

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 5.—No. 202.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE success of the bakers' strike is producing the usual crop of advice from the capitalistic press. They are told, for instance, that now would be the time to form a union between the masters and men, a kind of court of conciliation between the two bodies whose interests are opposed to each other by the very nature of the arrangement between masters and men. Fancy a court of conciliation between a Roman landowner, of the time of the great revolt of the slaves, and the unskilled labourers of *his* factory-farm! And then remember that the modern employee and the above-said landowner are essentially in the same position, except that the ancient slave-owner had to *buy* his slave while the modern one has his slave gratis.

Meanwhile, our baker friends no doubt think that they are lucky, and that ten hours is a short days work. I do not; neither will they in a year's time. Besides, of one thing they may be sure, that their masters are even now engaged in considering how and in what form they shall take back the advantages (real ones this time, I admit) which have been gained by the men. As for them, their attitude must be a fighting one, until their fighting has abolished masters and they set themselves to work like men, and are no longer set to work like machines.

Baron Huddleston's zeal for his employers, the governing classes, has probably not done them much good; he has a little overdone it, and made it somewhat clearer than it was before that the impartiality of the law, when it is a question of freedom *versus* respectability, is a transparent fiction. If that pretence were to be maintained, would not a judge, even as a matter of decency, be *expected* to give his charge on some such principles as these?—"I am a Tory, a reactionist, and as such I look on Mrs. Besant's views with the greatest horror; if the jury are to be left free in their verdict, and both sides have fair play, I must all the more not express my personal and party views; so I will just tell them what the law is and not say a word more."

That is what the baron *might have been* expected to say if the governing classes (largely manned by lawyers) cared to keep up even the pretence of fairness in the law courts. But, as it is, no one expected him to do anything but what he did do, that is act as an advocate for the defence. Clearly, therefore, no one expects the law courts to be fair in cases *where any public interest is involved*. And other cases—what business have they to be tried at all at the expense of the public? Our whole system of civil and criminal law is as regards the upper classes, whose instrument it is, a mere muddle of incongruities, and as regards the workers a mere instrument of oppression. And the fact is that the upper classes put up with those preposterous incongruities, *because* in spite of their absurdity they do not injure the system much as an instrument for the oppression of the poor, which is its primary purpose.

Imperial Federation is on its dunghill again, but not crowing very loud in the person of Lord Rosebery, who, though he began with some Jingo sentences of the usual type and ended with conventional rubbish about the Anglo-Saxon race and the Amphictyonic Council, employed the greater part of his time in pointing out with some skill that Imperial Federation is impossible, and that it is a mere party cry to catch votes.

In case any of our readers should be caught by the sound of the word "Federation," I must remind them that this "Imperial Federation" means in the first place, a Jingo competitive scheme for doing as much injury as possible to all peoples and countries outside the British Empire; and in the second place, a plot for setting schemes a-foot for bolstering up the tottering capitalist *régime* by finding new markets for it; that is to say, new commercial fields for the exercise of the "sword of cheapness." It is, in short, one of the dams which the middle-classes are building against the rising flood of Socialism. Happily, it is a dam built of paper and big words.

Mr. Goschen on the stump at Cardiff said some rather smart things about the Liberal party, and amongst others, in answer to cheers for Gladstone, wished that in the new Liberal Government the G. O. M. could have the real ordering of affairs, quoting (naturally with approbation) G. O. M.'s servility about the Royal Grants, and then going on to say that Gladstone would be controlled by Parnell, and his lieutenants by various politicians supposed to be progressive. This is amusing, but couldn't Goschen have carried it further and told us who were to control the controllers? I am afraid that the said controllers, Parnell, Tim Healy, Labouchere, and the rest, are at once too stupid and too political (*i.e.*, false) to allow the people and common sense to control them. They will just stand with staring eyes and gasping mouth, not knowing what to do—but to stick to office.

For the rest, Mr. Goschen was somewhat too optimistic. "The system of limited liability and a wider diffusion of wealth had made working men capitalists in a small way, and given them not only profits on their wages [what *does* that mean?] but on the capital they invested. Did not this result prove [?!] the fact that capital was not antagonistic to labour, but was really the accumulated earnings of labour? Capital was no longer regarded as a kind of vampire, for workmen had a large share in the increased prosperity of the country, and they were entitled to it."

Mr. Goschen must have a strong belief in the gullibility of working-men to deliver himself before them of such a mass of lies and twaddle. But he appears to have been justified by the ignorance of the Cardiff workmen, who hooted him for his political views and cheered him for his economics (?). But really, I repeat, he is too optimistic. Things have got a little further than that, thanks to the Socialist propaganda: working-men who are "capitalists" know that their "small way" is a very small way; that their wages are even in times of "prosperity" none too large to be eaten, worn, and paid to the rent-collector. They are at this moment showing all over the country that capital is antagonistic to labour by *forcing* capitalists to pay them more.

It is true that some of them know that "capital is the accumulated earnings of labour"; but more still know that they are robbed of their earnings, and the number of these is increasing every day, and more and more workmen are becoming alive to the fact that (individualist) capital is a kind of vampire—and the worst kind—and that in spite of the large share they have in the "prosperity" of the country, they have no share in *its land*, but must swelter in slums summer and winter, enjoying no beauty or pleasure of the "land they live in," with leave when they come out of their slums to "move on" on the highway and nothing else, under penalties of fine and imprisonment.

"At present," says this trickster, this battener on other men's labour, "things are prosperous, and prosperity does not give rise to violent political changes." Letting alone the baseness of the cowardice which thus hugs itself on the supposed sloth and apathy of the oppressed, we might ask this person how long this prosperity will last, and what kind of changes the next depression following on inflation will give rise to? Let us meanwhile go on steadily with our propaganda, in the hope that not *all* men are curs who will be "contented" with a little more dogs' wages than they have been having of late; that not *all* men are so stupid as to be humbugged by politicians of the Goschen type. W. M.

Those who are fond of talking about the glorious benefits of English rule in India, and its absolute fairness and justice, may very usefully spend an hour or two in trying to reconcile their pet ideas with the facts that are set out with calmness and moderation in a pamphlet issued by Mr. Wm. Digby, and which may be got by writing to his address (Coromandel, Elm Road, Beckenham, Kent). Everybody has heard of the "Crawford scandal"; of the system of corruption, bribery, and blackmailing that had obtained in Indian high officialdom for many years past. But who that have heard of the case know that the evil would never have come to light had it not been for the Mamladars, or native magistrates, whom Crawford had been plundering, and

from whom he had been wringing bribes by threats of stopping their promotion or procuring their dismissal?

These men came forward under a solemn and public pledge of immunity from the Government, and gave evidence which opened up all the secret dark places of a vast conspiracy to the light of day. But, as might be expected, when the question is between poor men, as are the Mamlatdars, and the powerful and highly placed officials of one of the principal departments of a corrupt class government, the promise of immunity has proved to be worth less than the paper it was written on. The poor Mamlatdars are being dismissed, even as though no such promise had been given; ostensibly their punishment is for bribery—really it is for “splitting” on a superior. And of such is class-government everywhere!

The De Beers Consolidated Mines Company has undertaken a scheme of a model village for their white workmen, having found the advantages of the “compound” for their black labourers, on which we commented some weeks back. None who remembers about the “compound” will marvel that the “model village” fails to arouse overflowing enthusiasm in the breast of the workman. With Pullman and similar places in my mind's eye, and having had recently forced on my attention the immense additional power conferred on an employer by the ownership of all the available houses near his works, I am not disposed to follow the *Cape Argus* or the *Diamond Fields Advertiser* in singing the praises of Kenilworth, as the new suburb of Kimberley is to be called.

Speaking at the opening of the Rochdale Chamber of Commerce, Lord Derby drew loud cheers from his audience by declaring, “No one has a right to make a profit out of disease, or over-crowding carried so far as to produce disease.” But if they don't quite go the degree specified, neither Lord Derby nor his audience could see any harm in either making profit out of poverty or overcrowding. S.

BUREAUS OF LABOUR.

“PROCEEDINGS at the Sixth Annual Session of the National Convention of Chiefs and Commissioners of the various Bureaus of Statistics of Labour in the United States, held at Indianapolis, Indiana, May 22 and 23, 1888.” There it is! put it all down, Mr. Printer: omit not a comma of that thirteen-line title-page of an eighty-seven page pamphlet. Let all the reading world see with what sort of straw an unhappy devil is expected to make Socialist bricks—and does it too! Let readers see and acknowledge the genius which can triumph over the malignant ingenuity of the *Commonweal's* Literary Organiser of Labour, whose sole function in life seems to be to draw a princely revenue and sit on his throne like some old mythological god, setting his bond-slaves tasks which innermost he deems impossible. But in the Greek fable the good young—or good old—person eventually accomplishes the seemingly impossible task—virtue is victorious and vice is vanquished; and so now, in spite of having a school of statisticians with no statistics, or hardly any; in spite of the fact that much time was taken up with what might be and should be done, rather than what had been done; in spite of two or three other facts which probably struck the before-mentioned pen-driving boil-it-down despot as helping to the impossibility of the task he was ordering,—this column shall prove that, like King Charles's head in Mr. Dick's memorial, Socialism will get in.

Taking the report page by page, the first item of promise is found in a letter from Carrol D. Wright, head of the Bureau of Statistics of U.S. and president of the Convention, but unfortunately absent. He desired to call attention to the need of statistics on mortgages and other debts of record. It appears that some work has been done by independent bureaus, but the results are not yet full enough to systematise or utilise. Whenever the record can be completed, it will be found to present a very droll state of affairs, and will prove once more how exact an economist the prophesying poet often is. Says Russell Lowell to the Landlord—

“What boots your houses and your lands?
In spite of close-drawn deed and fence,
Like water 'twixt your cheated hands
They slip into the graveyard's sands,
And mock your ownership's pretence.

How shall you speak to urge your right,
Choked with that soil for which you lust?
The bit of clay for whose delight
You grasp is mortgaged too; death might
Foreclose this very day in dust.”

To one who has studied statistics of the wealthy (!) classes, it must stand as one of the hollowest shams of this age of shams, the claim for consideration on the score of wealth and social position. Some years ago it was estimated that the landed gentry of this country were indebted by way of mortgage in not less than £250,000,000. Revelations in the Bankruptcy Court and by Private Bill legislation, lead to the supposition that probably another £250,000,000 is owed by this same gentry and not secured so safely to the “shent per shent” mongers.

In addition to this tremendous rebate, there is another load which in the long-run will have to come on real property. According to the

Local Government Board 14th Annual Report, 1885, the amount of Local Government loans outstanding had risen from £92,820,100 in 1875 to £159,142,926 for year ending 1883, an increase of over 71 per cent., being an annual average of £8,200,353 of new loan debt. In 1885 the gross estimated annual had increased by £37,263,456, rising from £132,871,829 in 1873 to £200,835,285 in 1883, an increase of only 28.1 per cent., the rateable value only rising 27.4 per cent. as compared with 1873. To present these figures in another fashion, it means, roughly, that while the gross rental increased 5s. per £, the mortgaging by the rating authorities increased by 15s. on the £ gross. Only at this rate it looks very much as if the rental value of the country was being mortgaged pretty quickly; but, as a matter of fact, the rate of increase increases; yet hardly any general notice is taken of it.

People often discuss the so-called National Debt; but at the above rate the Local will soon be more important than the National. This is the comparison for about the same periods:

YEAR.	NATIONAL.	LOCAL.
1875 ...	£768,945,757	£92,820,100
1883 ...	£754,455,270	£159,142,926

Just as the land is the source of all wealth—the bank to which ultimately all must apply for drafts—so it is the ultimate place of deposit and security, and ultimately either the land must bear and pay all debts, or they will be repudiated. In face of this, it is absolutely marvellous the way some talk of my land and my wealth, when in many cases, one way and another, it is mortgaged up to 30s. in the £; the final logic of the position being a form of national bankruptcy, and then, of necessity, nationalisation or municipalisation.

There is little doubt that in America a somewhat similar state of things would be revealed, if all facts could be got at.

The Convention finally resolved to call on the Census Department to include the enquiry in its scope.

Probably, seeing the amount of space occupied in dealing with the above item, the autocratic demon who rules the scissors and paste is now anathematising the convention of statistic-boilers; but there is plenty matter yet to prove how useful to Socialists are statistics and their manipulators, sometimes to the regret of the latter.

Probably few if any of the members of the Statistical Society or of the Convention of Statistical Bureau managers would care to lay claim to the gift of prophecy; but I am strongly in sympathy with the writer who says,

“The only reason why we cannot see the future as plainly as the past is because we know too little of the actual past and present; these things are too great for us, otherwise the future, in its minutest details, would lie spread out before our eyes, and we should lose half of our sense of time present by reason of the clearness with which we should perceive the past and future; perhaps we should not be able to distinguish time at all, but that is foreign. What we do know is, that the more the past and present are known the more the future can be predicted; and that no one dreams of doubting the fixity of the future in cases where he is fully cognisant of both past and present, and has had experience of the consequences that followed from such a past and such a present on previous occasions. . . . Those who are most firmly persuaded that the future is immutably bound up with the present in which their work is lying will best husband their present, and till it with the greatest care.” (Erewhon, by S. Butler, 1873.)

This may seem remote from the Convention report, but it is not. One of the commonest and wickedest of catch-cries for some years has been the one started by the Manchester school of manufacturer-politicians, who, to foster manufactures, decried agriculture, on the ground “that agriculture don't pay”; “better to buy food with our manufactured goods than to grow.” The result has been that we are now at the mercy of the foreign grower eight months out of every twelve for all the bread we eat, and for meat and fruit and much other food we are in the same position. The pages of the *Commonweal* have shown repeatedly that the demand for our manufactures is decreasing because our food-growers abroad are becoming manufacturers also, and not only supplying themselves but also cutting into our colonial markets, and so again reducing our chance of buying food with manufactures. But now mark the result, as shown by our Convention report. President James H. Smart, LL.D., of Perdue University, read a paper on “Industrial Education”—a paper which would please some whom readers of the *Commonweal* know.

“One of the greatest industrial problems of to-day is involved in this question, How to keep our sons and daughters out of the whirl and rush of city life and in the pure free air of our rural life; how shall we keep them in the ranks of the great producing classes and out of the ranks of the non-producing and of the destructive classes? . . . Science teaches us that nature will not be cheated. It teaches us that we cannot expect the soil to respond with a continued harvest if it is subjected to a constant robbery. It teaches that taking money out of the soil and putting it into a bank may make rich fathers, but that it will be likely to make poor sons, and that the safest bank of deposit for a farmer is his farm.”

But “close farming will never be done under the landlord and tenant system”; and in America as in England, boys seeing that to be a farmer too often means to work a lifetime on a farm means the enrichment of the landlord shark, get away to the city, where at least there is some excitement to bear off the wear of the slave-claim. A smattering of many sorts of theory—gained at some cost of farming capital—is all the equipment the boy has to start for the nearest city and “pick up” a living by “picking up” a trade.

The result of all this on farming and food supply is seen in the following from President Smart's paper:

“Those who have studied the progress of agriculture in Indiana will tell you that one of its most alarming features is the degeneracy of the soil. In

many cases the shrinkage in its productive power has been fully 50 per cent. and in some it is going on at a very rapid rate. This is certainly alarming. But what is true of this State is true of many others. President Adams, of Cornell, says: In New York the crop of wheat went down in twenty years from 13 bushels per acre to 10.3 bushels per acre; of corn from 29.3 to 23. Going to the South we find that in N. Carolina during the last ten years—for there were no figures during the war—the crop of wheat has declined from 8 bushels to 5.9 per acre; corn from 16.4 to 11.5; oats from 12.9 to 8.7. In Georgia wheat fell from 7.3 to 5.1; corn from 11.1 to 8.7; oats from 10.2 to 9. In Mississippi wheat from 9.2 to 5; corn from 13.8 to 13.5; oats from 14.5 to 11.5. In Texas wheat fell from 12.5 to 8.5; corn from 19 to 18.5; oats from 27.2 to 22.8. Coming back to north and north-west, in Kentucky from 1864 to 1884 the product of wheat declined from 10.2 to 7.7 bushels per acre; corn from 28.5 to 24; oats from 24.2 to 16.3. In Indiana wheat from 14.3 to 10.4. In Illinois wheat went down from 14.3 to 10; corn from 33 to 25.”

And so on, and so on—a great and unmistakable reduction per acre; and it is the merest trifling with an important topic to try and dodge the proper conclusion by urging that the deficit can be made up by extra acres.

Then the paper takes a turn which should delight the supporters of the Arts and Crafts Society. The boys who, half-ballasted, enter factories and shops to get a living by “picking up” a trade “become restless, tired, and discouraged, and leave the business to possibly try another, and thus become the good-for-nothing jack-of-all-trades, or to join the ranks of the non-productives and possibly the ranks of the destructives.” “The picking-up process has a moral aspect which has wastage in it. Every handicraft carried to a high degree of excellence may become a fine art, and with no loss of time. There is no dignity in labour, but dignity may be put into labour.” This is a point on which some of our leaders have been most urgent, and it surely may be taken as good that Socialist teaching and doctrine is backed up by such a different school.

If President Smart can be relied upon, the state of affairs which is coming among craftsmen is as alarming in the direction of manufactures as are the other figures given in the matter of food. Returns were gathered from a number of persons able to give reliable information, and particulars procured as to carpenters and joiners, pattern-makers, moulders, blacksmiths, and machinists, and it was reported:

“That out of every ten who enter a carpenter’s shop with the intention of learning the trade, 4 abandon the business; of ten pattern-makers, 2; of ten blacksmiths, 6; of ten moulders, 5; of ten machinists, 6. Of those who pursue the business and become professed journeymen, but 3 become first-class workmen; of ten pattern-makers but 2; of ten blacksmiths but 2½; of ten machinists, 3½. And in form of a table the result is as follows, which shows the number of boys out of every hundred who enter each trade mentioned who become first-class workmen: Carpenters, 18; pattern-makers, 16; blacksmiths, 10; moulders, 17; machinists, 14. Being an average of fifteen to each hundred.”

We see by facts such as these the pretty pass to which our hundred-year-old competitive-factory-manufacture agriculture-don’t-pay system of society has brought us to the verge of; for the experience of America is also the experience of England.

The constantly increasing employment of automatic machinery, doing skilled work by the aid of unskilled labour, has also to be taken into consideration; but as the last paper printed in the report is an exceedingly interesting one on “Some Moral and Economic Consequences of Using Labour-Saving Machinery,” which is worth detailed treatment not now possible, it only remains to conclude with the charming view of future possibilities which is suggested by a passage from a paper by T. V. Powderly of Scranton, who urged the “Settlement of the Apprenticeship Question by Inaugurating Industrial Schools”:

“At the rate at which science is advancing, there will soon be no shovelling of earth, no levelling of hills by hand, no digging of trenches, no cutting of earth, or wood, or iron by hand; all of these things, and all else that enters into the industry of the world, will be done by the aid of science. There will be no trades or tradesmen of any special callings or crafts. In the world’s production nothing should be missing, nor should one man have an advantage over another which nature does not give him.”

As a final note of defiance I fling that one passage in the teeth of the abstraction to whom I referred at the opening of this notice, and claim that that one sentence is warrant and proof that good Socialistic doctrine can be found in most unpromising quarters when one knows how to dig for it.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

[NOTE.—If any readers of above can forward any other years’ reports of the Convention, or a copy of the 20th vol. U.S. Census, or of any special labour bureau report, the Editor will probably be able to make use of them to good effect.]

PROFIT AND LOSS OF THE LONDON STRIKE.—Up till now no clever figurer has demonstrated to the London dock labourers that really, after all, the result of the late strike was of no real advantage to them, for “don’t you see that it will be years before the slight advance in wages will aggregate as much as the time and money lost by the strike?” The clever figurer will appear in due time, however. In the meantime it may be worth noting that the Rotterdam dockers’ strike was won in a week. Perhaps the clever figurer will take this into his calculation when cyphering up the profit and loss of the London strike? Figures can’t lie, if you have all the figures and if you have seen carefully to their arrangement; but if you allow fools to mix figures with their foolish imaginings, none but fools will trust the story they will tell. That’s what makes so much of the statistical information on which the world’s economic legislation is based so valueless, and the legislation so mischievous. One of the good results of the late London strike which can never be put down in figures, is the discovery which the dockers have made that they have a capacity for organisation, self-control, and consequently self-help, which has been hitherto unsuspected. A movement which evidences considerable vitality for the organisation of London working-women is another outcome of the strike which cannot be reckoned in figures.—*Journal of United Labour.*

A DEATH SONG.

(Written to be sung at the funeral of Linnell, first victim of Bloody Sunday; reprinted by request.)

WHAT cometh here from west to east a-wending?
And who are these, the marchers stern and slow?
We bear the message that the rich are sending
Aback to those who bade them wake and know.
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
But one and all if they would dusk the day.

We asked them for a life of toilsome earning,
They bade us bide their leisure for our bread,
We craved to speak to tell our woeful learning,
We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.
Not one, etc.

They will not learn; they have no ears to hearken,
They turn their faces from the eyes of fate;
Their gay-lit halls shut out the skies that darken,
But, lo! this dead man knocking at the gate.
Not one, etc.

Here lies the sign that we shall break our prison;
Amidst the storm he won a prisoner’s rest;
But in the cloudy dawn the sun arisen
Brings us our day of work to win the best.
Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,
But one and all if they would dusk the day.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 30, 1889.

24	Sun.	1848. Flight of the Pope to Gaeta. 1867. Fenian funeral demonstration in London. 1872. Escape of Col. Sokoloff from banishment as author of a dangerous work, ‘Otshepentzi,’ the truth of which he had the courage to defend in court. 1887. Deer raids by crofters in the Lewis.
25	Mon.	1632. Baruch Spinoza born. 1830. Peasant revolt in Wiltshire. 1881. Sankovsky attempted the life of Cherevin, Assistant Minister of the Interior, who afterwards became Chief of Gendarmes. 1886. Great demonstration of the unemployed in Hyde Park.
26	Tues.	1811. John Gale Jones convicted of “seditious and blasphemous libel.”
27	Wed.	1382. Philip van Artevelde slain. 1793. Rev. Winterbotham fined £200 and imprisoned for four years for two seditious sermons (see July 25 and 26); and Daniel Holt for “seditious libel” in pamphlets intitled ‘An address to the Addressers’ and ‘An Address to the Tradesmen, etc., of the Town of Newark on a Parliamentary Reform.’ 1799. Trial of John Devereux, at Cork, for taking part in the ‘98 rebellion. 1879. Trial of Mirsky, for attempt on Drenteln, Governor General of St. Petersburg, and others for different offences. Sentences: hard labour, 2; acquitted by the court but banished by administrative order, 6. 1887. Monument to Manchester martyrs unveiled at Limerick; sharp encounters between police and people.
28	Thur.	1838. Conference at Birmingham between “physical” and “moral” force Chartists. 1839. Explosion of an “infernal machine” in the Rue de Montpensier, Paris. 1871. Murder of Rossel, Ferré, and Bougeois. 1833. Execution of Sudeikin and Sadovsky at St. Petersburg.
29	Fri.	1803. Proclamation issued at San Domingo by the three military chiefs, Dessalines, Christophe, and Clerveaux, declaring the independence of the island and renouncing for ever the dominion of the French. 1811. Wendell Phillips born. 1872. Horace Greeley died. 1874. James Watson died. 1887. Trial of John Most at New York for “inciting to violence” by protesting against the Chicago murder.
30	Sat.	1789. Dr. Guillotin proposes his invention (afterwards called <i>La Guillotine</i>) in his report on the Penal Code to the States General. 1847. Communist (and first really international) Conference held; Marx and Engels instructed to draw up Communist Manifesto. 1871. Murder of Gaston Cremieux. 1878. G. H. Leves died. 1879. J. A. Roebuck died. 1879. Great demonstration in Hyde Park against the arrest of Killan, Daly, and Davitt. 1879. Unsuccessful attempt to blow up imperial train on the Crimea railway.

LITERARY NOTES.

Great Thoughts (1d., 132, Fleet Street) is of the *Tit-Bits* order, but of a higher species than that most successful flat-catcher. In the current number is a portrait and criticism of comrade Morris; the portrait none too like and the criticism none too adequate. However, they are both passable of their kind, and are “better than nothing” as the saying goes.

The *Bridgeton Single-Tax Review* (2d. weekly) seems to be an enterprising attempt on the part of some Glasgow members of the Scottish Land Restoration League. It has 16 pp., mostly filled with advertisements, and so much reading matter as it gives is passably written and to the point.

The *Political World* (3d. Bouverie Street, 1d. weekly) came out last week in all the glory of its Walter Crane cover, and had a strong leader on the Indian scandal, spoken of in our front-page “Notes.” The week before it had a striking cartoon on the law-’n’-order juggle as worked by the Tories—with changed names it would have done for the Whigs.

The *Illustrated Weekly News* (1d., 297, Strand), of which we have just received the ninth number, is apparently an attempt at reconciling labour politics with ordinary newspaper methods. With the exception of Mr. Morrison Davidson, the labour expositors have not yet been of the most hopeful kind, but all the same we shall watch with much interest for the result of the experiment.



OFFICES: 24 GREAT QUEEN STREET, LONDON, W.C.

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!

THE COMMONWEAL is the official organ of the Socialist League; but, unless definitely so announced by the Editors, no article is to be taken as expressing in more than a general way the views of the League as a body. In accordance with the Manifesto and Statement of Principles of the League, the COMMONWEAL is an exponent of International Revolutionary Socialism. On minor differences of opinion the widest freedom of discussion is maintained. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to their position in the paper.

Articles and letters dealing with any phase of the social problem are invited and will meet with earnest consideration. They must be written on one side of the paper only, and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope accompanies them.

Advertisements can only be inserted if unobjectionable in all particulars. Scale of charges and special quotations may be obtained from the Manager.

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Remittances should be made in postal orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. B. C. G.—We do not receive the American *Labour Tribune*.
T. F. W. (Birmingham).—Your statement shall appear in our next number.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 20.

<p>ENGLAND Justice London—Freie Presse Illustrated Weekly Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Sozial Demokrat Seafaring INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Investigator Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labor Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer Philadelphia—United Labour</p>	<p>San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Pacific Union St Louis—Anarchist FRANCE Paris—La Revolte Bourse du Travail Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Lyon—L'Action Sociale HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Antwerp—De Worker Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avantir SWITZERLAND Geneva—Friedenswit ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad</p>	<p>PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario A Revolta GERMANY Berlin—Volke Tribune Hamburg—Zeitgeist AUSTRIA Vienna—Arbeiter-Zeitung Brunn—Volksfreund HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik DENMARK Copenhagen—Arbejderen Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet Stockholm—Social-Demokraten WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor ARGENTINE REPUBLIC Buenos Ayres—Vorwarts CAPE COLONY Cape Argus</p>
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movements of the past. Are the workers to seek only a small improvement of their miserable position, such improvement to depend on our imports and exports, on the constant extension of our foreign markets, such improvement to be swept away on the certain recurrence of commercial depression? Is such to be the fate of the present movement? Is it to begin and end with speeches, cheers, and resolutions only? Is the present great upheaval of the toiling millions, with their grand spontaneous organisations, to aim at nothing higher than a mere modification of the thousand oppressions under which they groan? Or is it to aim at the destruction of tyranny in every form in every department of modern industry, of oppression in all the relations of life, the supremacy of labour, the triumph of equal liberty, of universal justice?

For ages the aristocracy was supreme, and the result of that supremacy is the monopoly of the land. For generations the commercial classes have been supreme, and the result of that supremacy is the possession of the instruments of labour. The supremacy of these classes means the dependence and degradation of the workers. Is that supremacy to be recognised in the future? If yes, the continued slavery of the workers must be accepted. The one logically follows from the other. No mere modification of tyranny will destroy that supremacy; no mere temporary advantages, no mere advance of wages even, will result in the emancipation of labour.

The dominant class (or classes) for the time being is always revolutionary in relation to those who have previously governed. At the same time the dominant class (or classes) is always more or less reactionary in relation to further progress. This was the case with the aristocracy in relation to absolute monarchy. It was the same with the commercial classes in relation to feudalism, but both the aristocracy and the commercial classes are reactionary in relation to the wealth-producing classes; and the workers must of necessity become revolutionary in relation to the non-producing classes—to all who live on taxes, rents, and profits. Such is their logical, their historical position. If, then, the present great movement is to be anything more than a mere temporary one; if it is to sweep away the political tyranny and the social oppression which now prevail; if it is to end in the emancipation of labour by destroying not only the supremacy, but the existence of the non-producing classes, then the workers must recognise and accept their true position, with all its rights, its duties, and its obligations, that of the one great revolutionary element in modern society, whose success and future welfare is bound up with, and dependent on, the triumph of the Social Revolution.

Do the leaders of the present movement, those who are organising it, and to whom the workers now look for guidance, thoroughly understand this? Is such their aim, is such their intention, to raise the aspirations of the workers upward, and to lead ever onward to the social redemption, to the regeneration of society? We all know that in every town and in every country there are men who have advanced to a certain point, but who cannot advance further. They are to be found not only in connection with the political organisations, but very largely in connection with trade societies. Accustomed to nothing higher than political peddling and contemptible compromise, they cannot comprehend the simple truth that the workers are, and of necessity must be, revolutionary in relation to all the other classes of society. These blind leaders of the hitherto blind masses know perfectly well that as the workers learn their true position and become revolutionary, that their position as leaders will be gone for ever. Hence they will, as far as possible, prevent the movement becoming anything more than a grand display of empty speeches, enthusiastic cheers, resolutions based on generalities, and comparatively useless organisations. It is then the duty of the true leaders of the workers to-day to prevent this great movement, with its grand organisations, from being tricked away for party purposes, or its organised strength wasted on petty and degrading compromises.

The time has come for the workers to take their stand on principle, to assume their true position in society, to struggle for their social redemption, the emancipation and supremacy of labour, which means and can only mean the triumph, in all its fulness, of the Social Revolution.

J. SKETCHLEY.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

THE
 Editorial and Publishing Offices

OF THE
 "COMMONWEAL"

Are now Removed to

24, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
 LONDON, W.C.

Exchanges and Correspondents Please Note.

GLADSTONE RADICAL W. M.'s CLUB, 22 Baroness Road, Hackney Road, E.—Sun. Nov. 24, at 12 noon, William Clarke, "Practicable Socialism."
 LEWISHAM AND LEE LIBERAL CLUB, 170 High Street, Lewisham.—Sunday Nov. 24, at 8.30, Rev. S. D. Headlam, "Practicable Land Nationalisation."
 BOW LIBERAL CLUB, Broke House, Ford Street, Roman Road, E.—Sunday Nov. 24, at 8.30, Sydney Olivier, "A Socialist Programme for London."

THE GREAT LABOUR MOVEMENT:

IS IT TO BE THOROUGH?

THE present labour movement is a most important one. The movement is general among the wealth-producing classes, and their bosoms swell with expectations of the future. Crushed to the earth by long ages of tyranny, victims of long centuries of oppression, they hope by organisation to secure a brighter future. Accustomed for generations to look upon the supremacy of the powers that be, the supremacy of the aristocratic and the commercial classes, and their own slavery and degradation as the normal conditions of society, no wonder at their apathy in the past. But to compare their apathy, their indifference of but as yesterday with their enthusiasm of to-day, and we may all hope that the days of political and social oppression are numbered.

But is the present movement of the workers to be thorough, thorough in its organisation, and thorough in its aims and objects? or is this grand uprising of the masses to be frittered away in seeking mere palliatives only? Are the mere effects of political tyranny and social oppression to be combated, while leaving untouched the principles from which they spring? Such has been the rule with all the trade

SOME GREETINGS.

The telegrams herewith given were received during the South Place meeting, and were read to the audience as received :

SHEFFIELD.

"Sheffield Socialists send fraternal greetings. Hope cowardly murder of Chicago comrades will stimulate all to work more energetically for speedy success of Social Revolution."

GLASGOW BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Greetings to London comrades! Long live the glorious memory of this day! Prosper the cause for which our comrades in Chicago and London died. Hurrah for the Social Revolution!"

DUBLIN.

"Dublin Socialists join with you in celebrating the anniversary of Chicago murders."

ABERDEEN BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Aberdeen Branch sends revolutionary greetings, with best wishes for the success of your meeting. May their silence and our speech hasten the coming of the light!"

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, MANCHESTER.

"We are with you in sympathy for our murdered brothers of Chicago. We shout as Engel did, Hurrah for Anarchy!"

NORWICH BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Norwich comrades join in honouring the memory of Chicago martyrs, and send revolutionary greetings."

MANCHESTER BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"Comrades of Socialist League and International Club wish success to meeting. The Revolution is hastened by the memory of its martyrs."

YARMOUTH BRANCH OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

"The comrades of the Yarmouth Branch send their heartfelt sympathy with the meeting in commemoration of Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday, and wish it the greatest success."

FROM WALTER CRANE.

"Not able to attend, but hold up my hand for the resolutions."

WAGES AND PRICES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The labour market is "fairly well supplied," says the Johannesburg *Star* of Oct. 11, "indeed, in some trades there are more hands than there is work for." We know what that mild way of putting it really means! In the wagon and cart building trades, and also in the farriery trades, fifty-one per week are the present hours, but the carpenters and builders work but forty-eight hours—eight and a-half per day, and a half-day on Saturdays. The following were the current rates of wages per day:—Carpenters, 20s. to 25s.; masons, 25s. to 27s. 6d.; ornamental plasterers, 27s. 6d. to 30s.; painters, 20s. to 22s.; blacksmiths and farriers, 20s.; wagonmakers, 20s.; cart trimmers, 20s.; cart painters, 20s. In the wagon and cart-building trades these rates were paid to good hands; but in some cases, where greater excellence is shown, 10s. per week extra was paid. Ordinary workmen in all branches were abundant, and could be got at much lower rates. Meanwhile, prices were proportionate. For such timber as was obtainable, 2s. 3d. per foot was the current rate. Ruling rates for iron were 1s. 4d. to 1s. 5d. per foot. Of breadstuffs the market was almost bare; 50s. per 100-lb. bag was the wholesale price of flour, for a fraction less for large parcels, retailers asking as high as 55s. Boer meal and mealie meal were also in very short supply, 50s. being the current rate for the former, and a trifle higher for the latter. The master bakers, in view of the high price of flour, had in some cases, where the price for a 1-lb. loaf has been 4d., raised it to 6d., and in others the 16-oz. 6d. loaf has been reduced to 14 ozs. Sugars (white) are quoted at 57s. 6d., and for the lower qualities (brown) 50s. White crystals are retailed at 9d. per lb. Milk of brands is very scarce, and readily commands 17s. to 18s. per dozen wholesale. Later advices give the prices at nearly double those just quoted. On the 22nd of October the 1-lb. loaf had risen to 1s., and was expected to go higher. But the workman's benevolent friends over here tell him only of the wages he will get, and nothing of the prices he must pay.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

To those who have obtained copies of the *Commonweal* through the propagandist work of our comrades, by free distribution in the streets and public conveyances, or by purchase at our outdoor stations, we ask if in agreement with our principles to help the sale of the *Commonweal* by ordering it of their newsagents, and sending on to us the names of newsagents willing to sell it; and still better, as our outdoor work must shortly be reduced, by joining the local branches and helping on the work.

CHRISTIANISING THE NATIVES.—The *Cape Argus* in a recent number had the following cutting from an up-country paper:—"Those engaged in the Colesberg extension have adopted a rascally dodge for getting more work out of the natives. A distance is marked off which is estimated to be within the ability of the natives to finish in a day if they work extra hard, and at the end of the piece allotted, a 'vaatje' of brandy is placed. When the end of the line thus marked off is reached the natives have the liquor divided amongst them. So great is the desire to obtain the converted 'soepje,' that natives work doubly hard to obtain the price of a pennyworth of drink, and a full shillingsworth of extra labour is obtained by the employers. It is a most corrupt system, and should not be permitted. The Kafirs are sufficiently demoralised with brandy, without any immoral inducements of this-sort."

CORRESPONDENCE.

"MORALITY."

DEAR COMRADES,—Being a member of the Scottish Socialist Federation, I should like to say a word with reference to George Porter's letter. The hysterical excitement under which it must have been written is really quite inexplicable, the only apparent cause of it being so absurdly inadequate. There cannot be the slightest doubt that we have here a clear case of much ado about nothing. But for all that, it may be well to assure George Porter that he need not be at all afraid that the morality acknowledged by the S.S.F. is not true Socialist morality, or that it is identical with the conventional Christian morality of Scotland, which he painfully and unsuccessfully labours to prove to be the logical inference from the use of the word "morality" in our statement of principles. Moreover, he may rest satisfied that the S.S.F. are using every means in their power to let people understand the great difference between the old morality and the new. I suppose I must also point out to George Porter that he is wrong in saying that the paragraph he saw in the *Commonweal* of October 12 is our declaration of principles; it is merely the "concluding remarks," an exhortation to those holding our principles to stick by them; and the word "morality" being used in this context cannot possibly be interpreted as "obedience to convention" by any but the most stupid. For our principles are of course an emphatic enough protest against the present "morals of society."

But George Porter's limitation of the use of the word is arbitrary and narrow in the extreme, and few besides himself would attempt to justify it. The word, as everybody knows, means sometimes the practice, sometimes the doctrine of moral duties, the context of course determining the sense in which it is to be taken. And the doctrine of moral duties is the doctrine of those rules of conduct which must be followed if the social welfare of mankind is to be realised. Surely, then, the S.S.F. make quite a legitimate use of the word in asking members to acknowledge morality as the basis of their behaviour—in other words, to obey the rules of conduct necessary for social well-being. It is true there are always differences of opinion as to what the proper rules of conduct are. Therefore the exact meaning to be attached to the word "morality" doubtless depends on the principles of the persons using it. But if these are made clear, its indefinite character disappears. And the S.S.F. certainly cannot be charged with not stating boldly and clearly what their principles are.

The fact is, the word, like "glory," "honour," and other similar words despised by George Porter, has a real value for Socialists; and its value lies in its association in men's minds with ideas of social welfare (rightly conceived or wrongly), and in its expressing the idea of something obligatory in matters of conduct, the idea of the necessity or duty of following a particular course of action (whatever it may be) which has for its avowed end the good of the community. It is for this reason that, if we Socialists maintain that certain laws and customs are condemned by Morality, thoughtful and earnest people, having at heart the welfare of society, will certainly feel it their duty to consider whether we are right or not; and even though they should be unable to agree with us, they will nevertheless be inclined to give us credit for doing what we believe to be our duty.

Hoping you will excuse this long letter, which perhaps treats too seriously what is really a most puerile objection, I am yours fraternally,

J. HALDANE SMITH.

SIR,—As a member of the Scottish Socialist Federation, though not writing officially on its behalf, I may be allowed a word or two in reply to comrade Porter's letter in *Commonweal* of 9th inst. When, with jaded energies and in a stifling atmosphere—things all Socialists are accustomed to—I was present at the drawing up of our principles, I had a sure presentiment that though we passed the word "morality" it would not be passed elsewhere. Its inevitable fate was to be "jumped upon."

So far, then, I have anticipated and am in sympathy with comrade Porter. But my sympathy ends here. No one will deny he has done the jumping vigorously; and he can readily be trusted, despite protest, on occasion to serve the terms "truth" and "justice" in like manner. He has consciously framed for us two conceptions of the term morality. It is either a mere shibboleth, and consequently has a meaning which is really nothing, or it is the ethics of Mrs. Grundy, and to be moral is to keep the Sabbath, and generally to have the manners of a Scotchman, which is bad. But I venture to say he has unconsciously set before us another conception. He has passed under review existing economical and social arrangements, and, in the light of a higher morality—Bax's "New Ethic" presumably—has condemned them. While, then, this new ethic is higher than that of the market-place—if it can be said to have one at all—is there anything in existing conditions with which we can compare it? In a word, can any good thing come out of this Nazareth of competitive society? There obviously must be something which is akin to it, else how other could we form the conception? Well, then, friendships have been formed, miserable types, pale shadows, they may be of the comradeship of the future, but having in them something of truth and reality. It will not be permissible to say that in those friendships there is an unwritten code of honour—that is to make use of a shibboleth—but one may be allowed to say that they carry with them a sense of responsibility of what is due to one another. (I live in constant terror of Porter's analytical ability, and fear to use almost any term in the English language.) This, then, is something like the sense in which we use the term morality. It is not sufficient to give an intellectual assent to the doctrines of Socialism; one must not be just quite a stranger to its spirit. A magnificent peroration about the degradation of women would, for instance, have its oratorical effect considerably weakened, not to say anything worse, if it came from the lips of one whose relations with them were notorious for all that was selfish and unfeeling. Again, to give a merely individualistic direction to what has been collected for a common purpose, to break faith, and so on, do not tend, to say the least, to strengthen the sentiment of comradeship. To sum up, then, as I have little time to spare and post-time is near, it may be said that he who would do such things is no Socialist. Very possibly. We preach a higher ethic than does the average man; if our conduct can be no improvement on his, let it not at least sink below it; if we fail of any special fidelity or devotion to commend our doctrine, let us at least not give the enemy any unnecessary occasion to blaspheme.

JOHN GILRAY.

BORO' OF HACKNEY W. M.'S CLUB, 27 Haggerston Road, E.—Sunday Nov. 24, at 12 noon, George Bernard Shaw, "A Socialist Programme for London."

THE LABOUR REVOLT.

The Bakers' Strike.

Last week the masters surrendered by hundreds. Nearly all large firms have given in, and the struggle is now principally with the small sweating masters in the poorer neighbourhoods. There are now about 250 men out. Whitechapel seems the centre of resistance by the masters. The men are in the habit of parading daily and playing the "Dead March" outside the unfair shops. Fifty thousand handbills have also been printed, two with the words "Don't buy at this stop," which will be distributed to the sweaters' customers. Possibly these measures may have a persuasive effect upon the hard hearts of the slave-drivers.

At some of the shops which have yielded blacklegs are still employed, and the men very properly refuse to work with them. Some employers have put the price of bread up a halfpenny a loaf, which covers the whole cost of labour involved in making it. The men threaten that if the employers put the bread up more than enough to cover what the men ask for, the men will ask for still more money.

Our comrade Mrs. Lahr has done good work in speaking at bakers' meetings, and pointing out to them that there was something more for the workers to gain than a ten hours' working day. This has offended some of the conservative members of the Strike Committee, one of whom was rude enough to push her off the platform at the Hyde Park demonstration, but was obliged himself to retreat before the angry crowd.

Threatened Strike of Busmen.

Last week the agitation of the tram and bus men promised to result in a strike in West London, through the London Road Car Company working their men 17 hours a-day. This extraordinary slave-driving, the company stated, was rendered necessary to accommodate the visitors to Barnum's Show; but the men didn't see why they should slave their hearts out to get the company their big profits. Matters came to a crisis at last, at a meeting of the men in the small hours of Friday morning, Nov. 15, when it was decided to send in an ultimatum to the company, giving them three days to agree to the demand of the men for twelve hours' work, or trouble would follow. Frightened by this vigorous resolution, the company has offered to grant the twelve hours if the other bus companies will do the same. The strike has been postponed by the men till they have made the same demand to the General Omnibus and other companies, which, if refused, will be followed by a general strike. We think it would have been better for the men to have carried out their resolution. There is so much discontent among the tram and bus employes that we are pretty sure that a strike on one line would be quickly followed by a strike upon all. If the men in South Dock, when the late dock strike began, had waited till they had got all their comrades in the other docks to promise to come out, they might have waited till the present time. But they did not wait, they acted, and the result was that within a week after they had given the signal of revolt all Dockland was seething in open rebellion. If the slaves of the bus and tram wait too long, the auspicious moment may pass; the tide may recede and leave them stranded hopeless and helpless.

The Silvertown Strike.

Last week Sydney Buxton and several other well-meaning middle-class people endeavoured to get the great Mr. Gray to consent to arbitration, but the great man steadfastly refused. You see there will probably be some nice cold weather in a few weeks, and starving people will find it hard to stand against it. So this Napoleon of Capitalism will have no arbitration, as he calculates with fiendish barbarity that they won't be able to stand long against cold and hunger combined. How Mr. Norwood must envy Mr. Gray his splendid opportunities! If he could only have fought the dockers with the advantages of an unsympathetic public, trade-unionist blacklegs, and cold as well as hunger to back him up, what a victory he might have gained! The women and children are suffering bitterly, for this is not a sensational strike, and public sympathy has not been strongly aroused. Any contributions to help these brave men and women, who are fighting a desperate battle against the cold cruel calculations of the capitalist, might be sent to the Strike Committee, Railway Dining-Rooms, Silvertown.

Keir Hardie and Eight Hours.

Keir Hardie has written an article in the *Labour Tribune* upon this question. The miners are greatly excited about it at the present time, as in a few days they will meet in conference to decide as to whether they will come out for it on the 1st of January. Keir Hardie appears to think that it will be impossible to enforce an eight-hour day in mines without an Act of Parliament. He says, "Experience has shown that in some of the largest and most important of the mining centres, there is a section of the men who have neither the stamina nor the desire to enforce an eight-hour day for any length of time. Under the influence of a sudden burst of enthusiasm these men will for a time uphold the principle, but when temptation from without and pressure from within overtakes them, they give way and drag others down with them." Therefore, he argues, we must have an Act of Parliament. Now it is quite clear the shaky individuals must be either a majority or a very strong minority among the workers, because a trade union can always enforce its rules upon a weak section. But then, on the other hand, if a large number of the miners prefer long hours and extra pay to short hours and small pay, we fail to see how you are not only to enforce it when it is carried into law, but even carry it in the face of the formidable opposition it would sure to meet with from the capitalist classes. The men must be educated as to advantages of leisure and the advantages also of sticking firmly together, a quality which the Scotch miner seems to lack. They must remember also that if they cannot do anything for themselves, there is very little chance of getting any one to do it for them. Let them bear these things in mind, and they will soon gain a great deal more than an eight-hour day from their masters.

The "Homes" of the Poor.

At last a move is being made against that pillar of modern society, the house farmer. Through the efforts of Bennet Burleigh, the well-known war correspondent and author of the recent series of articles upon the slums in the *Daily Telegraph*, some shocking dens in Ann's Place, Boundary Street, Shoreditch, have been closed. These places in which the poor were housed,

were rather worse than the dungeons in which a feudal baron confined his captives. Stinking drains, rooms in which it was impossible to stand upright, rats coming through the roof, rats running all over the place—such are the joys that await the honest worker in an age of Christian civilization. Well, thanks to Bennet Burleigh and Montagu Williams, these dens will soon vanish from the face of the earth, although it was stated "it was not a bad case," and even the tenants admitted that "this was not one of the many outrageous cases which undoubtedly do exist in London." What the other cases must be like imagination fails to picture. But still, there is another side to the question. These dens are "condemned"; well and good. But what is to become of the tenants? Has the law got some decent dwellings for them to inhabit, or are they to take refuge in other dens, the condition of which may be considered "bad" or even "outrageous"? It is rather funny that the law can provide no remedy for such ills, except that of prompt and speedy eviction for the unfortunate tenants. It is possible that they might even prefer the shelter of the rat-haunted dens in Ann's Place, to being turned into the street to search for another place where to lay their heads. Mr. Bennet Burleigh means well, but pulling down the worst slums in London will only increase the overcrowding in those that are not bad enough to be "condemned" by magistrates and sanitary inspectors. Moreover, it will rather tend, by diminishing the number of dwellings, to raise the rack-rents which every worker suffers from in the crowded districts of central London. What we want is a movement against these rents, and not legal action which will only result in increasing them.

A Question for the Furriers.

Our Leeds comrades are trying to form a branch of the N.U.G. and G.L. among the furriers there, and want to know the London prices for "pulling" and "opening" rabbit skins. Will any one employed in that industry who reads this send us a list of London prices?

The Strikes of 1888.

In a report on the strikes and lock-outs of 1888, issued by the Board of Trade, the following, among other statistics, are interesting. The total number of strikes during the year was 509, affecting 118,288 persons, but the number of actual strikers was 87,764. The number of successful strikes was 249, and the partially successful, 94. Under these two heads 83,200 persons were affected. The amount expended by trades unions on strikes was £32,729, being at the rate of 2s. 4½d. per head on membership. There were only eight lock-outs, affecting 985 persons.

The Sweated Tailors.

Another strike seems imminent. It was stated at a large meeting last Saturday at the Assembly Hall, Mile-end, that the masters have broken faith with the men and are endeavouring to introduce the old slavish system of unlimited working hours. They are discharging their workpeople right and left for refusing to submit to their tyranny. It will take a sharp lesson to persuade these people to abandon their slave-driving; the sweating system seems to be part and parcel of their nature.

Strike of Maltsters at Burton.

The labour revolt reached Burton on Friday the 15th, when the maltsters turned out for an advance of eightpence a-day. Large meetings were held, and they marched round to the various breweries and brought out their comrades by force or persuasion. At Coope and Co.'s, during these proceedings, the manager's son was rather roughly handled. The strike was quite successful, for in a very few hours most of the firms gave in, and the others have now followed their example.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 24, GREAT QUEEN ST., LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.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.

Commonweals for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

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

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September. 1889:—Bradford and Hammersmith, to end of April. Norwich, Glasgow, Yarmouth, and Mitcham, to end of May. East London, to end of June. Leicester, North Kensington, and Manchester, to end of September. Clerkenwell, to end of October. North London, to end of November. St. Georges East, to end of December.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, Nov. 26, at 8.30 p.m. Special meeting; important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

Propaganda Fund.—F.C.S.S., 1s.; Blundell, 1s.

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

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been received towards this fund:—F.C.S.S. (two weeks), 2s.; Webb (two weeks), 2s.; Kitz, 6d.; Nicoll, 6d.; Samuels, 6d.; R. J., 1s.; Rose, 6d.; P. H., 2s.; J. B. G., 1s.; B. W., 6d.; and C. Saunders, 1s.

REPORTS.

KILBURN.—On Sunday morning, good meeting held back of the "Plough"; speakers were Mainwaring and Samuels. A quire of *Freedom* sold, *Commonweal* not being on the spot.

MITCHAM AND CROYDON.—For several weeks we have been pegging away at the work of agitation in this neighbourhood, with the result of establishing branches of the Surrey Labourers' Union in Streatham, Merton, Mitcham, and Croydon. In the last place we have re-established the branch of the Socialist League. Two successful meetings have been held upon Duppas Hill, addressed

by comrades Pillier, Thorrington, and Kitz. The new branch works well, and *Commonweal* is pushed and good collections made. We want help to carry the campaign into Sutton, Carshalton, and other towns and villages around.—F. K.

NORTH KENSINGTON.—A good meeting was held at Latimer Road; speakers were R. J. Lyne, and J. F. Lyne; all *Commonweal* sold. No meeting at St. Ann's Road, owing to the absence of some of our comrades who had other engagements. A lecture was given by R. E. Dell (Fabian) on "Why I am a Socialist" to a good audience.

NORTH LONDON.—Good meeting in Regent's Park Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mrs. Lahr; fair sale of *Weal* and 8d. collected. At Hyde Park in the afternoon, meeting opened by Cantwell and Furlong, and then Mrs. Tochatti sang "Are you willing to work and to wait" amid considerable enthusiasm; Cores and Mrs. Lahr followed; good sale of *Commonweal* and other literature, and collected 1s. 10d.

ST. GEORGE'S EAST.—No meetings have been held outdoors on account of lack of speakers; comrade Turner has now left this neighbourhood, and so some other help is required if the branch is to continue its work successfully. At the business meeting on Wednesday, it was decided to hold branch meetings on a Thursday, after next week. Members please note.—J. T.

STREATHAM.—Good branch meeting, at which a vote of condolence to Mrs. Parsons for her loss of Lulu, and also for the relatives of our other murdered comrades, was passed. Good meetings at Fountain on Nov. 10 and last Sunday, Weir (of Acton) speaking for us; collected 2s. on Nov. 10. Last Sunday we collected 3s., which was sent to the Silvertown strikers; 70 *Weal* sold. The Surrey Labourers' Union is doing well. The carmen in Streatham are working 17 hours a day for £1 1s. a week. The time is not ripe for a strike yet, so they thought the Silvertown people had the first claim for assistance.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 11th, comrade Unwin's lecture, "Broken Cisterns," was read; discussion held over. At Castle Street on 16th, Duncan, Smith, and Leatham addressed good meeting.—L.

GLASGOW.—Lively meeting on Cathedral Square on Tuesday evening; speakers, Joe Burgoyne and Gilbert, who had evidently the sympathy of the audience. On Thursday evening Glasier lectured on "Socialism, what it means," to the Govan Liberal and Radical association. There was a good deal of opposition, mostly from the Henry George standpoint. The chairman, who is a large employer of labour, confessed after our comrade's reply, that Socialism had been presented to him in a new light and that he would seriously reconsider the subject. On Sunday a meeting was held at 5.30 on Jail Square by Joe Burgoyne. At Paisley Road Toll, Glasier and Downie spoke to a good audience; a well attended meeting of members was afterwards held in our rooms, when Glasier was reappointed secretary of the branch.

LEICESTER.—Monday 11th, comrade Taylor read a paper, "The Condition of the People." Excited discussion followed on the question is property robbery? Sunday 17th, R. S. Penngely, of Nottingham, lectured twice at Radical Club—morning, "The Question of Cain"; evening, "Drifting to Socialism." Lectures well liked. Sunday morning, Barclay occupied Russell Sq. again, on "Should we, and can we, compensate Landlords?" In evening, he opposed Dr. Drysdale on the Population fallacy at Secular Hall. Monday evening, comrade Chambers gave a well-written paper on "Parliamentarianism v. Anarchism"; long discussion. Collection, 8s.; *Commonweal* sold, 3 quires.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday afternoon a meeting of pipe-makers now on strike was held in Stevenson Square; 2 quires of *Commonweal* sold. Our season for indoor meetings began on Sunday night, when, at the club, a lecture on "Socialism of To-day" was given by W. Bailie; discussion followed, in which some members and others took part. 5s. collected.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last comrade A. Moore read a paper on "What's to be Done during a Revolutionary Period"; good number of comrades present. Sunday afternoon, a large number of people assembled in the Market Place for the commemoration of the Chicago martyrs; comrade Emery took the chair, followed by W. Moore. A slight disturbance was occasioned by an individual a little the worse for drink, but he was very quickly shifted by the crowd. Sunday evening a meeting held in the Gordon Hall; W. Moore opened—subject, "Four Schools of Socialist Thought"; warm discussion followed upon the principles of the League and Anarchism; comrades Houghton, Poynts, Swash, and others took part. After the meeting, G. Ashley sung very effectively "Annie Laurie," Tenneying "Chicago Martyrs," "All for the Cause," sung by Mrs. Sutton and G. Ashley, and other revolutionary songs were rendered.

SHEFFIELD.—Comrade Mowbray addressed large meetings on Saturday and Sunday at Peenstone Street, West Bar, Gower Street, the Monolith, assisted by Bulas, Bingham, Carpenter, and Sketchley. Mowbray also addressed a meeting at the Hall of Science. At the Monolith a police-inspector wanted his name and address. On Sunday evening we had a tea and social meeting, after which Mowbray lectured on "Revolution and Reform." On Monday a meeting was held at Gower Street of the workmen at Cammel's ironworks, and also at the Monolith, Fargate. No police interruption. At 8 p.m. William Morris lectured to a good audience at the Cambridge Hall. *Commonweal* sold out; 7s. worth of literature; good collections.

YARMOUTH.—At the Radical Club, on Wednesday 13th, the adjourned discussion on Mr. Dawson's paper on Socialism was resumed, Messrs. King, Lee, and Lang (R.C.) supporting it, and Headley (S.L.) opposed it; Mr. Dawson closed with a brief reply. On Sunday we held no meetings, owing to the bad weather. The principles of Socialism are fast taking root. Unflinching energy can alone make the movement a success, and here, as elsewhere, there is none too much of it. 6 *Commonweal* sold. C. Reynolds wishes it to be announced in the *Commonweal* that he has resigned from the Socialist League.—J. H.

DUBLIN.—At St. George's Y.M.C.A., Tuesday, November 12th, R. F. Wilson read a paper on "Modern Social Anomalies," a very outline of the principles of Socialism; he was ably assisted by Hamilton. The opposition was of the poorest possible description, one speaker hoping that the Society would take steps to prevent itself becoming a platform for the dissemination of such foul doctrines.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—We have been very busy here with the School Board election campaign. Three meetings were held each night last week, and on Sunday two, at which 17s. was collected for election expenses. Besides the candidates (J. Peacock and T. Proctor) good work has been done by S. Whalley, Winterton, Rooke, Hickling, Tomkinson, Snell, Knight, and Jones. Election on November 21st.

COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.

BRIGHTON.—On Sunday evening Nov. 10th, we held a meeting at the Free thought Hall, to commemorate the death of the "Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday." Barker gave an excellent address on the lives and trial of the men, and I moved the resolutions printed in the *Commonweal*; they were carried without a dissentient voice. This I think is encouraging.—F. C.

DUBLIN.—The Dublin Socialist Club held a Commemoration Meeting in honour of the Chicago Anarchists on Monday, Nov. 11th, at 87, Marlborough Street; there was a large attendance—Frizelle in the chair. Comrade Fitzpatrick, who has recently returned from Chicago, was the orator of the evening; he dealt exhaustively with the Haymarket meeting, the so-called trials, and the execution. Hamilton, King, and Toomey also spoke.

SNAP RADICAL CLUB, 8 Mayall Road, Herne Hill.—Sunday Nov. 24, at 8, William Morris, "Socialism."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Battersea.—All communications to E. Buteux, 20 Abercrombie Street, Battersea Park Road.

Clerkenwell.—Socialist League Hall, 24 Great Queen Street, Holborn, W.C.—On Sunday November 24, at 8.30 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "The Good Old Cause." Members of Clerkenwell Branch are requested to attend an important business meeting at above address.

East London.—Crown Coffee Tavern, 2 Columbia Road, Hackney Road. Sunday November 24, at 7.30, Members' meeting. At 8, meeting on Triangle. At 8.30, D. J. Nicoll, "The French Revolution."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. A Lecture, Reading or Discussion every Sunday at 8 p.m. Wednesday Nov. 27, at 8 p.m., John Burns will lecture on "The Lessons of the Great Strike." French Class, 8 to 9 every Friday.

Merton.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

Mitcham.—"Lord Napier," Fair Green. Meets every Sunday at 12.30, to enroll members, etc.

North Kensington.—Clarendon Coffee Tavern. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., Rev. F. L. Donaldson (of St. John's, Hammersmith) will lecture on "Christian Socialism."

North London.—6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Rd. Meets every Friday evening at 8 o'clock.

Southwark.—Secretary, George Evans, 56 Lucy Road, Bermondsey, S.E. Hill's Coffee Tavern, Great Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road, S.E.

Streatham.—Meets every Thursday at the "Leigham Arms," Wellfield Road, at 8.30 p.m.

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. J. Turner, organising secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows' Small Hall, Crooked Lane, on Monday evenings at 8. Singing practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Braiford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Albion Court, Kirkgate. Meets every Tuesday at 7.30.

Dundee.—Address to W. Cameron, 17 Laurence Street, Dundee.

Glasgow.—Ram's Horn Hall, 122 Ingram Street. Branch meets on Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sundays at 7 o'clock.

Halifax.—Socialists meet every Sunday at 6.30 p.m. at Helliwell's Temperance Hotel, Northgate.

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

Leicester.—Exchange Buildings, Rutland Street. Branch meets on Monday and Thursday, at 8 p.m. In the Co-operative Hall, High Street, on Tuesday November 26th, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas will lecture on "A Socialist View of the Political Outlook."

Manchester.—Working Men's Educational Club, 122 Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street. Weekly meeting of members every Tuesday at 8 p.m. On Sunday November 24, at 7.30, Raymond Unwin will lecture on "The Wane of Civilisation." At the Secular Hall, Russholm Road, on Saturday Nov. 30, at 7.30, William Morris will lecture on "The Class Struggle."

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' meeting. Wednesday and Friday, Rehearsals. Thursday, at 8, Discussion Class (Nov. 28, W. Moore, "What's to be Done before a Revolutionary Period"). Saturday, Social Meeting.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. First Friday in every month, at 8.30 p.m.

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

Yarmouth.—Branch meets at comrade Headley's, near Co-operative Stores, every Tuesday evening. Elocution Class Friday at 8 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 23.

8.30..... Milo-end WasteThe Branch

SUNDAY 24.

- 11 Latimer Road Station R. J. Lyne and Crouch
- 11.30..... Chelsea Embankment.....Samuels
- 11.30..... Kilburn—"Old Plough," Kilburn Lane.....Mainwaring
- 11.30..... North Kensington—St. Ann's Road.....Dean and J. F. Lyne
- 11.30..... Commercial Road—Union Street.....Cores
- 11.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Davis
- 11.30..... Regent's Park.....Nicoll and Mowbray
- 11.30..... Southwark—Flat Iron Square.....The Branch
- 11.30..... Starch Green.....The Branch
- 3.30..... Hyde Park—Marble Arch.....Cantwell and Mowbray
- 3.30..... Victoria Park.....Cores
- 7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt ParkHammersmith Branch
- 7.30..... Mitcham—Fair Green.....Kitz
- 8 Streatham—Fountain, High StreetWier and Howard
- 7.30..... Waltham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch
- 8 Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch

TUESDAY 26.

8 Waltham Green—back of ChurchHammersmith Branch

THURSDAY 28.

8.15..... Hoxton Church.....Cores

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, 7 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock. Tuesday: Cathedral Square, at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Sunday: Philips Park Gates, at 11; Stevenson Square, at 3.

Norwich.—Sunday: St. Faiths, at 11; Market Place, at 3.

Yarmouth.—Sunday: Priory Plain, at 11; Colman's Granary Quay, at 7.

BORO' OF BATTERSEA CLUB, 465 Battersea Park Road.—Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., Charles Murray, "Life of Robert Owen."

CHELSEA S. D. F., Co-operative Lecture Hall, 312 Kings Road, Chelsea.—Sunday November 24, at 8 p.m., E. Costelloe, "Socialism and Party Government."

GLASGOW.—Stepniak (author of 'Underground Russia') will lecture in the Waterloo Hall, on Sunday December 1, at 7 o'clock. At 2 o'clock, conference of members.

MANHOOD SUFFRAGE LEAGUE, "Three Doves," Berwick St., Oxford St., W.—Sunday November 24, at 8.45 p.m., George Cox, "Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin and the Rights of Women."

FABIAN SOCIETY.—Willis's Rooms, King Street, S.W.—On Friday Dec. 6, at 8 o'clock, Annie Besant, "The Trades Union Movement." 20th, G. Bernard Shaw, "The New Politics." Tickets of admission may be obtained from the Secretary, 160 Portdown Road, W.

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