

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

A SUNDAY CLOSING BILL (second reading) has been passed by a House of Commons which is very susceptible to the voting power of any solid body of the public. M.P.'s know not only that the teetotalers are a large and well-organised set of people, but also that they will go to the poll at election time. Meantime, the said members do not trouble themselves in the least about the real wants and hopes of the mass of the people, and so between carelessness as to the *lives* of the people and anxiety about their *votes*, if these can only be gathered together in formidable proportions, they pass measures like this bill of Mr. Stevenson's, a gross and abominable piece of oppression, a measure fit only for a set of helots, while they allow the public to be poisoned by any and every commercial rascal who finds that in the competitive race for position, water and chemicals are more for his purpose (selling for profit) than the result of properly fermented malt and hops.

John Bright is dead, and the newspapers have been busy heaping up a dung-heap of rotten nonsense over his dead body. The first thing that must strike any thoughtful and dispassionate observer, is that for any public purpose "the Great Tribune" has been dead several years. For the rest, it is fair to say that the man was personally honest always; but so essentially blood bone and soul a middle-class person, that he could not escape from the conventionalities of that class, *i.e.*, from its innate hypocrisy. He was utterly incapable of imagining himself in the position of any one outside the great commercial middle-class; to him that class included all the human reality of society. The upper class was a mere perverse obstruction to the progress of Podsnap; the lower, mere machinery to enable Podsnap to carry on his business. Business and the kind of family affection, and the kind of religion suitable to it, were the whole duty of man, and anything which came in its way was to be sternly swept aside.

In this view of life John Bright was singularly consistent. Some Home Rule Radicals wondered that he should turn anti-Gladstonian in his last days; it would have been wonderful if he had not. For in these later days the Irish Question has begun to look towards revolution, and against that Bright always set his face most determinedly.

It would have argued genius and quickness of wit in Bright, neither of which qualities he ever had, if he could at any time of his life have perceived that he himself was engaged in a war continuous and implacable, the war of commerce. But what he *could* see as war he did genuinely hate; nor did he favour a war, as more dishonest persons of his way of thinking have done, because it was a war of the market, a crime necessary to commerce.

No one who was not in this respect a man of principle, could have assumed the attitude which he did at the time of the Crimean War. Though he was hated bitterly at that time by the Whigs and Tories, he was very popular with the advanced Liberals, and, to do Bright justice, he was no man to seek for popularity from his enemies. Well, this popularity he threw away at the bidding of principle, as he saw it, coolly and deliberately, and became the very outcast of politics. I remember well the fury of hatred against him, which could not have been surpassed if he had proposed to meddle with the property of the rich. The sacramental phrase was, "I should like to hang John Bright."

A middle-class, repentant of having so mauled their true and steady champion, is now heaping fulsome flattery on his unconscious head; and one enthusiast was especially anxious that he should be buried with all the honours in Westminster Abbey. Truly a solace for the dead worth having! To form one of the gang of fools, rogues, and ruffians, whose capacity for pushing themselves into notoriety is expressed in a series of undertaker's lies, whose outward hideousness pollutes the most beautiful building ever raised in England by the hands and hearts of the people. Whatever wrongs we may have against John Bright, we would not revenge ourselves by thus ticketing him fool and dunce.

W. M.

A man has been murdered by London policemen for being "violent." He resisted arrest, and they gave him the "frog's march," under which treatment he died. Of course all respectable people sympathise with the policemen under whose hands it happened, and say, "How sad for them!" Recognising that respectable society is only upheld by the police, they feel, though few of them dare say it frankly, that whoever resists their lawful authority merits any fate, however horrible it be, that his contumacy may bring upon him. Still it cannot be difficult for any ordinarily humane person to see that the "frog's march" is one of those brutalities which only degraded and cowardly ruffians are capable of inflicting on their fellow-men, but which, in proportion to their degradation and cowardice, they delight in inflicting.

As it is the inevitable outcome of their occupation that policemen should be degraded and demoralised, those who employ them, if they make pretence to humanity, should see that there are some limits laid down, within which the lambs of law-'n'-order might be told to restrain their ferocity. The coroner at the inquest on the victim of the "frog's march" said that his treatment was illegal, and seemed under the impression that so much restraint at least on the freedom of action of the police would be salutary. But the Chief of Police, Mr. Matthews, would not have his men hampered "in the exercise of their duty," and "was not prepared to prohibit the 'frog's march.'"

Could not some one suggest to the House of Commons that it do resolve itself into a Committee of Investigation and adjourn to the terrace, there to see Mr. Matthews frog's-marched by four stalwart constables of the A Division, specially selected for tenderness? If Mr. Matthews' nose were skinned by contact with the gravel, and the breath knocked out of him by one or two bumps of his stomach against the ground, it would add an interesting and instructive touch of realism to the scene, and give honourable legislators an idea of how the laws they make are administered.

Henry Broadhurst, Esq., M.P., is to have a banquet of honour at the National Liberal Club. This is, of course, by way of counter-manifesto to the charges made and proved against him; of endorsing his denial of responsibility to the men he used to be supposed to represent; and of adopting him definitely into the Great Liberal Party. That is all right now, so far as it goes, but there may come a time when those who now crowd to get tickets will be even more anxious to explain away their presence on such an occasion. Stranger things have happened.

S.

JOHN BRIGHT.

"Who shall dwell in thy holy hill? . . . He that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doeth evil to his neighbour; . . . he that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. He that doeth these things shall never be moved."

"He hath said in his heart, I shall not be moved: for I shall never be in adversity. His mouth is full of cursing and deceit and fraud: under his tongue is mischief and vanity. He sitteth in the lurking places of the villages: in the secret places doth he murder the innocent: his eyes are privily set against the poor. He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den: he lieth in wait to catch the poor: he doth catch the poor, when he draweth him into his net. He croucheth and humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones."

As an infant at my mother's knee I was almost taught to consider but two men dwelling within the four seas of Britain as worthy of love and respect, Richard Cobden and John Bright. We are all doomed to pass our lives picking our path through the painful fragments of shattered idols scattered along our way, and generally come to the conclusion that it is folly to lift any miserable human personality to the position of a pattern, much less to that of a god. We learn by cruel experience to reserve our respect for ideas, and our aid for truth from whatever initiative, being of necessity always on the alert for betrayal in the most trusted quarters. The dangers of hero-worship are strikingly illustrated in the careers of Bright and Cobden. These two have been the stock subjects of adulation during our era for the "women and fools," but when the stern and sober warriors of the

social war are arming for the death-grapple they are in no humour for such chatter as the death of the last of the "free trade twins," has deluged us all with during the past week. This adulation needs a sharp rebuke. "There's mischief in 't," as the playor says.

Bright and Cobden deserve no love, no praise, no imitation. We can allow for their shortcomings, their ignorance, their bigotry, their mistaken ideals. We have no call to join in a hurrah to their honour. They were the avowed champions of the "commercial classes," the people who would wish to turn England into one vast combination of pawn-shop and sweater's den, living on buying and selling, faking up deceitful wares for alluring the eye of the ignorant foreigner, inducing him to purchase what he did not need or ought to have made for himself, while he was cajoled into feeding and clothing the denizens of England as a sort of humble tribute for their condescension in patronising him. In one of the brutal blurring moods of Cobden, he gloated with a sort of fiendish satisfaction upon the pall of death which his cunning schemes had brought upon the handicrafts of many lands, and warned in thunder tones the only too greedy English ears that any thwarting of Cobdenite doctrines would re-awaken the independence of the foreigner. With sickening obstinacy, Bright never tired of proclaiming the British shoppocracy as the possessors of all the virtues, supporters of all the rest of Society, and inventors of all human blessings.

At this day there are thousands of homes of the toilers and poverty-ridden victims of commercialism decorated with a portrait of John Bright, looked up to as a sort of shrine or holy grail. Poor fools! There is little salvation in that smug and selfish countenance! The poor and outcast were to John Bright objects of simple toleration and contemptuous pity. He never had a glimmering of the sense of manhood and its paramount rights above the possession of that which moth and rust can corrupt and thieves break through and steal! Yet he was a nominal follower of George Fox, bred of an ancestry which had fought for human freedom and human equality; fought, not by the miserable use of indiscriminate violence, but by patient suffering and persistent refusal to bow down to the dictates of oppression. The fatal malady which corrupted the moral nature of John Bright is the same which has been fatal to his sect, to Jews, to every body of erst time champions for freedom who become themselves enslavers of their fellow-beings. It is more fatal to wrong than to be wronged, to oppress than to be oppressed. The Quakers and Jews who become exploiters of labour, instead of rebukers of authority, necessarily become dabblers in all the sins their ancestors have denounced and tried to eradicate.

John Bright was born in an age when he and his people, instead of living by the sweat of their face, lived by the sweat of the face of others, "putting out money to usury," "taking reward against the innocent": and the "backbiting" and "doing evil to one's neighbour" follow as the night the day. It is a very pretty phrase, "free trade," having an attractive ring to the uninitiated, especially the word "free," as if it were allied to any real freedom. Ask nine out of ten men what were the earliest energies of John Bright as a legislator directed to in the main, and he will answer, "Why, to free trade, of course." Nothing can be more mistaken. Instead of using his first year in Parliament as an advocate of any species of freedom, John Bright spent that golden age of youthful strength in battling with angry vehemence for bare-faced slavery, just as his co-conspirator Gladstone made his maiden speech as a special pleader for filthy lucre for the sale of his father's slaves (after the fashion of Westminster, taking it as a first duty to look after his own pockets before the slower business of humbugging the yokels begins). Not that Gladstone and Bright had much in common, or were ever in full fellowship. It is interesting to note that Bright's first words in the House of Commons were a rebuke to the "flimsy excuses" of Gladstone, which the latter was assured would not serve him "before the bar of public opinion."

In the twin capitals of modern commercialism, London and New York, it has been a remarkable coincidence that two men of the same name (in fact, really not very distant cousins, had they been of Scotch blood) stood out as champions of labour against the unlimited greed of the plutocrats. In London, Anthony Cooper; in New York, Peter Cooper. It was against the tireless efforts of Anthony Cooper, then known as Lord Ashley, that John Bright first raised his venomous speech, battling for three years against Lord Ashley's attempts to protect the factory slaves in some small measure. With great complaisance Bright paraded the fact that, at his own factory, the children could earn over a penny an hour and the full-grown men threepence, but as to limiting their toil to eleven hours a-day, why the British Empire would be in danger. At length, in 1846, after Lord Ashley had been partially successful in regard to other legislation, the tribune of the people (and of the factory sweating-masters) was rewarded by defeating the general eleven-hour bill on a close division—only ten majority in a house of four hundred. The division-list tells its own story. Names which have a sinister sound to the ears of English workmen crop up in the majority. A Baring was one of the tellers. Two other Barings are on the roll. Following on after Bright, among others, come Bouverie, Carnegie, Cobden, Drummond, Hope, Hume, Labouchere, Peel, Ricardo, etc., etc., the political economy gradgrinds, and henchmen of the swarms of Scotch, Dutch, and Jewish stockbrokers who have swooped down upon England since the seventeenth century. The broken and degraded remnants of the old English aristocracy, just beginning to recognise that they had sold their noble birthright to Shylock for a very small mess of the pottage of temporary debauchery, now trooped in blind rage into the other lobby; not out of much love for the toiler, but out of hatred for the common despoiler, the money-

grubber. Among the number were also some names dear to English literature—Sheridan, Macaulay, Disraeli, etc. There is food for study in that famous division-list. It is much more significant than the Book of Kings. It should teach the workers that no man can serve both them and Mammon.

John Bright was ever foremost in denouncing distant inequities; always reforming some one's else house. He had a horror of the slavery of other lands; he advocated turning England into one vast slave-shop of the cruellest kind. It was all moral to him as long as every man (who possessed sufficient cunning and hardness of heart) had an equal chance of becoming himself a slave-driver. This was his idea of "freedom of trade." No disturbing fancies ever seemed to float across his vision that there was anything wrong in his being enabled to saunter in ease about Pall Mall upon the cruel confinement and ceaseless industry of factory slaves in Yorkshire or Lancashire. He salved his conscience with the idea that his factory was no worse (perhaps better) than others. Just as his brother factory-lord, Samuel Morley, used to pose as a philanthropist on flinging about bounties which he never earned and about which he never consulted the men who did earn them, so John Bright considered himself a heaven-ordained minister to tell the foolish workmen what to think and what to do.

All the rats of the public press are now beslobbering over John Bright's memory, just as they have denounced him when that was supposed to be their proper cue. What they say of him now is as foolish as what they have said in the past. They regret in one case his falling away from his principles in later years; or exult, on the other hand, that he saw the error of his early ways. As a fact, John Bright never budged from his beaten track. The cackling Kelt who have been dinning our ears of late years with denunciations of the man, were themselves the silly dupes who used to cheer him to the echo in former years when he was as "falsely true" to his present position as of late. It was their inability to understand his real value. He never advocated the rights of man; he never advocated the enfranchisement of toil; he never favoured anything but the most bitter waging of the social war, reserving all his dislike for mere political blood-spilling (which to his jealous eye was waste of powder for the benefit of the aristocrats he hated).

The corrupting cancer of selfish money-grubbing destroys all true morality. The iniquitous business of stealing the product of your fellow-man has to be upheld by unlimited lying, perhaps uncscious in the case of John Bright, but lying all the same. All his life, like all men who have hardened their heart against the poor, his mouth was "full of cursing and deceit and fraud." When Feargus O'Connor dares to utter these truthful words in the House of Commons—

"If he were asked to place his hand upon the men who lived exclusively upon the sinew, marrow, bones, and blood of women and children, if he could group them all in one lump, he would put his hand upon the master manufacturers. If there were ever a body of tyrants which existed in any country, it was the manufacturers of England,"—

as a challenge to John Bright and his mates, the pious "tribune of the people" has not a word of defence, but "croucheth and humbleth himself," gives a cowardly whine about "coarse vituperation," and meanly taunts poor Feargus with his social failure, as if that had anything to do with the issue! But bare-faced lying was also necessary. Only a few years ago John Bright had the audacity to proclaim that in his past career he "was in favour of legislation restricting the labour and guarding the health of children." Listen to the "tribune of the people" "his eyes privily set against the poor," seeking to "murder the innocent" in the "secret places," "to catch the poor" in "his net":

"Messrs. Kennedy and Company were employing upwards of 130 children under thirteen years of age; yet, in a short time, so annoyed were they by the interference of the inspectors appointed under the Act, that they became disgusted, and dismissed from their employment—many other proprietors doing the same—the entire 130 children. So that the only effect of the protective clauses introduced into the Act was to cause the dismissal of these children. He (Mr. Bright) was satisfied that the tendency of legislation such as they had heard advocated there that night was neither convenient for those engaged in trade nor benevolent to those employed, and that they could not follow worse counsel than that suggested by the noble lord (Lord Ashley) and his friends. Nothing could be more fatal to the trade than the course which it was desired to pursue; and nothing could be more fatal, he would add, to their own legislation; for let them press the matter a little tighter than they had done, and the time was not distant when they would be called upon to retrace the whole of their legislation with regard to this question."

It is almost dangerous to give full vent to one's indignation over this utterance. I'm afraid our impulsive friend Othello would blurt out, "He's like a liar gone to burning hell." But to me the man who uttered these shameful, cunning, selfish phrases was nothing, is nothing. He was what nature made him, narrow, sordid, and cunning, ignorant and insolent. He was honest after his feeble light; villainously dishonest after a nobler standard. My indignation is reserved for a section of the aforesaid cackling Kelt who whose venal pens bristle all over the despicable newspaper press of London, who are to-day servilely lauding this piece of broken clay; for the five millions of human atoms, "mostly fools," who swallow this dictum as the unanimous utterance of the town (according to Mr. Gladstone); for the degraded nation and the degraded age which allows such men to be our guiding stars. "These be thy gods, O Israel!"

The only excuse for John Bright is sheer ignorance. He may have supposed himself opposed to slavery when he lived upon the enforced labour of others; he may have supposed himself opposed to brutal warfare when his position depended upon organised and universal murder; he may have supposed himself in favour of free agency among workmen when he upheld laws which keep their face to the

grindstone; he may have thought he had given the poor a benefit by "cheaper bread," when he believed in depriving them of all bread except at the supreme pleasure of himself and his fellow task-masters. All I can say is that his ignorance was ethereal. His contempt for the poor (as also his ceaseless venom against Robert Owen and all social reformers) was simply loathsome in a pretended follower of Jesus of Nazareth. Here is his notorious "residuum" speech:—

"I have always been in favour of household suffrage. I believe that the solid and ancient basis of the suffrage is that all persons who are rated to some tax should be admitted to the franchise. There is a small class which it would be much better for themselves if they were not enfranchised, because they have no independence whatsoever, and it would be much better for the constituency also that they should be excluded, and there is no class so much interested in having that small class excluded as the intelligent and honest working-men. I call this class the residuum, which there is in almost every constituency, of almost hopeless poverty and dependence."

Now this man could have had no idea of human rights as originating in humanity. His division line, of course, must come from so-called "property," even among his "honest and intelligent working-men." Property consists in the right to steal the product of other people. To him "honesty" and "intelligence" implied this faculty. Doubtless he was too ignorant to understand this; it was only an instinct. This instinct dominates his whole class. A few weeks ago one of his near relatives (a woman) let out the secret in Kennington. She said the land agitation has caused "property to depreciate." Quite right, my lady. "Property" is likely to depreciate still further; it is like to disappear altogether. Nature knows no reason why you and yours should live by the labour of others. While you are sufficiently cunning, and the mob able to bear your pilferings in patience, all is well. But the over-burdened mule either succumbs or rebels at last.

George Fox made his own suit of leather, as Carlyle has rendered famous. George Fox required no "compromise with sin" to sustain him in a false position. His nominal followers to-day, foul with the disease of usury, play—

"such fantastic tricks before high heaven,
As make the angels weep."

John Bright was the mouthpiece of these degraded beings. He was not like Gladstone, a scheming politician, ready to take any side, and plotting for applause and power. John Bright was the type of one of those two thieves (land and money) between which, as Bronterre O'Brien was fond of repeating, the cause of the workers is crucified. Because John Bright denounced the land robbers, the workers have been fools enough to trust in his saving arm. As a fact, there was nothing noble in Bright's hatred of the landlords. Bright represented the ancient "British" spirit, the real "residuum" of the queer mixed race of England, the stupid, unenlightened, bigoted, grasping, and servile element, which Romans, Angles, Danes, and Normans have rolled over in vain. There was nothing new or true in Bright's vulgar jibe about Disraeli's blood. The miserable Piers de Gaveston called Aymer de Valence "Joseph the Jew." John Bright knew nothing about the "English blood" of himself or of others. There was nothing about him which is associated with the real glory of the Anglo-Norman race. That race is not a race of cheap goods, of smoke-choked slaves, of the fairest island of earth turned into the blighting waste of steam-driven slave-dens. All this will pass away. A new generation will look back upon it all with horror and contempt, and wonder how a deluded people could ever have been wasted by such a social disease as produces such examples of human distortion as John Bright.

"O England, model to thy inward greatness,
Like little body with a mighty heart,
What might'st thou do, that honour would thee do,
Were all thy children kind and natural!"

L. W.

DUCKS AND FOOLS.

WHEN I was in Iceland, I was told about the habits of the eider ducks, which breed in great quantities in the little islets scattered about the firths there, and also of their treatment. They, of course, get their own living; they are pretty good to eat, but not very good; so they are not allowed to be shot, because they produce valuable down, which can be got at by the following process: They make their nests on the ground in the above-mentioned islets; the duck half strips her breast of the down to line her nest; this down is at once collared from the nest by those who are privileged to do so according to law. Then the duck pulls off the rest of her down, as she is anxious to sit and hatch; comes the legal owner of the down, and takes that also. Then comes the drake and half strips himself; this also the legal owner takes, grumbling because the drake's down is coarser, and also because his game is over; for now the poor devils of ducks would not hatch their eggs unless the drake were allowed to line the nest with all that remains to him. Therefore this time the down is not taken; the eggs are allowed to be hatched, so that in due time they may fulfil the function of their lives, and produce down for others' use. Moral: Ducks are obliged to stand this from Icelanders; but why Englishmen should stand similar usage from Englishmen is a curious question. W. M.

EVICIONS IN LONDON.—A Parliamentary return has been issued, showing the number of warrants issued by justices under the Act 1 and 2 Vict., c. 74, for the recovery of possession of tenements within the metropolitan police district during the two years ended September 30, 1888. The divisions in which the largest number of warrants were issued are as follows: Whitehall, 378; St. James's, 235; Marylebone, 418; Finsbury, 702; Bethnal Green, 100; Whitechapel, 77; Lambeth, 87; Southwark, 281; Hammer-smith, 231; Wandsworth, 99. The total number of warrants was 2,757, and in 187 cases force was required to give effect to the warrant, these cases including 97 in Marylebone, 21 in Holborn, 22 in Bethnal Green, and 22 in Wandsworth. In three cases only was such force resisted—namely, in Marylebone, Finsbury, and Southwark.

FROM THE SLUMS.

WHAT care they for the lives we live,
Styed in a single room?
What thought, men, do these wealthy give
To all that is our doom?
What are the pauper lives to which
Our wants, our wives, condemn?
Our children's squalor—to the rich,
What are these things to them?
Of their æsthetic art they fuss;
They'd scorn to waste a thought on us.

Their sickly novel's loves and woes
May wake their cultured sighs;
Some spaniel or canary shows
How much their pets they prize;
We are but human flesh and blood;
We want—we starve;—what then?
We are not of their pack or stud;
Why should they care for men?
Of racer—pointer, they may fuss;
They'd scorn to waste a thought on us.

So be it; but we read at last;
To question Why we dare
One life is in an alley past,
One, in a wealthy square;
Why they to pampered lives are born,
We, starved lives to endure;
And if God made us for their scorn,
Or wills there shall be poor,
And at our clubs we dare discuss
Why they must differ so from us.

Why we are low—why they are high,
We reason all we can,
Yet fail to find the reason why
Man differs so from man.
We've blundered somehow into this,
Men's common rights forgot;
Now seems it that 'twere not amiss
That all should share one lot,
Should know one equal comfort thus,
Nor rich nor poor be known to us.

W. C. BENNETT.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 13, 1889.

7	Sun.	1820. G. Klapka born. 1868. T. D'Arcy Magee shot. 1881. Irish Land Bill introduced.
8	Mon.	1801. Revolt at Warsaw. 1832. Co-operative Congress at Huddersfield. 1840. Bronterre O'Brien sentenced for sedition. 1848. Trial of Chartist rioters. 1848. Repeal banquet to O'Connell. 1867. Special Commission for trial of Fenians opens at Manchester. 1871. Monument to Ernest Jones unveiled in Ardwick Cemetery, Manchester. 1884. Serious labour-riot in Kidderminster, caused by importing "rat" weavers during a strike.
9	Tues.	1626. Lord Bacon died. 1797. Trial of John Gale Jones for sedition. 1817. Trial of William Edgar for administering unlawful oaths. 1834. Revolt at Lyons. 1869. Massacres at Seraing.
10	Wed.	1784. Viscount Strangford tried for acting criminally and corruptly as a Lord of Parliament, Ireland. 1820. Sir Charles Wolseley and Rev. Joseph Harrison tried for their "seditious" speeches at the Stockport meeting on the previous 28th of July. 1848. The great Chartist Demonstration on Kennington Common. 1853. Trial of the "Invincibles" began at Dublin.
11	Thur.	1814. Napoleon abdicated. 1839. E. Courmet born. 1887. Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Hyde Park; 150,000 present.
12	Fri.	1793. Phillips imprisoned for selling "Rights of Man." 1823. Second public meeting in the Rotunda, Dublin, to hear Robert Owen lecture. 1834. Defeat and massacre of the Lyons Socialists. 1858. Trial of Simon Bernard. 1867. The "Erin's Hope" ("Jacmel") sails from New York. 1871. Pierre Leroux died. 1878. Vera Zassulich acquitted of the killing of General Trepoff. 1879. Nihilist address to the Czar. 1885. Eight-hour labour-day demonstration in Hyde Park, held by the S.D.F.
13	Sat.	1598. Henry IV. of France issues the Edict of Nantes. 1812. Luddite riot at Leeds. 1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill passed. 1861. Taking of Fort Sumter begins American Civil War. 1872. Samuel Bamford died. 1886. J. H. Noyes died.

Vera Zassulich.—The acquittal of Vera Zassulich by a Russian jury made an epoch in the history of the Russian movement. General Trepoff (the Sir Charles Warren of St. Petersburg at that time) caused one of the political prisoners who were kept in the House of Detention to be flogged for not having taken his hat off before the General. Other prisoners confined in the walls of the same prison made a riot in their cells in order to prevent the disgraceful operation being performed, but they were beaten by warders till quite exhausted, and Bogoluboff (the insulted prisoner) was flogged in spite of all that could be done. Outsiders did nothing. Officials, lawyers, authorities, and public men,—all knew what was going on in the prison, and none moved a finger to check the omnipotent Trepoff. But there appears in his office a humble, decently-dressed young girl, and presents him with a petition, accompanied by a revolver-bullet in the dictator's abdomen. Of course she was arrested, imprisoned, and tried; but the jury hated the General so much that they acquitted Vera Zassulich. The police and gendarmes tried to arrest her immediately after acquittal, but her friends and the enthusiastic crowd prevented it from being done, leaving one killed and several wounded on the spot. Vera has been living ever since in Switzerland.—Tch.

CLUB AUTONOMIE.—Lecture on "Anarchism," by James Harragan, on Sunday April 7th, at 3.45.



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 if be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. H.—Your postcard came to hand too late for insertion of notice.
H. S. (Manchester).—Report came too late for insertion last week.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 3.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	SWITZERLAND
Church Reformer	Vorboten	Arbeiterstimme
Labour Elector	Baecker Zeitung	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Postal Service Gazette	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Sozial Demokrat	San Francisco—Pacific Union	Barcelona—El Productor
INDIA	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	PORTUGAL
Bankipore—Bohar Herald	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
UNITED STATES	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	GERMANY
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Freiheit	Le Proletariat	AUSTRIA
Volksseker	La Revolte	Brunn—Volkfreund
Volkszeitung	HOLLAND	Wien—Gleichheit
Jewish Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
Workmen's Advocate	BELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
United Irishman	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Liberty		

THE SOCIETY OF THE FUTURE.

(Continued from p. 99.)

Well, but this demand for the extinction of asceticism bears with it another demand; for the extinction of luxury. Does that seem a paradox to you? It ought not to do so. What brings about luxury but a sickly discontent with the simple joys of the lovely earth? What is it but a warping of the natural beauty of things into a perverse ugliness to satisfy the jaded appetite of a man who is ceasing to be a man—a man who will not work, and cannot rest? Shall I tell you what luxury has done for you in modern Europe? It has covered the merry green fields with the hovels of slaves, and blighted the flowers and trees with poisonous gases, and turned the rivers into sewers; till over many parts of Britain the common people have forgotten what a field or a flower is like, and their idea of beauty is a gas-poisoned ginpallace or a tawdry theatre. And civilisation thinks that is all right, and it doesn't heed it; and the rich man practically thinks, 'Tis all right, the common people are used to it now, and so long as they can fill their bellies with the husks that the swine do eat, it is enough. And all for what? To have fine pictures painted, beautiful buildings built, good poems written? O no. Those are the deeds of the ages before luxury, before civilisation. Luxury rather builds clubs in Pall Mall, and upholsters them as though for delicate invalid ladies for the behoof of big whiskered men, that they may lounge there amidst such preposterous effeminacy that the very pushed-breeched flunkies that wait upon the loungers are better men than they are. I needn't go further than that: a grand club is the very representative of luxury.

Well, you see I dwell upon that matter of luxury, which is really the sworn foe of pleasure, because I don't want workmen even temporarily to look upon a swell club as a desirable thing. I know how difficult it is for them to look from out of their poverty and squalor to a life of real and manly pleasure; but I ask them to think that the good life of the future will be as little like the life of the present rich as may be: that life of the rich is only the wrong side of their own misery; and surely since it is the cause of the misery, there can be nothing enviable or desirable in it. When our opponents say, as they sometimes do, "How should we be able to procure the luxuries of life in a Socialist society!" answer boldly, we could not do so, and we don't care, for we don't want them and won't have them: and indeed, I feel sure that we cannot if we are all free men together. Free men, I am sure, must lead simple lives and have simple pleasures: and if we shudder away from that necessity now, it is because we are not free men, and have in consequence wrapped up our lives in such a complexity of dependence that we have grown feeble and helpless. But again, what is simplicity? Do you think by chance that I mean a row of yellow-brick, blue-slatted houses, or a phalangstere like an improved Peabody lodging-house; and the dinner-bell ringing one into a row of white basins of broth with a piece of bread cut nice and square by each, with boiler-made tea and ill boiled rice pudding to follow? No; that's the philanthropist's ideal, not mine; and here I only note it to repudiate it, and to say, Vicarious life once more, and therefore no pleasure. No, I say; find out what you yourselves find pleasant, and do it. You won't be alone in your desires; you will get plenty to help you in carrying them out, and you will develop social life in developing your own special tendencies.

So, then, my ideal is first unconstrained life, and next simple and natural life. First you must be free; and next you must learn to take pleasure in all the details of life;—which, indeed, will be necessary for you, because, since others will be free, you will have to do your own work. That is in direct opposition to civilisation, which says, Avoid trouble (which you can only do by making other people live your life for you). I say, Socialists ought to say, Take trouble, and turn your trouble into pleasure: that I shall always hold is the key to a happy life.

Now let us try to use that key to unlock a few of the closed doors of the future: and you must remember, of course, in speaking of the Society of the future, I am taking the indulgence of passing over the transitional period—whatever that may be—that will divide the present from the ideal; which, after all, we must all of us more or less form in our minds when we have once fixed our belief in the regeneration of the world. And first as to the form of the position of people in the new Society—their political position, so to say. Political society as we know it will have come to an end: the relations between man and man will no longer be that of status, or of property. It will no longer be the hierarchical position, the office of the man, that will be considered, as in the Middle Ages, nor his property as now, but his person. Contract enforced by the State will have vanished into the same limbo as the holiness of the nobility of blood. So we shall at one stroke get rid of all that side of artificiality which bids us sacrifice each our own life to the supposed necessity of an institution which is to take care of the troubles of people which may never happen: every case of clashing rights and desires will be dealt with on its own merits—that is, really, and not legally. Private property of course will not exist as a right: there will be such an abundance of all ordinary necessities that between private persons there will be no obvious and immediate exchange necessary; though no one will want to meddle with matters that have as it were grown to such and such an individual—which have become part of his habits, so to say.

Now, as to occupations, we shall clearly not be able to have the same division of labour in them as now: vicarious servantry, sewer-cumptying, butchering, letter-carrying, boot-blackening, hair-dressing, and the rest of it, will have come to an end: we shall either make all these occupations agreeable to ourselves in some mood or to some minds, who will take to them voluntarily, or we shall have to let them lapse altogether. A great many fidgetty occupations will come to an end: we shan't put a pattern on a cloth or a twiddle on a jug-handle to sell it, but to make it prettier and to amuse ourselves and others. Whatever rough or inferior wares we make, will be made rough and inferior to perform certain functions of use, and not to sell: as there will be no slaves, there will be no use for wares which none but slaves would need. Machinery will probably to a great extent have served its purpose in allowing the workers to shake off privilege, and will I believe be much curtailed. Possibly the few more important machines will be very much improved, and the host of unimportant ones fall into disuse; and as to many or most of them, people will be able to use them or not as they feel inclined—as, e.g., if we want to go on a journey we shall not be compelled to go by railway as we are now, in the interests of property, but may indulge our personal inclinations and travel in a tilted waggon or on the hind-quarters of a donkey.

Again, the aggregation of the population having served its purpose of giving people opportunities of inter-communication and of making the workers feel their solidarity, will also come to an end; and the huge manufacturing districts will be broken up, and nature heal the horrible scars that man's heedless greed and stupid terror have made: for it will no longer be a matter of dire necessity that cotton cloth should be made a fraction of a farthing cheaper this year than last. It will be in our own choice whether we will work an extra half-hour a-day more to obtain a clean home and green fields; nor will the starvation or misery of thousands follow some slight caprice in the market for wares not worth making at all. Of course (as I ought to

have said before) there are many ornamental matters which will be made privately in people's leisure hours, as they could easily be: since it is not the making of a real work of art that takes so much ingenuity as the making of a machine for the making of a makeshift. And of course mere cheating and flunky centres like the horrible muck-heap in which we dwell (London, to wit) could be got rid of easier still; and a few pleasant villages on the side of the Thames might mark the place of that preposterous piece of folly once called London.

Now let us use the key to unlock the door of the education of the future. Our present education is purely commercial and political: we are none of us educated to be men, but some to be property-owners, and others to be property-servers. Again I demand the due results of revolution on the basis of non-ascetic simplicity of life. I think here also we must get rid of the fatal division-of-labour system. All people should learn how to swim, and to ride, and to sail a boat on sea or river; such things are not arts, they are merely natural bodily exercises, and should become habitual in the race; and also one or two elementary arts of life, as carpentry or smithing; and most should know how to shoe a horse and shear a sheep and reap a field, and plough it (we should soon drop machinery in agriculture I believe when we were free). Then again there are things like cooking and baking, sewing, and the like, which can be taught to every sensible person in a few hours, and which everybody ought to have at his fingers' ends. All these elementary arts would be once again habitual, as also I suppose would be the arts of reading and writing; as also I suspect would the art of thinking, at present not taught in any school or university that I know of.

Well, armed with these habits and arts, life would lie before the citizen for him to enjoy; for whatever line he might like to take up for the exercise of his energies, he would find the community ready to help him with teaching, opportunities, and material. Nor for my part would I prescribe for him what he should do, being persuaded that the habits which would have given him the capacities of a man would stimulate him to use them; and that the process of the enjoyment of his life would be carried out, not at the expense of his fellow-citizens, but for their benefit. At present, you know, the gains held out as a stimulus to exertion, to all those who are not stimulated by the whip of the threat of death by starvation, are narrow, and are mainly the hope that the successfully energetic man shall be placed in a position where he shall not have to exercise his energies: the boredom of satiety, in short, is the crown of valiant exertion in civilisation. But in a social condition of things, the gains that would lie before the exercise of one's energies would be various and wide indeed; nor do I in the least in the world believe that the possibility of mere personal use would, or indeed could, limit people's endeavour after them; since men would at last have recognised that it was their business to live, and would at once come to the conclusion that life without endeavour is *dull*. Now what direction that endeavour would take, of course I cannot tell you; I can only say that it would be set free from the sordid necessity to work at what doesn't please us, which is the besetting curse of civilisation. The suggestion of a hope I may, however, make, which is of course personal—which is that perhaps mankind will regain their eyesight, which they have at present lost to a great extent. I am not here alluding to what I believe is also a fact, that the number of people of imperfect mechanical sight is increasing, but to what I suppose is connected with that fact—namely, that people have largely ceased to take in mental impressions through the eyes; whereas in times past the eyes were the great feeders of the fancy and imagination. Of course people use their eyes to prevent them from tumbling down stairs or from putting their forks to their noses instead of to their mouths, but there as a rule is an end of the use they are to people. I am in the habit when I go to an exhibition or a picture-gallery of noticing their behaviour there; and as a rule I note that they seem very much bored, and their eyes wander vacantly over the various objects exhibited to them, and odd to say, a strange or unusual thing never attracts them, no doubt because it appeals to their minds chiefly through their eyes; whereas if they came across something which a printed label informs them is something familiar, they become interested and nudge each other. If, *e.g.*, ordinary people go to our National Gallery, the thing which they want to see is the Blenheim Raphael, which, though well done, is a very dull picture, at least to anyone not an artist; and they do this because they have been told that the—h'm! the—the—well, the thief that owned it managed to squeeze an exorbitant sum of money out of the nation for it. While, when Holbein shows them the Danish princess of the sixteenth century yet living on the canvas, the demure half-smile not yet faded from her eyes; when Van Eyck opens a window for them into Bruges of the fourteenth century; when Botticelli shows them Heaven as it lived in the hearts of men before theology was dead, these things produce no impression on them, not so much even as to stimulate their curiosity and make them ask 'what 'tis all about;' because these things were done to be looked at, and to make the eyes tell the mind tales of the past, the present, and the future.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded.)

All friends willing to assist in the formation of Branch of the S.L. in Streatham should communicate with J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—Sunday April 7th, at 8.30, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation," 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

SOUTH NORWOOD LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 92 Portland Road, South Norwood (3 minutes from Norwood Junction).—On Tuesday April 9th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx Aveling, "A Socialist Programme."

THE FROG'S MARCH.

THAT Mahoney's death must be attributed to the circumstances attending his removal to the police-station, no sane man can dispute. During this period he was in the keeping of the police, therefore his caretakers (?) must be held responsible for what happened. The jury at the coroner's inquest, however, took quite a different view of the question. One juror was an eye-witness, and as a proof of the close attention with which he watched the case, when asked by the coroner whether the deceased knocked the policemen about "with his feet or hands," his reply was "Oh, anyhow." This very graphic description evidently satisfied the coroner. This intelligent witness also "thought that the man killed himself in his temper," an idea which was corroborated by the still more intelligent coroner, who remarked, "That's what the medical evidence points to." The only wonder is that this most intelligent jury did not bring in a verdict of "Suicide whilst in an unsound state of mind." The sapience of the coroner and the jury was still further manifested when they recommended that the "frog's march" should be discontinued. Superintendent Arnold remarked, "It cannot be discontinued because it is not sanctioned." A juror proposed passing a vote of censure on the police. After a few remarks from the coroner and Arnold, the jury proceeded to give another proof of their supreme wisdom by signing the verdict without adding any censure on the police.

Any one making himself acquainted with the facts of the above case, must feel convinced that justice is no factor of our law-'n'-order system. All rational minds will hold the four policemen concerned in this case guilty of murder; and a jury, not quite so thick-headed as the one that tried this case, would have brought in a verdict of "Homicide."

Matthews and Monro evidently approve of the "frog's march," and Monro would like to receive suggestions. The only suggestion which could be made is that Matthews, Monro, the coroner, and the jurors in this case should qualify by first going through a process of alcoholisation, then have their heels kicked and their persons generally hustled about, and lastly, be treated to a "frog's march" from Shoreditch Church to the police-station. If they don't commit suicide on the way, they will then be able to speak authoritatively on the merits and demerits of this vexed question. A. B.

VIGOROUS SPEAKING IN A SCOTTISH PULPIT.

It is not often that the ermined hypocrites who sit upon the judgment seats of our land, receive such a vigorous wiggling as was given them last Monday week by the Rev. David McQueen in the Pleasance United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh—more power to him! Referring to the execution of Jessie King, the baby farmer, for the murder of babies committed to her charge, the reverend castigator said: "Why is mercy so scant in the court here? Because morality is not always on the bench. The sinner has little or no mercy on the erring. If all the justices, sheriffs, and law lords had to undergo an examination in moral character, there would doubtless be several vacancies in Parliament House. A knowledge of the ten commandments is as necessary as an acquaintance with Scottish law. Are all sheriffs pure of heart and clean of hand? I fancy there are some of them who have seldom heard of the seventh commandment." He then condemned in scathing terms the punishment of newsboys with the lash for selling newspapers within the sacred precincts of Waverly station. "The day is coming!" he exclaimed, "when the miserable farce of Justice and Sheriff Court and Court of Session will be trampled and spat upon by an enlightened Christian conscience." Commenting upon a statement made by the Lord Justice Clerk, in reviewing a case where an Aberdeen mill-worker, who had been ruined by a "gentleman of means" under cover of a promise of marriage, had received £300 damages, in which he said "the sheriff had given £300 damages! £300 damages for the ruin of an Aberdeen mill-worker! The thing is ridiculous!" "This," exclaimed the preacher, "happened in Scotland, in a court of justice. The speaker was the Lord Justice Clerk. This is his idea of morality. What should we do? Why, society should hiss him from the bench. We should petition the Queen to send him about his business. If he is a member of a Christian church his name should be erased from the roll. What justice can the poor expect from such a filthy channel? What can innocence hope for when such as sit as her judges are corrupted?" There is some logic as well as humanity in preaching of this stamp. We could do with a deal more of it. J. B. G.

The race dies constantly, not from old age, but dies out from the distemper of poverty and consequent crime.—*Rev. Geo. N. Boardman.*

In the *Leader*, a Liberal weekly, there are two discussions in progress, one on "Shall we feed School Board children?" and one on "The housing of the poor," in both of which some of our friends might profitably take part. To the last-named our comrade Chatterton contributed a letter in last week's issue.

The Working Men's Club and Institute Union makes the offer to working men and women of a third-class journey to Paris and back, for the Exhibition, and four days' board and lodging, for £2 11s.; or six days for £3 3s. For four days in Paris, with two drives round to see the sights and two days admission to the Exhibition, £3 7s.; or for seven days' stay, three drives, and two days in the Exhibition, £4 13s. The railway tickets are available for 14 days, and any may stay up to that limit for 6s. 6d. per day for lodging at the Hotel Longchamps (close to the Exhibition), a meat breakfast, a substantial meat tea, light, and ordinary attendance. An interpreter will accompany the excursionists. Applications must be made to J. J. Dent, 150, Holborn.

JEWISH CABINET-MAKERS IN MANCHESTER.—On Saturday week a crowded meeting of Manchester Jewish cabinet-makers was held in the International Club, 122 Corporation Street, and was addressed by Messrs. Remond, Harper, Barnes, and Lutclison (S.D.F.) of the Alliance Cabinet-Makers' Association. Comrade Wess, who presided, referring to the sermon in a neighbouring synagogue of the Delegate Chief Rabbi (Dr. Know-nothing Adler), in which he termed Socialists "blatant, noisy, atheist and anarchist agitators," and advised working men to avoid them, said, "This crowded meeting of Jewish workers serves as a protest against such shamefully libellous misrepresentations of the cause of the workers." He appealed to those present to persevere in the struggle for the emancipation of labour, heedless of any such idle talk and abuse by well-fed representatives of the golden calf. The meeting was very enthusiastic from beginning to end, and resulted in the formation of a branch of the above-named association.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Plumbers are requested to keep from Dundee at present.

The Dundee branch of the Sailor's and Firemen's Union has passed resolutions against working with non-society men.

Some of the firemen on the Severn, Wye, and Severn Bridge Railway are paid at the rate of 2s. 6d. a-day, and their employers wonder they are "discontented."

The dispute at the Ocean Collieries, South Wales, affecting 6,000 men, was settled on March 21st, the men obtaining an advance of 5 per cent. this month, and 7½ per cent. next month.

The wages of iron ore miners in the service of the Cleator Moor Iron Ore Company, Cumberland, have been reduced ¼d. per ton. The men have been agitating for a 10 per cent. advance.

The number of members in the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants at the end of 1888 was 12,080, being a net increase during the year of 1,250 members; this number has been very largely added to this year.

BELFAST SPINNERS.—An extensive strike has again broken out in the Ulster spinning trade, the employes of two large mills in Belfast having gone out on Tuesday, 19th ult., for an advance of 5 per cent. Nearly 3,000 operatives are now idle.

CARPENTERS AND SHIPWRIGHTS.—The carpenters and shipwrights of Greenock and district have decided upon asking for an increase in wages. The carpenters are just now paid at the rate of 6½d. per hour, and they wish 7d.; the shipwrights are paid 7d. per hour, and they wish 7½d. and 8d. for old work.

GREENOCK SAILMAKERS' WAGES.—The sailmakers of Greenock asked for an advance of a halfpenny per hour on their then rate of wages three months ago, and were granted an advance of a farthing per hour at that time. The masters have now conceded the other farthing, so that the wages are now 6½d. per hour, or 30s. 4½d. per week of 54 hours.

ROPE AND TWINE SPINNERS.—At a meeting of Dundee rope and twine spinners lately, a letter was read from the employers offering an advance of 1s. per week, on condition that the men turned out a larger quantity of work. It was stated that this meant an additional day's labour per week, which was considered wholly out of the question. The men resolved to adhere to their demand for an unconditional increase of 2s. per week.

SYNDICATES AND SOCIALISM.—Apropos of the revival of the idea of a great coal syndicate, Mr. Ellis Lever proposes that the whole of the minerals and collieries in the Kingdom should be acquired and worked by the State. By working mines on the most economical and scientific methods, the price of coal might be reduced. A saving of 1s. per ton in getting coal would result in a profit of £8,000,000 sterling per annum, or 5 per cent. on the capital of 160 millions.

STRIKE AT HORWICH.—The labourers employed at the locomotive works at Horwich a few days ago sent in a memorial demanding an advance of wages and threatening to cease work. This was met last week by the discharge of sixty of them. On Monday twenty-one more received notice. A well-attended meeting of the men was held same evening, when it was resolved not to resume work next day. It was arranged that they should meet near the entrance to the works and endeavour to persuade those not present at the meeting to follow their example.

SAILORS AND FIREMEN.—A meeting of the Deptford Branch of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union was held in the West Kent Yeoman, Edward Street, lately, when the secretary stated that many members were still unemployed, owing to the unfair manner in which they had been treated by the General Steam Navigation Company, and assured the men that such treatment to faithful servants would not be forgotten by a union that would have power to show that and another company in Scotland that by their combination they could demand a fair wage and obtain it.

SAILORS' WAGES.—There seems little doubt that before long the wages of Liverpool sailors will have fallen to the old figure, as shipowners are evidently determined to go on reducing them as long as they can obtain men. Last week another sailing vessel secured a crew at the low rate of £2 13s., and it is stated that an attempt will be made to get crews for two sailing ships at £2 10s. Under the circumstances, the union men will probably be again called out on strike. They assert that owners, unless compelled, will not make any endeavour to forward the interests of their men by giving them a reasonable amount of pay.

THE COTTON TRADE.—We learn that there is an agitation in the cotton districts to obtain more holidays in the year. The Power Loom Weavers' Association at Darwen have issued a circular asking the masters to give them an interview on the question. They ask for Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, and a week in July at the time of the local fair. At Great Harwood, the employers met the operatives demand by an ingenuous attempt to get off one day by counting in a Sunday in the few days they ask for in summer to recoup their strength a little. The deputation declined the offer, saying they would lay the suggestions before a public meeting. At Rochdale also the question has been partly discussed, the yearly meeting of the Trades' Council resolving to "assist the Mayor in arriving at one recognised holiday for the New Year."

BRICKMAKERS.—With the prospects of an improvement in the building trade, the operatives engaged in the brickmaking industry in the Birmingham district, numbering about 2,000, have given notice that they require an advance of 9d. per thousand on the common bricks, 1s. 9d. on pressed or front bricks, and 2s. 6d. on quarries. The men contend that they are entitled to the increase, because the masters have advanced the price of bricks; but the employers on the contrary urge that the increase was necessitated by the higher price charged for fuel. The men state that at the present time they are no better off as regards the wages they receive than they were twenty years ago; but this statement, of course, is denied by the masters. While the moulders have made application for the above-mentioned increases, the wheelers have also demanded an additional halfpenny per hour.

RAILWAY SERVANTS' CONFERENCE.—The Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants met at Perth the other day. Carlisle moved that that meeting believed that the amalgamation under the English society was impracticable, but that a working agreement between both societies was desirable; regretted that the annual meeting of the English society disapproved of the three first clauses of the working agreement

arrived at at Leeds, but recommended to the Executive Council of the English society the adoption of the remaining clauses, with the view of engendering a spirit of friendship between the two societies. Glasgow Central seconded resolution, which was adopted by 15 to 13. A series of resolutions were unanimously carried in support of an amendment of the Employer's Liability Act, of the establishment of coroner's inquests in Scotland, of labour representation in Parliament, and of the appointment of practical workmen as inspectors of factories and mines.

MASTER AND MAN.—The North-Western directors have been dining in a new saloon car while going at a speed of sixty miles an hour, and we are told that there was not the slightest oscillation. If the directors want to find the latter, we would recommend a dinner in a goods guard's van, at—not sixty—but thirty miles an hour. They would discover the difference there was between that place and a saloon; and, having experienced the inconvenience under which a goods guard eats his dinner, they might be led to do something for his comfort in that respect.—*Railway Review.*

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.—It may be remembered that a few weeks ago we announced that a company had been formed for the purpose of placing on the leading thoroughfares omnibuses in which smoking was to be allowed. Subsequently, owing to a police regulation prohibiting smoking in licensed public conveyances, the scheme had to be abandoned. It was thought that the Chief Commissioner of Police would have been in a position to have relaxed the law. But it appears that no such simple and sensible move like this can be done without a special Act of Parliament. As to get even an unopposed Bill through Parliament costs about twelve hundred pounds, the scheme has in the meantime been postponed.—*Whitehall Review.*

THE FIRST CHANGE.—It may be objected that a healthy and vigorous man is not oppressed by ten or twelve hours' labour a day; and I grant that, if he be well fed, his strength may not be so much exhausted by this exertion as to give him pain. But this is regarding him merely as a working animal. My proposition is, that after ten or twelve hours of muscular exertion a day, continued for six days in the week, the labourer is not in a fit condition for that active exercise of his moral and intellectual faculties which truly constitutes him a rational being. . . The first change, therefore, needed for the improvement of the working classes, is a limitation of the hours of labour, and the dedication of a portion of time daily to the exercise of the mental faculties.—*George Combe.*

The Manchester *Sunday Chronicle* rejoices, or should rejoice, in the possession of a contributor who is not a mere spinner of stale platitudes on things in general. Under the name of "Nunquam," he fills three or four columns with notes that are a refreshing novelty in provincial, or any other, journalism. His attitude may be seen from the concluding one of his notes in a recent number: "On the one side there are Individualism and Competition—leading to a 'great trade' and great miseries. On the other side is justice, without which can come no good, from which can come no evil. On the one hand are ranged all the sages, all the saints, all the martyrs, all the noble manhood and pure womanhood of the world; on the other hand are the tyrant, the robber, the murderer, the libertine, the usurer, the slave-driver, the drunkard, and the masquerade. Choose your party, then, my friends, and let us get to the fighting." He is not always at that level, but keeps near enough to it to be a powerful influence for good in a benighted city.

SOCIALISM IN ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 25th March, Carpenter's essay 'England's Ideal' read and discussed. On the same night Kropotkin lectured under the auspices of the local branch of the Scottish Geographical Society to "a large and fashionable audience." The wirepullers who secured him for the geographers kept him out of our hands; but on the following night a private meeting was held in the Queen's Rooms, when Kropotkin delivered an excellent "talk at large" on Socialism. Though the meeting was advertised in no other way than by simply passing round the word, about 150 persons were present. The audience was respectable to a sickening degree—a large proportion of those present having been manifestly attracted by no higher motive than the desire to hear and see a live prince; but they applauded the points as briskly as if they understood them, and seemed prepared to swallow anything. Webster and Leatham spoke, the former putting in a word for the Branch.—At Castle Street on Saturday night a large and sympathetic meeting was addressed by Duncan and Leatham. Things are looking up for us in Aberdeen. Even the weather has ceased to be hostile to open-air work. Some of our comrades have been martyred to the extent of losing their employment on account of their connection with the Branch: the plot thickens against others. We seem to have reached the second stage.

DEATH.

BURROWS.—March 29th, at 283 Victoria Park Road, London, Mary Hannah, wife of Herbert Burrows, Social Democratic Federation, age 43. American papers please copy.

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.

Paris Commune.—Branches having Subscription Sheets for the Paris Commune are requested to return them at once.

Defence Fund.—A meeting of delegates of Metropolitan Working-men's Clubs met last Friday week at the Patriotic Club, Clerkenwell Green, for the

purpose of assisting our comrades of the Berner Street Club, who, after being ill-treated by the police, are now sent for trial on a false charge of assaulting them. A strong Committee was formed for the defence. C. W. Mowbray was appointed secretary and F. Kitz treasurer. An earnest appeal is made for funds to conduct the defence. All remittances to be sent to F. Kitz, treasurer, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

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.

CHILDREN'S PARTY.

Subscriptions received—£1 12s. 10d. Cost of Tea—£2 1s. 8½d. Deficit on same—8s. 10½d. Any subscriptions towards covering this deficit should be sent to Mrs. Grosor, 19, Rigault Road, Fulham.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mainwaring, 1s.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 2s.; and Clapham, 1s. Norwich Branch, 1s. 9d.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, March 31st, at 8.30 p.m., D. Nicoll in the chair, Frank Kitz lectured on "The *Freiheit* Prosecution by the English Government." Hall filled by visitors and members, who showed great interest in lecture when comrade Kitz referred to the hardships Socialists had to endure when this great movement for humanity in its true sense first began. A good meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green by J. Turner and D. Nicoll, which then adjourned to above hall.—S. P.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting Sunday morning at Latimer Road; speakers were Dean, Lyne, sen., Crouch, Maughan, and Saint. The comrades of this district are doing good work in the neighbourhood. 44 *Commonweal* sold. Good meeting in evening at Weltje Road; speakers were Crouch, Kitchen, Lyne, sen., and Maughan. 9 *Commonweal* sold. The comrades wishing to extend their work have determined to open another open-air station at St. Ann's Road, and will be glad to see friends turning up. In evening, Percival Chubb (Fabian) lectured at Kelmescott House on "Work and its Reward." Several questions and bright debate.—G. M.

MITCHAM.—Our last meeting on Sunday morning was enlivened by opposition. Our opponent advised the working-men present, whom he termed "you fellows," to practise thrift, abstention from intoxicating drink, and limitation of families. In this last particular he was not practical enough to indicate the methods. He was answered by Mowbray and Kitz. Our opponent will open the meeting on Fair Green at 11.30 next Sunday morning; 1s. 6d. collected for local propaganda.—K.

NORTH LONDON.—In Regent's Park on Sunday morning, meeting addressed by Cantwell, Brooks, Mrs. Lahr, and Samuels. Good meeting in Hyde Park in the afternoon, which lasted four hours. We took our stand on the same place as last Sunday, and had a good crowd and rather lively meeting. Cantwell, Mrs. Lahr, and Brooks spoke, also J. Williams (S.D.F.), who provoked a good discussion; 6s. 11d. collected and good sale of *Weal*.—T. C.

VICTORIA PARK.—Last Sunday, H. Davis took up the debate which had been arranged with Mr. Hoffman on "Anarchism," the comrade who made the arrangement failing to appear. The debate was well conducted, and attracted a good audience, which showed great attention throughout. After a somewhat lengthy meeting, the debate was adjourned to next week. Fair sale of *Weal*.

EDINBURGH.—On 26th ult., meeting for women addressed by Melliet. On 27th, P. Kropotkin met us in Moulder's Hall on his way south; no time to get up a public meeting. On 28th, Glasse read first part of paper on "Mirabeau." On 30th, Christie on "Homes of the Poor." On alternate Thursdays, in 35, George IV. Bridge, we study French Revolution and English Economic History.

GLASGOW.—Much enthusiasm was imparted to our members by comrade Kropotkin's visit, which made itself apparent at the very successful outdoor meetings this week. On Saturday afternoon, almost simultaneous with Glasier's departure for Dundee to take part in the free-speech demonstration there, Pollock and Downie started for the mining village of Cambuslang, where they captured a good number of people drawn together by the brass band of a travelling circus opposite. On Sunday morning on Jail Square, good meeting held by Pollock, T. and J. Burgoyne, McCulloch, and Downie. Two other very good meetings were held in the evening: one at Paisley Road Toll at 5 o'clock, the other at St. George's Cross at 6.30. *Commonweal* sold out, as well as a good number of pamphlets. We afterwards adjourned to our rooms, where a pleasant day's campaigning was brought to a close by an agreeable conversation.—S. D.

LEEDS.—During the winter months we have had regular Sunday night lectures, all of which have been well attended, and much good has been done to the cause through their agency. With the advent of finer weather we intend doing a vigorous propaganda in our town, and hope to show by our efforts that Leeds is no longer behindhand in the fight. At the quarterly meeting on Sunday last Alfred Mattison was elected Secretary, to whom all communications should be addressed.—A. M.

NORWICH.—Sunday morning a large number of back numbers distributed in the country villages. In afternoon, usual open air meeting was held in Market Place, addressed by Poynts, assisted by Reynolds (Yarmouth), who spoke on the fallacy of politics. In the evening, another good meeting in Market Place: Poynts opened, followed by Reynolds, who delivered a capital address; audience listening very attentively until close of the meeting. At Gordon Hall, Adams gave interesting lecture upon "The True History of the Commune," W. Moore in chair; good audience; several questions, and discussion followed; Moore and Mills took part; ably replied to by lecturer. Good sale of *Commonweal* and collections.

YARMOUTH.—The meeting here Sunday morning addressed by Reynolds and Morley was well attended. In the afternoon, Ruffold, Morley, and Houghton spoke to an appreciative audience. All the *Commonweal* sold out, and 2s. 2½d. collected. After the meeting, comrades met together at one of the comrades', and a pleasant hour was spent. Our comrades are quickly imbuing the spirit of fraternity and brotherhood.—C. REYNOLDS.

IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLUB.—A debate was held here Sunday evening, when Creed opened on "Organised Labour," Thomas in chair. Lively discussion, several strangers being present, one from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. By the wish of the audience, the further discussion was adjourned till next Sunday, when Khill will open, and Creed reply. The new ideas are surely and steadily gaining ground here, and we are very hopeful as to future results.—C.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Nottingham Socialist Club, which meets at Old Street, St. Ann's Street, opened the summer season on Sunday with a good meeting in the Great Market Place. Comrades Peacock and Rook spoke; 1s. 4d. was collected for club funds, and the *Commonweal* sold out.—R. P.

A GRAND CONCERT will be held in the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday, April 14th, for the benefit of comrade WESS, who has been out of work for a long time. The following comrades will sing and recite during the evening: W. Morris, Mrs. Taylor, Wm. Blundell, W. B. Parker, Mrs. Blundell, J. Turner, D. Nicoll, J. Presburg, Miss Morgan, McCormick, and others. ADMISSION BY PROGRAMME, 6d.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Percy Hall, Percy Street, Tottenham Court Road. Olerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-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: Sunday April 7, Members are requested to turn up to a special business meeting at 7 p.m. sharp. At 8.30, lecture by C. Mowbray, "The Socialist Movement in Norfolk." Sunday 14th, No lecture, owing to concert on behalf of comrade Wess.

East London.—A business meeting will be held on Saturday 6th April, at 97 Boston Street, Hackney Road. 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.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 7, at 8 p.m., J. Hunter Watts, A lecture. Sunday 14th, Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Leasehold Emfranchisement: a Warning." Thursday April 11, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 12th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda.

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.

Walworth 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 46 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.

Dundee (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.

Galashiels (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. M'Gill, 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 8.15 p.m., lecture in Gordon Hall—W. Moore "Socialism, some of its Objections." Sunday 14th, lecture by A. T. Sutton. 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.

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. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

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Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7.30 p.m. Sunday: Waterside Gate, Duthie Park, 3 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 and 7.30.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

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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