," in which comrades Thomas and Creed took part, besides several others. Comrade Thomas showed the fallacy of representation, and maintained that we ought to do things for ourselves instead of trusting it to others. Creed opens the debate next Sunday on "Organised Labour," comrade Thomas in chair.—M. CREED.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 31, at 8.30., Frank Kitz, "The *Freiheit* Prosecution by the English Government."

East London.—Next meeting of members on Sunday March 31st, at 8 p.m., at 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road. Important business. Members attend.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 31st, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Work and its Reward." Thursday April 4, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 5th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda. Sunday April 7, at 8 p.m., J. Hunter Watts.

Hoxton.—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.
North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Waltham 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.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

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).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 4½ Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

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

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

Dublin.—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

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

Galafrich (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

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

Glasgow.—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 Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Road 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 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8 p.m., a lecture by comrade Adams—subject, "True History of the Commune." Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class—subject, 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Monday, Thursday, and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Sunday April 7, W. Moore, "Socialism: some of its objections."

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.—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday, comrades Morley and Houghton, of Norwich, will come over and help us; therefore two meetings will be held—in the morning at 11 a.m.; afternoon at 3 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SATURDAY 30.

8 Mile-end Waste S. Presburg, Cores, and McCormick.

SUNDAY 31.

11.30..... Bethnal Green—Gibraltar WalkDavis, Hicks, and Mrs. Schack.
11.30..... Latimer Road Station.....The Branch.
11.30..... Mitcham Fair Green.....C. W. Mowbray.
11.30..... Regent's Park.....Parker and Mainwaring.
11.30..... Walham Green, opposite Station.....The Branch.
11.45..... Leman Street, ShadwellTurner and Mowbray.
3.30..... Hyde ParkParker, Nicoll, Mrs. Lahr.
3.30..... Victoria ParkMcCormick, Hoffman, and Charles.
7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch.
7.30..... Broad Street, SohoMrs. Lahr and Parker.
7.30..... Clerkenwell GreenMowbray and Kitz.

TUESDAY 2.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch.

THURSDAY 4.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Mrs. Lahr and Charles.
8 Ossulton StreetMrs. Lahr and Cantwell.

FRIDAY 5.

8 Philpot Street, Commercial RoadCharles and McCormick.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 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.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Sunday March 31, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Equality."

LIMEHOUSE BRANCH S.D.F., 339 Burdett Road, E.—F. Charles lectures at 8 o'clock on Sunday evening, April 7th—subject, "What's to be done during a Revolutionary Period."

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